A WHAT WE TRIED TO INTRODUCE/INTO CHINA, GREECE AND KOREA/WAS FREEDOM OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE/FOR US ~~AND OUR PROFITS~~/AND FOR THAT OF LOCAL CAPITAL/WITHOUT ANY FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/WHICH COULD ACT TO CURB/EITHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC BUSINESS./ IN LANDS WHERE THE STANDARD OF LIVING/WAS AND HAD BEEN WRETCHEDLY LOW/AND THE ILLITERACY ALMOST TOTAL./ OUR POLICY TENDED TO HAND LABOR AND MATERIALS/INTO THE UNCONTROLLED POWER OF GREED/BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC./ TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROGRAM/FOR INSTANCE WE TOOK SIX BILLIONS OF MONEY/FROM THE POCKETS/OF THE POOREST AMERICAN TAXPAYERS/TO BOLSTER THE TYRANNY OF CHIANG KAI SHEK./ MOST AMERICANS SEEM STILL UNABLE/TO UNDERSTAND/WHY 400 MILLION CHINESE/AROSE IN THEIR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE/AND BY YEARS OF SUPER-HUMAN EFFORT/ DROVE THIS COMBINATION/OF PROFIT AND GREED/INTO THE SEA.

SIMILARLY IN GREECE/WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATION/HAD NEVER BEEN LAID OUR VAST BUSINESS ENTERPRISE/ BACKED BY OUR MILITARY AND NAVAL POWER/ FASTENED IN CONTROL/THOSE GREEK RULERS/WHOSE METHOD WAS TYRANNY/AND WHOSE OBJECT THE

EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR./ THERE THEY SIT TODAY/WHILE THE MASS OF GREEK PEOPLE STARVE./ ~~THERE IS THE SAME STORY IN [illegible] AND THE PHILIPPINES.~~/

/ AMERICA BRINGS TO BACKWARD LANDS/ NOT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY,/ BUT EXPLOITATION AND DICTATORSHIP/FROM MERCHANT AND SOLDIER.

A ~~SO FURTHER IN~~ CONSIDER KOREA,/ INSTEAD OF PLANTING SCHOOLS,/TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE IN DEMOCRACY:/ OR DIVIDING UP THE LAND MONOPOLY/SO THAT THE KOREANS MIGHT EAT,/ WE GAVE FREEDOM OF INITIATIVE/TO SYNMAN RHEE/AND HIS GANG OF BIG LAND-HOLDERS,/ AND PROCEEDED TO LET THEM/WITHOUT ANY RESTRAINT/EITHER FROM A NATIVE DEMOCRACY/OR FROM THE AMERICAN ARMY/WHICH BACKED AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS,/ TO USE KOREA/AS THEIR PRIVATE PROPERTY./ WE KNEW WHAT WE WERE DOING:/ WE PUBLICLY ACCUSED RHEE/OF OPPRESSION AND THEFT./ BUT CONTINUED TO POUR DOLLARS/OF OUR TAXPAYERS/INTO HIS FILTHY POCKETS./ AND ARE TODAY RESTORING HIS POWER/BY ORDER OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO.

WHEN THE LID BLEW OFF THIS UNHOLY ALLIANCE,/ WE AROSE IN RIGHTEOUS WRATH AND SENT OUR SONS BY THOUSANDS/TO KILL AND BE KILLED.//TO RUIN A RAPED AND UNHAPPY LAND,/ NOT FOR DEMOCRACY BUT FOR BIG BUSINESS.// WE PUT THE BLAME ON RUSSIA/AND ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF A CONSPIRACY/ WHICH WE WERE NEVER ABLE TO PROVE.///EVEN WHEN WE HAVE ENTERED/LANDS LIKE GERMANY AND ITALY/TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY/WHAT WE REALLY BROUGHT/ AND INTENDED TO BRING/WAS NOT POPULAR CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT AND WORK,/ BUT AMERICAN BUSINESS METHODS/IN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE/WITH DOMESTIC BUSINESS ~~IN THESE LANDS~~,// LED INCREASINGLY BY FORMER NAZIS AND FASCISTS.// THIS ORGANIZATION OF WORK/WAS NOT IN THE ~~PAST~~ PAST ADEQUATELY OR PROPERLY CURBED/BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS.//WAS NOT SET TO SUBJECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM/TO THE COMMONWEAL.//AND NOW WITH EVEN LESS DEMOCRACY/ AND WITH GREEDY FOREIGN CAPITAL/JOINED TO NATIVE POWER,/ WE ESTABLISHED NEITHER DEMOCRACY NOR FREEDOM./ BUT INCIPIENT REVOLUTION.

~~IN FRANCE/WHERE THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS/HAS ALWAYS GREAT/AND THE CURBS~~

5A ~~5-A~~ 45-7-6

WHAT DID WE WANT IN PUERTO RICO?/ TO MAKE MONEY./ WHY DID WE SEIZE PUERTO RICO?/ TO MAKE MONEY./ WHAT DID WE DO IN PUERTO RICO?/ WE MADE MONEY./ TO BE SURE OUT OF OUR LOOT/WE TOOK A NEW DIME FROM EVERY DOLLAR/AND GAVE THE PUERTO RICANS ONE SCHOOL/WHERE THEY NEEDED A HUNDRED/AND ONE HOSPITAL WHERE THEY NEEDED TEN./ WHILE WE KEPT ON MAKING MONEY/OUT OF THIS STARVED AND IGNORANT/CROWDED MASS/OF CHEAP WORKERS/ AND OUT OF THE TONS OF SUGAR CANE/ THEY WATERED WITH BLOOD.// WE GAVE THEM SELF-RULE IN NAME ONLY,/ WHILE IN TRUTH THEY WERE AN OPPRESSED/AND UNREPRESENTED COLONY.// FROM THIS HISTORY WHAT CAN WE EXPECT?/ SWEETNESS AND LIGHT?/NO. THEY THAT SOW THE WIND/REAP THE WHIRLWIND./ THIS IS OUR HARVEST IN PUERTO RICO./ THIS WILL BE THE HARVEST FROM THE SEEDS/WE ARE SOWING TODAY/IN ASIA?/BUT VASTER--MILLIONS INSTEAD OF THOUSANDS/ THE DEATH OF A CIVILIZATION/AND NOT INSANE AND DEPLORABLE/ATTEMPTS AT ASSASSINATION.

IN EUROPE/ WHERE BECAUSE OF WAR/ CURBS

over industry were

OF DEMOCRACY, WEAK./ WE HAVE BOLSTERED FRENCH CAPITAL/ BY HUGE SUBSIDY/ SO THAT THE NATION IS SPLIT IN TWAIN./ WITH THE VAST MAJORITY/ DETERMINED NEVER TO ENTER ANOTHER WAR/ ON ANY TERMS.// LEAST OF ALL/ TERMS SET BY AMERICAN BUSINESS./ Italy lies Candles and starved under our heel.

¶ BUT WHY DOES AMERICA/ WANT ANOTHER WAR?// THAT WE DO WANT WAR AND ARE INCREASINGLY PREPARING TO HAVE IT/ IS TODAY APPARENT TO THE WHOLE WORLD.// WE STAND TODAY/ AS ONE GREAT NATION OF WAR-MONGERS./ READY TO POUR INTO ORGANIZED DESTRUCTION/ A TREASURE GREATER THAN WE EVER GAVE/ TO MISSIONS, EDUCATION OR HEALTH ALTOGETHER.// READY TO EDUCATE THE YOUTH/ OF THE NATION FOR MURDER ~~OR KILL THEM.~~ Sec of Defense, MARSHAL, DEMANDS UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING/ ~~DEMANDS MARSHALL~~, BEFORE WE HAVE ESTABLISHED/ UNIVERSAL LEARNING TO READ AND WRITE.

¶ A RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLL/ SHOWED ONLY 10 to 15 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION/ IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND SCANDINAVIA/ EXPECTING A THIRD WORLD WAR, WHILE HERE 90% EXPECT WAR/ AND A VAST NUMBER ARE WILLING TO PREPARE FOR IT/

MEANTIME, A LARGE PART of EUROPE + ASIA Has begun to look for liberation from Poverty, disease ▽ ignorance, to that

GREAT BODY OF THEORETICAL DOCTRINE,/ BUILT IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND GERMANY/ DURING THE 18TH CENTURY,/ WHICH FROM GODWIN TO BENTHAM:/ FROM FOURIER TO ~~H. G. WELLS~~ BERNARD SHAW, FROM MARX TO LENIN/ HONESTLY BELIEVED/ THAT THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY/ BUILT ON PRIVATE PROPERTY OF CAPITAL GOODS/ MUST BE CHANGED/ AND A NATIONAL SOCIALISM ESTABLISHED/ WITH GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/ FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ACTUAL PEOPLE/ WHO DID THE WORK.

THIS DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM/ REMAINED CHIEFLY A THEORY./ ~~WITH BUT SPORADIC EFFORTS AT REALISATION~~/ UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR.// THEN IN RUSSIA/ WHERE THE CONDITION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE/ HAD REACHED UNENDURABLE/ DEPTHS OF DEGRADATION,/ REVOLUTION ENSUED.// AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE/ TO BU ILD A COMMUNIST STATE,/ WHICH WAS SOCIALISM/ WITH COMPLETE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/ AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND.//

¶ THIS STATE DID NOT PLAN/ TO ELIMINATE ALL INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM,/ NOR TO OVERTHROW DEMOCRACY:// IT PLANNED EVENTUALLY TO INCREASE FREEDOM/ BY ABOLITION OF POVERTY,

DISEASE AND IGNORANCE.// IT WANTED TO INCREASE THE SCOPE OF DEMOCRACY/BY PUTTING IT IN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/AS WELL AS/OF POLITICAL LIFE.// MOST OF THE WORLD ~~IN~~ DID NOT BELIEVE/AND DOES NOT BELIEVE/THAT THIS CAN BE DONE,/~~EXCEPT POSSIBLY BY MEMBERS OF CULTURES IN AMERICA AND OTHER DEMOCRACIES.~~ ¶ WESTERN EUROPE AND THE U.S. THE CIVILIZED WORLD/ THEREFORE/FROM 1918 to 1930/USED EVERY EFFORT OF MILITARY MIGHT AND PROPAGANDA/TO OVERTHROW SOVIET RUSSIA.// THEIR MOTIVES WERE/FIRST TO SAVE THE WEALTH WHICH THEY HAD INVESTED IN RUSSIA/AND SECOND TO PRESERVE THE POSSIBILITY/OF FUTURE PROFIT IN RUSSIA,/ IN THE BALKANS/AND IN THE REST OF THE WORLD/WHERE SOCIALISM WAS SPREADING IN THEORY.// THEY MIGHT HAVE SUCCEEDED/HAD NOT THE BOTTOM FALLEN OUT/OF ~~THE~~ CAPITALIST INDUSTRY/IN THE WORLD-WIDE DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES.

¶ WHETHER THIS DISRUPTION OF INDUSTRY/WAS MAINLY BECAUSE OF DEFECTS IN THE Capitalist SYSTEM ITSELF/OR BECAUSE OF WORLD WAR AND DESTRUCTION,/ IS NOT A MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED IN THIS CAMPAIGN.// WHAT INTERESTS US,/ IS THE FACT THAT THE DEPRESSION IN AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE/GAVE THE SOVIET UNION/THE CHANCE TO ESTABLISH

COMMUNISM AS A GOING CONCERN.// NO ONE THEN BELIEVED THE EXPERIMENT WOULD SUCCEED/AND MANY STILL DOUBT/IF ITS SUCCESS WILL EVER PROVE COMMUNISM AS EFFECTIVE/FOR INDUSTRY AND FREEDOM/AS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.// WHATEVER THE ANSWER TO THIS DEBATE WILL BE,/ THE ASTONISHING ANSWER IN OUR TIME,/ WAS THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT/WAS SUFFICIENTLY SUCCESSFUL/TO HELP AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE/TO OVERTHROW HITLER,/ A TASK WHICH/WITHOUT THE SOVIETS/WE WERE UTTERLY UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH. (instead of this fact inviting the world,

¶ WHAT NEXT?/ NEXT IN THE ASTONISHING ALEMBIC OF TIME,/ WE HAVE TURNED RIGHT ABOUT FACE/AND AFTER CONQUERING FASCISM IN ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA,/ WE HAVE ANNOUNCED A NATIONAL POLICY/OF PREVENTING BY FORCE/THE IDEA OF PROGRESS BY COMMUNISM/TO SPREAD//AND BEYOND THAT,/ WE ARE APPARENTLY READY TO SMASH COMMUNISM/EVEN IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF,/ BY EVERY MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL.//

¶ OUR EXCUSE HERE/IS THAT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IS IMPOSING COMMUNISM/ON NATIONS AND PEOPLES,/ AGAINST THEIR WILL/AND THAT IF THIS SPREAD OF COMMUNISM CONTINUES,

IT MAY EVENTUALLY/BE FORCED ON US AGAINST OUR WILL.

THIS GRAVE CHARGE/IS ABSOLUTELY UNPROVEN/AND TO ME ILLOGICAL.// IT IS IDIOTIC TO SAY/THAT THE SOVIETS FORCED COMMUNISM ON CHINA.// IF ANYONE FORCED CHINA INTO COMMUNISM/IT WAS THE UNITED STATES/AND CHIANG KAI SHEK.

¶ THE CASE OF THE BALTIC STATES/IS DIFFERENT.// THEY BELONGED TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE/BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.//THEY WERE SEPARATED FROM THE SOVIET UNION AFTER THE WAR/NOT TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY,/BUT AS WAS OPENLY SAID,/TO FORM A BASE FOR RE-CONQUERING RUSSIA.// THE JUSTICE OF RETURNING THESE STATES/TO THE SOVIETS/AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR/WAS NOT DISPUTED.// IT WAS SHEER EVIDENCE OF OUR GOOD FAITH.

IN THE CASE OF POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA/AND THE OTHER BALKAN STATES/IT also IS UNFAIR TO SAY/THEY WERE FORCED INTO COMMUNISM BY THE SOVIETS.// IN THESE STATES/AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY/OF THE LONG OPPRESSED WORKERS AND PEASANTS WERE ARRAYED AGAINST/A MINORITY OF WEALTHY LANDHOLDERS/ NOBLES AND INDUSTRIALISTS/

WHO FOR YEARS/IN CONJUNCTION WITH WESTERN CAPITAL/HAD EXPLOITED THESE LANDS AND PEOPLE.// THESE ~~INVADERS~~ EXPLOITERS REPRESENTED BIRTH AND WEALTH/AND THUS HAD THE EAR OF THE WORLD.// THESE WERE THE TWO ELEMENTS LOCKED IN BITTER STRUGGLE/HERE AND ALSO IN GREECE, AND ITALY.// THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT CONQUER THE BALKANS/BUT IT DID GIVE INFLUENCE,/ ARMS AND LEADERSHIP TO THE MASSES,/ AND ~~SAVE IN GREECE AND ITALY,~~/ PREVENTED AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE/FROM ACTIVE INTERFERENCE/ON THE SIDE OF FOREIGN INVESTORS.// ~~THE SOVIETS USED HERE THE SAME TACTICS WHICH ENGLAND, FRANCE AND AMERICA HAVE USED FOR CENTURIES.~~// IT WAS A CONQUEST/NOT OF FORCE/BUT OF IDEAS.// IT COULD HAVE BEEN OPPOSED/ONLY BY BETTER IDEAS/ AND THAT HAS NOT BEEN ~~YET PROVEN~~ TRIED NEITHER IN GREECE NOR ITALY.// LEAST OF ALL IN CHINA or KOREA.

¶ BUT OUR ROLE IS CLEAR./ WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO TAKE THE WORD/OF SENATOR LEHMAN'S ANTI-SEMITE GENERAL ANDERS/AGAINST ~~THE~~ STRONG TESTIMONY/OF THE INCREASING PROSPERITY OF POLAND,/ CZECHOSLOVAKIA & other States THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES/A NUMBER

OF POLES/WHO recently LOST JOBS IN POLAND/ WHICH PAID THEM WELL/FOR DOING NOTHING.// //THEY WILL NEVER BE HAPPY/UNTIL THEY GET THOSE JOBS BACK//WHICH MEANS THEY WILL NEVER BE HAPPY.

TO BRING HOME MY POINT MAY I REFER again TO SENATOR LEHMAN AND GENERAL ANDERS.//I DO NOT BRING THIS UP/FROM A CAPTIOUS DESIRE TO CRITICIZE/WHAT MAY APPEAR TO SOME/AS AN INADVERTENT MISTAKE// ON THE CONTRARY, I regard it as ~~IT WAS~~ AN INCIDENT OF GRAVE IMPORT. IN THE BALTIC STATES AND THE BALKANS AS WELL AS IN POLAND, AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY THERE HAS LONG EXISTED A RULING CLASS BASED ON MONOPOLY OF THE LAND, HERITARY PRIVILEGE, AND ALLIANCE WITH FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MINING AND INDUSTRY. WHEN THE CORRESPONDING CLASS IN RUSSIA WAS OVERTHROWN AND POLITICAL CONTROL FELL INTO THE HANDS OF LABOR, REACTION IN WESTERN EUROPE DEPENDED ON THIS RULING CLASS TO RESTORE THE POWER OF CAPITAL IN RUSSIA OR AT LEAST PREVENT COMMUNISM FROM SPREADING WEST. SUPPORTED BY WESTERN ARMS AND WEALTH THESE BORDER STATES BECAME WHAT CLEMENCEAU CALLED

45-7-14 14

bought the Soviets and them

I WAS IN POLAND/IN 1893, ~~1936~~ and 1949.// My FIRST VISIT TOOK PLACE/A YEAR AFTER WLADYSLAW ANDERS/WAS BORN IN LATVIA/IN A RICH LAND-HOLDING FAMILY// I SAW IN 1893/NOT ONLY THE WEALTH AND OSTENTATION/OF THE LAND-HOLDING ARISTOCRSCY BUT THE DEGRADATION AND TYRRANNY/ UNDER WHICH POLAND GROVELLED/AT THE HANDS OF RUSSIA, AUSTRIA AND GERMANY//AND IN 1949, DESPITE THE WILD DESTRUCTION OF WAR/I SAW A NATION RE-BORN// ANDERS/BORN INTO THIS RULING CLASS/BECAME A COLONEL UNDER THE CZARS.//WHEN THE REVOLUTION CAME,/ HE WITH SO MANY OF HIS CLASS TOOK REFUGE IN POLAND/WHICH BECAME THE CENTER OF WESTERN EUROPE'S EFFORTS/TO RECONQUER EM RUSSIA// ANDERS BECAME A GENERAL IN THE POLISH ARMY/AND SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME/ON HIS STABLE OF RACE HORSES//EVENTUALLY HE JOINED WITH PILSUDSKI/IN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO UNITE/INTO A FASCIST PARTY/THE RE-ACTIONARY AND ANTI-SEMITIC ELEMENTS OF POLAND// LANDLORDS AND MILITARISTS/JOINED IN EVERY EFFORT AGAINST RUSSIA// WHEN HITLER FINALLY ATTACKED CZECHOSLOVAKIA / IT WAS POLAND/THAT PREVENTED RUSSIA FROM COMING TO THE RESCUE// WHEN GERMANY AND THE SOVIETS/MADE ALLIANCE/ ~~THE POLISH FASCISTS WAITED// BUT AS SOON AS GERMANY ATTACKED THE SOVIETS~~/ ANDERS OFFERED HIS SERVICES/TO THE SOVIET UNION// THE SOVIETS LOANED HIM/$250 MILLION WITHOUT INTEREST// HE DROVE ALL JEWS/SOCIAL ISTS AND LIBERALS/OUT OF HIS RANKS/AND EQUIPPED AN ARMY OF 75,000// ~~WHEN~~

and intensify more [illegible] them 56 years before

15-16

HE WAS SURE THE GERMANS WOULD WIN/HE DSERTED FROM THE RUSSIANS/WITHOUT A BLOW/JUST BEFORE THE SEIGE OF STALINGRAD/AND UNDER PROTECTION OF THE BRITISH/TOOK HIS ARMY/AND NEARBY 40,000 MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES/TO IRAN IN 1942.

45-7-15

WHEN THE GERMANS TURNED/AND ATTACKED THE SOVIET UNION/ ANDERS WITHOUT STRIKING A BLOW/FOR THE SOVIETS/DESERTED ~~WITHOUT A BLOW IN 1942~~/ JUST BEFORE THE SEIGE OF STALINGRAD/ AND UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE BRITISH/TOOK HIS WHOLE ARMY/ WITH ~~X~~ 40,000 MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES/ TO IRAN.//FROM 1942 TO 1944,/ ANDERS WAS IN TEHERAN/WHERE HE PROMPTLY CLAPPED ALL JEWS/IN A GHETTO/ CONFISCATED LARGE STOCKS OF GOODS/ FROM AMERICA/INTENDED FOR THE PERSIANS/AND SOLD THEM IN OPEN MARKET.//HE STOPPED JEWISH CHILDREN/FROM BEING SENT TO PALESTINE/ SPECULATED IN IRANIAN MONEY/AND ACTED SO OUTRAGEOUSLY/THAT AT LAST/MACDONALD/ HEAD OF THE RED CROSS/RESIGNED IN DISGUST/ THE POWERFUL POLISH LOBBY/IN WASHINGTON/PREVENTED PUBLICITY IN AMERICA.

45-7-16

--17--

DISGUST/ MACDONALD, head OF THE RED CROSS RESIGNED./ (The strong Polish lobby in Washington prevented publicity in)

ANDERS THEN INTRIGUED/AGAINST HIS OWN COMMANDER ~~AND~~ in CHIEF SIKORSKI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ~~IN EXILE~~/AND STATIONED IN LONDON. ATTEMPTS WERE MADE ON SIKORSKI'S LIFE,/ AND FINALLY SIKORSKI AND ALL HIS PARTY WERE KILLED IN GIBRALTAR.

ANDERS ~~PARTICIPATED IN~~ then joined THE ALLIED CAMPAIGN IN ITALY/ and SOUGHT TO ENLARGE HIS ARMY/AND ARRANGE FOR AN ATTACK ON RUSSIA.// FROM THE ALLIED PRISON CAMPS HE TOOK POLES AND NAZIS,/ GETTING A FIFTH OF HIS ARMY/FROM THOSE WHO HAD SERVED UNDER HITLER./ ONE ESTIMATE WAS THAT 30,000 FORMER NAZIS/WERE ATTACHED TO THE POLISH ARMY.//HIS CAMP IN ITALY BECAME A RALLYING GROUND/FOR INTERNATIONAL ADVENTURERS AND NAZI TROOPS/WHO HAD MASSACRED POLES,/RUSSIANS AND JEWS.//THE RESENTMENT OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE GREW BECAUSE OF ANDERS' ARMY. THE "NEW YORK TIMES" REPORTED/THAT THEY TERRIFIED THE ITALIANS,/ IMPOVERISHED THE COUNTRYSIDE,/ INTERFERED IN LOCAL POLITICS/AND WERE RESENTED AS A GENUINE

CURSE/TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT/AND TO ITALY. ~~ESPECIALLY THEY WERE INVOLVED IN THE BLACK MARKET.~~

IN THE "NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE"/ ANDERS WAS DENOUNCED/AS A" DANGEROUS FIRE-BRAND IF EVER THERE WAS ONE."/ HIS ARMY WAS TRANSFERRED TO GREAT BRITAIN FROM ITALY/WHERE again HE WAS CORDIALLY HATED/AND EVERY EFFORT MADE TO GET RID OF HIM ~~WHICH ANDERS RESISTED~~. His army's STAY/ COST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT/$442,000,000. NEXT A CORPS OF HIS ARMY/CAME TO PALESTINE WHERE THEY STIRRED UP TROUBLE ~~WITH~~ between 10,000 OFFICERS AND MEN, ~~MANY OF WHOM WERE ANTI-SEMITIC~~ Jews and Arabs./ SOME OF THEM HAD TO BE REMOVED FROM SETTLEMENTS/FOR KILLING JEWS/AND finally the corps was ~~WERE~~ FORCED TO be EVACUATED.

AT THE SAME TIME/ANDERS ACTIVELY INTERFERED/WITH AFFAIRS IN POLAND ~~WHEN~~ while THE PEOPLE/WERE TRYING TO REBUILD THEIR INDUSTRIES/, homes FARMS AND SCHOOLS,/ UNDERGROUND GANGS/WERE GUILTY OF TERROR AND SABOTAGE/AS ~~WERE~~ was PROVED IN PUBLIC TRIALS IN POLAND/IN 1947-48.// ARMS AND SPIES/WERE SMUGGLED INTO THE COUNTRY

BY THE ANDERS ORGANIZATION, ~~THUS ANDERS AND HIS ARMY IN EXILE CAUSED FRICTION IN ITALY, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, PALESTINE AND POLAND.~~ until BY UNANIMOUS DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,/ANDERS WAS DEPRIVED OF Polish CITIZENSHIP IN 1946,/FOR A LONG SERIES OF ACTIVITIES/DETRIMENTAL TO THE POLISH STATE.// IN THAT DECISION STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK (MIK-O-LA-JIK) ~~RIGHTEST PREMIER~~ leader of the right wing CONCORDED. But Anders was not through.

HIS PATH WAS STREWN WITH LAWLESSNESS AND TROUBLE: HIS TROOPS STRUTTED ABOUT, IDLE AND IN UNIFORM, ALWAYS WITH THE HOPE OF KEEPING HIS SWAGGERING FOLLOWERS INTACT UNTIL THEY COULD BE USED TO INVADE RUSSIA: AND WHILE AMERICANS AND WESTERN EUROPEANS AVOIDED THEM, THEY KEPT THEM ALWAYS IN MIND AS POSSIBLE AIDS FOR RE ESTABLISHING CAPITAL IN THE BALKANS, THE BALTIC STATES AND EVENTUALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION. THUS DURING THE COLD WAR/ ANDERS KEPT HIS EAR TO THE GROUND/ AND WHEN AMERICA SEEMED SET/ON A WAR WITH THE SOVIETS, ANDERS PLANNED TO COME TO NEW YORK/TO FURTHER HIS INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUE.// // IN NEW YORK HE WAS WELCOMED/BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OUSTED LANDLORDS OF POLAND/ ~~AND ALSO~~ BY MERWIN HART,/ THE PROFESSIONAL ANTI-SEMITIC,/BY AMERICANS

INTERESTED IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT/AND SET ON WAR WITH THE SOVIETS.// THE HISTORY OF THIS NOTORIOUS FREEBOOTHER/MUST HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO SENATOR LEH MAN.// HE MUST HAVE KNOWN HIS ANTI-SEMITISM/AND HIS determination ~~SWASHBUCKLING ENGLISH~~ TO PLUNGE THE WORLD INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR.// BUT SENATOR LEHMAN'S LOYALTY TO THE INVESTMENT INTERESTS OF WALL STREET/OUTWEIGHED ALL THIS/AND HE JOINED TO WELCOME ANDERS TO AMERICA/and ~~ASKED~~ REVIEWED WITH HIM A PARADE DOWN FIFTH AVENUE,/ CARRYING BANNERS TO INSULT RUSSIA AND CRY FOR WAR (and ATOM BOMBS ON Moscow, Lehman sent a letter of warm welcome to the brilliant dinner that night) ~~AND LEHMAN BROKE BREAD WITH ANDERS THAT NIGHT AT A BRILLIANT DINNER~~.// THUS SENATOR LEHMAN/PUT MONEY MAKING AND WAR/AHEAD OF HUMANITY AND PEACE/AND PROVED HIMSELF UNWORTHY OF THE SUPPORT OF THOSE/WHO WANT PEACE AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

~~WE HAVE NO [illegible] TO ASSUME THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA [illegible] OR~~ (Basis? for denying that the)

~~[illegible] THE OTHER~~ BALKAN STATES ARE NOT PROGRESSING/FASTER TODAY/THAN IN THE LAST TEN CENTURIES.// WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA/HAD EVERY OPPORTUNITY/TO UPLIFT THE BALKANS ~~FOR CENTURIES~~/AND PARTICULARLY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR.// THEY ONLY

TRIED/TO FASTEN THE CHAINS OF LANDLORDISM AND EXPLOITATION/TIGHTER UPON THEM.

A THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY/USING EVERY DEVICE,/ ENCOURAGING EVERY SPY,/FINANCING EVERY TRAITOR/TO STIR UP CIVIL WAR,/ REVOLT, ~~AND ASSASSINATION~~/IN EVERY NATION WHICH DOES NOT OBEY OUR WILL.//AND USING THE TAXES/WRUNG FROM OUR POVERTY AND NOT FROM OUR WEALTH/TO ACCOMPLISH THIS DIRTY JOB.// WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT CHINA, KOREA, VIET-NAM/AND OTHER NATIONS/FROM CHOOSING WITHOUT DURESS/FROM US OR RUSSIA,/ THE TYPE OF GOVERNMENT/AND SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY/WHICH THEY PREFER.

A ABOVE ALL,/ IT IS AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME/TO OVERTURN CIVILIZATION/IN A VAIN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHORW THE SOVIETS BY FORCE.// WE CANNOT DO THIS;/ BUT WE CAN PUT A BLIGHT ON HUMAN CULTURE/FOR CENTURIES/BY THE ATTEMPT.//I ASK YOUR SUFFRAGES TO PLACE THESE IDEAS/ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE/OF THE UNITED STATES.

[ALTERNATE DRAFT OF PAGES 14-15]

A CORDON SANITAIRE--A SANITARY BELT--TO PROTECT THE WEST AND TO FORM EVENTUALLY A JUMPING OFF POINT FOR THE RE CONQUEST OF RUSSIA. THIS FACT MUST BE CLEAR IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THE SENSITIVENESS OF THE SOVIETS ON THE DISPOSITION OF THESE STATES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND HER INSISTENCE AFTER THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY THAT THE BALTIC STATES WHICH HAD LONG BELONGED TO THE CZARS BE RESTORED TO THE SOVIETS. AND TOO THE PRIVILIEGED CLASSES IN THESE STATES SAW IN THEIR RETURN TO SOVIET DOMINION THE DIMENISHING OF THEIR HOPE TO SPEAR-HEAD THE OVERTHORW OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

WLADYSLAW ANDERS BELONGED TO THIS OUSTED CLASS OF LANDHOLDERS. HE WAS BORN IN LATVIA IN 1892 AND BECAME AN OFFICER IN THE ARMY OF THE CZARS. AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, HE FLET TO POLAND WHERE HE JOINED THE ANTI-RUSSIAN FORCES WHICH CENTERED THERE AND BECAME A GENERAL IN THE POLISH ARMY, ALTHOUGH HIS CHIEF ACTIVITY LAY IN HIS STABLE OF RACING HORSES. UNDER PILSUDSKI THE

POLISH DICTATOR POLAND WAS ORGANIZED AS THE CENTER OF RESISTENCE TO THE SOVIET UNION. MILITARISTS AND LANDLORDS, INCLUDING ANDERS UNITED IN EVERY EFFORT AGAINST RUSSIA, AND THE POLES PREVENTED THE RUSSIAN ARMIES FROM AIDING CZECHO-SLOVAKIA IN HITLER'S ATTACK AND SEIZURE. WHEN THE NAZIS TURNED UPON THE POLES, THE GOVERNMENT TOOK THE GOLD RESERVES AND FLED TO LONDON LEAVING A MORE LIBERAL POLISH REGIME IN WARSAW. THE YALTA CONFERENCE RECONGIZED THE WARSAW GOVERNMENT, ASKING INCLUSION OF CERTAIN RIGHTEST ELEMENTS.

JUST BEFORE 1939 ANDERS JOINED IN A PLOT TO UNITED INTO A FASCIST PARTY THE REACTIONARY AND ANTI-SEMITIC SOLDIERS OF POLAND. AFTER THE OUTBREAD OF THE WAR AND WHEN GERMANY INVADED THE SOVIETS, POLISH PRISONERS WERE RELEASED AND ANDERS FORMED A POLISH ARMY ON RUSSIAN SOIL. THE SOVIET UNION GRANTED A LOAN OF $250 MILLION WITHOUT INTEREST TO ASSIST THIS ARMY. HOWEVER ANDERS DID NOT PROPOSE FIGHTING WITH THE RUSSIANS AND JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE OF STALINGRAD HE MOVED HIS ARMY OUT OF RUSSIA IN AUGUST 1942.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, theory of CONSISTS IN WIDE FREEDOM OF INITIATIVE AND ACTION IN WORK AND THOUGHT LIMITED BY DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY // SUCH CONTROL ~~BASED ON OLD CUSTOM AND CONSIDERABLE GENERAL INTELLIGENCE~~ HAS BEEN ~~NOTABLY~~ SUCCESSFUL IN RAISING OUR STANDARD OF LIVING ~~HIGH~~ AND IN FORWARDING OUR TECHNICAL EFFICIENCY AND RESOURCEFULNESS. // ALSO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION IN THE COMMON INTEREST HAS BEEN MADE MORE EFFECTIVE THROUGH INCREASED INTELLIGENCE OF THE MASSES BECAUSE OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES // ~~IT IS ONLY~~ IN THE 19th Century, our democracy failed because of race slavery IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, again ~~THAT~~ DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA HAS BEGUN TO FAIL IN CURBING HARMFUL INDIVIDUAL ACTION: // AND ~~THAT~~ ORGANIZED INDUSTRY THROUGH CORPORATIONS AND MONOPOLY HAVE PRACTICALLY DISPLACED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE CONTROL OF HUMAN ACTION // THUS OUR MOST PRESSING DOMESTIC PROBLEM HAS LATELY BECOME HOW OUR VOTE CAN CONTROL BIG BUSINESS in wide areas

35-4-101

AND KEEP GENERAL WELFARE AND NOT PRIVATE PROFIT OUR CHIEF AIM.

THIS GREAT NATIONAL DUTY HAS BEEN MADE MORE DIFFICULT OF ACCOMPLISHMENT BECAUSE OF OUR FOREIGN ~~TRADE~~ relations, FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND LATELY OUR ATTEMPT TO CONTROL FOREIGN POLICY AND GOVERNMENTS // THESE FOREIGN INVOLVEMENTS HAVE INCREASED THE POWER OF CAPITAL IN OUR OWN NATION BY TURNING VAST FUNDS RAISED BY THE TAXATION OF OUR MASSES INTO MILITARY ACTION ~~AND INVESTMENT~~ FOR THE INTERESTS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ABROAD. THUS INCOME FROM FOREIGN ENTERPRISE MAKES OUR DOMESTIC CORPORATIONS, MORE AND MORE INDEPENDENT OF DOMESTIC DEMOCRATIC CONTROL // OUR EXCUSE FOR FOREIGN ENTERPRISE HAS BEEN ~~PRIMARILY PRIVATE PROFIT~~ BUT ALSO in theory THE DESIRE TO ENCOURAGE IN FOREIGN LANDS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, ~~WITH ITS FREEDOM OF INITIATIVE,~~ INSTEAD OF LETTING SPREAD SUCH GOVERNMENT ACTION AS WOULD CURTAIL AND KILL FREEDOM.

35-4-105 Need Good industry & Political system

35-4-106

BUT IN THIS POLICY, WHAT WE FORGOT WAS THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE (when successful) HAD TWO ASPECTS: INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL. // WHAT WE TRIED TO INTRODUCE INTO CHINA, GREECE AND KOREA WAS FREEDOM OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE FOR US AND OUR PROFIT AND (for) THAT OF LOCAL CAPITAL WITHOUT ANY FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL WHICH COULD ACT TO CURB EITHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC BUSINESS. // IN LANDS WHERE THE STANDARD OF LIVING WAS AND HAD BEEN WRETCHEDLY LOW AND THE ILLITERACY ALMOST TOTAL, OUR POLICY TENDED TO HAND LABOR AND MATERIALS INTO THE UNCONTROLLED POWER OF GREED BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC. // TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROGRAM WE TOOK SIX BILLIONS OF MONEY FROM THE POCKETS OF (the hapless) AMERICAN TAXPAYERS TO BOLSTER THE TYRANNY OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK. // MOST AMERICANS SEEM STILL UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND WHY 400 MILLION CHINESE AROSE IN THEIR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE AND BY YEARS OF SUPER-HUMAN EFFORT DROVE THIS COMBINATION OF PROFIT AND GREED INTO THE SEA.

SIMILARLY IN GREECE WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATION HAD NEVER BEEN LAID, OUR VAST BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, BACKED BY OUR MILITARY AND NAVAL POWER, FASTENED IN CONTROL THOSE GREEK RULERS WHOSE METHOD WAS TYRANNY AND WHOSE OBJECT THE

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EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR. // THERE THEY SIT TODAY WHILE THE MASS OF GREEK PEOPLE STARVE. // SO FURTHER IN KOREA, INSTEAD OF PLANTING SCHOOLS, TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE IN DEMOCRACY, OR DIVIDING UP THE LAND MONOPOLY SO THAT THE KOREANS MIGHT EAT, WE GAVE FREEDOM OF INTTIATIVE TO SHINGMAN RHEE AND HIS GANG OF BIG LAND-HOLDERS, AND PROCEEDED TO LET THEM WITHOUT ANY RESTRAINT EITHER FROM A NATIVE DEMOCRACY OR FROM THE AMERICAN ARMY (without) BACKING (of) AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS TO USE KOREA AS THEIR PRIVATE PROPERTY. // WE KNEW WHAT WE WERE DOING. WE PUBLICLY ACCUSED RHEE OF OPPRESSION AND THEFT // BUT CONTINUED TO POUR DOLLARS OF OUR TAXPAYERS INTO HIS FILTHY POCKETS. We are today restoring his power by order of (the hired man of Tokyo)

WHEN THE LID BLEW OFF THIS UNHOLY ALLIANCE, WE AROSE IN RIGHTEOUS WRATH AND SENT OUR SONS BY THOUSANDS TO KILL AND BE KILLED, TO RUIN A RAPED AND UNHAPPY LAND, NOT (for) DEMOCRACY BUT FOR BIG BUSINESS. // EVEN WHEN WE HAVE ENTERED LANDS LIKE GERMANY AND ITALY TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRACY // WHAT WE REALLY BROUGHT

We put the blame on Russia & accused the Soviets of a conspiracy which we were never able to prove

There is the same story in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. Across the seas backward lands not freedom & democracy, but exploitation and debauchery from merchant & soldier.

AND INTENDED TO BRING/ WAS NOT POPULAR CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT AND WORK/ BUT AMERICAN BUSINESS METHODS/ IN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE/ WITH DOMESTIC BUSINESS IN THESE LANDS./ | THIS ORGANIZATION OF WORK ~~AT HOME HAD NEVER BEEN~~ was not in the past ADEQUATELY OR PROPERLY CURBED/ BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS/ was not SET TO SUBJECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM/ TO THE COMMONWEAL:/ AND NOW WITH EVEN LESS DEMOCRACY/ AND, with greedy FOREIGN CAPITAL/ JOINED TO NATIVE POWER,/ WE ~~HAVE NOT~~ established neither DEMOCRACY NOR FREEDOM/ BUT INCIPIENT REVOLUTION.

IN FRANCE/ WHERE THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS/ WAS ALWAYS GREAT/ AND THE CURBS OF DEMOCRACY WEAK/ WE HAVE BOLSTERED FRENCH CAPITAL/ BY HUGE SUBSIDY/ SO THAT THE NATION IS SPLIT IN TWAIN,/ WITH THE VAST MAJORITY/ DETERMINED never TO ENTER ANOTHER WAR/ ON ANY TERMS,/ LEAST OF ALL/ TERMS/ SET BY AMERICAN BUSINESS.

BUT WHY DOES AMERICA WANT ANOTHER WAR?/ THAT WE DO WANT WAR/ AND ARE INCREASINGLY PREPARING TO HAVE IT/ IS TODAY APPARENT TO THE WHOLE WORLD.// WE STAND TODAY AS ONE GREAT NATION OF WARMONGERS,/ READY TO POUR INTO ORGANIZED DESTRUCTION/ A TREASURE GREATER THAN WE EVER GAVE/ TO MISSIONS, EDUCATION OR HEALTH ALTOGETHER:/ READY TO EDUCATE THE YOUTH/ OF THE NATION FOR MURDER. or Kill them.

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Red unreadiness for future War 2nd and Fascists

Universal Military training demands Marshall, before we have established universal learning to read & write

A RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLL/ SHOWED ONLY 10 to 15 PERCENT/ OF THE POPULATION IN/ BRITAIN, FRANCE AND SCANDINAVIA/ EXPECTING A THIRD WORLD WAR// WHILE HERE 90%/ EXPECT WAR/ AND A VAST ~~MAJORITY~~ number ARE WILLING TO PREPARE FOR IT/ IN EVERY WAY:/ BY CURTAILING CIVIL RIGHTS:/ BY STOPPING PEACE RALLIES AND PEACE APPEALS: BY DRIVING ALL/ WHO DISAGREE/ OUT OF DECENT WORK.// WE EMERGE TODAY/ NOT AS THE LAND OF THE FREE/ BUT AS THE GREAT SLAVE STATE. Led by Truman & Lehman, Dewey's & Hanley

~~WHY~~ BECAUSE IN CERTAIN NATIONS,/ WHERE THERE HAS BEEN/ IN HISTORIC TIMES, LITTLE OR NO DEMOCRACY/ THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZING WORK,/ ESTABLISHING INDUSTRY AND MAINTAINING GOVERNMENT/ PRESENTED ENTIRELY DIFFERENT PROBLEMS/ THAN WE EVER FACED IN AMERICA.// SLAVERY AND SERFDOM:/ LAND MONOPOLY AND HEREDITARY PRIVILEGE/ UNITED WITH FOREIGN CAPITAL/ POURING IN TO REAP A VAST PROFIT/ FROM LOW WAGE AND CHEAP RAW MATERIALS,/ PRESENTED A PROBLEM OF REFORM/ WHICH CALLED FOR NEW AND UNUSUAL REMEDIES.// RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS/ PARTS OF WESTERN EUROPE/ AFRICA AND

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Those who ask as a sleb toward peace
the prohibition of the atom bomb are called
"traitors to their country" say the fat-headed
leader of our U.N. delegation

35-4-110

ASIA/BEGAN TO LOOK FOR LIBERATION/FROM POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE/TO THAT GREAT BODY OF THEORETICAL DOCTRINE/ BUILT UP IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND GERMANY/ DURING THE 18TH CENTURY,/ WHICH, from GODWIN TO BENTHAM: FROM FOURIER TO H.G. Wells FROM MARX TO LENIN/ BELIEVED THAT THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY/BUILT ON PRIVATE PROPERTY OF CAPITAL GOODS/ MUST BE CHANGED/AND A NATIONAL SOCIALISM/ ~~BUILT ON~~ established with GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/ FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ACTUAL PEOPLE/WHO DID THE WORK.

THIS DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM/REMAINED CHIEFLY A THEORY/ WITH BUT SPORADIC EFFORTS AT REALIZATION/ UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR.// THEN IN RUSSIA/WHERE THE CONDITION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE/HAD REACHED UNENDURABLE DEPTHS OF DEGRADATION/ REVOLUTION ENSUED/ ~~UNDER THE PLANNING OF LENIN~~,// AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO BUILD A COMMUNIST STATE,/ WHICH WAS SOCIALISM/WITH COMPLETE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND// THIS STATE DID NOT PLAN/TO ELIMINATE all INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM,/ ~~NOT TO ELIMINATE~~ more overthrow DEMOCRACY:// IT PLANNED TO INCREASE FREEDOM EVENTUALLY BY ABOLITION OF POVERTY/ DISEASE AND IGNORANCE// IT WANTED TO INCREASE THE

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SCOPE OF DEMOCRACY/BY PUTTING IT IN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/AS WELL AS OF POLITICAL LIFE.// MOST OF THE WORLD DID NOT BELIEVE/AND DOES NOT BELIEVE/THAT THIS CAN BE DONE,/ EXCEPT POSSIBLY BY METHODS/CURRENT IN AMERICA AND OTHER DEMOCRACIES.// THE CIVILIZED WORLD THEREFORE/FROM 1918 to 1930/USED EVERY EFFORT OF MILITARY MIGHT AND PROPAGANDA/TO OVERTHROW SOVIET RUSSIA.// THEIR MOTIVES WERE/FIRST TO SAVE THE WEALTH/WHICH THEY HAD INVESTED IN RUSSIA/ AND SECOND TO PRESERVE THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PROFIT IN RUSSIA/ IN THE BALKANS/AND IN THE REST OF THE WORLD/WHERE SOCIALISM WAS SPREADING IN THEORY.// THEY MIGHT HAVE SUCCEEDED/HAD NOT THE BOTTOM/FALLEN OUT OF THE CAPITALIST INDUSTRY/IN THE WORLD-WIDE DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES.

WHETHER THIS DISRUPTION OF INDUSTRY/WAS MAINLY BECAUSE OF DEFECTS IN THE SYSTEM ITSELF/OR BECAUSE OF WORLD WAR AND DESTRUCTION/ IS NOT A MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED/IN THIS CAMPAIGN.// WHAT INTEREST US,/ IS THE FACT/THAT THE DEPRESSION IN AMERICA/AND WESTERN EUROPE/GAVE THE SOVIET UNION/ THE CHANCE TO ESTABLISH

COMMUNISM AS A GOING CONCERN. // NO ONE THEN BELIEVED THE EXPERIMENT WOULD SUCCEED AND MANY STILL DOUBT IF ITS SUCCESS WILL EVER PROVE COMMUNISM AS EFFECTIVE FOR INDUSTRY AND FREEDOM AS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. // WHATEVER THE ANSWER TO THIS DEBATE WILL BE, THE ASTONISHING ANSWER IN OUR TIME, was THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS SUFFICIENTLY SUCCESSFUL TO HELP AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE TO OVERTHROW HITLER, A TASK WHICH WITHOUT THE SOVIETS WE WERE UTTERLY UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH.

35-4-112

WHAT NEXT? NEXT IN THE ASTONISHING ALEMBIC OF TIME, WE HAVE TURNED right ABOUT FACE AND AFTER CONQUERING FASCISM IN ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA, WE HAVE ANNOUNCED A NATIONAL POLICY OF PREVENTING BY FORCE THE IDEA OF PROGRESS BY COMMUNISM TO SPREAD AND BEYOND THAT, WE ARE APPARENTLY READY TO SMASH COMMUNISM even IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, BY EVERY MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL. // OUR EXCUSE HERE IS THAT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IS IMPOSING COMMUNISM ON NATIONS AND PEOPLES AGAINST THEIR WILL AND THAT IF THIS SPREAD OF COMMUNISM CONTINUES, IT MAY EVENTUALLY BE FORCED

ON US AGAINST OUR WILL.

35-4-113

THIS GRAVE CHARGE IS ABSOLUTELY UNPROVEN AND TO ME ILLOGICAL. // IT IS IDIOTIC TO SAY THAT THE SOVIETS FORCED COMMUNISM ON CHINA. IF ANYONE FORCED CHINA INTO COMMUNISM IT WAS THE UNITED STATES AND CHIANG KAI SHEK.

THE CASE OF THE BALTIC STATES IS DIFFERENT. THEY BELONGED TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THEY WERE SEPARATED FROM THE SOVIET UNION AFTER THAT WAR not to establish democracy, but AS WAS OPENLY SAID, TO FORM A BASE FOR RE-CONQUERING RUSSIA. THE JUSTICE OF RETURNING THESE STATES TO THE SOVIETS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS NOT DISPUTED BY ANY NATION. IT WAS SHEER EVIDENCE OF GOOD FAITH.

IN THE CASE OF POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE OTHER BALKAN STATES IT IS UNFAIR TO SAY THEY WERE FORCED INTO COMMUNISM BY THE SOVIETS. // IN THESE STATES AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE LONG OPPRESSED WORKERS AND PEASANTS WERE ARRAYED AGAINST A MINORITY OF WEALTHY LANDHOLDERS, NOBLES AND INDUSTRIALISTS /

35-4-114

WHO FOR YEARS/IN CONJUNCTION WITH WESTERN CAPITAL/HAD EXPLOITED THESE LANDS AND PEOPLE.// ~~THEY~~ These masters REPRESENTED BIRTH AND WEALTH OF ~~THESE NATIONS~~ AND THUS HAD THE EAR OF THE WORLD.// THESE WERE THE TWO ELEMENTS LOCKED IN BITTER STRUGGLE HERE/AND also IN GREECE, AND ITALY.// THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT CONQUER THE BALKANS/BUT IT ~~GAVE~~ did give INFLUENCE,/ARMS AND LEADERSHIP TO THE MASSES/ AND/SAVE IN GREECE AND ITALY,/ PREVENTED AMERICAN AND WESTERN EUROPE/FROM ACTIVE INTERFERENCE/ on the side of foreign investors THE SOVIETS USED HERE/THE SAME TACTICS WHICH ENGLAND, FRANCE AND AMERICA/HAVE USED FOR CENTURIES/~~BUT WITHOUT MILITARY FORCE~~// IT WAS A CONQUEST/~~THEN~~/NOT OF FORCE/BUT OF IDEAS.//IT COULD HAVE BEEN OPPOSED ONLY BY BETTER IDEAS/AND THAT HAS NOT BEEN YET PROVEN/NEITHER IN GREECE NOR ITALY/ LEAST OF ALL ~~BY~~ in CHINA.

¶ BUT OUR ROLE IS CLEAR:/ WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO TAKE THE WORD/OF Senator Lehman's THE ANTI-SEMITE GENERAL ANDERS/AGAINST THE strong TESTIMONY OF THE INCREASING PROSPERITY OF POLAND.// THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES/A NUMBER OF POLES WHO LOST JOBS IN POLAND/WHICH PAID THEM WELL FOR DOING NOTHING./ THEY WILL NEVER BE HAPPY UNTIL THEY GET THOSE JOBS BACK/ WHICH MEANS THEY WILL NEVER BE HAPPY.

(Insert here the Anders roll)

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To bring home my point may I refer here to Senator Lehman and General Anders I do not bring this up from a captious desire to criticize what may appear to some as an inadvertent mistake. On the contrary it was an incident of grave import. In the Baltic states and the Balkans as well as in Poland , Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary there has long existed a ~~privileged~~ ruling class based on monopoly of the land, heritary privilege, and alliance with foreign investment in mining and industry. When the corresponding class in Russia was overthrown and political control fell into the hands of labor, reaction in western Europe depended on this ruling class to restore the power of capital in Russia or at least prevent communism from spreading west. Supported by western arms and wealth these Border States became what Clemenceau called a Cordon Sanitaire -- a sanitary belt -- to protect the west and to form eventually a ~~starting~~ jumping off point for the conquest of Russia. This ~~point~~ fact must be clear in order to understand thesensitiveness of the Soviets on the ~~government in~~ dispersion of these states and her insistence after the defeat of Germany that the Baltic states which had long belonged to the Czars. (after the 2nd world war) And too the privileged classes in these states saw in their return to Soviet dominion the ~~passing~~ dimming of their hope to spear head the overthrow of the Russian revolution

11B

Wladyslaw Anders belonged to this ousted class of landholders. He was born in Latvia in 1892 and became an officer in the army of the Czars

After the Russian Revolution, he fled to Poland where he joined the anti-Russian forces which centered there and became a genreral in the Polish army, although his chief activity lay in his stab,e of racing horses. Under Pilsudski the Polish dictator Poland was organized as the center of resistence to the Soviet Union. Militarists and landlords united in every effort against Russia, and the Poles prevented the Russian armies from aiding Czechovakia in Hitler's attack and seizure. When the Nazis turned upon the Poles, the government took the gold reserves and fled to London leaving a more liberal Polish regime in Warsaw. The Yalta Conference recognized the Warsaw government, asking inclusion of certain rightest elements.

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II D

From Iran the Anders army moved to Italy to join the American army, but with the openly declared object of becoming the nucleous of an army to attack the Soviets. By incorporating former Nazis into his ranks, his army grew to over 100,000, and after the Germans withdrew the Adders army massacred Poles, Russians and Jews. The N.Y.Times said, in Feb. 1946 "that the story of this army in Italy was "an ugly one". "They terrify the Ilalians impoverish the countryside" and interfers in local politics; they aer "a genuine curse" to Italy. The N.Y. Herald-Tribune, in 1947, called Adders "a dangerous firebrand". Meantime his associate s were intriguing in Poland.

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11c

35-4-117

Just before 1939, Anders joined in a plot to unite into a fascist party the reactionary and anti-Semitic soldiers of Poland. After the outbreak of the war and when Germany invaded the Soviets, Polish prisoners were released and Anders formed a Polish army on Russian soil. The Soviet Union granted a ~~large~~ $250 million loan without interest to assist this army. However Anders did not propose fighting with the Russians and just before the Battle of Stalingrad he moved his army out of Russia in August 1942. He had 75,000 soldiers and 37,000 of their families. Anders movement was a blow to the entire allied cause. Anders drove Jews, socialists and liberals out of his army and made it clear that he was proposing to fight the Soviet Union.

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In 1944, his army was in the Near East and in Teheran, he put the Jews into a ghetto, while the officers in his army lived in the best apartments. A continuous campaign against Russia was inducted. He got large stocks of goods from America, none of which reached the babies of Teheran, some of which was sold in open ~~market~~ market. The Poles also speculated in Iranian money. They stopped the people of Iran from sending Jewish children to Palestine and in disgust MacDonald of the Red Cross resigned.

Anders then intrieged against his own commander and chief Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in exile and stationed in London. Attempts were made on Sikorski's life, and finally Sikorski and all his party were killed in Gibraltar. Anders participated in the allied campiagn in Italy; sought to enlarge his army and arrange for an attack on Russia. From the allied prison camps he took Poles and Nazis, getting a fifth of his army from those who had served under Hitler. One estimate was that 30,000 former Nazis were attached to the Polish army. His camp in Itlay became a rallying ground for

When in I944, the Soviet army reached Warsaw and stop
ed for re-grouping so as to surround the city and avoid destruction and bloodshed, the
Polish general Bors- Komorovski, on orders from Anders friends in London, and without notify
ing the Russians led an uprising in Warsaw and let the Germans have excuse to bombard and
ruin the city before the Russian army could move.

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international adventurers and Nazi troops who had massacreed Poles Russians and Jews. The resentment of the Italian poeple grew because of Anders army. The NEW YORK TIMES reported that they terrified the Italians, impoverished the countryside, interfered in local politics and were resented as a genuine curse to the Italian government and to Italy. Especially they were involved in the black market.

In the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE , Anders was denounced as a dangerous fire-brand if ever there was one. His army was transferred from Italy to Great Britain, where he was cordially hated and every effort made to get rid of him which Anders resisted. Their stay cost the British government $442,000,000. Next a corpsof his army came to Palestine where they stirred up trouble with 10,000 officers and men , many of whom were anti-smetic. Some of them had to removed from settlements for killing Jews and were forced to be evacuated.

At the same time Anders actively interfered with affairs in Poland when the people were trying to rebuild their industries , farms and schools. Underground gangs were guilty of terror and sabatage as were prooved in public trials in Poland in 1947-8. Arms and spies were smuggled into the country by the Anders organization, thus Anders and his army in exile caused a friction in Italy, England Scotland, Palestine and Poland. By unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers Anders was deprived of citizenship in 1946, for a long series of activities detrimental to the Polish State. In that decision Stanislaw Mikolajczyk rightist Polish Primier concorded

11 E

His unwelcome stay in England aroused ~~cost~~ the British ever $40

His path was strewn with lawlessnes and trouble; ~~he killed Jew~~ ~~them in Ghettoes;~~ his troops strutted about, idle and in uniform, always with the hope of keeping his swaggeringfollowers intact until they could be used to invade Russia; and while Americans and western Europeans avoided them, they kept them always in mind as possible aids for reestablishing capital in the Balkans, the Baltic states and eventually in the Soviet Union. Thus during the Cold War, Anders kept his ear to the ground, and when America seemed ~~more~~ set on a war with the Coviets, Anders planned to come to New York to further his international intrigue. In New York he was welcomed by the representatives of the ousted landlords of Poland and also by the

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By Merian Hart, The professional anti-semite,

This was denounced as a betrayal of Poland, but presons like Clare Luce forgot that Anders army organized in 1941 on Polish soil to defend Russia against the Nazis and equipped and armed by $250,000,000 of Russian money, had deliberately deserted the Soviet forces just before Stalingrad without striking a blow and ret reated to Poland to await the German overthrow of the Soviet Union. When that event took place Anders proposed to invade Iran. This he did in 1942, with and army of 75,000 soldiers and 37,000 members of their families in addition, under the protection of the British. Their conduct in Iran was described by the New York Times as outrageous; Jews were convined to a ghetto; 300 Jewish children were not allowed to leave for Palestine; a continuous campaign was conducted. It was no use to tell the whole story " because the Poles have such a powerful lobbying

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xxxxxxxxix by the Americans interested in foreign investment and set on war with the Soviets. This history of this notorious freebooter must have been known to Senator Lehman; he must have known his his anti-semitism and his swashbuckling desire to plung the world into a Third World War. But Senator Le Lehman's loyalty to the investment interests of Wall Street outweighed all this and he joined to welcome Anders to America and rev wed with him a parade down Fifth Avenue, carrying banners to insult Russia and cry for war. Thus Senator Lehman put money making and war ahead of humanity and peace and proved himself unworthy of the support of those who want peace and civil liberty

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WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO ASSUME/ THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS WORSE OFF TODAY,/ OR THAT THE OTHER BALKAN STATES/ ARE NOT PROGRESSING FASTER TODAY/ THAN IN THE LAST TEN CENTURIES.// WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA/ HAD EVERY OPPORTUNITY/ TO UPLIFT THE BALKANS FOR CENTURIES/ AND PARTICULARLY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR.// THEY only tried FASTENED THE CHAINS OF LANDLORDISM/ AND EXPLOITATION/ TIGHTER UPON THEM.// THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY/ USING EVERY DEVICE,/ ENCOURAGING EVERY SPY,/ FINANCING EVERY TRAITOR/ TO STIR UP CIVIL WAR,/ REVOLT AND ASSASSINATION/ IN EVERY NATION WHICH DOES NOT OBEY OUR WILL:// AND USING THE TAXES WRUNG FROM our POVERTY/ AND NOT FROM our WEALTH/ TO ACCOMPLISH THIS DIRTY JOB.// WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT CHINA, KOREA, VIET-NAM AND OTHER NATIONS/ FROM CHOOSING WITHOUT DURESS/ FROM US OR RUSSIA,/ THE TYPE OF GOVERNMENT/ AND SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY/ WHICH THEY PREFER.// ABOVE ALL,/ IT IS AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME/ TO OVERTURN CIVILIZATION/ IN A VAIN ATTEMPT

35-4-122

TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS BY FORCE.// WE CANNOT DO THIS: BUT WE CAN/ PUT A BLIGHT ON HUMAN CULTURE/ FOR CENTURIES/ BY THE ~~VAIN~~ ATTEMPT.// I ASK YOUR SUFFRAGES TO PLACE THESE IDEAS/ ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE/ OF THE UNITED STATES.

1950?

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

The American Way of Life, consists in theory of wide freedom of initiative in work and thought, limited by democratic control of the individual in the interests of the community. Such control has been successful in raising our standard of living and in forwarding our technical efficiency and resourcefulness. Also democratic control of individual action has been made more effective through increased intelligence of the masses because of our public schools and colleges. In the 19th century our democracy failed because of Negro slavery. In the 20th century democracy in America has begun again to fail because organized industry, through corporations and monopolies has in wide areas displaced democratic government. Thus our most pressing domestic problem has lately become how our vote can control big business and general welfare and not private profit our chief aim.

This great national duty recently has been made more difficult of accomplishment because of our foreign relations and lately our attempt to control foreign policies and governments. These foreign involvements have increased the power of capital in our own nation by turning vast funds raised by the taxation of our masses into military action and industry to support military needs for the interests of private enterprise abroad. Thus income from foreign enterprise makes our domestic corporations, more and more independent of domestic democratic control. Our excuse for foreign enterprise has been in theory the desire to encourage in foreign lands the American Way of Life.

But in this policy, what we forgot was that our way of life when successful had two aspects: individual freedom and democratic control

What we tried to introduce into China, Greece and Korea was freedom of business enterprise for us and for that of local capital without any foundation of democratic control which could act to curb either foreign or

domestic business. In lands where the standard of living was and had been wretchedly low and the illiteracy almost total, our policy tended to hand labor and materials into the uncontrolled power of greed both foreign and domestic. To implement this program, for instance we took six billions of money from the pockets of the poorest American taxpayers to bolster the tyranny of Chaing Kai-Shek. Most Americans seem still unable to understand why 400 million Chinese arose in their poverty and ignorance and by years of superhuman effort drove this combination of profit and greed into the sea.

Similarly in Greece where the democratic foundation had never been laid our vast business enterprise, backed by our military and naval power, fastened in control those Greek rulers whose method was tyranny and whose object the exploitation of the poor. There they sit today while the mass of Greek people starve. America brings to backward lands not freedom and democracy, but exploitation and dictatorship from merchant and soldier.

Consider Korea, instead of planting schools, to educate the people in democracy; or dividing up the land monopoly so that the Koreans might eat, we gave freedom of initiative to Syngman Rhee and his gang of big landholders, and proceeded to let them without any restraint either from a native democracy or from the American army which backed American Big Business, to use Korea as their private property. We knew what we were doing; we publicly accused Rhee of oppression and theft, but continued to pour dollars of our taxpayers into his filthy pockets, and are today restoring his power by order of the Wild Man of Tokyo.

When the lid blew off this unholy alliance, we arose in righteous wrath and sent our sons by thousands to kill and be killed, to ruin a raped and unhappy land, not for democracy but for Big Business. We put the blame on Russia and accused the Soviets of a conspiracy which we were never able to prove. Even when we have entered lands like Germany and Italy to implement democracy what we really br ught and intended to bring was not popular control

of government and work, but American business methods in offensive and defensive alliance with domestic business led increasingly by former Nazis and Fascists. This organization of work was not in the past adequately or properly curbed by democratic methods, was not set to subject individual freedom to the commonweal; and now with even less democracy and with greedy foreign capital joined to native power, we established neither democracy nor freedom, but i cipient revolution.

What did we want in Puerto Rico? To make money. Why did we seize Puerto Rico? To make money. What did we do in Puerto Rico? We made money. To be sure, out of our loot we took a new dime from every dollar and gave the Puerto Ricans one school where they needed a hundred and one hospital where they needed ten. While we kept on making money out of this starved and ignorant crowded mass of cheap workers and out of the tons of sugar cane they watered with blood. We gave them self-rule in name only, while in truth they were an oppressed and unrepresented colony. From this history what w can we expect? Sweetness and light? No. They that sow the wind reap the whirlwind. This is our harvest in Puerto Rico. This will be the harvest from the seeds we are sowing today in Asia? But vaster--millions instead of thousands; the death of a civilization and not insane and deplorable attempts at assassination.

In Europe, where because of war, curbs of democracy over industry were weak, we have bolstered French capital by huge subsidy so that the nation is split in twain, with the vast majority determined never to enter another war on any terms, least of all terms set by American business. Italy lies landless and starved under our heel.

But why does America want another war? That we do want war and are increasingly preparing to have it, it today apparent to the whole world. We stand today as one great nation of war-mongers, ready to pour into organized destruction a treasure greater than we ever gave to missions, education or

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45-6-60

health altogether; ready to educate the youth of the nation for murder. Secretary of Defense, Marshall, demands universal military training, before we have established universal learning to read and write.

Meantime, a large part of Europe and Asia has begun to look for liberation from poverty, disease and ignorance to that great body of theoretical doctrine, built in Britain, France and Germany during the 18th century, which from Godwin to Bentham; from Fourier to Bernard Shaw, from Marx to Lenin honestly believed that the whole system of industry built on provate property of capit l goods must be changed and a national socialism established with government control of industry for the benefit of the actual people who did the work.

35-6-745

This doctrine of socialism remained chiefly a theory, until the First World War. Then in Russia where the condition of the mass of people had reached unendurable depths of degradation, revolution ensued. An attempt was made to build a communist state, which was socialism with complete government control of industry and ownership of land.

45-6-61

This state did not plan to eliminate all individual freedom, nor to overthrow democracy: it planned eventually to increase freedom by abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance; it wanted to increase the scope of democracy by putting it in control of industry as well as of political life. Most of the world did not believe and does not believe that this can be done.

Western Europe and the United States therefore from 1918 to 1930 used every effort of military might and propaganda to overthrow Soviet Russia. Their motives were first to save the wealth which they had invested in Russia and second to preserve the possibility of future profit in Russia; in the Balkans and in the rest of the world where socialism was spreading in theory. They might have succeeded had not the bottom fallen out of capitalist industry in the world-wide depression of the thirties.

Whether this disruption of industry was mainly because of defects in the capitalist system itself or because of world war and destruction, is not a matter to be discussed in this campaign. What interests us, is the fact that the depression in America and Western Europe gave the Soviet Union the chance to establish communism as a going concern. No one then believed the experiment would succeed and many still doubt if its success will ever prove communism as effective for industry and freedom as the American way of life. Whatever the answer to this debate will be, the astonishing answer in our time, was that the Soviet Government was sufficiently successful to help America and Western Europe to overthrow Hitler, a task which without the Soviets we were utterly unable to accomplish.

What next? Next in the astonishing alembic of time, instead of this fact uniting the world we have turned right about face and after conquering fascism in alliance with Russia, we have announced a national policy of preventing by force the idea of progress by communism to spread and beyond that, we are apparently ready to smash communism even in the Soviet Union itself, by every means at our disposal.

Our excuse here is that Russian Imperialism is imposing communism on nations and peoples, against their will and that if this spread of communism continues, it may eventually be forced on us against our will.

This grave charge is absolutely unproven and to me illogical. It is idiotic to say that the Soviets forced communism on China, if anyone forced China into communism it was the United States and Chaing Kai-Shek.

The case of the Baltic States is different. They belonged to the Russian empire before the First World War, they were separated from the Soviet Union after the war not to establish democracy, but as was openly said, to form a basr for re-conquering Russia. The Justice of returning these states to the Soviets after the Second World War was not disputed. It was sheer evidence of our good faith.

In the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the other Balkan States it is also unfair to say they were forced into communism by the Soviets. In these states an overwhelming majority of the long oppressed workers and peasants were arrayed against a minority of wealthy landholders, nobles and industrialists who for years in conjunction with Western capital had exploited these lands and people. These exploiters represented birth and wealth and thus had the ear of the world. These were the two elements locked in bitter struggle here and also in Greece, and Italy. The Soviet Union did not conquer the Balkans but it did give influence, arms and leadership to the masses, and prevented America and Western Europe from active interference on the side of foreign investors. It was a conquest not of force but of ideas. It could have been opposed only by better ideas and that has not been tried neither in Greece nor Italy; least of all in China or Korea.

But our role is clear; we have no right to take the word of Senator Lehman's Anti-Semite, General Anders against strong testimony of the increasing prosperity of Poland and Czechoslovakia and other states. There are in the United States a number of Poles who recently lost jobs in Poland, which paid them well for doing nothing. They will never happy until they get those jobs back; which means they will never be happy.

To bring home my point may I refer again to Senator Lehman and General Anders. I do not bring this up from a captious desire to criticize what may appear to some as an inadvertent mistake. On the contrary, I regard it as an incident of grave import. I was in Poland in 1893, and 1949. My first visit took place a year after Wladyslaw Anders was born in Latvia in a rich land-holding family. I saw in 1893, not only the wealth and ostentation of the land-holding aristocracy but the degradation and tyranny under which Poland grovelled at the hands of Russia, Austria and Germany. And in 1949, despite the wild destruction of war I saw a nation re-born and infinitely more prosperous than 56 years before. Anders born into this

ruling class became a Colonel under the Czars. When the revolution came, he with so many of his class fought the Soviets and then took refuge in Poland which became the center of Western Europe's efforts to reconquer Russia. Anders became a General in the Polish army and spent most of his time on his stable of race horses. Eventually he joined with Pilsudski in an all-out effort to united into a fascist party the reactionary and anti-semitic elements of Poland. Landlords and Militarists joined in every effort against Russia. When Hitler finally attacked Czechoslovakia it was Poland that prevented Russia from coming to the rescue. When Germany and the Soviets made alliance Anders offered his services to the Soviet Union. The Soviets loaned him $250 million without interest. He drove all Jews, socialists, and liberals out of his ranks and equipped an army of 75,000

When the Germans turned and attacked the Soviet Union, Anders without striking a blow for the Soviets deserted just before the seige of Stalingrad and under the protection of the British took his whole army with 40,000 members of their families to Iran. From 1942 to 1944, Anders was in Teheran where he promptly clapped all Jews in a ghetto, confiscated large stocks of goods from America intended for the Persians and sold them in open market. He stopped Jewish children from being sent to Palestine, speculated in Iranian money and acted so outrageously that at last MacDonald, head of the Red Cross resigned in disgust. The powerful Polish lobby in Washington prevented publicity in America

Anders then joined the allied campaign in Italy and sought to enlarge his army and arrange for an attack on Russia. From the allied prison camps he took poles and Nazis, getting a fifth of his army from those who had xxxxx served under Hitler. One estimate was that 30,000 former Nazis were attached to the Polish army. His camp in Italy became a rallying ground for international adventurers and nazi troops who had massacred Poles, Russians

and Jews. The resentment of the Italian people grew because of Anders' army. The NEW YORK TIMES reported that they terrified the Italians , impoverished the countryside, interfered in local politics and were resented a s a genuine curse to the Italian government and to Italy.

In the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, Anders was denounced as a "dangerous fire-brand if ever there was one." His army transferred to Great Britain from Italy, where again he was cordially hated and every effort made to get rid of him. His army's stay cost the British Government $442,000,000. Next a corps of his army, 10,000 officers and men, came to Palestine where they stirred up trouble between Jews and Arabs. Some of them had to be removed from settlements for killing Jews and finally the corps was forced to be evacuated.

At the same time Anders actively interfered with affairs in Polant while the people were tryint to rebuild their industries, homes, farms and schools. Underground gangs were guilty of terror and sabotage as was proven in public trials in Poland in 1947-48. Arms and spies were smuggled into the country by Anders organization, until by unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers, Anders was deprived of Polish citizenship in 1946, for a long series of activities detrimental to the Polish State. In th t decision Stanislaw Mikolajik, leader of the right wing concorded. But Anders was not through, during the cold war, Anders kept his ear to the ground, and when America seemed set on a war with the Soviets, Anders planned to come to New York to further his internatial intrigue. In New York he was welcomed by the representatives of the ousted landlards of Poland, by Merwin Hart, the professional Anti-Semite, by Americans interested in foreign investment and set on war with the Soviets. The history of this notorious freebooter must have been known to Senator Lehman: he must have known his Anti-Semitism and his determination to plunge the world into a Third World War. But

Senator Lehman's l yalty to the investment interests of Wall Street outweighed all this and he joined to welcome Anders to America and reviewed with him a parade down Fifth Avenue, carrying banners to insult Russia and cry for war and atom bombs on Moscow. Lehman sent a letter of warm welcome to the brilliant dinner that night. Thus Senator Lehman put money-making and war ahead of humanity and peace and proved himself unworthy of the support of those who want peace and civil liberty.

We have no basis for denying that the Balkan States are not progressing faster today than in the last ten centuries. Western Europe and America had every opportunity to uplift the Balkans and particularly after the First World War. They only tried to fasten the chains of landlordism and exploitation tighter upon them.

The United States is today using every device, encouraging every spy, financing every traitor to stir up civil war and revolt in every nation which does not obey our will; and using the taxes wrung from our poverty and not from our wealth to accomplish this dirty job. We have no right to prevent China, Korea, Viet-Nam and other nations from choosing without duress from us or Russia, they type of government and system of industry which they prefer.

Above all, it is an international crime to overturn civilization in a vain attempt to overthrow the Soviets by force. We cannot do this, but we can put a blight on human culture for centuries by the attempt. I ask your suffrages to place these ideas on the floor of the Senate of the United States.

35-64150

45-6-66

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

The American way of life, consists in wide freedom of initiative and action in work and thought, limited by democratic control of the individual in the interests of the community. Such control based on old custom and considerable general intelligence has been notably successful in raising our standard of living high and in forwarding our technical efficiency and resourcefulness. Also democratic control of individual action in the common interest has been made more effective through increased intelligence of the masses because of our public schools and colleges. It is only in the Twentieth Century, that democracy in America has begun to fail in curbing harmful individual action; and that organized industry, through corporations and monopoly have practically displaced democratic government in the control of human action. Thus our most pressing domestic problem has lately become how our vote can control Big Business and keep general welfare and not private profit our chief aim.

35-4 98

This great national duty has been made more difficult of accomplishment because of our foreign trade, foreign investment and lately our attempt to control foreign policy and government. These foreign involvements have increased the power of capital in our own nation by turning vast funds raised by the taxation of our masses into military action and investment for the interests of private enterprise abroad. Thus income from foreign enterprise makes our domestic corporations, more and more independent of domestic democratic control. Our excuse for foreign enterprise has been primarily private profit but also the desire to encourage in foreign lands the American Way of Life, with its freedom of initiative, instead of letting spread such government action as would curtail and kill freedom.

But in this policy, what we forgot was that our way of life had two aspects: individual freedom AND democratic control. What we tried to introduce into China, Greece and Korea was freedom of business enterprise for us and our profit and that of local capital without any foundation of democratic control which could act to curb either foreign or ~~domestic~~ ~~control~~ domestic business. In lands where the standard of living was and had been wretchedly low and the illiteracy almost total, our policy tended to hand labor and materials into the uncontrolled power of greed both foreign and domestic. To implement this program we took six billions of money from the pockets of American taxpayers to bolster the tyranny of Chiang-Kai-Chek. Most Americans seem still unable to understand why 400 million Chinese arose in their poverty and ignorance and by years of super-human effort drove this combination of profit and greed into the sea.

35-4-99

Similarly in Greece where the democratic foundation had never been laid, our vast business enterprise, backed by our military and naval power, fastened in control those Greek rulers whose method was tyranny and whose object the exploitation of the poor. There they sit today while the mass of Greek people starve. So further in Korea, instead of planting schools, to educate the people in democracy; or dividing up the land monopoly so that the Koreans might eat, we gave freedom of initiative to Shingman Rhee and his gang of big landholders, and proceeded to let them without any restraint either from a native democracy or from the American army backing American Big Business, to use Korea as their private property. We knew what we were doing; we publicly accused Rhee of oppression and theft, but continued to pour the dollars of our taxpayers into his filthy pockets. When the lid blew off this unholy alliance, we arose in righteous wrath and sent our sons by thousands to kill and be killed, to ruin a raped and unhappy land, not for democracy but for Big Business

Even when we have entered lands like Germany and Italy to implement

democracy, what we really brought and intended to bring was not popular control of government and work, but American business methods in offensive and defensive alliance with domestic business in these lands. This organization of work at home had never been adequately or properly curbed by democratic methods set to subject individual freedom to the commonweal; and now with even less democracy and foreign capital joined to native power, we have not democracy not freedom, but incipient revolution.

In France where the power of Big Business was always great and the curbs of democracy weak, we have bolstered French capital by huge subsidy so that the nation is split in twain, with the vast majority determined not to enter another war on any terms, least of all terms set by American business.

35-4-100

But why does America want another war? That we do want war and are increasingly preparing to have it, is today apparent to the whole world. We stand today as one great nation of warmongers,, ready to pour into organized destruction a treasure greater than we ever gave to missions, education or health altogether; ready to educate the youth of the nation for murder. A recent public opinion poll showed only 10 to 15 percent of the population in Britain, France and Scandinavia expecting a Third World War, while here 90% expect war and a vast majority are willing to prepare for it in every way: by curtailing civil rights; by stopping peace rallies and peace appeals; by driving all who disagree out of decent work. We emerge today not as the Land of the Free but as the gre t Slave State.

Why? Because in ce rtain nations, where there has been in historic times, little or no democracy the problem of organizing work, establishing industry and maintaining government, presented entirely different problems then we ever faced in America. Slavery and serfdom; land monopoly and hereditary privilege, ~~xxxxxxx~~ united with foreign capital pouring in to reap vast profit from low wage and cheap raw materials, presented a problem of reform which called for new and unusual remedies. Russia and

the Balkans, parts of Western Europe, Africa and Asia began to look for liberat on from poverty, disease and ignorance to that great body of theoretical doctrine, built up in Britain, France and Germany during the 18th Century, which Godwin to Bentham; from Fourier to from Marx to Lenin believed that the whole system of industry built on private property of capital goods must be changed and a national socialism built on Government control of industry for the benefit of the actual people who did the work.

35-4-101

This doctrine of Socialism remained chiefly a theory, with but sporadic efforts at realization, until the First World War. Then in Russia where the condition of the mass of people had reached unendurable depths of degradation, revolution ensued under the planning of Lenin, an attempt was made to build a Communist State, which was Socialism with complete government control of industry and ownership of land. This state did not plan to eliminate individual freedom, not to eliminate democracy; it planned to increase freedom eventually by abolition of poverty, disease a and ignorance; it wanted to increase the scope of democracy by putting it in control of industry as well as of political life. Most of the world did not believe and does not believe that this canbe done, except possibly by methods current in America and other democracies. The civilized world therefore from 1918 to 1930 used every effort of military might and propaganda to overthrow Soviet Russia. Their motives were first to save the wealth which they had invested in Russia and second to preserve the possibility of future profit in Russia; in the Balkans and in the rest of the world where socialism was spreading in theory. They might have succeeded had not the bottom fallen out of the capitalist industry in the world-wide depression of the thirties.

Whether this disruption of industry was mainly because of defects in the system itself or because of world war and destruction, is not a

matter to be discussed in this campaign. What interests us, is the fact that the depression in America and Western Europe gave the Soviet Union the chanceto establish Communism as a going concern. No one then believed the experi ent would succeed and many still doubt if its success will ever prove communism as effective for industry and freedom as the American Way of life. Whatever the answer to this debate will be, the astonishing answer in our time, is that the Soviet Government was sufficiently successful to help America and Western Europe to overthrow Hitler, a task which without the Soviets/we were utterly unable to accomplish.

35-4-102

What next? Next in the astonishing alembic of Time, we have turned about face and after conquering Fascism in alliance with Russia, we have announced a nation l policy of preventing by force the IDEA of progress by communism to spread and beyond that, we are apparently ready to smash communism in the Soviet Union itself, by every means at our disposal. Our excuse here is that Russian imperialism is imposing communism on nations and peoples, against their will and that if this spread of communism continues, it may eventually be forced on us against our will.

This grave charge is absolutely unproven and to me illogical. It is idiotic to say that the Soviets forced communism on China. If anyone forced China into communism it was the United States and Chiang Kai-Chek.

The case of the Baltic States is different. They belonged to the Russian Empire before the First World War. They were separated from the Soviet Union after that war so, as was openly said, to form a base for re-conquering Russia. The justice of returning these states to the Soviets after the Second World War was not disputed by any nation. It was sheer evidence of good faith.

In the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the other Balkan states it is unfair to say they were forced into Communism by the Soviets. In these states an overwhelming majority of the long oppressed workers and peasants were arrayed against a minority of wealthy landholders,

nobles and industrialists who for years in conjunction with western capital had exploited these lands and people. They represented ~~overwhelmingly the intelligence,~~ birth and wealth of these nations and thus had ~~and still have~~ the ear of the world. These were the two elements locked in bitter struggle here and in Greece, and Italy. The Soviet Union did not conquer the Balkans but it gave influence, arms and leadership to the masses, and save in Greece and Italy, prevented American and Western Europe from active interference. The Soviets used here the same tactics which England, France and America have used for centuries but without military force. It was a conquest then not of force but of ideas. It could have been opposed only by better ideas and that has not been yet proven neither in Greece nor Italy; least of all by China.

35-4-103

But our role is clear: we have no right to take the word of the anti-semite General Anders against the testimony of the increasing prosperity of Poland. We have no right to assume that Czechoslovakia is worse off today, or that the other Balkan states are not progressing faster today than in the last ten centuries. Western Europe and America had every opportunity to uplift the Balkans for centuries and particularly after the First World War. They fastened the chains of landlordism and exploitation tighter upon them. We have no right to prevent China, Korea, Viet-Nam and other nations from choosing without duress from us or Russia, the type of government and system of industry which they prefer. Above all, it is an international crime to overturn civilization in a vain attempt to overthrow the Soviets by force. We cannot do this; but we can put a blight on human culture for centuries by the vain attempt. I ask your suffrages to place these ideas on the floor of the Senate of the United States.

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There are in the United States a number of Poles who lost jobs in Poland which paid them well for doing nothing. They will never be happy until they get those jobs back; which means they will never be happy

The United States is today using every device, encouraging every spy, financin every traitor to stir up civil war, revolt and assassination in every nation which does not obey our will; and using the taxes wrung from poverty and not from wealth to accomplish this dirty job

believe anything can state their belief publicly to all who want to listen has closed its doors. Newspapers ~~will not~~ print, ~~nor~~ magazines accept ~~nor~~ and publishers ~~print anything but~~ issue little except attacks on the Soviet Union, stories of Communist deceit, slanders on ~~the people~~ all nations behind that Iron Curtain ~~which we have hung,~~ and misrepresentations of the people of China.

35-2-270

WHAT DID WE WANT IN PUERTO RICO? TO MAKE MONEY. WHY DID WE SEIZE PUERTO RICO? TO MAKE MONEY. WHAT DID WE DO IN PUERTO RICO? MADE MONEY. TO BE SURE OUT OF OUR LOOT WE TOOKA A NEW DIME FROM EVERY DOLLAR AND GAVE THE PUERTO RICANS ONE SCHOOL WHERE THEY NEEDED A HUNDRED AND ONE HOSPITAL WHERE THEY NEEDED TEN. WHILE WE KEPT ON MAKING MONEY OUT OF THIS STARVED AND IGNORANT CROWDED MASS OF CHEAP WORKERS AND OUT OF THE TONS OF SUGAR CANE THEY WATERED WITH BLOOD. WE GAVE THEM SELF-RULE IN NAME ONLY, WHILE IN TRUTH THEY WERE AN OPPRESSED AND UNREPRESENTED COLONY. FROM THIS HISTORY WHAT CAN WE EXPECT? SWEETNESS AND LIGHT? NO. THEY THAT SOW THE WIND REAP THE WHIRLWIND. THIS IS OUR HARVEST IN PUERTO RICO. THIS WILL BE THE HARVEST FROM THE SEEDS WE ARE SOWING TODAY IN ASIA? BUT DISASTER--MILLIONS INSTEAD OF THOUSANDS: THE DEATH OF A CIVILIZATION AND NOT INSANE AND DEPLORABLE ATTEMPTS AT ASSASSINATION.

IN EUROPE, WHERE BECAUSE OF WAR, CURBS

35-6-174

35-6-146

WHAT DID WE WANT IN PORTO RICO? TO MAKE MONEY. ~~WHAT~~ WHY DID WE SEIZE PORTO RICO? TO MAKE MONEY. WHAT DID WE DO IN PORTO RICO? MADE MONEY. TO BE SURE OUT OF OUR LOOT WE TOOK A NEW DIME FROM EVERY DOLLAR AND GAVE THE PORTO RICANS ONE SCHOOL WHERE THEY NEEDED A ~~HUNDRED~~ dozen AND ONE HOSPITAL WHERE THEY NEEDED ~~A THOUSAND~~ ten WHILE WE KEPT ON MAKING MONEY OUT OF THIS STARVED AND IGNORANT CROWDED MASS OF ~~FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS THE CHURCH RAS RULED UNQUESTIONED IN PORTO RICO TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR SPANIARD AND AMERICAN TO MAKE MONEY.~~ and FROM THIS HISTORY WHAT CAN WE EXPECT? SWEETNESS AND LIGHT? NO. THEY THAT SOW THE WIND REAP THE WHIRLWIND. THIS IS OUR HARVEST IN PORTO RICO. THIS ~~IS THE HARVEST WE SOW TODAY IN ASIA~~ WILL BE THE HARVEST FROM THE SEEDS WE ARE SOWING TODAY IN ASIA? BUT VASTER --MILLIONS INSTEAD OF THOUSANDS; THE DEATH OF A CIVILIzation AND NOT ~~THE CORNER~~ [redacted]

Check Reading of Ukrainians in Europe and Puerto Rico

insane and deplorable attempts at assassination

We gave them self-rule in shame only, while we - could ons oppressed + unrepresented Colony (they were ruled by a native dictator

* In Europe, where because of war, curbs

6.18

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The American way of life, consists in wide freedom of initiative and action in work and thought, limited by democratic control of the individual ~~xxx~~ in the interests of the community. Such control based on old custom and considerable general intelligence ~~increased by education~~ has been notably sucessful in raising our standard of living high and in forwarding our technical efficiency and resourcefulness. Also democratic control of individual action in the common interest has been made more effective through increased intelligence of the masses because of our public schools and colleges. It is only in the Twentieth Century, that democracy in America has begun to fail in curbing harmful individual action, and that organized industry, through corporations and monopoly have displaced democratic government in the control of human action. Thus our most pressing domestic problem has lately become how our ~~right to~~ vote can control Big Business and keep general welfare our chief aim and not private profit. This great national duty has been made more difficult of accomplishment because of our foreign trade, foreign investment and lately our attempt to control foreign policy and government. Our excuse has been the desire to encourage in foreign lands the American way of life with its freedom of initiative, instead of letting spread such government or action as would curtail and kill freedom.

But in this policy, what we forgot was that our way of life had two aspects: individual freedom AND democratic control. What we tried to introduce into China Greece and Korea was freedom of business enterprise for our profit, without any foundation of democratic control which could act to curb either foreign or domestic business. In lands where the standard of living was wretchedly low and the illiteracy almost total, our policy tended to hand labor and materials into the uncontrolled power of greed, both foreign and domestic. To implement this program we took six billions of money from the pockets of American taxpayers to bolster the ~~profit and~~ tyranny of Chiang kai Chek. Most Americans seem still unable to understand why 400 million Chinese arose in poverty and ignorance and drove this combination of profit and greed into the sea. Similarly in Greece where the democratic foundation had never been laid, our vast business enterprise, backed by our military and naval power, fastened in power those Greek rulers whose method was tyrrany and objects the exploitation of the poor, and there they sit today while the mass of the Greek people starve. So further in Korea, instead of planting schools to educate the people in democracy; or dividing up the land monopoly so that the Koreans might eat, we gave freedom of initiative to Shingman Rhee and his gang of big landholders, and proceeded to to let them

These foreign involvements have increased the power of capital in our own nation by turning vast funds raised by the taxation of the masses into military action and investment abroad for the interests of private enterprise. Thus income from foreign enterprise makes our domestic corporations, more and more independent of domestic democratic control

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without any restraint either from a native democracy or from the American army and American Big Business, to use Korea as their private property. We knew what we were doing; we publicly accused Rhee of oppression and theft, but continued to pour the dollars of our taxpayers into his filthy pockets. When the lid blew off this unholy alliance, we arose in righteous wrath and sent our sons by thousands to kill and be killed, to ruin a raped and unhappy land, not for democracy but for Big Business. Even when we have entered lands like ~~Britain~~ Germany and Italy to implement democracy, what we realy brought and intended to bring was not popular control of government and work, but American business methods in offensive and defensive alliance with domestic business in these lands. This organization of work at home had never been adequately, a property curbed by democratic methods, set to subject individual freedom to the commonweal; and now with even less democracy and foreign capital joined to native power, we have not democracy not freedom, but incipient revolution. In France where the power of Big business was always great and the curbs of democracy weak, we have bolstered French capital by huge subsidy so that again the nation is split in twain, with the vast majority determined not to enter another war on any terms, least of all terms set by American business.

35-6-152

But why does America want another war? That we do want war and are increasingly preparing to have it, is today apparent to the whole world. We stand today as the one great nation of warmongers. A recent public opinion poll showed only 10 to 15 percent of the population expecting a Third World War in Britain, France and Scandinavia, while here 90% expect war and are willing to prepare for it in every way: by curtailing civil rights; by stopping peace rallies and peace appeals; by driving all who disagree out of decent work. We emerge today not as the Land of the Free but as the great Slave State.

Why? Because in certain nations, where there has been little or no democracy in historic times, the problem of organizing work, establishing industry and maintaining government, presented entirely different problems than we ever faced in America. Slavery and serfdom; land monopoly and hereditary privilege, united with foreign capital pouring in to reap vast profit from low wage and cheap raw materials, presented a problem of reform which called for new and unusual remedies. Russia and the Balkans, parts of Western Europe, Africa and Asia began to look for liberation from poverty, disease and ignorance to that great body of theoretical doctrine, built up in Britain, France and Germany during the 18th Century, which from Godwin to Bentham; from Fourier to from Marx to Lenin delivered that the whole system of industry built on private property of capital goods must be changed and a national socialism built on government control of industry for the benefit of the

of the actual people who did the work. This doctrine of Socialism remained chiefly a thoery, with but sporadic efforts at realization, until the First World War Then in Russia, where the condition of the mass of people had reached unendurable depths of degradation, Revolution ensued Then under the planning of Lenin, an attempt was made to build a Communist State, which was Socialism with complete government control of industry and ownership of land. This state did not plan to eliminate individual freedom, nor eliminate democracy; it planned to increase freedom eventually by abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance; it it wanted to increase the scope of democracy by putting it in control of industry as well as of political life. Most of the world did not believe and does not believe that this can be done, except possibly by methods current in America and other democracies. The civilized world therefore from 1918 to 1930 used every effort of military might and propaganda to overthrow Soviet Russia. They might have succeeded had not the bottom fallen out of the capital Their motives were first to save the wealth which they had invested in Russia and second to preserve the possibility of future profit in Russia, in the Balkans and in the rest of the world, where socialism was spreading in theory ist industry in the world-wide depression of the thirties. Whether this disruption of industry was mainly because of defects in the system itself or because of world war and destruction, is not a matter to be discussed in this campaign. What interests us, is the fact that the depression in America and Western Europe gave the Soviet Union the chance to establish Communism as a going concern. Noone then believed the experiment would succeed and many still doubt if its success will ever prove communism as effective for industry and freedom as the American Way of life. Whatever the answer to this debate will be, the astonishing answer in our time, is that the Soviet Government was sufficiently sucessful to help America and Western Europe to overthrow Hitler, a task which without the Soviets we were utterly unable to accomplish.

What next? Next in the astonishing alembic of Time we have turned about face and after conquering Fascism in Albania with Russia, we have announced a national policy of preventing by force the IDEA of progress by communism to spread; and beyond that, we are apparently ready to smash communism in the Soviet Union itself, by every means at our disposal. Our excuse here is that Russian imperialism is imposing communism on nations and peoples, against their will and that if this spread of communism continues, it may eventually be forced on us against our will. This grave charge is absolutely unproven. It is idiotic to say that the Soviets forced communism on China. If anyone forced China into communism it was the United States and Chiang kai Chek

35-6-153

The case of the Baltic States is different. They belonged to the Russian Empire before the First World War. They were separated from the Soviet Union after that war so, as to form, as was openly said, a base for re-conquering Russia. The justice of returning these states to the Soviets after the Second World War was not disputed by any nation. It was clear evidence of good faith

A

In the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the other Balkan states, it is unfair to say they were forced into Communism by the Soviets. The mass of their people and I believe the overwhelming mass, forced these states into the Russian orbit against the bitter opposition of the the Big landlords allied with Big Business in Western Europe and America. The role of the Soviets was to make sure that the west did not interfere.. Which group was right in this bitter contest will be proved in the ultimate success or failure of this attempt at socialism

35-6-154

But our role is clear: we have no right to take the word of the anti-semite General Anders against the testimony of the increasing prosperity of Poland We have no right to assume that the other Balkan states are not progressing faster today than in the last ten centuries. We have no right to prevent China, Korea Viet-Nam and other nations from choosing without duress, from us or Russia, the type of government and system of industry which they prefer. Above all, it it is an international crime to overturn civilization in a vain attempt to overthrow the Soviets by force. We cannot do this; but we can put a blight on human culture for centuries by the vain attempt. I ask your suffrages to place these ideas on thr floor of the Senate of the United States

C

Western Europe and America had every opportunity to uplift the Balkans for centuries and particularly after the First World War. They fastened the chains of landlordism and exploitation tighter upon them,

for the cruelty, and ~~suffering~~, the force and violence the death of freedom and curtailment of democracy, which this struggle has involved, I have neithr excuse nor apology. I can only remember that the Russian revolution has cost less in human suffering than the Protestant or French revolutions and that Czechoslovakia is ~~facing greater prosperity not more prosperous~~ today than ever in the past

worse off today

I doubt if we would wish those of the Czech

In these states an overwhelming majority of the long oppressed workers and peasants were arrayed against a minority of wealthy landholders, nobles and industrialists who for years in conjunction with western capital had exploited the these lands and people. They represented overwhelmingly the intelligence, birth and wealth of the nations and thus had and still have the ear of the world.

These were the two elements locked in bitter struggle here, and in Greece, and Italy. The Soviet Union did not conquer them but it gave influence, arms and leadership to the masses, and save in Greece and Italy, prevented America and Western Europe from active interference. The Soviets used here the same tactics which England France and America have used for centuries but without military force

It was the conquest then not of force but of ideas. It could have been opposed only by better ideas and that has not been yet proven neither in Greece nor Italy; least of all by China

over to C

52 45-7-21 Broadcast, November 3, 1950

~~Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois~~

PROPERTY

THE ~~ABP~~/SEEKS TO TEACH VOTERS/THE TRUTH AND ETHICS OF WEALTH,/PROPERTY AND INCOME,/WHICH ARE among THE CHIEF CONCERNS OF MEN/AND TO WHICH MEN ~~THEY~~ DEVOTE/MOST OF THEIR TIME, EFFORT AND THOUGHT.// TO THIS END,/WE WANT FIRST TO DISPEL CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS/CONCERNING THE LABOR MOVEMENT/AMONG THOSE WHO SEE IT/AS PRIMARILY BASED/ON ENVY OF THE RICH AND SUCCESSFUL/AND ON A DESIRE TO DEPRIVE THE TRIFTY AND FORESIGHTED/OF THE JUST FRUIT OF THEIR EFFORTS.//AND TO DO THIS BY LAW/OR EVEN IN EMERGENCY BY FORCE.// FOR THAT REASON/NUMBERS OF RESPECTABLE FOLK TODAY/INSTINCTIVELY DISLIKE LABOR UNIONS,/ REGARD STRIKES AS WRONG/AND FUTILE/AND THINK OF LABORERS/BARGAINING WITH EMPLOYERS/AS UNNATURAL.// THIS THINKING/IS THE SOURCE/OF MUCH OF THE SUPPORT/BACK OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT.

Progressive Party, reassembled in Ohio State by the Queens Labor Party

PR OUR TASK/IS ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE/ BECAUSE THESE IDEAS/ARE BASED ON MYTH/AND INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS/AND ~~ARE NOT ADEQUATELY CONTRADICTED~~/BY THE PRESS OR ~~COLLEGES~~.// MOST AMERICANS/~~CONCEIVE~~ still think of PROPERTY/AS SOMETHING ACCUMULATED /-A PILE OF TREASURE/-WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL HAS MADE/BY HIS OWN EFFORT

Still

AND SACRIFICE/AND WHICH HE THEREFORE/HAS A RIGHT TO USE/IN ANY WAY HE SEES FIT/(TO CONSUME IT/, TO WASTE IT/ OR TO SAVE IT.// IN FACT/INCOME IS CURRENT USE OF WEALTH AND SERVICES/PRESENTLY PRODUCED/AND AVAILABLE NOW.// IT IS NOT A PAST ACCUMULATION/BUT PRESENT AND ACTUAL GOODS. present right to use labor

IN THE SAME WAY/MEN THINK OF an INDUSTRY/AS SOMETHING WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL OR A GROUP OWNS/AND WHICH THEY HAVE A RIGHT/TO CONDUCT AS THEY SEE FIT--TO SET THE RATE OF WAGE/ TO HIRE AND FIRE/ TO FIX PRICE/.//AND THAT PUBLIC INTERFERENCE/WITH SUCH POWERS/IS ~~INTERFERENCE WITH A SACRED RIGHT/AND~~ FUNDAMENTALLY UNJUST.

These beliefs are ~~THIS BELIEF~~ IS NOT ONLY WIDE SPREAD/AND OFTEN HONESTLY HELD./ BUT OUR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS/ARE DOING ALMOST NOTHING/TO DISPEL THESE FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKES/CONCERNING MODERN INDUSTRY.// THEY STEM FROM THE EARLIER CENTURIES OF THE BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRY/AND FROM CURRRENT FARMING METHODS/ IN MANY NATIONS,

WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER/ PRODUCER AND OWNER/ IS THE BEST-KNOWN TYPE// BUT SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION/ THIS METHOD OF WORK/ ESPECIALLY IN MANUFACTURING TRADE AND COMMERCE/ IS NOT TYPICAL// PRODUCTION IN ~~THESE~~ FIELDS/ WHICH ARE TODAY OF DOMINANT IMPORTANCE/ IS NOT AN INDIVIDUAL ADVENTURE/ BUT A VAST SOCIAL UNDERTAKING.// A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS/ WORK TOGETHER IN NUMBERLESS WAYS/ IN WIDELY SEPARATED PLACES/ AND FOR PERIODS/ VARYING FROM A WEEK OR LESS/ TO TEN YEARS OR MORE/ TO PRODUCE A VALUABLE PRODUCT/ ~~OR RENDER A VALUABLE SERVICE./~~ THE EXACT PROPORTION/ OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FINAL RESULT/ PHYSICAL OR ETHICAL:/ BY KIND AND EFFICIENTY OF EFFORT/ BY LENGTH AND INTENSITY OF ~~MATERIAL OR ETHICAL OTHER~~ LABOR/ OR BY MONEY VALUE/ CANNOT BE DETERMINED ACCURATELY/ BY ANY MATHEMATICAL ~~OR ETHICAL~~ METHOD// THE PRODUCT OF MODERN INDUSTRY/ IS A SOCIAL PRODUCT/ AND BELONGS TO SOCIETY/ AND NOT TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.// IT SHOULD BE ALLOCATED TO INDIVIDUALS/ BY STANDARDS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE/ ~~E~~L AND NOT IN ACCORD/ WITH ~~INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS~~ established custom/ NOR BY ~~AN~~ Ukase of OLIGARCHY/ BASING ITS RIGHT/ ON CHANCE OR LEGAL FICTION.

PROPERTY IS A LEGAL CONCEPT, AND LEGAL CONCEPTS ARE MADE AND CHANGED BY LAW, LEGISLATURES AND LABORERS ~~VOTE~~ the votes of PROPERTY IS THE LEGAL CONTROL OF WEALTH. NOW WEALTH IS NOT AND NEVER WAS ENTIRELY THE RESULT OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT: IT ALWAYS INVOLVED SOME MEASURE OF GROUP COOPERATION. AND TODAY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE WEALTH IS THE RESULT OF SOCIAL EFFORT ADDED TO THE BOUNTY OF NATURE. PROPERTY IS THE LEGAL RIGHT TO USE WEALTH: ~~IT~~ thereof stem MAY ~~COME~~ FROM YOUR OWN EFFORT OR FROM THE EFFORT OF OTHERS: IT MAY COME FROM SEISURE OF NATURAL RESOURSES: IT MAY COME FROM INHERITANCE OR GIFT: FROM CHEATING OR GAMBLING: FROM THEFT. THERE IS NOTHING SACRED ABOUT PROPERTY: EVERYTHING DEPENDS ~~ON ITS SOURCE AND~~ ON THE SOCIAL WELFARE INVOLVED IN ITS USE.

THIS MEANS THAT/ PROPERTY AND ITS USE/ ARE PROPER SUBJECTS/ OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATION/ AND OF ELECTION DECISION// THERE HAS BEEN IN AMERICA/ TOO MUCH CHEATING AND THEFT/ IN THE ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY/ AND TOO MUCH INJUSTICE IN ITS USE// WHERE PROPERTY/ HAS BEEN ACQUIRED/ BY HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE/ ITS

right to
OWNERS ENJOY ~~[illegible]~~ OF IT/ ~~SO LONG AS NONE ARE HURT BY THEIRS~~ SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AND PROTECTED// AND NO LABOR PARTY/ HAS ASKED ANYTHING ELSE.// BUT THIS HAS NOT BEEN THE RECORD/ OF AMERICAN BUSINESS// HUGE PROPERTIES HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATED/ BY HIGHWAY ROBBERY,/ MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURSES/ BELONGING OF RIGHT TO ALL// AND EVEN BY TRANSGRESSING/ THE VERY LAWS/ PASSED TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS/ OF THE PUBLIC.

OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC PROBLEM/ STEMS FROM THE FACT/ THAT WHILE PRODUCTION IS INCREASINGLY A SOCIAL PROCESS,/ THE DISTRIBUTION OF ITS RESULTS/ STILL REMAINS LARGELY/ A MATTER OF THE INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT/ OF PERSONS WHO HAPPEN TO HAVE/ or who seize THE POWER/ TO DECIDE/ AND ON THE BASIS OF CONCEPTS OF PROPERTY/ AND INCOME/ WHICH NO LONGER CORRESPOND TO FACT.

THE PARADOX/ WHICH CONSEQUENTLY UPSETS THE LABOR WORLD/ IS THAT DESPITE THE INDISPENSABLE COOPERATION OF LABORERS,/ MANAGERS AND CAPITALISTS/ IN CURRENT INDUSTRY,// WHEN THE RESULTS/ AND INCREASINGLY VALUABLE RESULTS/ ARE

DISTRIBUTED,/ MOST OF THE LABORERS/ GET LESS THAN IS NECESSARY FOR DECENT LIFE,/ WHILE MANY OF THE CAPITALISTS/ GET MORE THAN THEY NEED/ OR CAN SPEND.// AND PARTICULARLY/ GET THE POWER TO DIRECT THE USE/ OF THE RESIDUE/ FOR ANY PURPOSE WHICH THEY CHOOSE.

Capitalists

THE AGE-LONG EXPLANATION/ OF THIS/ IS THAT GOODS ARE SO SCARCE/ THAT WITH THE BEST EFFORT/ SOME FOLK MUST REMAIN/ IN POVERTY AND NEED.// IT IS THIS ALLEGED FACT/ THAT THE 20th CENTURY LABORER/ IS DISPUTING.// HE MAINTAINS/ THAT A MORE JUST DISTRIBUTION/ OF THE RESULTS OF INDUSTRY/ COULD ELIMINATE POVERTY DISEASE AND IGNORANCE/ AMONG THE WORKING CLASS.// FOR THIS PURPOSE HE HAS BEEN ORGANIZING LABOR UNIONS/ AND TRYING BY APPEAL/ BARGAINING/ AND IF NECESSARY BY STRIKES,/ PICKETING AND LAW/ TO RAISE HIS STANDARD OF LIVING/ TO DECENCY AND COMFORT.// HE DOES NOT WANT/ IN THIS CONTEST TO DEPRIVE MANAGER/ OR OWNER/ OF HIS JUST REWARD FOR SAVING,/ PLANNING AND DIRECTION.// BUT HE INSISTS/ THAT HE,/ THE LABORER/ AS PARTNER IN PRODUCTION/ SHOULD HAVE SOME VOICE/ IN DECIDING WHAT

Backed by the courts? Yes

IS JUST.// HE REJECTS CERTAIN AGE-OLD EXCUSES/FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS.// WHEN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS ADVERTISES THAT THE "MORE WE PRODUCE THE MORE WE WILL HAVE", HE KNOWS FULL WELL THAT THIS DEPENDS ON WHO DOES THE DIVIDING AND WHO GETS THE ~~PARTS.~~ shares

Stet

THE CONVENTIONAL ANSWER/TO THIS CONTENTION OF LABOR/IS THAT THE ESSENTIAL CAPITAL/TO EMPLOY LABOR/CAN ONLY BE HAD/IF ITS OWNERS ARE ATTRACTED/BY LARGE PROFIT/TO INVEST THEIR WEALTH/INSTEAD OF CONSUMING IT.// ONCE THIS WAS TRUE. IN THE 17th and 18th CENTURIES/MOST OF THE RICH/DID NOT SAVE.// THEY SPENT CONSPICOUSLY/AND EXTRAVAGANTELY./ AND INDUSTRY COULD ONLY SECURE/THEIR COOPERATION/BY THE GAMBLER'S BRIBE OF HIGH PROFIT.

TODAY/THE SITUATION IS FAR DIFFERENT./ THERE IS CAPITAL IN SO GREAT ABUNDANCE/THAT IT BEGS OPPORTUNITY/FOR INVESTMENT/AND INDEED CANNOT BE USED IN ANY OTHER WAY.// ALSO THE RISK OF LOSS/IN LEGITIMATE INDUSTRY/IS NOW SMALL/ AND MIGHT BE REDUCED nearly TO NIL/BY INTELLIGENT AND SCIENTIFIC PLANNING.// MOREOVER MOST OF THE CURRENT CAPITAL/COMES NOT FROM THE RICH/BUT FROM THE COMPARATIVELY

POOR/WHO SAVE FOR OLD AGE AND A RAINY DAY./ BUT THE HUGE PROFITS OF INDUSTRY/ GO NOT TO THEM/BUT TO THE FINANCIERS/WHO AS MIDDLE-MEN/HANDLE THEIR FUNDS, GIVING THEM 2% IN SAVINGS BANKS/WHILE THIS WEALTH IN FOREIGN TRADE/OFTEN REAPS 50%.// SMALL WONDER/BIG BUSINESS FIGHTS AND SCHEMES/AND DRAFTS THE 18 YEAR YOUTH.// PROFIT IS THICKER THAN BLOOD.// WHICH MAKES Senator LEHMAN REPRESENTING THE FOREIGN INVESTOR/LOVE DULLES, THE ANTI-SEMITE (COUNSEL FOR LEHMAN BROS.) WHEN BOTH SEEK/THE ~~MINES~~ Coal, iron, Coffee and tungsten OF KOREA/FOR AMERICAN CAPITAL.

THIS HAS LED/MANY A SOCIAL THINKER/TO POINT OUT/THAT CAPITAL FOR ALL REAL HUMAN WANT AND IMPROVEMENT/COULD EASILY BE TAKEN FROM PRODUCTION/AND LEAVE SUFFICIENT INCOME/FOR ALL ~~HUMAN~~ CONSUMERS/ PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION/WAS SO LIMITED/ ~~TO SUCH AMOUNTS~~ THAT NO MAN HAD CAKE/IF ANY MAN LACKED BREAD:/ ~~THAT MINK COATS FOR THE RICH WERE NOT ALLOWED, IF THE POOR HAD NO SHOES.~~ Stet AND OF COURSE/HERE'S THE RUB.// THIS COMPULSION/WHICH SOCIALISM PROPOSED/LONG BEFORE LENIN/AS THE ONLY WAY TO DECENT HUMAN LIFE,/ RAISES SHRIEKS OF PROTEST

IF HINTED AT TODAY/IN THE UNITED STATES.// REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED/WHEN ROOSEVELT PROPOSED TO LIMIT INCOMES/TO $25,000!

WHAT CHURCH OF THE LOWLY JESUS/who rebelled against the Rich/WOULD FOR A MOMENT ADMIT OR PREACH/SUCH DOCTRINE?// AND YET/IS IT STRANGE/THAT THE POOR AND HARDWORKING LABORERS/OF THE WORLD/ WITHOUT SUFFICIENT FOOD/ SHELTER AND CLOTHES/ FEARING OLD AGE AND SICKNESS/MORE THAN THE FLAMES OF HELL//IS IT STRANGE/THAT THEY BY OVERWHELMING MAJORITY/ARE DEMANDING THIS REGULATION OF PRODUCTION/AND CONSUMPTION/AND THAT THIS IS NOT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM/BUT AMERICAN COMMONSENSE?

YOU CANNOT STOP/THIS LINE OF THOUGHT/FROM GROWING IN AN INTELLIGENT WORLD/ IF YOU KILL ALL THE YOUTH/AND DYE THE OCEANS RED WITH BLOOD.// YOU CANNOT ~~CONTINUE TO LIE/ABOUT SUCCESSFUL BRITISH SOCIAL MEDICINE/AND LEGAL AID/~~ SOCIAL CONTROL OF PRODUCTION/AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/IS COMING AS SURE/AS THE ROLLING OF THE STARS.// THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF PROPERTY/IS CHANGING AND MUST CHANGE./ NOT EVEN A HARVARD SCHOOL OF BUSINESS/CAN MAKE GREED INTO A SCIENCE/ NOR CAN THE UNSCRUPULOUS AMBITION/OF A SECRETARY OF STATE/USE ATOMIC ENERGY FOREVER, FOR DEATH INSTEAD OF LIFE

omit

~~and unprofitable~~. The sales tax in Mississippi amounts to 15% on the earnings of the poor; the tax on homes in Georgia has driven hundreds of workers into the street; the withholding of wages for taxes in New York makes the tax burden unendurable ~~in Ohio and Illinois~~ for stenographers + clerks

often

~~UNENDURABLE FOR STENOGRAPHERS AND CLERKS.~~ GREAT WEALTH ~~TODAY~~ ESCAPES ITS JUST SHARE OF THE TAX BURDEN DESPITE ITS HUGE AND INCREASING PROFIT. ~~THIS~~ Yet taxation ~~HUGE TAXATION~~ IS BEING USED FOR SECURING MARKETS ALL OVER THE WORLD FOR GETTING CHEAP OIL, RUBBER, MINERALS, COPPER, TIN, AND LATELY FOR THREATENING WORLD WAR ON ANY NATION WHICH INTERFERES DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WITH OUR PROPOSAL TO OWN AND EXPLOIT THE EARTH, EVEN IF IT KILLS A FEW HUNDRED THOUSAND OF OUR YOUTH.

THUS TAXATION falling mainly ON THE POOR FURNISHES FUNDS WHICH MAKE AMERICAN INVESTMENT SAFE; AND THEN THE BUSINESS MAN WITHOUT RISK, WITH CHEAP NATIVE LABOR, REAPS 50 or 100% PROFIT AND CALLS IT HIS. HE USES IT IN ELECTIONS LIKE THIS TO BUY PUBLIC OFFICIALS, ~~ADVERTISE GOODS~~, PUSH LEGISLATION WHICH FAVORS ~~THEM~~ him AND KILL LAWS WHICH ~~THEY~~ he DO NOT LIKE. WE PRETEND TO WISH TO HELP THE POOR LANDS WHICH WE CONTROL: BUT IN GREECE ~~PUER~~

More over ~~than that~~ much of the capital used today is taken from public funds through taxation while the returns go to private profiteers. In instances The huge profits of the automobile industry ~~is~~ are largely due to the vast expenditure for roads paid for by the public. Labor contends that it is therefore but fair to take part of this profit for public use. ~~This demand did not begin with the Russian revolution but has been spreading in the civilized world for especially in the last 50 years until every nation has embraced its conclusions more or less completely~~ On the other hand industry in the United States consistently refuses this demand ~~but~~ and is reluctant to bear its own share of public taxation. Today for instance the owners of ~~the automobile industry pay in taxes far less in proportion than the laborers on the roads built for traffic pay out of their wage~~ our commercial shipping, built and sustained in part by public taxation, pay less proportionately in taxes than the sailors on their ships pay out of their wages.

~~This is the reason for the rise and spread of the Labor movement and~~

Today despite every effort in the United States to conceal and deny the facts, all civilized nations except this, They own and run the railways, the telephone and telegraph, street cars, buses and subways; they largely conduct insurance, housing, sanitation, insurance and relief, They guarantee employment; they engage in industry: foreign trade, mining, forestry and river control; in power conversion and control and wide ownership of land. Some, like Britain go further than this; others like the Scandinavian lands less in theory but even more in practice; while the Iron Curtain lands attempt complete social and industrial planning and ownership of all capital. Here then is a world movement which the United States almost alone is attempting to stem. We are attempting to champion private enterprise when no great industrial effort can possibly be private or carried on primarily for private ends; we stress individual initiative which is laudable when it is for social ends and

OWNERSHIP OF ALL CAPITAL.

HERE THEN IS A WORLD MOVEMENT WHICH THE UNITED STATES ALMOST ALONE IS ATTEMPTING TO STEM. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO CHAMPION PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WHEN NO GREAT INDUSTRIAL EFFORT CAN POSSIBLY BE PRIVATE OR CARRIED ON PRIMARILY FOR PRIVATE ENDS: WE STRESS INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE WHICH IS LAUDABLE WHEN IT IS FOR SOCIAL ENDS AND DANGEROUS WHEN IT IS MAINLY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

CONTRARY TO THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND THE TREND OF THIS AGE, THIS NATION IS DETERMINED TO BUILD FUTURE POWER AND WEALTH ON A NEW COLONIALISM, BASED PRIMARILY ON ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER: AND INDIRECTLY ON THE POLITICAL CONTROL WHICH INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WILL GIVE IT TO RULE PEOPLE OVERSEAS, JUST AS INDUSTRY RULES THE UNITED STATES. WE BUILT OUR HIGHEST EXPECTATIONS ON THE COLLAPSE OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRY WHICH WE REGARDED AS CERTAIN AFTER THE WAR WITH GERMANY. WE THEN EXPECTED FREE HAND TO EXPLOIT THE BALKANS AND RUSSIA

14) All this is not gossip and spite. The truth. the simple truth about 45-7-34
wealth and property; about social control over greed and monopoly is well-known
But it is not taught in ouer schools and colleges. Our teachers of economics
instead of teaching the ABC of income and wage go off into higher mathematics
and ~~stay there at~~ are paid 7000 a year to stay there, not counting income from writing
against labor and socialism paid for by Big Business. Our bright young men
are driven out of government employ by low salaries and witch hunts and hired
by Big Business at ~~hixed~~ high salaries to keep their mouths shut and work for
private profit . This throws the burden of teaching economics and the ethics of income
and wage on the laborers themselves. For this reason the leaders of the Labor
Party in this election are talking not only what is usually called politics.
but matters of vaster importance which have to do with life itself. They are
pledged to work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartly act and not to be fooled by the
Truman run-around; to keep plugging for a real FEPC, so as to give opportunity
~~to all~~; for peace so as no longer to sacrifice our sons for private private
profit from the poor and degraded of the world. And beyond this to demand
public housing, social medicine , federal aid to education; and especially
higher wage and lower tax on the poor in order to readjust the present unjust
distribution of wealth in accord with the highest social welfare of all ,

for ability despite race or faith;

BUT IT IS NOT TAUGHT/IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.// OUR TEACHERS OF ECONOMICS INSTEAD OF TEACHING THE ABC OF INCOME AND WAGE/ GO OFF INTO HIGHER MATHEMATICS AND ARE PAID $7000 A YEAR/TO STAY THERE,/ NOT COUNTING INCOME FROM WRITING AGAINST LABOR AND SOCIALISM/PAID FOR BY BIG BUSINESS.

OUR BRIGHT YOUNG MEN/ARE DRIVEN OUT OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOY/BY LOW SALARIES AND WITCH HUNTS/AND HIRED BY BIG BUSINESS/AT HIGH SALARIES/TO KEEP THEIR MOUTHS SHUT/AND WORK FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.// THIS THROWS THE BURDEN/OF TEACHING ECONOMICS AND THE ETHICS OF INCOME AND WAGE/ ON THE LABORERS THEMSELVES.//FOR THIS REASON THE LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/IN THIS ELECTION/ ARE TALKING/NOT ONLY WHAT IS USUALLY CALLED POLITICS/BUT MATTERS OF VASTER IMPORTANCE/WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH LIFE ITSELF.// THEY ARE PLEDGED TO WORK/FOR THE REPEAL OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND NOT TO BE FOOLED/BY THE TRUMAN RUN-AROUND;// TO KEEP PLUGGING FOR A REAL FEPC,/ SO AS TO GIVE OPPORTUNITY/ FOR ABILITY DESPITE RACE OR FAITH;/ FOR PEACE

12=
7:37

SO AS NO LONGER/TO SACRIFICE OUR SONS/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/FROM THE POOR AND DEGRADED OF THE WORLD.// AND BEYOND THIS TO DEMAND PUBLIC HOUSING,/ SOCIAL MEDICINE,/ FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION;/ AND ESPECIALLY HIGHER WAGE AND LOWER TAX ON THE POOR/ IN ORDER TO READJUST/ THE PRESENT UNJUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/ IN ACCORD/WITH THE HIGHEST SOCIAL WELFARE/OF ALL.

45-9-35
15

[illegible], PUERTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES WE HAVE LEFT POVERTY: IN CUBA WE LEFT MONOPOLY AND IN KOREA WE START WITH UTTER DESTRUCTION.

. ALL THIS IS NOT GOSSIP AND SPITE. / THE TRUTH, THE SIMPLE TRUTH ABOUT WEALTH AND PROPERTY: / ABOUT SOCIAL CONTROL OVER GREED AND MONOPOLY / IS WELL-known

BROADCAST, NOVEMBER 3, 1950

10-13

PROPERTY

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

The Progressive Party, represented in this state by the American Labor Party, seeks to teach voters the truth and ethics of wealth, property and income, which are among the chief concerns of men and to which men devote most of their time effort and thought. To this end, we want first to dispel certain assumptions concerning the labor movement among those who see it as primarily based on envy of the rich and successful and on a desire to deprive the thifty and foresighted of the just fruit of their efforts: and to do this by law or even in emergency by force. For that reason numbers of respectable folk today instinctively dislike labor unions, regard strikes as wrong and futile and think of laborers bargaining with employers as unnatural. This thinking is the source of much of the support back of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Our task is all the more imperative because these ideas are based on myth and inherited culture patterns and are not adequately contradicted by the press or colleges. Most Americans still think of property as something accumulated --a pile of treasure--which an individual has made by his own effort and sacrifice and which he therefore has a right to use in any way he sees fit; to consume it, to waste it, or to save it. In fact income is current use of wealth and services presently produced and available now. It is not a past accumulation but present and actual goods and present right to use labor.

In the same way, men think of an industry as something which an individual or a group owns and which they have a right to conduct as they see fit--to set the rate of wage, to hire and fire, to fix price; and that public interference with such powers is fundamentally unjust.

These beliefs are not only wide spread and often honestly held, but our colleges and schools are doing almost nothing to dispel these fundamental

mistakes concerning modern industry. They stem from the earlier centuries of the beginning of industry and from current farming methods in many nations, where the individual worker, producer and owner is the best-known type. But since the Industrial Revolution, this method of work especially in manufacturing, trade and commerce is not typical. Production in fields, which are today of dominant importance is not an individual adventure but a vast social undertaking. A large number of persons work together in numberless ways, in widely separated places and for periods varying from a week or less to ten years or more to produce a valuable product. The exact proportion of their contributions to the final result by physical or ethical measure; by kind and efficiency of effort, by length and intensity of labor or by money value cannot be determined accurately by any mathmatical method. The product of modern industry is a social product and belongs to society and not to certain individuals. It should be allocated to individuals by standards of social justice and not in accord with established custom nor by ukase of an oligarchy basing its right on labor chance or legal fiction.

35-4-198

Property is a legal concept, and legal concepts are made and changed by law, ~~and Law in democracies are changed by legislatures and the~~ votes ~~of laborers,~~ Property is the legal control of wealth. Now wealth is not and never was entirely the result of indivudual effort; it always involved some measure of group cooperation. And today more than ever before, wealth is the result of social effort added to the bounty of nature. Property is the legal right to use wealth; the wealth may stem from your own effort or from the effort of others; it may come from seizure of natural esourses; it may come from inheritance or gift; from cheating or gambling; from theft. There is nothing sacred about property; everything depends on the social welfare involved in its accumulation and use.

This means that property and its use are proper subjects of political consideration and of ~~election~~ democratic decision. There has been in America too much

(5)

cheating and theft in the acquisition of property and too much injustice in its use. Where property has been acquired by hard work and sacrifice, its owners right to enjoy it should be recognized and protected and no labor party has asked anything else. But this has not been the record of American business. Huge properties have been accumulated by highway robbery, monopoly of natural resources belonging of right to all and even by transgressing the very laws which protect the rights of the public.

Our present economic problem stems from the fact that while production is increasingly a social process, the distribution of its results still remains largely a matter of the individual judgment of persons who happen to have or who seize the power to decide and on the basis of concepts of property and income which no longer correspond to fact.

The paradox which consequently upsets the labor world is that despite the indispensable cooperation of laborers, managers and capitalists in current industry, when the results and increasingly valuable results are distributed, most of the laborers get less than is necessary for decent life, while many of the capitalists get more than they need or can spend. And particularly capitalists get the power to direct the use of the residue for any purpose which they choose.

The age-long explanation of this is that goods are so scarce that with the best effort some folk must remain in poverty and need. It is this alleged fact that the 20th Century laborer is disputing. He maintains that a more just distribution of the results of industry could eliminate poverty disease and ignorance among the working class. For this purpose he has been organizing labor unions and trying by appeal, bargaining and if necessary by strikes, picketing and law to raise his standard of living to decency and comfort. He does not want in this contest to deprive manager or owner of his just reward for saving, planning and direction, but he insists

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that he, the l borer as partner in production should have some voice in deciding what is just. He rejects certain age-old excuses for present conditions. When the National Association of Manufacturers advetises that the "more we produce the more we will have," he knows full well that this depends on who does the dividing and who gets the shares.

The conventional answer to this contention of labor is th t the essential capital to employ labor c n only be had if its owners are attracted by large profit to invest their wealth instead of consuming it. Once this was true. In the 17th and 18th centuries most of the rich did not save; they spent conspicously and extravagantly; and industry could only secure their cooperation by the gambler's bribe of high profit.

35-4-200

Today the situation is far different; there is capital in so great abundance that it begs opportunity for investment and indeed cannot be used in any other way. Also the risk of loss in legitimate industry is not small and might be reduced nearly to nil by intelligent and scientific planning. Moreover most of the current capital comes not from the rich but from the comparatively poor who save for old age and a rainly day. But the huge profits of industry go not to them but to the financiers who as middle-men handle their funds, giving the 2% in savings banks while this wealth in foreign trade often reaps 50%. Small wonder Big Business fights and schemes and drafts the 18 year old youth. Profit is thicker than blood. Which makes Senator Lehman representing the foreign investor love Dulles, the Anti-Semite counsel for Lehman Brothers. When both seek the coal, iron, copper and tungston of Korea for American capital.

This has led many a social thinker to point out that capital for all real human want and improvement could e sily be taken from production and leave sufficient income for all consumers, provided of course that individual consumption was so li ited that no man had cake if any man lacked bread:

that mink coats for the rich were not allowed, if the poor had no shoes, and of course here's the rub. This compulsion which socialism proposed long before Lenin as the only way to decent human life, raises shrieks of protest if hinted at today in the United States. Remember what happened when Roosevelt proposed to limit incomes to $25,000.

What church of the lowly Jesus, who railed against the rich , would for a moment admit or preach such doctrine? And yet is it strange that the poor and hardworking laborers of the world, without sufficient food, shelter and clothes; fearing old age and sickness more than the flames of hell-- is it strange that they by overwhelming majority are demanding this regulation of production and consumption and that this is not Russian imperialism but American commonsense?

35-4-201

You cannot stop this line of thought from growing in an intelligent world if you kill all the youth and dye the oceans red with blood. Social control of production and distribution of wealth is coming as sure as the rolling of the stars. The whole concept of property is changing and must change. Not even a Harvard School of Business can make greed into a science, nor can the unscrupoulous ambition of a Secretary of State use atomic energy forever, for death instead of life.

The sales tax in Mississippi amounts to 10% on the earnings of the poor; the tax on homes in Georgia has driven hundreds of workers into the street; the withholding of wages for taxes in New York makes the tax burden often unendurable for stenographers and clerks. Great wealth today escapes its just share of the tax burden, despite its huge and increasing profit. Yet taxation is being used for securing markets all over the world: for getting cheap oil, rubber, minerals, copper, tin, and lately for threatening world war on any nation which interferes directly or indirectly with our proposal to own and exploit the earth, even if it kills a few hundred thousand of our youth.

Broadcast, November 3, 1950
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

PROPERTY

THE ALP SEEKS TO TEACH VOTERS THE TRUTH AND ETHICS OF WEALTH, PROPERTY AND INCOME, WHICH ARE THE CHIEF CONCERN OF MEN AND TO WHICH THEY DEVOTE MOST OF THEIR TIME, EFFORT AND THOUGHT. TO THIS END, WE WANT FIRST TO DISPEL CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING THE LABOR MOVEMENT AMONG THOSE WHO SEE IT AS PRIMARILY BASED ON ENVY OF THE RICH AND SUCCESSFUL AND ON A DESIRE TO DEPRIVE THE THRIFTY AND FORESIGHTED OF THE JUST FRUIT OF THEIR EFFORTS: AND TO DO THIS BY LAW OR EVEN IN EMERGENCY BY FORCE. FOR THAT REASON NUMBERS OF RESPECTABLE FOLK TODAY INSTINCTIVELY DISLIKE LABOR UNIONS, REGARD STRIKES AS WRONG AND FUTILE AND THINK OF LABORERS BARGAINING WITH EMPLOYERS AS UNNATURAL. THIS THINKING IS THE SOURCE OF MUCH OF THE SUPPORT BACK OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT.

OUR TASK IS ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE BECAUSE THESE IDEAS ARE BASED ON MYTH AND INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS AND ARE NOT ADEQUATELY CONTRADICTED BY THE PRESS OR COLLEGES. MOST AMERICANS CONCEIVE PROPERTY AS SOMETHING ACCUMULATED --A PILE OF TREASURE--WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL HAS MADE BY HIS OWN EFFORT

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AND SACRIFICE AND WHICH HE THEREFORE HAS A RIGHT TO USE IN ANY WAY HE SEES FIT: TO CONSUME IT, TO WASTE IT, OR TO SAVE IT. IN FACT INCOME IS CURRENT USE OF WEALTH AND SERVICES PRESENTLY PRODUCED AND AVAILABLE NOW. IT IS NOT A PAST ACCUMULATION BUT PRESENT AND ACTUAL GOODS.

IN THE SAME WAY MEN THINK OF INDUSTRY AS SOMETHING WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL OR A GROUP OWNS AND WHICH THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO CONDUCT AS THEY SEE FIT--TO SET THE RATE OF WAGE, TO HIRE AND FIRE, TO FIX PRICE: AND THAT PUBLIC INTERFERENCE WITH SUCH POWERS IS INTERFERENCE WITH A SACRED RIGHT AND FUNDAMENTALLY UNJUST.

THIS BELIEF IS NOT ONLY WIDE SPREAD AND OFTEN HONESTLY HELD, BUT OUR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS ARE DOING ALMOST NOTHING TO DISPEL THESE FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKES CONCERNING MODERN INDUSTRY. THEY STEM FROM THE EARLIER CENTURIES OF THE BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRY AND FROM CURRENT FARMING METHODS IN MANY NATIONS,

WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER, PRODUCER AND OWNER IS THE BEST-KNOWN TYPE. BUT SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, THIS METHOD OF WORK ESPECIALLY IN MANUFACTURING TRADE AND COMMERCE IS NOT TYPICAL. PRODUCTION IN THESE FIELDS, WHICH ARE TODAY OF DOMINANT IMPORTANCE IS NOT AN INDIVIDUAL ADVENTURE BUT A VAST SOCIAL UNDERTAKING. A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS WORK TOGETHER IN NUMBERLESS WAYS, IN WIDELY SEPARATED PLACES AND FOR PERIODS VARYING FROM A WEEK OR LESS TO TEN YEARS OR MORE TO PRODUCE A VALUABLE PRODUCT OR RENDER A VALUABLE SERVICE: THE EXACT PROPORTION OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FINAL RESULT, PHYSICAL OR ETHICAL: BY KIND AND EFFICIENTY OF EFFORT, BY LENGTH AND INTENSITY OF ~~MATHEMATICALLY~~ LABOR OR BY MONEY VALUE CANNOT BE DETERMINED ACCURATELY BY ANY MATHEMATICAL OR ETHICAL METHOD. THE PRODUCT OF MODERN INDUSTRY IS A SOCIAL PRODUCT AND BELONGS TO SOCIETY AND NOT TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS. IT SHOULD BE ALLOCATED TO INDIVIDUALS BY STANDARDS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE TO ALL AND NOT IN ACCORD WITH INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS NOR BY AN OLIGARCHY BASING ITS RIGHT ON CHANCE OR LEGAL FICTION.

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PROPERTY IS A LEGAL CONCEPT, AND LEGAL CONCEPTS ARE MADE AND CHANGED BY LAW, LEGISLATURES AND LOBBERS VOTE. PROPERTY IS THE LEGAL CONTROL OF WEALTH. NOW WEALTH IS NOT AND NEVER WAS ENTIRELY THE RESULT OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT: IT ALWAYS INVOLVED SOME MEASURE OF GROUP COOPERATION. AND TODAY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE WEALTH IS THE RESULT OF SOCIAL EFFORT ADDED TO THE BOUNTY OF NATURE. PROPERTY IS THE LEGAL RIGHT TO USE WEALTH: IT MAY COME FROM YOUR OWN EFFORT OR FROM THE EFFORT OF OTHERS: IT MAY COME FROM SEIZURE OF NATURAL RESOURCES: IT MAY COME FROM INHERITANCE OR GIFT: FROM CHEATING OR GAMBLING: FROM THEFT. THERE IS NOTHING SACRED ABOUT PROPERTY: EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON ITS SOURCE AND ON THE SOCIAL WELFARE INVOLVED IN ITS USE.

THIS MEANS THAT PROPERTY AND ITS USE ARE PROPER SUBJECTS OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATION AND OF ELECTION DECISION. THERE HAS BEEN IN AMERICA TOO MUCH CHEATING AND THEFT IN THE ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY AND TOO MUCH INJUSTICE IN ITS USE. WHERE PROPERTY HAS BEEN ACQUIRED BY HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE, ITS

OWNERS ENJOYMENT OF IT SO LONG AS NONE ARE HURT BY HIS ACTS SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AND PROTECTED AND NO LABOR PARTY HAS ASKED ANYTHING ELSE. BUT THIS HAS NOT BEEN THE RECORD OF AMERICAN BUSINESS. HUGE PROPERTIES HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATED BY HIGHWAY ROBBERY, MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURSES BELONGING OF RIGHT TO ALL AND EVEN BY TRANSGRESSING THE VERY LAWS PASSED TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC.

OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC PROBLEM STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT WHILE PRODUCTION IS INCREASINGLY A SOCIAL PROCESS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF IT RESULTS STILL REMAINS LARGELY A MATTER OF THE INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT OF PERSONS WHO HAPPEN TO HAVE THE POWER TO DECIDE AND ON THE BASIS OF CONCEPTS OF PROPERTY AND INCOME WHICH NO LONGER CORRESPOND TO FACT.

THE PARADOX WHICH CONSEQUENTLY UPSETS THE LABOR WORLD IS THAT DESPITE THE INDISPENSABLE COOPERATION OF LABORERS, MANAGERS AND CAPITALISTS IN CURRENT INDUSTRY, WHEN THE RESULTS AND INCREASINGLY VALUABLE RESULTS ARE

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DISTRIBUTED, MOST OF THE LABORERS GET LESS THAN IS NECESSARY FOR DECENT LIFE, WHILE MANY OF THE CAPITALISTS GET MORE THAN THEY NEED OR CAN SPEND , AND PARTICULARLY GET THE POWER TO DIRECT THE USE OF THE RESIDUE FOR ANY PURPOSE WHICH THEY CHOOSE.

THE AGE-LONG EXPLANATION OF THIS IS THAT GOODS ARE SO SCARCE THAT WITH THE BEST EFFORT SOME FOLK MUST REMAIN IN POVERTY AND NEED. IT IS THIS ALLEGED FACT THAT THE 20th CENTURY LABORER IS DISPUTING. HE MAINTAINS THAT A MORE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESULTS OF INDUSTRY COULD ELIMINATE POVERTY DISEASE AND IGNORANCE AMONG THE WORKING CLASS. FOR THIS PURPOSE HE HAS BEEN ORGANIZING LABOR UNIONS AND TRYING BY APPEAL, BARGAINING AND IF NECESSARY BY STRIKES, PICKETING AND LAW TO RAISE HIS STANDARD OF LIVING TO DECENCY AND COMFORT. HE DOES NOT WANT IN THIS CONTEST TO DEPRIVE MANAGER OR OWNER OF HIS JUST REWARD FOR SAVING, PLANNING AND DIRECTION, BUT HE INSISTS THAT HE, THE LABORER AS PARTNER IN PRODUCTION HAVE SOME VOICE IN DECIDING WHAT

IS JUST. HE REJECTS CERTAIN AGE-OLD EXCUSES FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS. WHEN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS ADVERTISES THAT THE "MORE WE PRODUCE THE MORE WE WILL HAVE", HE KNOWS FULL WELL THAT THIS DEPENDS ON WHO DOES THE DIVIDING AND WHO GETS THE PARTS.

THE CONVENTIONAL ANSWER TO THIS CONTENTION OF LABOR IS THAT THE ESSENTIAL CAPITAL TO EMPLOY LABOR CAN ONLY BE HAD IF ITS OWNERS ARE ATTRACTED BY LARGE PROFIT TO INVEST THEIR WEALTH INSTEAD OF CONSUMING IT. ONCE THIS WAS TRUE. IN THE 17th and 18th CENTURIES MOST OF THE RICH DID NOT SAVE: THEY SPENT CONSPICOUSLY AND EXTRAVAGANTELY: AND INDUSTRY COULD ONLY SECURE THEIR COOPERATION BY THE BRIBE OF HIGH PROFIT.

TODAY THE SITUATION IS FAR DIFFERENT: THERE IS CAPITAL IN SO GREAT ABUNDANCE THAT IT BEGS OPPORTUNITY FOR INVESTMENT AND INDEED CANNOT BE USED IN ANY OTHER WAY. ALSO THE RISK OF LOSS IN LEGITIMATE INDUSTRY IS NOW SMALL AND MIGHT BE REDUCED TO NIL BY INTELLIGENT AND SCIENTIFIC PLANNING. MOREOVER MOST OF THE CURRENT CAPITAL COMES NOT FROM THE RICH BUT FROM THE COMPARATIVELY

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POOR WHO SAVE FOR OLD AGE AND A RAINLY DAY. BUT THE HUGE PROFITS OF INDUSTRY GO NOT TO THEM BUT TO THE FINANCIERS WHO AS MIDDLE-MEN HANDLE THEIR FUNDS, GIVING THEM 2% IN SAVINGS BANKS WHILE THIS WEALTH IN FOREIGN TRADE OFTEN REAPS 50%. SMALL WONDER BIG BUSINESS FIGHTS AND SCHEMES AND DRAFTS THE 18 YEAR YOUTH. PROFIT IS THINKER THAN BLOOD. WHICH MAKES LEHMAN REPRESENTING THE FOREIGN INVESTOR LOVE DULLES, THE ANTI-SEMITE WHEN BOTH SEEK THE MINES OF KOREA FOR AMERICAN CAPITAL.

THIS HAS LED MANY A SOCIAL THINKER TO POINT OUT THAT CAPITAL FOR ALL REAL HUMAN WANT AND IMPROVEMENT COULD EASILY BE TAKEN FROM PRODUCTION AND LEAVE SUFFICIENT INCOME FOR ALL HUMAN CONSUMERS, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION WAS LIMITED TO SUCH AMOUNTS THAT NO MAN HAD CAKE IF ANY MAN LACKED BREAD: THAT MINK COATS FOR THE RICH WERE NOT ALLOWED, IF THE POOR HAD NO SHOES. AND OF COURSE HERE'S THE RUB. THIS COMPULSION WHICH SOCIALISM PROPOSED LONG BEFORE LENIN AS THE ONLY WAY TO DECENT HUMAN LIFE, RAISES SHRIEKS OF PROTEST

IF HINTED AT TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES. REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED WHEN ROOSEVELT PROPOSED TO LIMIT INCOMES TO $25,000.

WHAT CHURCH OF THE LOWLY JESUS WOULD FOR A MOMENT ADMIT OR PREACH SUCH DOCTRINE. AND YET IS IT STRANGE THAT THE POOR AND HARDWORKING LABORERS OF THE WORLD, WITHOUT SUFFICIENT FOOD SHELTER AND CLOTHES: FEARING OLD AGE AND SICKNESS MORE THAN THE FLAMES OF HELL--IS IT STRANGE THAT THEY BY OVERWHELMING MAJORITY ARE DEMANDING THIS REGULATION OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AND THAT THIS IS NOT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM BUT AMERICAN COMMONSENSE?

YOU CANNOT STOP THIS LINE OF THOUGHT FROM GROWING IN AN INTELLIGENT WORLD IF YOU KILL ALL THE YOUTH AND DYE THE OCEANS RED WITH BLOOD. YOU CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIE ABOUT SUCCESSFUL BRITISH SOCIAL MEDICINE AND LEGAL AID, SOCIAL CONTROL OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IS COMING AS SURE AS THE ROLLING OF THE STARS. THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF PROPERTY IS CHANGING AND MUST CHANGE. NOT EVEN A HARVARD SCHOOL OF BUSINESS CAN MAKE GREED INTO A SCIENCE NOR CAN THE UNSCRUPULOUS AMBITION OF A SECRETARY OF STATE USE ATOMIC ENERGY

FOREVER FOR DEATH INSTEAD OF LIFE.

MOREOVER MUCH OF THE CAPITAL USED TODAY IS TAKEN FROM PUBLIC FUNDS THROUGH TAXATION WHILE THE RETURNS GO TO PRIVATE PROFITEERS. FOR INSTANCE THE HUGE PROFITS OF THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY ARE LARGELY DUE TO THE VAST EXPENDITURE FOR ROADS PAID FOR BY THE PUBLIC. LABOR CONTENDS THAT IT IS THEREFORE BUT FAIR TO TAKE PART OF THIS PROFIT FOR PUBLIC USE. ON THE OTHER HAND INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES CONSISTENTLY REFUSES THIS DEMAND AND IS RELUCTANT TO BEAR ITS OWN SHARE OF PUBLIC TAXATION. TODAY FOR INSTANCE THE OWNERS OF OUR COMMERCIAL SHIPPING, BUILT AND SUSTAINED IN PART BY PUBLIC TAXATION PAY LESS PROPORTIONATELY IN TAXES THAN THE SAILORS ON THEIR SHIPS PAY OUT OF THEIR WAGES.

THE SALES TAX IN MISSISSIPPI AMOUNTS TO 15% ON THE EARNINGS OF THE POOR: THE TAX ON HOMES IN GEORGIA HAS DRIVEN HUNDREDS OF WORKERS INTO THE STREET: THE WITHHOLDING OF WAGES FOR TAXES IN NEW YORK MAKES THE TAX BURDEN OFTEN

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UNENDURABLE FOR STENOGRAPHERS AND CLERKS. GREAT WEALTH MEANTIME ESCAPES ITS JUST SHARE OF THE TAX BURDEN DESPITE ITS HUGE AND INCREASING PROFIT. THIS HUGE TAXATION IS BEING USED FOR SECURING MARKETS ALL OVER THE WORLD: FOR GETTING CHEAP OIL, RUBBER, MINERALS, COPPER, TIN, AND LATELY FOR THREATENING WORLD WAR ON ANY NATION WHICH INTERFERES DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WITH OUR PROPOSAL TO OWN AND EXPLOIT THE EARTH, EVEN IF IT KILLS A FEW HUNDRED THOUSAND OF OUR YOUTH.

THUS TAXATION ON THE POOR FURNISHES FUNDS WHICH MAKE AMERICAN INVESTMENT SAFE: AND THEN THE BUSINESS MAN WITHOUT RISK, WITH CHEAP NATIVE LABOR, REAPS 50 or 100% PROFIT AND CALLS IT HIS. HE USES IT IN ELECTIONS LIKE THIS TO BUY PUBLIC OFFICIALS, ADVERTISE GOODS, PUSH LEGISLATION WHICH FAVORS THEM AND KILL LAWS WHICH THEY DO NOT LIKE. WE PRETEND TO WISH TO HELP THE POOR LANDS WHICH WE CONTROL: BUT IN GREECE, PUERTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES WE HAVE LEFT POVERTY: IN CUBA WE LEFT MONOPOLY AND IN KOREA WE START WITH UTTER DESTRUCTION.

ALL THIS IS NOT GOSSIP AND SPITE. THE TRUTH, THE SIMPLE TRUTH ABOUT WEALTH AND PROPERTY: ABOUT SOCIAL CONTROL OVER GREED AND MONOPOLY IS WELL-known

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BUT IT IS NOT TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. OUR TEACHERS OF ECONOMICS INSTEAD OF TEACHING THE ABC OF INCOME AND WAGE GO OFF INTO HIGHER MATHEMATICS AND ARE PAID $7000 A YEAR TO STAY THERE, NOT COUNTING INCOME FROM WRITING AGAINST LABOR AND SOCIALISM PAID FOR BY BIG BUSINESS.

OUR BRIGHT YOUNG MEN ARE DRIVEN OUT OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOY BY LOW SALARIES AND WITCH HUNTS AND HIRED BY BIG BUSINESS AT HIGH SALARIES TO KEEP THEIR MOUTHS SHUT AND WORK FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. THIS THROWS THE BURDEN OF TEACHING ECONOMICS AND THE ETHICS OF INCOME AND WAGE ON THE LABORERS THEMSELVES. FOR THIS REASON THE LEADERS OF THE LABOR PARTY IN THIS ELECTION ARE TALKING NOT ONLY WHAT IS USUALLY CALLED POLITICS BUT MATTERS OF VASTER IMPORTANCE WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH LIFE ITSELF. THEY ARE PLEDGED TO WORK FOR THE REPEAL OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND NOT TO BE FOOLED BY THE TRUMAN RUN-AROUND: TO KEEP PLUGGING FOR A REAL FEPC, SO AS TO GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR ABILITY DESPITE RACE OR FAITH: FOR PEACE

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

SO AS NO LONGER TO SACRIFICE OUR SONS FOR PRIVATE PROFIT FROM THE POOR AND DEGRADED OF THE WORLD. AND BEYOND THIS TO DEMAND PUBLIC HOUSING, SOCIAL MEDICINE, FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: AND ESPECIALLY HIGHER WAGE AND LOWER TAX ON THE POOR IN ORDER TO READJUST THE PRESENT UNJUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ACCORD WITH THE HIGHEST SOCIAL WELFARE OF ALL.

TODAY DESPITE EVERY EFFORT IN THE UNITED STATES TO CONCEAL AND DENY THE FACTS, ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS EXCEPT THIS, HAVE BEEN PROGRESSING TOWARD SOCIALISM ESPECIALLY SINCE 1900. THEY OWN AND RUN THE RAILWAYS, THE TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH, STREET CARS, BUSES AND SUBWAYS: THEY LARGELY CONDUCT HOUSING SANITATION, INSURANCE AND RELIEF, THEY GUARANTEE EMPLOYMENT: THEY ENGAGE IN INDUSTRY: IN MANUFACTURE, FOREIGN TRADE, MINING, FORESTRY AND RIVER CONTROL: IN POWER CONVERSION AND CONTROL AND WIDE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

SOME NATIONS LIKE BRITAIN GO FURTHER THAN THIS: OTHERS LIKE THE SCANDINAVIAN LANDS PLAN LESS IN THEORY BUT DO EVEN MORE IN PRACTICE: WHILE THE IRON CURTAIN LANDS ATTEMPT COMPLETE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PLANNING AND

OWNERSHIP OF ALL CAPITAL.

HERE THEN IS A WORLD MOVEMENT WHICH THE UNITED STATES ALMOST ALONE IS ATTEMPTING TO STEM. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO CHAMPION PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WHEN NO GREAT INDUSTRIAL EFFORT CAN POSSIBLY BE PRIVATE OR CARRIED ON PRIMARILY FOR PRIVATE ENDS: WE STRESS INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE WHICH IS LAUDABLE WHEN IT IS FOR SOCIAL ENDS AND DANGEROUS WHEN IT IS MAINLY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

CONTRARY TO THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND THE TREND OF THIS AGE, THIS NATION IS DETERMINED TO BUILD FUTURE POWER AND WEALTH ON A NEW COLONIALISM, BASED PRIMARILY ON ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER: AND INDIRECTLY ON THE POLITICAL CONTROL WHICH INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WILL GIVE IT TO RULE PEOPLE OVERSEAS, JUST AS INDUSTRY RULES THE UNITED STATES. WE BUILT OUR HIGHEST EXPECTATIONS ON THE COLLAPSE OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRY WHICH WE REGARDED AS CERTAIN AFTER THE WAR WITH GERMANY. WE THEN EXPECTED FREE HAND TO EXPLOIT THE BALKANS AND RUSSIA

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BROADCAST DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS NOVEMBER 6, 1950

DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY IS THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN WHICH EACH CITIZEN HAS A VOICE IN ALL DECISIONS OF POLICY AND ACTION. IT CONTRASTS WITH DICTATORSHIPS, OLIGARCHIES OR CLASS RULE. IN A DEMOCRACY THE CITIZEN MUST HAVE FREEDOM OF OPINION, ACCESS TO THE FACTS AND RIGHT OF EXPRESSION BY VOICE AND VOTE. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS REGARDED ITSELF AS A DEMOCRACY AND LATELY HAS ASSUMED LEADERSHIP OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE WORLD. THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY VENTURES TO EXAMINE THIS CLAIM. FIRST OF ALL THIS COUNTRY WAS NOT AT FIRST A DEMOCRACY EVEN IN THEORY BUT SUCCESSIVELY A MONARCHY, A THEOCRACY AND THEN AN ARISTOCRACY OF BIRTH AND PROPERTY. JEFFERSON AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ~~turned it toward the democratic~~ TURNED IT TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL AND THE AGE OF JACKSON ADMITTED THE WORKERS AND FARMERS INTO THE BODY POLITIC.

I SAW AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THE LAST QUARTER OF LAST CENTURY, FROM THE

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POINT OF VIEW OF NEW ENGLAND, THEN ITS BEST EXPRESSION. WE HAD FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EVEN ENJOYED THE RIGHT OF DISSENT AS SUCH. BUT IN ACTUAL POLITICAL LIFE WE WERE UNDER THE PRETTY STRICT CONTROL OF THE SMALL LANDHOLDERS, THE OWNERS OF TOWN REAL ESTATE AND THE MERCHANTS. THEY WERE THE ONLY ONES WHO WERE ELECTED TO TOWN OFFICE AND WHOSE INFLUENCE WAS DOMINANT OVER PUBLIC OPINION. THERE WAS NO PUBLIC DISCUSSION OR VOTING ON SUCH MATTERS AS WAGES, HOURS OF WORK OR INCOME. SLUMS, POOR RELIEF, SEWAGE AND HEALTH WERE DISCUSSED ONLY AS THEY AFFECTED TAXATION. THE WRETCHED SLUMS IN MY TOWN SURROUNDED THE WOOLEN MILL, WHOSE OWNERS WERE THE SOCIAL ARISTOCRATS OF THE TOWN. WE NEVER DISCUSSED THEM. IN SCHOOL WE DID NOT DISCUSS PROPERTY OR INCOME. WE REGARDED IT AS A PURELY PRIVATE MATTER. WE NEVER HAD STRIKES AND OPPOSED THE IDEAS A FUTILE AND UNNATURAL. POVERTY WAS LOOKED ON AS USUALLY THE RESULT OF LAZINESS AND GOOD SCHOOLS WERE FURNISHED FREE TO THOSE ABLE TO ATTEND. POOR RELIEF WAS A PUBLIC

DISGRACE DISTRIBUTED GINGERLY. PRIVATE ALMS GIVING WAS COMMON. THIS WAS AN APPROACH TO DEMOCRACY, BUT IT WAS NOT COMPLETE DEMOCRACY.

FIRST OF ALL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS HISTORICALLY EXCLUDED AT VARIOUS TIMES AND PLACES FROM THE RIGHT TO VOTE: CATHOLICS AND DISSENTERS LIKE JEWS AND BAPTISTS: ALL WOMEN BEFORE 1920: THE POOR, EVEN IN SOME AREAS TODAY: NEGROES OR DESCENDANTS OF NEGROES: INDIANS, ASIATICS AND FOREIGNERS: ILLITERATES, EVEN WHERE THERE WERE NOT SCHOOLS OR ABILITY TO ATTEND.

MEANTIME THERE WAS GROWIN UP ALONG SIDE OUR DEMOCRACY AND INCREASINGLY CONTRADICTING IT, A SYSTEM OF HUMAN SLAVERY WHICH WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR ECONOMY AND A PRIME SOURCE OF OUR WEALTH. WHEN WE NOBLY DECLARED ALL MEN EQUAL EVERY FIFTH AMERICAN WAS A SLAVE, PURCHASABLE EXCATLY LIKE CATTLE. WE SAW NATURALLY THIS FATAL CONTRADICTION BUT EXCUSED IT IN VARIOUS WAYS AND HOPED IT WOULD DISAPPEAR WITHOUT COSTING US TOO MUCH. BUT AFTER A PERIOD OF HESITATION DURING THE PERIOD 1820 to 1830, JUST AS DEMOCRACY WAS BROADENING SO AS TO

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INCLUDE WHITE LABORERS, NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES BECAME THE BASIS OF A COTTON KINGDOM AND COTTON TOGETHER WITH SUGAR, TOBACCO AND OTHER SLAVE RAISED CROPS, PROCESSED BY A NEW TECHNIQUE CAUSED AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WHICH REBUILT THE MODERN WORLD. IN THE UNITED STATES THE SLAVE POWER GREW UNTIL IT BECAME THE RULE OF A POLITICAL OLIGARCHY WHICH NOT ONLY WAS NOT DEMOCRATIC BUT OPENLY DERIDED DEMOCRACY IN THE NORTH AND WEST AND EXPANDED THE SLAVE ARISTOCRACY SOUTH AND WEST. HOWEVER COINCIDENT WITH SOUTHERN ARISTOCRACY HAD GROWN UP A WESTERN SECTION OF ADVENTURERS, PIONEERS AMONG SMALL LANDHOLDERS AND A NEW VIRILE DEMOCRACY BEGAN TO FLOURISH. IF THE FREE LAND WHICH THE NATION OWNED IN ABUNDANCE HAD IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES BEEN DISTRIBUTED WIDELY AMONG THEM, THIS REGION OF PEASANT PROPRIETORS WOULD HAVE IMPOSED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT ON THE WHOLE NATION. BUT THE WESTERN LAND WAS HELD OFF THE MARKET AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, THEN WAS GIVEN TO RAILROADS AND CORPORATIONS DIGGING FOR MINERALS AND OIL, UNTIL THE DAY WHEN THE WESTERN

FARMER HAD TO FIGHT THE SLAVE POWER FOR FREE LAND.

IN THE ENSUING CIVIL WAR, NO ONE EXCEPT THE DESPISED NEGROES AND WHITE ABOLITIONISTS OPPOSED OR WANTED TO ATTACK SLAVERY: THE MASS OF CITIZENS WANTED TO KEEP THIS SYSTEM OF LABOR OFF ITS FREE SOIL BUT WAS QUITE WILLING TO PROTECT IT IN THE SOUTH SO LONG AS IT APPLIED TO NEGROES.

NORTHERN INDUSTRY WAS HAND IN GLOVE WITH SLAVERY FROM WHICH IT DERIVED HUGE INCOME. IT SWORE VIOLENTLY TO PROTECT ALL THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE OWNERS IN THE SOUTH AND DENY NEGROES CITIZENSHIP OR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WHOLE NATION: BUT IT REFUSED TO SURRENDER SOUTHERN SOIL AND MARKET TO EUROPEANS AND RATHER THAN LOSE THIS PROFITABLE UNION WAS WILLING TO FIGHT, DESTROY AND KILL. BUT VICTORY IN WAR IS NOT ALWAYS AS EASY AS SCRAP-HAPPY GENERALS TELL US. THE SOUTHERNERS WITH LEADERS TRAINED AT WEST POINT AND WITH BLACK LABOR IN THE FIELDS TO RAISE THEIR FOOD AND CLOTHES, FOUGHT THE NORTH TO A STAND-STILL AND NEARLY CAPTURED WASHINGTON SEVERAL TIMES.

THEN THE NORTH HAD SENSE ENOUGH TO ACCEPT THE COOPERATION OF SLAVES WHICH HAD BEEN OFFERED TO THEM FROM THE FIRST. NEGROES HAD FLED FROM THE PLANTATIONS BY THOUSANDS AND WERE USED AS SPIES AND LABORERS UNTIL FINALLY 200,000 OF THEM BECAME ARMED SOLDIERS IN THE ARMIES OF THE NORTH REPLACING WHITE MEN WHO REFUSED TO FIGHT. VICTORY FOR THE NORTH BECAME SIMPLY A MATTER OF ARMING INCREASING NUMBERS OF THE WHOLE MASS OF A MILLION ABLE-BODIED SLAVES. FACING THAT PROSPECT, LEE PROMPTLY SURRENDERED.

THEN SUDDENLY AND MOST UNEXPECTEDLY, THE UNITED STATES HAD A CHANCE TO FULFILL THE DREAMS OF ITS GREATER FOUNDERS AND BECOME A DEMOCRACY IN FACT AS WELL AS NAME. CHARLES SUMNER AND THADDEUS STEVENS: FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND WENDELL PHILLIPS URGED THE NATION TO GIVE THE EMANCIPATED NEGRO THE VOTE. SUMNER SAID IN 1866: " IN THE FEARFUL TRAGEDY NOW DRAWING TO A CLOSE THERE IS A DESTINY, STERN AND IRRESISTIBLE AS THAT OF THE GREEK DRAMA, WHICH SEEMS

TO MASTER ALL THAT IS DONE, HURRYING ON THE DEATH OF SLAVERY AND ITS WHOLE BROOD OF SIN. THERE IS ALSO A CHRISTIAN PROVIDENCE WHICH WATCHES THIS BATTLE FOR RIGHT, CARING ESPECIALLY FOR THE POOR AND DOWNTRODDEN WHO HAVE NO HELPER. THE FREEDMAN STILL WRITHING UNDER CRUEL OPPRESSION NOW LIFTS HIS VOICE TO GOD THE AVENGER. IT IS FOR US TO SAVE OURSELVES FROM RIGHTEOUS JUDGMENT. NEVER WITH IMPUNITY CAN YOU OUTRAGE HUMAN NATURE. OUR COUNTRY WHICH IS GUILTY STILL, IS PAYING STILL THE GRIEVOUS PENALTY. THEREFORE BY EVERY MOTIVE OF SELF-PRESERVATION WE ARE SUMMONED TO BE JUST. AND THUS IS THE CAUSE ASSOCIATED INDISSOULUBLY WITH THE NATIONAL LIFE....

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"STRIKE AT THE BLACK CODE, AS YOU HAVE ALREADY STRUCK AT THE SLAVE CODE. THERE IS NOTHING TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THEM. STRIKE AT ONCE: STRIKE HARD. YOU HAVE ALREADY PROCLAIMED EMANCIPATION: PROCLAIM ENFRANCHISEMENT ALSO. AND DO NOT STULTIFY YOURSELVES BY SETTING AT NAUGHT THE PRACTICAL PRINCIPLE OF THE FATHERS, THAT ALL JUST GOVERNMENT STANDS ONLY ON THE CONSENT OF THE

GOVERNED, AND ITS INSEPARABLE COROLLARY, THAT TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY. WHAT WAS ONCE TRUE IS TRUE FOREVER, ALTHOUGH WE MAY FOR A TIME LOSE SIGHT OF IT, AND THIS IS THE CASE WITH THOSE IMPERISHABLE TRUTHS TO WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN, ALAS! SO INDIFFERENT. THUS FAR THE WORK IS ONLY HALF DONE....

"ACCORDING TO THE BEST TESTIMONY NOW, THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH EMBRACING CAUCASIANS, MONGOLIANS, MALAYS, AFRICANS, AND AMERICANS IS ABOUT THIRTEEN HUNDRED MILLIONS, OF WHOM ONLY THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY FIVE MILLIONS ARE 'WHITE MEN' OR LITTLE LESS THAN ONE FOURTH, SO THAT IN CLAIMING EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS FOR 'WHITE MEN', YOU DEGRADE NEARLY THREE QUARTERS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY, MADE IN THE 'IMAGE OF GOD' AND DECLARED TO BE OF 'ONE BLOOD', WHILE YOU SANCTION A CASTE OFFENSIVE TO RELIGION, AN OLIGARCHY INCONSISTENT WITH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, AND A MONOPOLY WHICH HAS THE WHOLE WORLD AS ITS FOOTSTOOL.

"AGAINST THIS ASSUMPTION I PROTEST WITH MIND, SOUL AND HEART. IT IS FALSE IN RELIGION, FALSE IN STATESMANSHIP, AND FALSE IN ECONOMY. IT IS AN

EXTRAVAGANCE, WHICH, IF ENFORCED, IS FOOLISH TYRANNY. SHOW ME A CREATURE WITH ERECT COUNTENANCE LOOKING TO HEAVEN, MADE IN THE IMAGE OF GOD, AND I SHOW YOU A MAN WHO, OF WHATEVER COUNTRY OR RACE, WHETHER DARKENED BY EQUATORIAL SUN OR BLANCHED BY NORTHERN COLD, IS WITH YOU A CHILD OF THE HEAVENLY FATHER, AND EQUAL WITH YOU IN TITLE TO ALL THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE."

THE NATION WAS AGHAST: WHAT, RECOGNIZE NEGROES AS MEN AND VOTERS? IMPOSSIBLE. THE NATION HESITATED IN DISMAY. THEN INDUSTRY REALIZED THAT THE SOUTH ALTHOUGH BEATEN IN WAR WAS ABOUT TO RESUME ITS CONTROL OF NATIONAL POLITICS BY REENSLAVING THE NEGRO AND BASING INCREASED POLITICAL POWER ON WHITE REPRESENTATION OF DISFRANCHISED BLACKS. THERE WAS BUT ONE WAY TO FORESTALL THIS AND THAT WAS TO PUT VOTES INTO THE HANDS OF THE NEGROES AND LET THEM BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS OUTVOTE THEIR FORMER MASTERS. BUT SOON IT WAS EVIDENT THAT OUR NEW NEGRO VOTERS WOULD NOT CONFINE THEMSELVES TO SERVING NORTHERN INDUSTRY AND AGREEING IN THE NARROW DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY WHICH

WAS CURRENT IN THE NORTH.

ON THE CONTRAY THEY WERE GOING TO INTERFERE WITH PROPERTY AND INDUSTRY. THIS WAS FROM NO THEORY OF SOCIALISM LEARNED FROM KARL MARX, BUT FROM DIRE NECESSITY. THADEUS STEVENS SAID IN 1865 : "WE HAVE TURNED , OR ARE ABOUT TO TURN, LOOSE FOUR MILLION SLAVES WITHOUT A HUT TO SHELTER THEM OR A CENT IN THEIR POCKETS. THE INFERNAL LAWS OF SLAVERY HAVE PREVENTED THEM FROM ACQUIRING AN EDUCATION, UNDERSTANDING THE COMMONEST LAWS OF CONTRACT, OR OF MANAGING THE ORDINARY BUSINESS LIFE. THIS CONGRESS IS BOUND TO PROVIDE FOR THEM UNTIL THEY CAN TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES. IF WE DO NOT FURNISH THEM WITH HOMESTEADS, AND HEDGE THEM AROUND WITH PROTECTIVE LAWS: IF WE LEAVE THEM TO TO THE LEGISLATION OF THEIR LATE MASTERS, WE HAD BETTER HAVE LEFT THEM IN BONDAGE."

CONGRESS REFUSED TO GIVE LAND OR TOOLS: THE FREEDMEN WERE PENNILESS:

THEY HAD NEITHER LAND NOR TOOLS; THEY HAD NO TRAINED SOCIAL LEADERSHIP. THEY BEGAN, THEY HAD TO BEGIN TO DIVIDE THE BIG PLANTATIONS INTO SMALL FARMS; TO PROVIDE CAPITAL FROM HIGHER WAGES AND PUBLIC FUNDS AND TO OPEN FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THIS WAS TOO MUCH FOR THE NATION; THEY HAD NOT EMANCIPATED NEGROES FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, BUT FOR CONTROL OF THE COTTON CROP.

THE EX WHITE MASTERS WERE EQUALLY ALARMED TO SEE BLACK FOLK ABOUT TO ACQUIRE EDUCATION AND CAPITAL BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS. NORTH AND SOUTH UNITED TO OVERTHROW DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW SOUTH; TO DISENFRANCHISE THE NEGRO VOTE; ESTABLISH A COLOR CASTE OF CHEAP LABOR AND TO GET COTTON BACK ON THE WORLD MARKET. WHEN THIS OVERTHROW OF DEMOCRACY WAS ACCOMPLISHED ABOUT 1885, BIG BUSINESS IN THE GUISE OF MONARCHY AND OLIGARCHY IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY BEGAN OPENLY TO MOVE IN. IN VAIN WE YELL ABOUT REFORM, TRUSTS AND MONOPOLY; THE POWER OF CAPITAL AND WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES GREW FRANTICALLY IN THE NINETIES UNTIL A GREAT WAVE OF FEAR AND RESENTMENT ENGULFED THE NATION IN THE

35-6-26

NINETIES.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN VOICED THE REVOLT OF THE POPULISTS AND WAS ON THE WAY TO VICTORY, WHEN MARK HANNA, AN OHIO CAPITALIST, THREW OFF ALL DISGUISE AND OPENLY BOUGHT THE PRESIDENCY FOR WILLIAM MCKINLEY AND SLAPPED AND CHEATED POPULISM INTO OBLIVION WHILE THE RANK AND FILE AMERICAN WAS APPEASED BY THE ABSOLUTELY UNNECESSARY SPANISH WAR AND OUR DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY BECAME AN IMPERIAL OWNER OF CHEAP COLONIAL LABOR AND SURF GROWN SUGAR.

WE ENTERED THE 20TH CENTURY, NOT AS A DEMOCRACY RULED BY THE VOTES OF THE PEOPLE BUT AS A PLUTOCRACY RULED BY WEALTH AND . THE SLAVE POWER WAS REPLACED BY THE MONEY POWER AND UNDER NEITHER CAN DEMOCRACY FLOURISH. THUS TODAY THE HEIRS OF THE SLAVE POWER, ADOPTED BY THE MONEY POWER RULE CONGRESS THROUGH DISENFRANCHISEMENT AND UNLIMITED DEBATE, SO THAT ILLITERATE CHAIRMEN OF POWERFUL COMMITTEES RUN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DOMESTIC POLICY, WHILE THE FABULOUS RESOURCES OF AN EMPIRE LIKE TEXAS ARE SURRENDERED TO MONOPOLY

BY MANIPULATION OF FEDERAL FUNDS.

WE OPENLY EXPRESSED OUR DISBELIEF IN THE POSSIBILITY OF DEMOCRACY AND ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF MANIPULATING ELECTIONS, CHOOSING PICKED CANDIDATES AND CIRCUMVENTING THE POPULAR WILL, IF SUCH A WILL EXISTED. OUR REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATURE AND CONGRESS WAS NOTORIOUSLY UNFAIR AND UNEQUAL. TWELVE MILLION VOTERS IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES SEND SIX SENATORS TO WASHINGTON WHILE 4½ MILLION VOTERS IN THE SOUTH SEND TWENTY. IN THE SOUTH 44,000 VOTERS HAVE EQUAL POWER TO 134,000 IN THE MIDDLE WEST. OUR COURTS WERE REMOVED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE FROM POPULAR CHOICE AND JURIES ARE A PICKED ARISTOCRACY, INSURED CONVICTION OF ANY ENEMY OF THE RULING CLASSES. WE ADDED TO OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS AND INFLUENCE. WE EVOLVED A TECHNIQUE OF CONTROL WHICH WE LOUDLY ADVERTISED AS AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. IT CONSISTED OF PUTTING STOOGES AND QUISLINGS LIKE CHIANG KAI SHEK, SYNGMAN RHEE AND QUIRINO IN POWER AND LETTING THEM RUN THE GOVERNMENT AND RIG THE ELECTIONS WHILE AMERICANS

BUSINESS MOVED IN TO EXPLOIT LABOR AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN PROFIT. WHEN THE LID BLEW OFF THIS ARRANGEMENT WE YELLED: "HERE COME THE RUSSIANS" AND PREPARED FOR WORLD WAR. THIS TECHNIQUE COULD NOT FOOL THE NATION FOREVER SO THAT ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH WE ARE SET TO CURB AND SUPPRESS THAT PUBLIC OPINION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH ONCE AWARE AND AROUSED SWEEPS AWAY THE RULE OF BIG BUSINESS LIKE CHAFF. THIS HAPPENED UNDER FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND WILL HAPPEN AGAIN WHEN THIS DRUGGED AND FRIGHTENED NATION WAKES UP.

WE FOOLED THE PUBLIC WITH LIES: WE NAILED UP THE REAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION: WE SPREAD FEAR AND FAIRY TALE; WE HIKED THE PRICE OF ELECTIONS UNTIL $40,000,000 A YEAR IS USED TO BUY RESULTS WHICH BIG BUSINESS WANTS: AND FINALLY WE MARCHED THE GENERALS IN TO PUT THE YOUTH OF AMERICA INTO THE GOOSE STEP AND SPENT FOR DRILLING WHAT WE OUGHT TO SPEND FOR EDUCATION.

HERE WE STAND TODAY AND WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT? WE CAN STOP WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR: WE CAN STOP OBSTINATELY REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE WORLD PEACE SAVE ON OUR OWN TERMS: WE CAN PUT THE MILITARY OUT OF PUBLIC OFFICE. AND THEN WE CAN TURN OUR FANTASTIC WASTE OF MONEY ON MURDER AND DESTRUCTION ON EDUCATION KNOWING AS OUR SLOW-WITTED PRESIDENT HAS JUST DISCOVERED THAT A THIRD OF OUR YOUTH TODAY IS ILLITERATE, UNTRAINED, SICK AND UNFIT. WE CAN SUPPORT A FREE PRESS AND REFUSE TO TAKE PICTURES AND ADVERTISING AS NEWS AND TRUTH. WE CAN DEMAND AN EFFICIENT FEPC, NOT SIMPLY AS JUSTICE, BUT TO GIVE THE NATION THE ABILITY AND GENIUS NOW DENIED AND CHOKED. WE CAN INSIST ON BASING REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATURES AND CONGRESS ON POPULATION AND VOTES CAST. WE CAN DEMAND THE RIGHT OF A THIRD PARTY TO APPEAR AND BE COUNTED AT ANY ELECTION. WE CAN REDUCE ELECTION EXPENSES BY PUBLIC APPROPRIATION AND PUT CHEATERS AND OFFICE BROKERS IN JAIL EVEN IF THEY HOLD OR ASPIRE TO THE HIGHEST OFFICES. WE CAN MAKE THE SENATE A REAL LEGISLATURE AND NOT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TRUSTS

3-16-38

AND OBLIGE IT TO ADOPT CLOSURE. WE CAN COMPEL CONGRESS TO ABOLISH SENIORITY IN COMMITTEES WHICH PUTS LEGISLATION AT THE MERCY OF SOUTHERN OLIGARCHY AND WITHIN GRAFT.

WE CAN BECOME A FREE PEOPLE UNSURROUNDED BY SPIES AND PEEP HOLES AND A DEMOCRACY UNBOUGHT BY WEALTH, GREED AND STOLEN POWER. WE CAN HAVE PEACE. THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

LET THE MONEY MASTERS OF AMERICA BEWARE, IF THEY FORCE THIS WORLD INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR, WITH MURDER OF YOUTH, DEATH OF DREAM, WITH DESTRUCTION OF HEARTH AND HOME: THEY WILL NEVER BE FORGIVEN IN THIS WORLD NOR IN ALL THE WORLDS TO COME.

THERE IS A PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA, DRUGGED AND ASLEEP AS IT IS AFTER LAYERS OF LIES NAILED DOWN UPON IT BY A PROSTITITE PRESS HAVE BEEN PRIED OFF, SOMEDAY THIS LAND WILL BE SANE AGAIN AND THE NATION WILL SPEAK OUT LOUD.

I HAD ONCE A CLASSMATE WHO LIES TONIGHT AMONG THE HAPPY DEAD. HE MADE SONGS FOR A LIFE WORK. WHEN HE SAW THE MACHINE OF WEALTH CHAINING HUMAN LABOR LIKE A BRUTE TO ITS BLOODY WHEELS HE SANG: " BUT THE BRUTE SAID IN HIS BREST, 'TILL THE MILLS I GRIND HAVE CEASED, THE RICHES SHALL BE DUST OF DUST, DRY ASHES BE THE FEAST!

"ON THE STRONG AND CUNNING FEW
CYNIC FAVORS I WILL STREW:
I WILL STUFF THEIR MAW WITH OVERPLUS UNTIL THEIR SPIRIT DI S:
FROM THE PATIENT AND THE LOW
I WILL TAKE THE JOYS THEY KNOW:
THEY SHALL HUNGER AFTER VANITIES AND STILL AN HUNGERED GO.
MADNESS SHALL BE ON THE PEOPLE, GHASTLY JEALOUSIES ARISE:
BROTHER'S BLOOD SHALL CRY ON BROTHER UP THE DEAD AND EMPTY SKIES."

35-6-29

BROADCAST, NOVEMBER 6, 1950

DEMOCRACY

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Democracy is the form of government in which each citizen has a voice in all decisions of policy and action. It contrasts with dictatorships, oligarchies or class rule. In a democracy the citizen must have freedom of opinion, access to the facts and right of expression by voice and vote. The United States has always regarded itself as a democracy and lately has assumed leadership of the democratic forces of the world. The American Labor Party ventures to examine this claim. First of all this country was not at first a democracy even in theory, but successively a monarchy, a theocracy and then an aristocracy of birth and property. Jefferson and the French Revolution turned it toward the democratic ideal and the age of Jackson admitted the workers and farmers into the body politic.

35-7-49

I saw American Democracy in the last quarter of last century, from the point of view of New England, then its best expression. We had freedom of opinion and considerable right of dissent. But in actual political life we were under the pretty strict control of the small landholders, the owners of town real estate and the merchants. They were the only ones who were elected to town office and whose influence was dominant over public opinion. There was no public discussion or voting on such matters as wages, hours of work or income. Slums, poor relief, sewage and health were discussed only as they affected taxation. The wretched slums in my town surrounded the woolen mill, whose owners were the social aristocrats of the town. We never discussed them. In school we did not discuss property nor income. We regarded these as purely private matters. We never had strikes and opposed the idea as futile and unnatural. Poverty was looked on as usually the reslut of laziness, and good schools were furnished free to those able to attend. Poor relief was a public disgrace distributed gingerly. Private alms-giving was common. This was an

approach to democracy, but it was not complete democracy.

First of all, democracy in the United States has historically excluded from the right to vote, at various times and places: Catholics and dissenters like Jews and Baptists, all women before 1920; the poor, even in some areas today, Negroes or descendants of Negroes, Indians, Asiatics and Foreigners; illiterates, even where there were no schools nor ability to attend.

35-7-50

Meantime there was growing up along side our democracy and increasingly contradicting it, a system of human slavery which was an integral part of our economy and a prime source of our wealth. When we nobly declared "All men equal," every fifth American was a slave, purchasable exactly like cattle. Naturally we saw this fatal contradiction but excused it in various ways and hoped it would disappear without costing us too much. But after hesitation during the period from 1776 to 1820, just as democracy was broadening so as to include white laborers, Negro slavery in the United States became the basis of a cotton kingdom and cotton togerher with sugar, tobacco and other slave-raised crops processed by a new technique, caused an industrial revoltuion which rebuilt the modern world. In the United States the slave power grew until it became the rule of a political oligarchy which not only was not democratic but openly derided democracy in the North and West and expanded the slave aristocracy South and West. However coincident with Southern aristocracy had grown up a Western section of adventurers and pioneers among small landholders and there a new virile democracy began to flourish. If the free land which the nation owned in abundance had in the 30's and 40's been distributed widely among them, augumented by immigration from the South, East and Europe, this region of peasant proprietors would have imposed democratic government and freedom of thought on the whole nation. But the western land was held off the markets as long as possible, then was given to railroads and corporations digging for minerals and oil, until the day when the western farmer had to fight the slave power for free land.

In the ensuing Civil War, no one except the despised Negroes and white abolitionists opposed or wanted to attack slavery, the mass of citizens wanted to keep this system of labor off its free soil but was quite willing to protect it in the South so long as it applied only to Negroes.

Northern industry was hand in glove with slavery from which it derived huge income. It swore violently to protect all the rights of slave owners in the South and deny Negroes citizenship or human rights in the whole nation; but it refused to surrender Southern products and markets to Europeans and rather than lose this profitable union was willing to fight, destroy and kill. But victory in war is not always as easy as scrap-happy generals tell us. The Southerners with leaders trained at West Point, weapons stolen from the government and with black labor in the fields to raise their food and clothes, fought the North to a stand-still, invaded the North and nearly captured Washington.

35-7-51

Then the North had sense enough to accept the cooperation of slaves which had been offered to them from the first. Negroes had fled from the plantations by thousands and were used as spies and laborers until finally 200,000 of them became armed soldiers in the armies of the North replacing Northern white men who refused to fight. Southern poor whites began to desert. Victory for the North became simply a matter of arming increasing numbers of the whole mass of a million able-bodied slaves. Facing that prospect, Lee surrendered after a futile attempt to induce Negroes to fight for slavery.

Then suddenly and most unexpectedly, the United States had a chance to fulfill the dreams of its greater founders and become a democracy in fact as well as name. Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens; Frederick Douglass and Wendell Phillips urged the nation to give the emancipated Negro the vote. Sumner said in 1866: "In the fearful tragedy now drawing to a close there is a destiny, stern and irresistible as that of the Greek drams, which seems to master all that is done, hurrying on the death of slavery and its whole brood on sin. There is also a Chrisitian providence which watches this battle

for right, caring especially for the poor and downtrodden who have no helper. The freedmen still writhing under cruel oppression now lifts his voice to God the Avenger. It is for us to save ourselves from righteous judgment. Never with impunity can you outrage human nature. Our country which is guilty still, is paying still the grievous penalty. Therefore by every motive of self-preservation we are summoned to be just. And thus is the cause associated indissolubly with the national life--....

35-7-52

"Strike at the Black Code, as you have already struck at the Slave Code. There is nothing to choose between them. Strike at once: strike hard. You have already proclaimed emancipation: proclaim enfranchisement also. And do not stultify yourselves by setting at naught the practical principle of the fathers, that all just government stands only on the consent of the governed; and its inseparable corollary, that taxation without representation is tyranny. What was once true is true forever, although we may for a time lose sight of it, and this is the case with those imperishable truths to which you have been, alas! so indifferent. Thus far the work is only half done....

"According to the best testimony now, the population of the earth embracing caucasians, Mongolians, Malays, Africans, and Americans is about thirteen hundred millions, of whom only three hundred and seventy five millions are 'white men' or little less than one fourth, so that in claiming exclusive rights for white men', you degrade nearly three quarters of the human family, made in the 'Image of God' and declared to be of 'one blood', while you sanction a caste offensive to religion, an oligarchy inconsistent with republican government, and a monopoly which has the whole world as its footstool.

"Against this assumption I protest with mind, soul and heart. It is false in religion, false in statesmanship, and false in economy. It is an extravagance, which, if enforced, is foolish tyranny. Show me a creature

with erect countenance looking to Heaven, made in the Image of God, and I show you a man who, of whatever country or race, whether darkened by equatorial sun or blanched by Northern cold, is with you a child of the Heavenly Father, and equal with you in title to all the rights of human nature."

35-7-53

The nation was aghast: what, recognize Negroes as men and voters? Impossible. And then Industry realized that the South, although beaten in war, was about to resume its control of national politics by reinslaving the Negro and basing increased political power on white representation of disfranchised b blacks. There was but one way to forestall this and that was to put votes into the hands of the Negroes and let them by democratic methods outvote their former masters. But soon it was evident that the new Negro voters would not confine themselves to serving Northern industry and agreeing to the narrow definition of democracy which was current in the North.

On the contrary they were going to interfere with property and industry. This was from no theory of socialism learned from Karl Marx, but from dire necessity. Thaddeus Stevens said in 1865: "We have turned, or are about to turn loose four million slaves without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education, understanding the commonest laws of contract, or of managing the ordinary business of life. This congress is bound to provide for them until they can take care of themselves. If we do not furnish them with homesteads, and hedge them around with protective laws; if we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better have left them in bondage."

Congress however refused to give Negroes land or tools; the Freedmen were penniless; they had no clothes nor food; they had no trained social leadership. They began, they had to begin to divide the big plantations into small farms; to provide capital from higher wages and public funds and to open free public schools. This was too much for the nation: they had not emancipated Negroes for a new democratic socialism, but for control of the

cotton crop.

The white ex-masters were equally alarmed to see black folk about to acquire education and capital by democratic methods. North and South united to overthrow democracy in the new South; to disenfranchise the Negro vote: establish a color caste of cheap labor and to get cotton back on the world market. When this overthrow of democracy was accomplished about 1885, Big Business in the guise of oligarchy in American industry began openly to move in. In vain we yelled about reform, trusts and monopoly; the power of capital and wealth in the United States grew frantically in the 90's until a great wave of fear and resentment engulfed the nation in the Nineties.

35-7-54

William Jennings Bryan voiced the revolt of the Populists and was on the way to victory, when Mark Hanna, an Ohio capitalist, threw off all disguise and openly bought the Presidency for William McKinley; capital slapped and cheated Populism into oblivion, while the rank and file American was appeased by absolutely unnecessary Spanish War and our democratic country became an imperial owner of cheap colonial labor and serf-grown sugar.

We entered the 20th century, not as a democracy ruled by the votes of the people but as a plutocracy ruled by wealth and for wealth. The slave power was replaced by the money power and under neither can democracy flourish. Thus today the heirs of the slave power, adopted by the money power, rule congress, through disfranchisement and unlimited debate, so that illiterate chairmen of powerful committees run foreign affairs and domestic policy, while the fabulous resources of an empire like Texas are surrendered to monopoly by manipulation of federal funds.

We openly expressed our disbelief in the possibility of democracy and absolute necessity of manipulationg elections, choosing picked candidates and circumventing the popular will, if such a will existed. Our representation in legislature and congress was notoriously unfair and unewual. Twelve million voters in the Middle Atlantic States send six senators to Washington

while 4½ million voters in the South send twenty. In the South 44,000 voters have equal power to 134,000 in the Middle West. Our courts were removed as far as possible from popular choice and juries are often a picked aristocracy, insured conviction of any enemy of the ruling classes. We added to our colonial possessions and influence. We evolved a technique of ~~puttingxxxxxx~~ control which we loudly advertised as American Democracy. It consisted of putting stooges and quislings like Chiang Kai, Shek, Syngman Rhee , Quirino and Munoz in power and letting them run the governmment and rig the elect ons while America's business moved in to exploit labor and materials for American profit. When the lid blew off this arrangement, we yelled: "Here come the Russians" and prepared for world war.

35-7-55

This technique could not fool the nation forever so that on the threshold of the second half of the twentieth we are set to curb and suppress that public opinion of the people of the United States which once aware and arcused will sweep away the rule of Big Business like chaff. This happened under Franklin Roosevelt and will happen again when this drugged and frightened nation wakes up.

We fooled the public with lies; we nailed up the real sources of information; we spread fear and fairy tale; we hiked the price of elect ons until $40,000,000 a year is used to buy results which Big Business wants; and finally we marched the Generals in to put the youth of America into the Goose Step and spent for drilling what we ought to spend for education.

Here we stand today and what can we do about it? We can get out of Asia, we can stop war and preparagion for war; we can stop obstinately refusing to negotiate world peace save on our own terms; we can put the military out of public office. And then we can turn our fantistic waste of money on murder and destruct on toward educat on; knowing as our slow-witted president has just discovered that a third of our youth today is illiterate, untrained, sick and unfit. We can support a free press and refuse to take pictures and advertising

as news and truth. We can demand an efficient FEPC, not simply as justice, but to give the n tion the ability and genius now denied and choked. We can insist on basing representation in legislature and congress on population and votes cast. We can demand the r ght of a third party to appear and be counted at any election. We can reduce election expenses by public appropriation and put grafters and office-brok rs in jail even if they hold or aspire to the highest offices. We can make the senate a real legislature and not the representative of the trusts and oblige it to adopt closur . We can comple congress to abolish senority in committees which puts legislation at the mercy of Southern oligarchy and Northern graft.

35-7-36

We can become a free people unsurrounded by spies and peep holes and a democracy unbought by wealth, greed and stolen power. We c n have peace. This is the program of the Americ n Labor Party.

Let the money masters of America beware, if they force this world into a Third World W r, with murder of youth, death of dream, with destruction of hearth and home; they will never be forgiven in this world nor in all the worlds to come.

There is a public opinion in America, drugged and asleep as it is after layers of lies nailed down upon it by a prostitute press have been pried off. Someday this land will be sane again and the nation will speak.

BROADCAST DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS NOVEMBER 6, 1950

35-4-274

THIS IS THE ASTOUNDING DAY /WHEN THE NATION/WHICH HAS MOST LOUDLY BOASTED OF PEACE AND FREEDOM/WHICH ASSUMES LEADERSHIP /OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS/ OF THE WORLD/ IS PREPARING FOR WAR//AND NOT MERELY FOR DEFENSIVE WAR /BUT FOR A WAR TO DESTROY THE SOVIET UNION/ CHINA /AND ALL NATIONS/WHICH EMBRACE COMMUNISM OR EVEN EXTREME SOCIALISM// THIS WORLD CONQUEST/HAS BEGUN IN KOREA/ IS SPREADING TO CHINA/ AND ANY DAY MAY ENVELOPE THE EARTH.

THE UNITED NATIONS/OUR HOPE OF PEACE /AFTER THE HORROR OF TWO WORLD WARS IS BEING DISRUPTED/ BY DELIBERATE ATTEMPT /TO BREAK THAT PRINCIPLE /OF UNANIMITY WISELY IMBEDDED/IN ITS CHARTER/AND TO SURRENDER IT/A HELPLESS PUPPET /INTO THE HANDS OF A MAJORITY/ DOMINATED BY THE UNITED STATES// TO FINANCE OUR PROPOSED DICTATORSHIP OF MANKIND/ WE ARE SPENDING/AND PREPARING TO SPEND/ A SUM LARGER / THAN THE INCOME/OF THE REST OF THE WORLD/AND SO VAST/ THAT WE OURSELVES/CANNOT CONCEIVE ITS SIZE/ NOR THE SHATTERING IMPACT/ IT WILL HAVE ON OUR ECONOMY.

35-4-287

THIS IS THE BARE TRUTH/WHICH FACES US /AND MOST AMERICANS ARE STAGGERING IN A DAZE/UNABLE TO REALIZE/THE CRISIS CONFRONTING CIVILIZATION;//NOR DO THEY SEEM TO KNOW/ THAT THE GREAT CORRECTIVE/OF A SANE AND INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION WHICH FORMERLY/ IN DAYS LIKE THIS/COULD BE DEPENDED ON/EVENTUALLY TO RESTORE SANITY AND NORMAL, REACTION,//CAN TODAY/NO LONGER BE RELIED UPON/SO LONG AS PROPAGANDA/ ORGANIZED ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE/AND OF WORLD WIDE INCIDENCE, DENIES THIS NATION/ ACCESS TO THE TRUTH/AND DISTORTS OUR EVERY JUDGMENT.

OUR INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP /TODAY /STANDS COWED /OR SILENCED COMPLETELY. OUR RELIGIOUS GUIDANCE/IS EVEN MORE/SHORN THAN USUAL/OF INITIATIVE.//WE ARE A LOST AND WANDERING PEOPLE/ RUSHING MADLY DOWN STEEP PLACES/ INTO A GREAT SEA. OUR CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS/ARE BEING FRIGHTENED/BY THE ATOM BOMB;//OUR YOUTH IN COLLEGES/ HEADED BY MERCHANTS, POLITICIANS AND GENERALS/ARE BEING INDOCTRINATED BY HATE/ OR ARE/IN STEADILY INCREASING NUMBERS/IN MILITARY FORCES/ BLINDLY

35-4-288

GOOSE-STEPPING/ TO ORDERS /AND PR EPARING TO DISAPPEAR/INTO CRIPPLED MANHOOD, INSANE MENTALITY/OR THE BLACK FATE /OF PURPOSELESS DEATH.

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/IN THIS DAY OF WRATH/ CRIES TO THIS GREAT CITY/ AND EMPIRE STATE/A LAST WORD OF WARNING/ MUFFLED THOUGH IT BE/BY SILENCE, THREAT AND LACK OF OPPORTUNITY/ TO BRING OUR MESSAGE/TO A TENTH OF THOSE/WHO SHOULD HEAR.// WE SAY AND SAY AGAIN/WITH REITERATED EMPHASIS:// OUR PLIGHT,/OUR SORRY PLIGHT/ IN THIS LAND TODAY/IS DUE TO THE MONEY POWER:/ TO THE ORGANIZATIONS FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/ WHICH HAVE BOUGHT UP/OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES,/ THROTTLED OUR NEWS· GATHERING/AND PARALIZED OUR THOUGHT.// OUR WHOLE CONCEPT OF AMERICAN LIFE/HAS BEEN ALTERED/SINCE THE DAY/ WHEN/ AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE SLAVE POWER,/ NORTHERN MERCHANT/AND SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDER/UNITED TO OVERTHROW AT BIRTH/ THE DEMOCRACY/OF A NEW SOUTH:// TO DISFRANCHISE THE FREEDMEN/AND ESTABLISH A CASTE OF CHEAP BLACK LABOR/ WHICH BOUND WHITE LABOR/ WITH THE SAME CHAINS.// ONCE THIS OVERTHROW OF DEMOCRACY/ WAS ACCOMPLISHED,/ MONARCHY AND OLIGARCHY/IN AMERICAN

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INDUSTRY/ BEGAN TO REIGN OPENLY.

IN VAIN/ WE SCREAMED REFORM/AND RAKED MUCK INTO THE LIGHT.// THE POWER OF CAPITAL AND WEALTH/ CONTINUED TO GROW FRANTICALLY/UNTIL A GREAT WAVE OF RESENTMENT/ ENGULFED THE NATION.// WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN/VOICED THE REVOLT/ AND WAS IN SIGHT OF VICTORY/ WHEN CAPITALISM THREW OFF ALL DISGUISE.// MARK HANNA OPENLY BOUGHT/ THE PRESIDENCY FOR MCKINLEY/AND BIG BUSINESS/CRUCIFIED POPULISM ON A CROSS OF GOLD.// THE TRUMPTS AND DRUMS/OF A TOTALLY UNNECESSARY SPANISH WAR/ APPEASED/THE RANK AND FILE AMERICAN/ AND OUR COUNTRY/BECAME IMPERIAL OWNER/ OF CHEAP COLONIAL LABOR/AND SERF-GROWN SUGAR.

WE ENTERED THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/NOT AS A DEMOCRACY/BUT AS A PLUTOCRACY-/ A NATION RULED POLITICALLY,/ ECONOMICALLY/AND SOCIALLY/ BY THE INDIVIDUALS/WHO CONTROL OUR WEALTH.// TODAY/ THE MONEY POWER/AS HEIR TO THE SLAVE POWER/ RULES CONGRESS/ THROUGH DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH/SO THAT ILLITERATE CHAIRMEN/OF POWERFUL COMMITTEES/ CONTROL FOREIGN AFFAIRS/AND DOMESTIC POLICY,/ WHILE THE

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FABULOUS RESOURCES/ OF THE SOUTH AND WEST/ ARE SURRENDERED TO MONOPOLY/ BY MANIPULATION OF FEDERAL FUNDS.// THUS ARMED AND EQUIPPED/ BY TAXATION ON THE POOR/ FLANKED BY QUISLINGS/ LIKE CHIANG KAI-SHEK/ SYNGMAN RHEE/ QUIRINO AND MARIN/ WE SET OUT TO CONQUER THE EARTH/ FOR AMERICAN PRIVATE PROFIT.// IF WE ARE TO HALT/ THIS MARCH/ FROM PEACE AND FREEDOM/ INTO WAR AND SLAVERY/ WE MUST BEGIN TODAY/ IN THIS ELECTION/ IN THIS CITY.

HARKEN AMERICANS/ NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN;/ CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS;/ GRANDSONS OF SLAVES; TO YOUR TENTS! O ISREAL:// DRAG BACK THE WAVERING HANDS/ OF MEN/ WHO GROVEL IN THEFT AND MURDER. HELP MAKE THIS LAND/ WHAT ONCE WE THOUGHT/ WE WANTED IT TO BE.

BRODCAST, NOVEMBER 6, 1950

PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

This is the astounding day when the nation which has most loudly boasted of Peace and Freedom; which assumes leadership of the democratic nations of the world, is preparing for war; and not merely for defensive war, but for a war to destroy the Union of Soviet Republics, China and all nations which embrace communism or even extreme socialism. This conquest of the world has started in Korea, is spreading to China and may any day embrace the world.

The United Nations, our hope of peace after the horror of Two World Wars, is being disrupted by deliberate attempt to break that principle of unanimity wisely imbedded in its charter and to surrender it a helpless puppet to a majority dominated by the United States. To finance our proposed dictatorship of mankind we are spending and preparing to spend a sum of money greater than the income of the rest of the world and so vast that we ourselves cannot conceive its size nor the shattering impact it will have on our economy, on our total life and work.

This is the bare truth which confronts us, although many americans stagger in a daze and do not seem to realize our situation or the unprecented crisis which confronts civilization in our day. Nor do they appear to know that the great corrective of sane and informed public opinion, which in crisis like this could hitherto be relied upon to restore sanity and normal reaction, today no longer exists. Organized propaganda on an unprecedented scale and world wide in incidence has denied this nation access to the truth and distorted our every judgment.

Our intellectual leadership today stands cowed, or silenced completely. Our ethical and religious guidance is even more completely shorn than usual of all influence or initiative. We are a lost and leaderless people rushing madly down steep places into a great sea. Our youth in schools are frightened

by tha atom bomg; or in colleges headed by merchants, politicians or generals indoctrinated with hate, or in the military forces in steadily increasing number blindly goose stepping to orde s and peparing to disappear into crippled manhood, insane mentality or be black fate of purposeless death.

The American Labor Party in this day of wrath cries to this great city and Empire State, a last work of warning, muffled though it may be by silence, threat and lack of opportunity to bring our message to a tenth of those who should hear. We say and say again with reiterated emphasis; our plight, our sorry plight in this land today, is due and due mainly to the money power; to the organization for private profit which has bought up our periodicals, throttled our news gathering and paralized our thought.

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Our whole concept of life has been altered since the day when after the overthrow of the slave power, Northern merchant and Southern slaveholder united to overthorw democracy before it was born in a new South; to disenfranchise the freedmen's vote and establish a caste of cheap black labor, which bound white labor in equal chains. When this overthrow of democracy was accomplished, monarchy and oligarchy in American industry beg n openly to reign.

This technique could not fool the nation forever so that on the thres hold of the second half of the 20th century we are set to curb and suppress that public opinion of the people of the United States which once aware and aroused swears away the rule of Big Business like chaff. This began to hapren under Franklin Roosevelt and will happen again when this drugg d and frightened nation wakes up.

BROADCAST W.E.B. DU BOIS NOV. 6,1950

THIS IS THE ASTOUNDING DAY WHEN THE NATION WHICH HAS MOST LOUDLY BOASTED OF PEACE AND FREEDOM WHICH ASSUMES LEADERSHIP OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WORLD IS PREPARING FOR WAR AND NOT MERELY FOR DEFENSIVE WAR BUT FOR A WAR TO DISTROY THE SOVIET UNION CHINA AND ALL NATIONS WHICH EMBRACE COMMUNISM, or even extreme Socialism THIS WORLD CONQUEST HAS BEGUN IN KOREA IS SPREADING TO CHINA AND ANY DAY MAY ENVEL- the THE EARTH. ¶ THE UNITED NATIONS OUR HOPE OF PEACE AFTER THE HORROR OF TWO WORLD WARS IS BEING DISRUPTED BY DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO BREAK THAT PRINCIPLE OF UNANIMITY WISELY IMBEDDED IN ITS CHARTER AND TO SURRENDER IT A HELPLESS PUPPET INTO THE HANDS OF A MAJORITY DOMINATED BY THE UNITED STATES. TO FINANCE OUR PROPOSED DICTATORSHIP OF MANKIND, WE ARE SPENDING AND PREPARING TO SPEND A SUM LARGER THAN THE INCOME OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND SO VAST THAT WE OURSELVES CANNOT CONCEIVE ITS SIZE NOR THE SHATTERING IMPACT IT WILL HAVE ON OUR ECONOMY ¶ THIS IS THE BARE TRUTH WHICH ~~CONFRONTS~~ faces US ~~WITH~~ and MOST AMERICANS are STAGGERING IN A DAZE UNABLE TO REALIZE THE CRISIS CONFRONTING CIVILIZATION. NOR DO THEY SEEM TO KNOW THAT THE GREAT CORRECTIVE OF A SANE AND INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION WHICH FORMERLY IN DAYS LIKE THIS COULD BE DEPENDED ON EVENTUALLY TO RESTORE SANITY AND NORMAL REACTION CAN TODAY NO LONGER BE RELIED UPON SO LONG AS PROPAGANDA ORGANIZED ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE AND OF WORLD WIDE INCIDENCE DENIES THIS NATION ACCESS TO THE TRUTH AND DISTORTS OUR EVERY JUDGMENT. ¶ OUR INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP TODAY STANDS COWED OR SILENCED COMPLETELY. OUR RELIGIOUS GUIDANCE IS EVEN MORE SHORN THAN USUAL OF INITIATIVE. WE ARE A LOST AND WANDERING PEOPLE RUSHING MADLY DOWN STEEP PLACES INTO A GREAT SEA. OUR CHILDREN, IN SCHOOLS ARE BEING FRIGHTENED BY THE ATOM BOMB; OUR YOUTH IN COLLEGES HEADED BY MERCHANTS, POLITITIANS AND GENERALS ARE BEING INDOCTRINATED BY HATE OR ARE IN STEADILY INCREASING NUMBERS IN MILITARY FORCES, BLINDLY GOOSE-STEPPING TO ORDERS AND PREPARING TO DISAPPEAR INTO CRIPPLED MANHOOD, INSANE MENTALITY OR THE BLACK FATE OF PURPOSELESS DEATH. ¶ THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY IN THIS DAY OF WRATH CRIES TO THIS GREAT CITY AND EMPIRE STATE A LAST WORD OF WARNING MUFFLED THOUGH IT BE BY SILENCE THREAT AND LACK OF OPPORTUNITY TO BRING OUR MESSAGE TO A TENTH OF THOSE WHO SHOULD HEAR. WE SAY AND SAY AGAIN WITH REITERATED EMPHASIS: OUR PLIGHT OUR SORRY PLIGHT IN THIS LAND TODAY IS DUE TO THE MONEY POWER: TO THE ORGANIZATIONS FOR PRIVATE PROFIT WHICH HAVE BOUGHT UP OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, THROTTLED OUR NEWS GATHERING AND PARALIZED OUR THOUGHT. OUR WHOLE CONCEPT OF AMERICAN LIFE HAS BEEN ALTERED SINCE THE DAY WHEN AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE SLAVE POWER NORTHERN MERCHANT AND SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDER UNITED TO OVERTHROW AT BIRTH THE DEMOCRACY OF A NEW SOUTH: TO DISFRANCHISE THE FREEDMEN AND ESTABLISH A CASTE OF

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OF CHEAP BLACK LABOR WHICH BOUND WHITE LABOR WITH THE SAME CHAINS. ONCE THIS OVER THROW OF DEMOCRACY WAS ACCOMPLISHED MONARCHY AND OLIGARCHY IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY BEGAN TO REIGN OPENLY. IN VAIN WE SCREAMED REFORM AND RAKED MUCK INTO THE LIGHT. THE POWER OF CAPITAL AND WEALTH CONTINUED TO GROW FRANTICALLY UNTIL A GREAT WAVE OF RESENTMENT ENGULFED THE NATION. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN VOICED THE REVOLT AND WAS IN SIGHT OF VICTORY WHEN CAPITALISM THREW OFF ALL DISGUISE. MARK HANNA OPENLY BOUGHT THE PRESIDENCY FOR MCKINLEY AND BIG BUSINESS CRUCIFIED POPULISM ON A CROSS OF GOLD. THE TRUMPETS AND DRUMS OF A TOTALLY UNNECESSARY SPANISH WAR APPEASED THE RANK AND FILE AMERICAN AND OUR COUNTRY BECAME IMPERIAL OWNER OF CHEAP COLONIAL LABOR AND SERF-GROWN SUGAR. WE ENTERED THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NOT AS A DEMOCRACY BUT AS A PLUTOCRACY RULED BY WEALTH. TODAY THE MONEY POWER AS HEIR TO THE SLAVE POWER RULES CONGRESS THROUGH DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH SO THAT ILLITERATE CHAIRMEN OF POWERFUL COMMITTEES CONTROL FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DOMESTIC POLICY, WHILE THE FABULOUS RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH AND WEST ARE SURRENDERED TO MONOPOLY BY MANIPULATION OF FEDERAL FUNDS. THUS ARMED AND EQUIPPED BY TAXATION ON THE POOR, FLANKED BY QUISLINGS LIKE CHIANG KAI SHEK, SYNGMAN RHEE, QURINO AND ~~MUNOZ~~ Aguinaldo WE SET OUT TO CONQUER THE EARTH FOR AMERICAN PRIVATE PROFIT. IF WE ARE TO HALT THIS MARCH FROM PEACE AND FREEDOM INTO ~~BLOODY CHAINS~~ war + slavery WE MUST BEGIN TODAY IN THIS ELECTION IN THIS CITY. ~~AWAKE~~ LISTEN, NATIVE AMERICANS; CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS; SONS OF SLAVES; TO YOUR TENTS? O ISRAEL; ~~HOLD UP~~ drag back THE WAVERING HANDS OF ~~THOSE~~ men WHO GROVEL IN THEFT AND MURDER. HELP MAKE THIS ~~THE~~ LAND ~~WHICH~~ WHAT ONCE WE THOUGHT WE WANTED IT TO BE.

a nation ruled politically & economically by wealth & industry who control our

→ a nation

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Which once we
thought we wanted it
to be

HELP THIS BECOME THE KIND OF NATION WHICH ONCE
WE THOUGHT WE WANTED IT TO BE

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order - Substituted by Dr. Hunton for W.E.B.

c1950

It has been said more than once that if and when fascism comes to America--and we may well ask if it is not already here--it will be the Negro people first followed by the Jewish people who will feel the fury of barbaric sadism.

It has also become something of a truism that Negroes and Jews have every reason to join forces and fight together against discrimination and prejudice.

Yet the fact remains that while we talk about these things, very little has been done in a serious way to grapple with this question of Jewish-Negro relationships. This in itself is evidence, it seems to me, of the fact that even the most enlightened and progressive among us have fallen victims, unconsciously so, of the baneful virus of prejudice which makes for the separation of peoples and a narrow and exclusive approach by each minority and group of people to its own problems.

Still another reason, I believe, is that we too often approach this question of discrimination and prejudice from a wrong starting point, failing to recognize that these evils have their roots in the profit system of exploitation which the dominant ruling class practices. It is because tenement slums are profitable investments that Negroes are excluded from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s Stuyvesant Town Project. It is because the Wall Street banks and big trusts profit from cheap labor in the South which explains why the average annual income of Negroes in this country is only $1,043 as compared with $3,062 for whites and why 75% of Negro families as compared with 22.3% of white families earn less than $1,000 a year. It is because of colonial imperialism that millions throughout the earth are forced to toil and suffer like slaves.

The final and complete uprooting of racial, religious and national prejudice will come only with the destruction of the economic system which depends upon such exploitation. A man who has enjoyed much recent fame and is far from being a Communist has written:

"If the oppressed racial groups, as a result of desperation and increasing

understanding, should be attracted by the principles of equality and humanitarianism advocated by the Soviet Union (and it is both logical and likely that they will) then racial conflict will become intensified. In such case, however, racial conflict will be more directly identified with class conflict, and the oppressed racial groups may win the support of oppressed, though previously prejudiced, working-class groups within the dominant populations."

That was written and published in a pamphlet titled "A World View of Race" some 13 years ago and I am not sure that the author would like to be reminded of it now, The author's name is Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

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It is the ruling class which controls all the powerful agencies of propaganda which shape our thinking and foster prejudices even among those of us who would be shocked by the accusation of being a racial or religious chauvinist. The only safe-guard against the pernicious and pervasive virus of anti-Semitism among Negroes and anti-Negroism among Jews is for Negroes and Jews individually and in their organizations to act and work together on issues which either group or both groups face. Progress has been made along that path but by no means enough progress. The issues are every where around us: job discrimination, police brutality, discrimination in our schools and colleges, the barring of displaced persons by the United States and the parallel limitation of West Indian immigration to a ridiculous quota--100 persons a year.

And on the world scene, the Negro people have an obligation to support the fight for a free Israel as the Jewish people have an obligation to support the fight for a free Africa.

There is most worthy ~~valid~~ historical precedent for united Negro-Jewish struggle and it dates back to the fight against slavery in this country. "Three young Jewish immigrants were members of John Brown's band of abolitionists in Kansas in 1855. One of the bravest of the Jewish abolitionists was Dr. David Einhorn, Baltimore rabbi, who preached abolitionism in the pro-slavery

Baltimore community and made his journal Sinai an organ for the movement. In 1860 this rabbi was persuaded with great difficulty to leave Baltimore to avoid mob violence; and he finally lost Sinai because of his espousal of this unpopular cause. In Philaddlphia the rabbi Dr. Sabato Morais spoke up against slavery. Another memorable Jewish figure in the abolitionist movement was Moritz Pinner, who in 1859 founded and edited an anti-slavery paper in Missouri, a slave state. In 1853 a fugitive slave was liberated from Federal authorities in Chicago by a crowd led by Morris Greenbaum. And in Alabama, Solomon Heydenfelt, later Supreme Court Justice in California, published a pamphlet in 1849 advocating prohibition of slave immigration into Alabama."

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What these individuals did in the past our organizations must do today. Negro-Jewish unity must be accomplished on the broadest level around the issues of the hour which spell the difference between war and peace, between life or death.

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1945(?)

46-6-1.

NIPPON

THE STORY OF JAPAN

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE/ THAT MANY PLACES ON EARTH/ WHICH SEEM LEAST SUITED FOR HUMAN HABITATION,/ HAVE BECOME CENTERS OF ACTION AND OF CULTURE.// THERE ARE FOR INSTANCE/ TWO ISLANDS WEST OF EUROPE/ WHICH NO ONE WOULD CHOOSE FOR THEIR CLIMATE/ OR EVEN THEIR BEAUUTY.// THE CLIMATE OF ENGLAND IS WRETCHED MOST OF THE YEAR,/ WITH RAIN AND FOG AND CHILL.// SO IN ASIA/ THERE ARE FOUR ISLANDS/ EXTENDING THREE THOUSAND MILES/ ALONG THE EASTERN SHORES, HOKKAIDO, HONSHU,/ SHIKOKU AND KYUSHU.// THE LARGEST OF THE TWO ISLANDS/ ARE ABOUT THE SIZE/ OF INDIANA AND MINNESOTA,/ WHILE THE SMALLER/ IS ABOUT THE SIZE OF NEW JERSEY.// THERE ARE ROCKY MOUNTAIN PEAKS/ RISING FROM THE OCEAN FLOOR,/ BLEAK AND DAMP/ WITH ONLY HANDFULS OF FERTILE SOIL./ This is NIPPON / called JAPAN.

46-6-2

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HERE LIVES A POPULATION/ OF SOME 70,000,000 SOULS/ WITH A LONG AND INTERESTING HISTORY.// THE PEOPLE ARE MIXED/ WITH THE WHITE BLOOD OF THE NORTH,/ THE YELLOW BLOOD OF CHINA,/ AND THE BLACK BLOOD OF THE SOUTH SEAS.// SOME 700 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST,/ ABOUT THE TIME THAT THE GREEK PEOPLE/ BECAME A STATE IN THE WEST,/ THE JAPANESE STATE BEGAN.// THEIR CULTURE WAS LARGELY CHINESE/ AND THEY MAY BE REGARDED/ AS AN OFF-SHOOT/ OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION.// FOR SOME 400 YEARS/ THEY REMAINED AN ABSOLUTE MONARCHY// AND THEN BECAME A FEUDAL GOVERNMENT/ WITH AN EMPEROR,/ BUT WITH GREAT FAMILIES/ OF INCREASING POWER,/ SO MUCH SO THAT THE SHOGUN/ REPRESENTING some great FAMILY/ IN TIME/ HAD MORE ACTUAL POWER/ THAN THE EMPEROR HIMSELF.// AT THE SAME TIME JAPANESE ART/ BECAME AND REMAINS/ ONE OF THE GREAT ART EXPRESSIONS/ OF THE WORLD.// THE FLOWER CULTURE,/ THE TRAINING OF TREES AND SHRUBS,/ PICTORIAL ART IN PAINTING AND PRINTING;/ THE SILK CLOTHING, The PAPER HOMES,/ MARVELLOUS WOODEN TEMPLES AND

DIGNIFIED PUBLIC BUILDINGS/MAKE THE CONTRIBUTION OF JAPAN/TO BEAUTY AND LIFE/IMMEASURABLE.// THERE IS IN IT ALL A CERTAIN SIMPLICITY/AND DIRECTNESS:/A JOY OF BEING/EVEN AMID (HARD TOILY) POVERTY,/WHICH IS UNEXCELLED/ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD .

THIS WAS THE SITUATION/~~UP UNTIL~~ IN THE 19th CENTURY/WHEN AN AMERICAN SHIP COMMANDER,/COMMODORE PERRY/AWAKENED THE NATION/FROM ITS ISOLATION. // PERRY WANTED TRADE/AND ESPECIALLY THE EASTERN TRADE/WHICH HAD LONG BEEN PROFITABLE/TO NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK.// MOREOVER THE AMERICANS/WERE WITNESSING/THE TREMENDOUS EXPANSION/OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE/WHICH HAD ANNEXED INDIA/AND WAS NOW TURNING/ITS ATTENTION TOWARD CHINA.// IF GREAT BRITAIN WAS GOING TO DOMINATE/THE CHINESE TRADE,/THE AMERICANS WERE GOING/TO HAVE A HAND IN THE JAPANESE TRADE.// SO PERRY AND HIS SAILORS/~~WITH A NUMBER OF~~ among whom were several American NEGROES/BORE DOWN ON JAPAN/TRAINED HIS GUNS ON ITS PAPER HOUSES/AND DEMANDED/THE RIGHT TO TRADE.

THE METHODS/BY WHICH THESE TWO COUNTRIES/PENETRATED THE EAST/WERE SIMPLE.// THEY COMPELLED/BY FORCE OF ARMS/THE OPENING OF CERTAIN COAST

 Fiecker China von Japan

CITIES FOR TRADE/WHICH HAD FOR YEARS/BEEN DENIED.// ~~THEY~~ WANTED ~~TO~~ TRUCK WITH THE BARBARISNS OF THE WEST.// BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES/ARRANGED THAT THE COUNTRY/SHOULD NOT ERECT ANY TARIFF BARRIERS,/SO THAT ~~THEIR~~ western IMPORTS/COULD COME IN/PRACTICALLY FREE OF TAXATION.// AND THEN IN ADDITION TO THAT,/THEY ASKED FOR CERTAIN SPECIAL RIGHTS,/~~ESPECIALLY~~ PARTICULARLY THE RIGHT/OF EXTERRITORALITY,/THAT IS/OF TRYING ANY OFFENDERS/OF BRITISH OR AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP ~~BIRTH~~/IN THEIR OWN COURTS.// IN THIS WAY/THE TREMENDOUS COMMERCIAL EXPANSION OF THE WEST/OVER THE EAST BEGAN.// THIS AROUSED JAPAN:/SHE DISMISSED THE CURRENT SHOGUN/AND RESTORED POWER TO THE EMPEROR.// THE NEW YOUNG EMPEROR/MEIJI/ WHO ASCENDED THE THRONE IN 1868,/REORGANIZED THE NATION/AND BEGAN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT/WITH A PARLIAMANT.// A NEW CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED IN 1889.

IT HAPPENED THEREFORE/IN THE 19th CENTURY,/THAT WHILE CHINA/KEPT ITS

FACE TOWARD THE EAST/ AND LOOKED UPON EUROPEAN TRADE/ AS A NUISANCE AND AN INTRUSION,/ TO BE RID OF AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.// THE JAPANESE TURNED WEST./ BY BEING VERY CAREFUL/ OF THEIR COURT PROCEDURE/ THEY AVOIDED EXTERRITORIALITY AND KEPT THEIR OWN COURT JURISDICTION/ OVER FOREIGNERS.// AND WHILE THEY DID NOT RAISE THEIR TARIF HIGH,/ NEVERTHELESS THEY KEPT CONTROL/ AND THEY BEGAN TO EXPORT GOODS./// MORE THAN THAT/ THEY SENT AN INCREASING/ STREAM OF STUDENTS TO THE WEST;/ SO THAT EVERYWHERE:/ IN GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY,/ IN FRANCE AND IN THE UNITED STATES,/ ONE MET JAPANESE STUDENTS, WELL-DRESSED/ WITH INCOME ENOUGH TO LIVE WELL,/ WITH IMPECCABLE MANNERS,/ WHO WERE LEARNING ALL THEY COULD/ OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

TOWARD THE END/ OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,/ JAPAN BEGAN TO ASSERT HERSELF.// INSTEAD OF JOINING CHINA/ IN OPPOSITION TO THE WEST, SHE JOINED THE WEST IN OPPOSITION TO CHINA./ SHE HAD NO BELIEF/ IN THE ABILITY OF THE CHINESE TO ASSERT THEMSELVES,/ AND THEREFORE/ IN THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR, 1894,/ SHE ATTACKED CHINA/ OVER THE QUESTION OF KOREA/ AND SHOWED THE WEST THAT CHINA

WAS NOT NEARLY SO POWERFUL/ AS THEY HAD THOUGHT.// THIS MEANT THAT EUROPE DETERMINED UPON/ THE PARTITION OF CHINA./ BUT SHE HAD TO ADMIT JAPAN/ AS PARTNER.// THIS/ TO THE ASTONISHMENT/ OF THE WORLD/ WAS FOLLOWED BY THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR,/ TEN YEARS LATER/ WHEN THE JAPANESE/ OVERCAME THE RUSSIAN ARMY. THIS MEANT/ THAT THEREAFTER/ JAPAN BECAME BY TREATY/ A RECOGNIZED ALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN/ AND A PARTNER OF EUROPE/ IN ITS DOMINATION OF THE EAST.

CHINA WAS GRADUALLY/ STAKED OUT/ AS SPHERES OF INFLUENCE/ BELONGING TO VARIOUS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.// GREAT BRITAIN GOT THE LARGEST SHARE/ IN HONG KONG AND SHANGHAI/ FRANCE GOT INDO-CHINA/ AND ITALY AND RUSSIA/ CONSIDERABLE SHARES.// JAPAN ALSO/ GOT A FOOTHOLD/ ON THE CHINESE COAST.

THEN CAME THE FIRST WORLD WAR,/ WHICH WAS A WAR FOR COLONIES/ AND WAS DESIGNED/ TO SETTLE THE TERMS OF DOMINATION/ OF EUROPE OVER ASIA/ AND OVER AFRICA,/ WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN DIVIDED/ AMONG EUROPEAN POWERS.// THE LEAGUE

OF NATIONS WAS FORMED/ AND JAPAN TRIED IMMEDIATELY// TO ENFORCE A DECLARATION OF RACIAL EQUALITY/ THERE,// BUT THE OPPOSITION OF THE UNITED STATES/ AND GREAT BRITAIN/ PREVENTED THIS// WHILE THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA/ PREVENTED BRITAIN/ FROM RENEWING HER ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN./ BOTH ACTIONS TO JAPAN'S GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT.// THIS ~~WAS THE BEGINNING~~ increased ∧ FRICTION/ BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE UNITED STATES/ HAD NOT ONLY THEORETICAL PREJUDICE/ AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE/ FOUNDED UPON SLAVERY/ AND THE COLOR LINE.// BUT THIS WAS NOW REINFORCED BY THE FACT/ THAT JAPANESE FARMERS/ EMIGRATING TO CALIFORNIA/ WERE DOMINATING THE TRUCK GARDENING INDUSTRY// AND THEIR AMERICAN RIVALS/ WERE DETERMINED TO SUPPRESS THEM/ BY LIMITING THEIR ENTRANCE/ AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND/ AND BY PUTTING THEM IN SEGREGATED SCHOOLS.// THIS JAPANESE QUESTION/ WENT THROUGH VARIOUS STAGES,/ AS MANY POLICIES WERE ATTEMPTED/ TO ALLAY THE INCREASING ANTAGONISM // BUT IT KEPT CROPPING UP/ under Wilson & both Roosevelts.

MEANTIME/ BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY/ JAPAN BEGAN HER EXPANSION./ // THERE IS NO DOUBT/ BUT WHAT HER CLEAR OBJECT/ WAS THE DOMINATION OF ASIA./ BY THE 60,000,000 (70) INHABITANTS/ OF THESE FOUR LITTLE EASTERN ISLANDS.// HER PENE-tration of Asia/ and of Europe/ came chiefly through her trade.// HER TRADE WAS BASED/ UPON THE JAPANESE FAMILY AND CLAN/ WHICH BOUND THE PEOPLE TOGETHER IN VERTICAL DIVISIONS/ RATHER THAN IN THE HORIZONTAL CLASSES/ WHICH DIVIDE EUROPEAN NATIONS.// AND WHILE WEALTH/ RULED THROUGH THE FIVE GREAT CAPITALISTIC FAMILIES// YET ALL OF THOSE FAMILIES/ WERE BOUND TO THE LOWEST STRATA/ OF WORKING PEOPLE/ THROUGH THIS CLAN AFFILIATION.// BY BRINGING IN WESTERN MACHINERY AND IMPROVING AND ADAPTING IT,/ JAPANESE GOODS/ BEGAN TO ~~FLOOD~~ POUR/ OUT OF HER FACTORIES/ AND FLOOD ASIA AND THE WORLD.// MANY OF YOUR PARENTS/ WILL REMEMBER HOW,/ BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR,/ JAPANESE GOODS/ EXCELLENT IN QUALITY/ AND CHEAP IN PRICE/ WERE TO BE FOUND EVERYWHERE,/ EXCELLING IN QUANTITY ~~AND CHEAPNESS~~ ~~THE~~ AMERICAN AND ENGLISH WARES.// IT WAS A CHALLENGE/ AND A SEVERE CHALLENGE

TO THE WEST/AND BY TIME THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ WAS IN THE OFFING.// IT WAS CLEAR THAT WHATEVER HAPPENED,/ THE OPPOSITION BETWEEN WESTERN TRADE/AND JAPANESE TRADE/WAS GOING TO BE SEVERE/AND CRITICAL.

THEN IN 1939,/ CAME WHAT MUST BE DESCRIBED/AS THE FALL OF EUROPE.// THAT IS/FAILURE/OF THE ATTEMPT/ TO DIVIDE UP THE WORLD/IN COLONIES AND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE/AMONG EUROPEAN NATIONS.// THIS HAD GOTTEN INTO DIFFICULTY/BECAUSE CERTAIN NATIONS/LIKE ITALY AND GERMANY/WERE NOT RECOGNIZED/ IN PARTNERSHIP AND BECAUSE THERE WAS/INCREASING QUESTIONS/ABOUT THE PART/ THAT JAPAN WAS TO PLAY.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ WAS A WAR OVER COLONIES.// BUT A WAR SO SEVERE AND COSTLY/THAT THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF ~~THE WORLD~~ (AMERICA + EUROPE)/ FELL IN 1929. THE WORLD MARKET/WAS DISRUPTED,/ THE GOLD STANDARD OF VALUE/ HAD TO BE GIVEN UP/AND THERE WAS SUFFERING/AND UNEMPLOYMENT/IN EVERY GREAT NATION.// IT WAS ~~IT~~ THEN/ THAT JAPAN MOVED FORWARD/MORE RAPIDLY.// SHE ~~JOINED TO SOME EXTENT~~ {SEIZED MANCHURIA and JOINED

THE EFFORTS OF WESTERN EUROPE/TO SUPPRESS COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA.// BUT MOST OF HER THOUGHT/AND ACTION/ WENT TOWARD THE EAST.// SHE ~~GREATLY~~ FEARED (Russia became 1 Korean War, but now more so) ~~THE~~ THE ATTEMPT OF RUSSIA/TO RUN A STATE/ BY AND FOR/THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKERS.// ~~BUT SHE~~ Japan WAS SURE/ THAT ~~IT~~ this WAS BOUND TO FAIL/OF ITS OWN WEAKNESS/AND THAT THE ROLE OF JAPAN/WAS DOMINATION OF CHINA/AND THE EAST./

SHE WAS ESPECIALLY/PUSHED FORWARD/BY THE FACT/THAT INDIA/HAD NOW BECOME AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY//AND THE QUESTION OF THE DOMINATION/OF CHINA WAS EVEN MORE INSISTENT.// THEREUPON JAPAN/ LED AN AMAZING/UPRISING OF ASIA AGAINST EUROPE.// IN DECEMBER 1941/ SHE SUDDENLY/IN THE MIDST OF CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON/ ATTACKED/THE UNITED STATES FLEET/AT HAWAII.// SANK 18 ~~BATTLE~~ WAR SHIPS,/ KILLED 3000 MEN/AND CRIPPLED THE NAVAL ~~MIGHT~~/ OF THE NATION.// THE JAPANESE THEN STRUCK AT THE PHILLIPINES/ SINGAPORE,/HONG KONG, WHICH THE BRITISH HELD,/ THE DUTCH EAST INDIES/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC.// THEY STRETCHED

THEIR EMPIRE 6000 ~~THOUSANDS OF~~ MILES IN THREE MONTHS. SIAM FELL, GUAM AND WAKE ISLANDS. THE PHILLIPINES GAVE UP AND THE JAPANESE SPREAD OVER MALAYA. THEY SANK TWO BRITISH BATTLESHIPS, TOOK THE CAPITAL OF ~~BURMA~~ BURMA. MACARTHUR ELED TO AUSTRALIA AND BY FEBRUARY 1942, THE JAPANESE FLAG SWEPT ~~OVER 6000~~ ~~MILES~~ FROM THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS TO AUSTRALIA. IT WAS THE GREATEST UPRISING OF THE EAST AGAINST THE WEST SINCE GENGHIS KHAN.

MOREOVER, ~~WHILE~~ BEFORE DOING THIS, JAPAN HAD CAST IN HER LOT WITH GERMANY AND ITALY. SHE CALCULATED SHREWEDLY THAT THE GERMANY ARMY WAS THE MIGHTIEST IN THE WORLD AND UNBEATABLE, AND THAT THERE WAS NO CHANCE TO HOLD HITLER.

MOREOVER, WHEN HITLER HAVING TAKEN THE WHOLE OF WESTERN EUROPE AND BEATEN GREAT BRITAIN TO HER KNEES, TURNED UPON RUSSIA THIS TOOK AWAY THE LAST THREAT TO JAPANESE SUPREMACY IN THE EAST. BECAUSE RUSSIA AFTER ALL WAS AS MUCH AN EASTERN AS A WESTERN POWER AND JAPAN WAS AFRAID OF HER. SO THAT UNTIL THE FATEFUL BATTLE OF STALINGRAD, IT LOOKED AS THOUGH GERMANY WITH ITALY ~~WAS~~ were GOING TO DOMINATE THE WEST AND THAT JAPAN WAS GOING TO BE

MASTER OF ASIA. THEN THE ENTIRELY UNEXPECTED HAPPENED, THE GERMANY ARMY MIGHTIEST IN THE WORLD, WAS ROLLED BACK AND RUSSIA WAS AT THE GATES OF JAPAN.

MOREOVER, BY THIS TIME, after 2 years hence THE AMERICAN ARMY AND NAVY HAD BECOME RE-HABILITATED. THE NAVY ~~HAD~~ FOUGHT TWO MIGHTY BATTLES WITH JAPAN IN THE PACIFIC AND THE ARMY BEGAN CRAWLING ALONG THE ISLANDS FROM AUSTRALIA NORTH UNTIL IT WAS AT THE GATES OF TOKYO. FINALLY THERE CAME THE ASTONISHING REVELATION OF THE ATOM BOMB. JAPAN SURRENDERED. To the U.S. & Germany to Russia

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THERE COMES NOW THE ETHICAL AND PRACTICAL QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT THIS EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF A GREAT PEOPLE REALLY MEANS? THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT WHAT JAPAN AND ALL ASIA HAD A GRIEVANCE AGAINST THE WEST, AND ESPECIALLY AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. THEY HAD BEEN TREATED AS EXPLOITABLE SLAVES, OUT OF WHOSE LABOR AND MATERIAL VAST PROFITS HAD BEEN MADE IN THE PAST AND PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE. BY THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY

(They had been despised and mauled)

IT WAS AXIOMATIC/ THAT CIVILIZATION ~~IN THE FUTURE~~ Henceforth/ WAS GOING TO CONSIST/ OF THE DOMINATION OF EUROPE/ OVER ASIA AND AFRICA/ AND THE WORLD RULE OF THE WHITE RACE.

AGAINST THIS/ THE FIRST CAVEAT/ CAME FROM JAPAN/ IN HER MANIFEST ABILITY TO MASTER/ AND USE WESTERN TECHNIQUE.// AND IT WAS IN TECHNIQUE/ THAT EUROPE/ WAS SURPASSING THE WORLD.// IT WAS NOT IN ETHICS: / THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE AS HIGH STANDARD/ OF MORALS/ AS THE EAST INDIAN PEOPLES.// THEIR ART NEVER REACHED THE STANDARDS/ SET BY ASIA MINOR IN GREECE/ AND ENGLAND COULD NOT BE COMPARED/ IN EITHER BRAINS OR ABILITY/ WITH CHINA./// BUT IN THE MACHINES/ WHICH PROCESSED ~~THE~~ GOODS/ ~~AND~~ (AND IN USE OF NATURAL POWER) IN ~~MADE~~ WEAPONS OF WAR,// IN SHIPS/ AND IN THE TECHNIQUE/ OF COMMERCE/ AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY/ EUROPE WAS SUPREME.// AND WITH THAT/ MORE OR LESS TEMPORARY/ GRASP OF POWER/ SHE WAS PROPOSING/ TO DOMINATE THE WORLD.

THE OPPOSITION/ WAS CENTERED IN MANY EFFORTS.// IN THE EFFORTS/ FOR INSTANCE OF AMERICAN NEGROES/ AFTER EMANCIPATION/ TO BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART/ OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION/ OF THIS COUNTRY/ AND THUS INFLUENCE ITS ATTITUDE/ TO-

WARD THE COLORED WORLD.// THIS WAS FRUSTRATED BY THE BARGAIN OF 1876./ AND NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT/ WAS DICTATED BY INDUSTRIAL/ NOT POLITICAL MOTIVES. WE WANTED TO RESTORE/ THE COTTON KINGDOM/ WITH CHEAP (disfranchised) LABOR/ SO AS TO ENTER FOREIGN TRADE/ AND (share) COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

A SECOND EFFORT/ WAS THAT OF RUSSIA/ IN 1917,/ TO FOUND A SOCIALIST STATE WITH WELFARE/ NOT PRIVATE PROFIT/ AS ITS OBJECT.// TO STOP THIS EFFORT/ 14 NATIONS,/ INCLUDING OURS/ ATTACKED THE SOVIETS/ AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, (and for 20 years after that without success.) A THIRD/ AND MORE IMMEDIATELY SUCCESSFUL/ EFFORT/ WAS THE INTRUSION OF JAPAN INTO WORLD POLITICS/ AND WORLD TRADE./// JAPAN BEGAN TO USE WESTERN TECHNIQUE/ IN ORDER/ TO DOMINATE ASIA/ BY WESTERN METHODS.// HERE OF COURSE/ IT IS MANIFEST NOW/ THAT JAPAN MADE HER (FIRST) MISTAKE.// SHE TURNED ASIDE/ FROM HER OWN DEVELOPMENT, HER OWN MORAL CODE./// THE JAPANESE/ ARE AN EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE. THEY ARE CLEANER IN THEIR HABITS/ THAN THE DUTCH: THEY ARE MORE PUNCTUAL/ THAN THE ENGLISH/ more polite than the French;/ more honorable than Scandinavia.

THEY WORK MUCH HARDER THAN AMERICANS: THEIR FAMILY ORGANIZATION IS FINE AND EFFICIENT; THEIR ART IS EXQUISITE. IF THEY HAD PUT AS MUCH TIME AND THOUGHT UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE UNUSUAL QUALITIES, THEY COULD HAVE EASILY OUTREACHED THE WORLD. BUT THEY WOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO SAY, AND IT IS PROBABLY TRUE, THAT THE WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY THE DOMINATING WESTERN WORLD, WOULD NOT LET THEM DO THIS. THEY EITHER HAD TO ORGANIZE FOR DEFENSE, IF NOT FOR OFFENSE, OR GO DOWN BEFORE THE IMPERIALISM AND COLOR CASTE OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

IT ~~IS~~ WAS, HOWEVER, QUITE POSSIBLE FOR THE JAPANESE TO HAVE TURNED IN A THIRD DIRECTION: AND THAT IS, IN THE DIRECTION OF TRYING TO SECURE THE COOPERATION OF THE ASIATICS: TO HAVE MADE AN ALLIANCE WITH CHINA INSTEAD OF WAR: TO HAVE GOT IN CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE SOUTH SEAS AND OF INDONESIA: AND TO HAVE TRIED BY THIS METHOD TO ORGNIZE OPPOSITION TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM SUCH AS WAS TRIUMPHANT IN EUROPE AND THE OVERTHROW OF WHICH MIGHT HAVE STOPPED THE RUTHLESS HEAD-LONG CLIMAX AND CRASH OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALISM.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT HERE JAPAN MADE HER SECOND + greatest MISTAKE. SHE BELIEVED THAT DOMINATION OF THE WORLD BY TRADE AND MILITARY ~~POWER~~ MIGHT RATHER THAN BY THE SLOWER PROCESSES OF MORAL ARMAMENT AND SOCIAL COOPERATION WAS HER SHORTEST PATH TO POWER. THERE WAS OPPOSITION AND STRONG OPPOSITION TO THIS PROGRAM IN JAPAN. I SAW AND FELT IT WHEN I WAS THERE IN 1936. MANY PROMINENT LEADERS DEPLORED THE HEADLONG MARCH OF THE ARMY AND NAVY AND FEARED ULTIMATE DISASTER. BUT THE MILITARISTS PREVAILED AS THEY ARE PREVAILING TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES. JAPAN ~~MIGHT~~ COULD HAVE SAID AND PROBABLY THIS MIGHT HAVE ~~BEEN~~ PROVEN TRUE: THAT ONCE SHE SECURED THE VAST EMPIRE WHICH SHE SEIZED IN 1941-42, EVENTUALLY SHE WOULD HAVE DEVELOPED BY EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCE THE ASIATIC PEOPLES, SO AS TO GIVE THEM A NEW PLACE IN THE WORLD. THE GREAT OBSTACLE TO THIS JAPAN THOUGHT WAS THE RISE OF RUSSIA. THE JAPANESE HAD NO FAITH IN WHAT RUSSIA PROPOSED AND DID NOT UNDERSTAND IT OR IN FACT TRY TO. We today are making the same error.

THE CHINESE/ ON THE OTHER HAND,/ UNDER SUN YAT SEN,/ WHO OVERTHREW THE MANCHUS/ SOUGHT TO GET IN TOUCH/ WITH RUSSIA// AND THIS REASON/ AS MUCH AS WAR AND TRADE/ EXPLAINED/ THE OPPOSITION AND ENEMITY/ BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

I WAS ASTONISHED/ IN 1936/ AT THE BITTER FEELING/ OF CHINA AGAINST JAPAN. I ASKED ~~THE~~ CHINESE (LEADERS IN SHANCHAI)/ WHY IT WAS// ~~THAT~~ AFTER ALL/ THAT BRITAIN HAD DONE/ TO CHINA/ THE CHINESE/ HATED THE JAPANESE/ MUCH MORE/ THAN THEY HATED EUROPEANS./// THEIR ANSWER/ WAS NOT ALTOGETHER LOGICAL/ BUT UNDERSTANDABLE// IT ILLUSTRATED THE FEUD WITHIN A FAMILY/ WHICH SO OFTEN/ IS FAR MORE BITTER/ THAN DISAGREEMENT/ OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CIRCLE.// IT WAS THE THOUGHT/ THAT HERE IS AN UPSTART,/ CULTURAL CHILD OF GREAT AND ETERNAL CHINA,/ WHICH HAS TURNED AGAINST THE MOTHERLAND.

THEN TOO,/ THE JAPANESE HAD IMBIBED/ WITH THEIR WESTERN EDUCATION/ THE WESTERN ATTITUDE/ TOWARD ~~THE DEGRADATION OF~~ LABOR/ AND belief in THE INEVITABLE SUBSERVIENCE/ OF THE LABORING CLASSES (to the RICH)/// WHEN NOW IN THE GREAT LAND OF RUSSIA, THERE CAME A REVOLUTION/ WHICH WAS TRYING/ TO PUT THE LABORING CLASSES/ AT THE HEAD OF THE STATE,/ AND CARRY ON INDUSTRY/ FOR THEIR BENEFIT/ RATHER THAN

FOR THE BENEFIT/ OF THE OWNERS OF PROPERTY/ AND MANAGERS OF INDUSTRY.// IT SEEMED TO THE JAPANESE/ AS IT DID TO MOST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD,/ THAT THIS WAS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE/ AND BOUND FOR COLLAPSE AND FAILURE.// BUT AS THE EVENT PROVED,/ IT WAS THE RUSSIAN ARMY/ UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MEN/ WHO MADE THE REVOLUTION,/ WHICH RENDERED/ THE EFFORT OF JAPAN/ TO DOMINATE ASIA/ IMPOSSIBLE .

THE QUESTION COMES NOW,/ WHAT IS GOING TO BE/ THE FUTURE OF JAPAN?/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ WE ARE,/ RATHER COMPLACENTLY,/ THINKING OF JAPAN/ AS A THOROUGHLY SUBDUED/ AND PENITENT NATION/ OF FOLK/ WHO ARE GOING/ QUIETLY/ ABOUT THEIR BUSSINESS/ AND ~~ARE GOING TO~~ WILL BE ~~THE~~ ALLIES/ OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,/ AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION/ AND EVEN AGAINST ASIA AND CHINA,// SO AS TO RESTORE/ IN ASIA/ THE BALANCE OF WESTERN CONTROL.// THIS IS OF COURSE/ WISHFUL THINKING AND IMPOSSIBLE/ OF REALIZATION./ WE HAVE GOT TO REMEMBER/ THAT THE DEEP AND BITTER ENEMITY/ OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE/ AGAINST THE COLOR LINE/ OF THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT DISAPPEARED/ AND WILL NOT DISAPPEAR/ FOR MANY A LONG AGE.// ALSO THE

(and China after our support of Chiang Kai Chek is even more bitter)

46-6-19

JAPANESE/ REMAIN TODAY/ AS THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE RECENT PAST,/ AN INTELLIGENT POEPLE,/ EXCELLENT WORKERS/ AND CAPABLE OF MANUFACTURING/ AND SENDING INTO THE WORLD/ A MASS OF PROCESSED GOODS/ WHICH THE WORLD NEEDS/ AND IS WILLING TO BUY.

JAPANESE INDUSTRY THEREFORE/ IS GOING TO BE RESTORED,/ ON JUST WAHT BASIS IN ~~JAPAN~~/ IS NOT yet CLEAR.// BUT CERTAINLY/ THE DOMINATION OF THE WEALTHIER CLASSES/ ~~WRO~~KING THROUGH THE MILITARY/ IS NOT GOING TO BE AS COMPLETE/ IN THE FUTURE/ AS IN THEPAST.// NEVERTHELESS/ AS A GREAT AND EFFECTIVE/ MANUFACTURING NATION,/ AS AN INTELLIGENT PEOPLE/ WHO ARE GOING TO THINK THROUGH/ THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD/ JAPAN, IN THE FUTURE,/ HAS NOT ONLY/ GOT TO BE COUNTED/ BUT COUNTED AMONG/ THE MAJOR INFLUENCES/ WHICH WILL SHAPE/ THE LATTER PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY/ AND THE CENTURIES FOLLOWING.

IT WOULD THEREFORE BE/ OF GREAT VALUE FOR YOUNG PERSONS/ LIKE THOSE WHO ARE GRADUATING HERE/ AND THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES/ TO TRY TO SEE WHAT MESSAGE/ CAN BE LEARNED FROM JAPAN.// ONE/ I THINK IS, THE LESSON OF THE PLACE OF FORCE/ IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.// THAT OUGHT TO BE LEARNED/ NOT SIMPLY IN

46-6-20

JAPAN/ BUT IN EUROPE.// AND I THINK IT IS BEING LEARNED.// THE FEELING FOR PEACE/ FOR THE USELESSNESS OF WAR/ AND MILITARY PREPARATION/ IS WIDESPREAD.// I SAW A YEAR AGO IN PARIS/ 500,000 PEOPLE (who had walked Hundreds of miles) ON ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON/ PUTTING FORTH THE ONE IDEA// PEACE, NO MORE WAR!// WHAT IS TRUE IN FRANCE/ IS TRUE IN ENGLAND/ ITALY/ IN THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN/ IN CHINA AND INDIA.// THE ONLY COUNTRY/ WHICH APPARENTLY/ HAS NOT LEARNED THIS LESSON/ IS THE UNITED STATES.

THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ IS MAKING GREATER PREPARATION/ FOR WAR/ THAN ANY COUNTRY/ EVER HAS/ IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.// WITH APPARENTLY THE IDEA/ THAT WHATEVER/ THE UNITED STATES WANTS/ CAN ALWAYS BE ACCOMPLISHED/ BY FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE.// MOST OF THE PEOPLE/ IN THE WORLD COULD TELL US/ THAT ~~IT~~ THIS IS A MISTAKE/ A VERY GRAVE MISTAKE.// IF THERE ARE IDEAS IN THE WORLD,/ IN EUROPE,/ IN AMERICA OR IN ASIA,/ WHICH WE THINK ARE DANGEROUS/ THE ONE WAY/ IN WHICH THEY CANNOT BE EXTIRPATED IS FORCE.// THE HISTORY OF THE LAST THOUSAND YEARS/ OUGHT

any delusion that by a Marshall Plan or an Atlantic Pact/ Western Europe/ is going to be induced to go to War again/ in this generation/ is simply crazy.

TO HAVE TAUGHT THAT/ TO MOST PEOPLE. //IF IT HAS NOT TAUGHT US/ OUR EDUCATION HAS FAILED.

I THINK/ THAT THE JAPANESE HAVE LEARNED THIS LESSON.// I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF INDIA HAVE.//IF THEREFORE/ WE COULD STEP INTO THE LAST HALF/ OF THIS CENTURY WITH THE IDEA/ IN OUR MINDS/ THAT THE FIGHT HEREAFTER/ IS TO BE NOT WITH WEAPONS/ OF WAR/ BUT ~~THE~~ WITH PROPAGANDA OF PEACE// AND WITH THE INCREASING IMPACT OF CULTURAL PATTERNS,/ THEN WE WOULD HAVE LEARNED/ SOMETHING WORTHWHILE/ OUT OF THE TERRIBLE DAYS/ THROUGH WHICH CIVILIZATION/ IS NOW/ PASSING.

NIPPON 6

THE STORY OF JAPAN - 18

It is interesting to note that many places on earth which are least suited for human habitation, have become centers of ~~history~~ action and of culture. There are for instance two islands west of Europe which no one would choose for their climate or even their beauty. The climate of England is wretched most of the year. So ~~of~~ in Asia, there are ~~three~~ 4 islands extending three thousand miles, Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu . The largest of the two islands are about the size of Indiana and Minnesota, while the smaller is about the size of New Jersey.

Here lives a population of some 70,000,000 souls, with a long and ~~rather~~ interesting history. The people are mixed with the white blood of the North, the Yellow blood of China, and the black blood of the South Seas. Some seven hundred years ~~B.C.~~ after Christ, about the time that the Greek people became a state in the East, their culture was, ~~undoubtedly~~ largely Chinese and they may be regarded as a ~~part~~ an off-shoot of the development of Chinese culture. For some 400 years they ~~were~~ remained an absolute monarchy, and then became a feudal government, with an Emperor, but, with great families of increasing power, so much so that the Shogun representing a powerful family, had more actual power than the Emperor himself.

This was the ~~case~~ situation up until the 19th century, when an American, Commodore Perry awakened the nation from its isolation. Perry wanted trade and ~~the~~ especially Eastern trade ~~which~~ had long been profitable to New England and New York. Moreover the Americans were witnessing the tremendous expansion of the British empire which had annexed India and was now turning its attention toward China. If Great Britain was going to dominate the Chinese trade, the Americans were going to have a hand in the Japanese trade. The methods by which these two countries penetrated the East ~~was~~ were simple. They compelled by force of arms the opening of certain coast cities for trade. ~~They~~ Britain & the United States arranged that the country should not direct any tariff barriers, so that the imports of Britain

(1)

At the same time Japanese art became and remains one of the great art expressions of the world. The flower culture, the training of trees and shrubs; pictorial art in painting and printing; the clothing, homes, and marvellous temples and public buildings make the contribution of Japan to beauty and life immeasurable.

There is a certain simpicity and directness; a joy of being, even amid poverty, which is unexcelled elsewhere in the world

(2)

So Perry and his sailors, with a number of Negroes from Java or Japan, trained his guns on its frail houses and demanded the right to trade.

of Capitalism

and America could come in practically free. And then in addition to that, they asked for certain rights, especially the right of trying any offenders of British or American birth in their own courts; in this way the tremendous commercial expansion of the West over the East began. → over

It happened therefore in the 19th century, that while China kept its face toward the East and looked upon European trade as a nuisance and an intrusion. The Japanese turned West. By being very careful of their court procedure they kept their own court jurisdiction over foreigners, and while they did not raise their tariffs high, nevertheless they kept control of the tariff and they began to export goods. More than that they sent an increasing stream of students to the West, so that everywhere in Great Britain, Germany, in France and in the United States, one met Japanese students, well-dressed with enough income to live well, with impecable manners, who were learning all what they could of Western civilization.

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Toward the end of the 19th century, Japan began to assert herself. Instead of joining China in opposition to the West, she joined the West in opposition to China. She had no belief in the ability of the Chinese to assert themselves, and therefore in the Sino-Japanese war, 1894, she attacked China over the question of Korea and showed the West that China was not nearly as powerful as the they had thought. This meant that Europe determined upon the partition of China, but she had to admit Japan as partner. This to the astonishment of the world was followed by the Russo-Japanese War, ten years later in 1904-5, the Japanese thoroughly overcame the Russian army, which meant that thereafter Japan became by treaty a recognized ally of Great Britain and a partner of Europe in its domination of the East. China was gradually staked out as spheres of influence belonging to various European countries: Great Britain got the largest share, Russia, France got Indo-China and Italy considerable shares, and Japan also got a foothold on the Chinese coast. Then came the First World War, which was a war for colonies and was designed to settle the terms of domination of Europe over Asia and over Africa, which had already been divided among European powers. The League of Nations was formed and

This aroused Japan; she dismissed the current shogun and restored power to the emperor The new young emperor who ascenede the throne in I868, reorganized the nation and began representative government with a parliament. Anew constitution was adopted in I889.

Japan tried immediately to enforce a declaration of racial equality there, but the opposition of the United States and Great Britain prevented this, to Japans' great disappointment. This was the beginning of Japanese enmity and toward the United States.

The United States had not only the theoretical prejudice against colored people founded upon slavery and the color line, but this was now reinforced by the fact that Japanese farmers in California were dominating the truck gardening situation and their American rivals were determined to suppress them by limiting their ownership of land and by putting them in segregated schools. This Japanese question went through various stages as everything was done to allay the partly hidden antagonism but it kept recurring.

Meantime Japan began her expansion by the beginning of the 20th century there is no doubt but what her clear object was the domination of Asia, by the 60,000,000 inhabitants of these four little Western islands. Her penetration of Asia and of Europe came through her trade. Her trade was based upon the Japanese family and clan which bound the people together in vertiaal divisions rather than in horizontal classes and while wealth ruled through the five great capitalistic families, yet all of those families were bound to the lowest strata of working people through this clan affiliation. By bringing in Western machinery and improving and adapting it, Japanese goods began to flood Asia and the world. Many of your parents will remember how, before and after the First World War, Japanese goods excellent in quality and cheap in price were to be found everywhere. It was a challenge and a severe challenge to the West and by time the Second World War was in the offing, it was clear that whatever happened, the opposition between Western trade and Japanese trade was going to be severe and critical. Then in 1939, came what must be described as the fall of Europe; that is the attempt to divide up the world in colonies and spheres of influence among the European nations, had gotten into difficulty

because certain nations like Italy and Germany were not recognized in partnership and because there was increasing question about the part that Japan was to play.

The First World War was a war over colonies, but a war was so severe and costly that the whole industrial organization of the world fell in 1929, the world market was disrupted, the gold standard of value had to be given up and there was suffering and unemployment in every great nation. It was then that Japan moved forward more rapidly. She joined the efforts of Western Europe to suppress Communism in Russia, but most of her thought and action went toward the East. She greatly feared the new attempt of Russia to run a state by and for the benefit of the workers; but she was sure that it was bound to fail and that the role of Japan was to dominate China and the East.

She was especially pushed forward by the fact that India had now become an independent country and the question of the domination of China was even more insistent. Thereupon Japan led an amazing uprising of Asia against Europe. In December 1941, suddenly with the model of Germany she attacked the United States fleet at Hawaii sank 18 battleships, killed 3000 men and crippled the naval might of the nation United States. The Japanese then struck at the Phillipines, Singapore, Hong Kong, which the British held, the Dutch West Indies and the Islands of the Pacific. They stretched their empire thousands of miles in three months. Siam fell, Guam and Wake Island. The Phillipines gave up and the Japanese spread over Malaya. They sank two British battleships, they took the capital of Burma, MacArthur fled to Australia and by February 1942, the Japanese Flag swept over 6000 miles from the Aleutian Islands to Australia. It was the greatest uprising of the East against the West since Genghis Khan. Moreover while doing this, Japan had cast in her lot with Germany and Italy She had calculated shrewdly that the German army was the mightiest in the world, unbeatable and that there was no chance to hold Hitler. Moreover, when Hitler having taken the whole of western Europe and beaten Great Britain to her knees, turned upon Russia this took away the last threat to Japanese supremity in the East, because Russia was as much after all an Eastern as a Western power, and Japan was afraid of her. So that until the fateful battle

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Of Stalingrad, it looked as though Germany with Italy was going to dominate the West and that Japan was going to be master of Asia. Then the entirely unexpected happened, the German army, mightiest in the world, was rolled back ~~from Stalingrad~~ and Russia was at the gates of Japan.

Moreover by this time the American army and navy had become rehabilitated. The navy had fought two mighty battles with Japan in the Pacific and the army began crawling along the islands from Australia north until it was at the gates of Tokyo, ~~and then~~ finally there came the astonishing revelation of the atom-bomb. Japan surrendered.

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There comes now the ethical and practical questions as to what this episode in the history of a great people really means? There is no doubt but what Japan and all Asia had a grievance against the West, and especially against Great Britain and the United States. They had been treated as exploitable slaves, out of whose labor and material vast profits had been made in the past and planned for the future. By the end of the 19th century it was axiomatic that civilization in the future was going to consist of the domination of Europe over Asia and Africa, and the world rule of the white race. Against this the first caveat came from Japan in her manifest ability to master and use Western technique; and it was in technique that Europe was surpassing the world. It was not in ethics; the United States did not have as high standard of morals as the Indian peoples; and England could not be compared in either brains or ability with China. But in the machines which processed the goods and ~~which~~ made weapons of war; in ships and in the technique of commerce and organization of industry, Europe was supreme; and with that more or less temporary power, she was proposing to dominate the world.

The opposition was centered in many efforts. In the efforts for instance of American Negroes after emancipation to become an integral part of the democratic organization of this country and influence its attitude toward the colored world. This was frustrated by the bargain of 1876. ~~The other and larger effort was that of~~ Japan began to use Western technique inorder to dominate Asia by western methods. Here of course it is manifest how that Japan made her

and Negro disfranchisement was dictated by industrial, not political motives. We wanted to restore the cotton kingdom with cheap labor so as to enter foreign trade and colonial imperialism

A second effort was that of Russia in 1917 to found a socialist state with welfare not private profit as its object. To stop this effort, 14 nations, including ours attacked the Soviets after the Firat World War.

A third and more immediately successful effort was the intrusion of Japan into world politics and world trade

mistake. She turned aside from her own development, her own moral code. The Japanese are an extraordinary people; they are cleaner in their habits than the Dutch; they are more punctual than the English; they work much harder than ~~any nation in modern times~~ Americans; their family organization is fine and efficient. If they had put as much time and thought upon the development of these unusual qualities, they could have easily outreached the world. But they would have a right to say, and it is probably true, that the world, and especially the dominating Western world would not let them do this. They either had to organize for defense, if not for offense or go down before the imperialism of Europe and America.

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It was however, quite possible for the Japanese to have turned in a third ~~turn in another~~ direction, and that is, in the direction of trying to secure the cooperation of the Asiatics; to have made an alliance with China, to have got in contact with the peoples of the South Seas and of Indonesia, and to have tried by this method to organize an opposition to colonial imperialism such as, in Europe was brought to a climax and crash which might have stopped the head-long ~~development and suicide~~ of European industrialism.

It seems to me that here Japan made her mistake. She believed that it would be better to dominate the world by trade and military power rather than by the slower process of moral armament and social cooperation. She might have said and probably this might have been true, that once she had seized the vast empire which she seized in 1941-2, that eventually she would have developed by education and social science the Asiatic peoples, so as to give them a new place in the world. The great obstacle Japan thought was the rise of Russia. The Japanese had no faith in what Russia proposed and did not understand it. The Chinese on the other hand, under Sun Yat Sen, who overthrew the Manchus sought to get in touch with Russia, and this reason as much as by reason of war and trade, inflamed the opposition and enemity between Japan and China grew.

I was in Japan in 1936 and was astonished at the bitter feeling of China against Japan.

Was her shocked talk to Howe

There was opposition and strong opposition to this program in Japan. I saw and felt it when I was there in 1936. Many prominent leaders deplored the headlong march of the army and navy and feared ultimate disaster. But the militarists prevailed as they are prevailing today in the United States

I asked the Chinese why it was that after all that Britain had done to China, the Chinese hated the Japanese much more than they hated Europeans. Their answer was not altogether logical but understandable; it illustrated the feud within a family, which so often is far more bitter than disagreement outside the family circle. It was the thought that here is an upstart, a cultural child of great and eternal China, which has turned against the mother land.

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Then too, the Japanese had imbibed with their western education the western attitude toward the degradation of labor, and the subservience of the laboring classes. When now in the great land of Russia, there came a revolution which was trying to put the laboring classes at the head of the state, and carry on industry for the benefit of ~~the laboring classes~~ and managers of industry, rather than for the benefit for the owners of property, it seemed to the Japanese as it did to most people in the world, that this was simply an impossible ~~thing~~ bound for collapse and failure. But as the event proved, it was the Russian army under the leadership of the men who made the revolution, which rendered the effort of Japan to dominate Asia, impossible.

The question comes now, what is going to be the future of Japan? In the United States we are, rather complacently, thinking of Japan as a thoroughly subdued and ~~repentitent~~ of both nations who are going quietly about their business ~~work and~~ and are going to be the allies of the American people, against the Soviet Union and ~~possibly~~ even against Asia and China, so as to restore in Asia the balance of Western control. This is of course wishful thinking and impossible of realization. We have got to remember that the deep and bitter enemity of the Japanese against the color line of the United States has not disappeared and will not disappear for many a long age. Also the Japanese remain today as they have been in the recent past, an intelligent people, excellent workers and capable of manufacturing and sending into the world a mass of processed goods which the world needs and is willing to buy.

Japanese industry therefore is going to be restored, on just what

basis in Japan is not clear, but certainly the domination of the wealthier classes working through the military is not going to be as complete in the future as in the past. ~~But~~ Nevertheless as a great and effective manufacturing nation, as an intelligent people who are going to think through the problems of the world, Japan, in the future, has not only got to be counted but counted among the major influences which will shape the later part of the 20th century and the centuries following.

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It would therefore be of great value for young persons like those who are graduating here and throughout the United States to try to see what message can be learned from Japan. One I think is, the lesson of the place of force in human development. That ought to be learned not simply in Japan but in Europe, and I think it is being learned. The feeling for peace for the uselessness of war and military preparation is wide-spread. I saw a year ago in Paris 500,000 people in one Sunday afternoon ~~meeting~~, putting forth the one idea --Peace-No More War. What is true in France is true in England, Italy , in the countries beyond the iron curtain , in China and in India, the only country which has not apparently learned this lesson is the United States.

The United States today is making greater preparation for war than any country ever has in the history of the world. With apparently the idea that whatever the United States wants can always be accomplished by force or the show of force. Most of the people in the world could tell us ~~the people in the United States that~~ that is a mistake and a very grave mistake. If there are ideas in the world, in Europe, in America or in Asia, which we think are dangerous the one way in which they cannot be extirpated is force . The history of the last thousand years ought to have taught that to most people. If it has not taught us our education has failed. I think ~~too~~, that the Japanese have learned this lesson, ~~and~~ I know that the people of India have. If therefore we could step into the ~~xxtx~~ last half of this century with the idea in our minds that the fight hereafter is to be not with weapons of war but the propaganda of peace and the increasing ~~value~~ impact of cultural patterns

Then we would have learned something worthwhile, out of the terrible days through which civilization ~~has just passed.~~ is now passing.

35-6-235

PEACE AND THE CHURCH
By: W.E.B. Du Bois

PEACE IS NOT AN OBJECT IN ITSELF; IT IS A METHOD, A PATH TO AN IDEAL. WE WHO ASK FOR PEACE AND PEACE NOW IN KOREA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, DO NOT FOR A MOMENT BELIEVE OR PRETEND TO BELIEVE THAT PEACE WILL SETTLE ALL OR ANY OF THE DEEP AND SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND NATIONS. WHAT WE SAY AND INSIST UPON IS THAT BY NO OTHER METHOD SAVE BY PEACE CAN WE BE IN A POSITION TO BEGIN THE SETTLEMENT OF WORLD PROBLEMS. WE AFFIRM THAT THE CLEAR LESSON OF THE AWFUL HISTORY OF THE LAST HALF CENTURY IS THAT MILITARY FORCE AS NOW USED CANNOT COMPEL MEN TO ALTER THEIR BELIEFS AND IDEAS, NOR CAN IT ULTIMATELY CHANGE THEIR ACTIONS AGAINST THEIR WILL. WE CONQUERED GERMANY BUT WE DID NOT CHANGE THE GERMAN MIND. WE CONQUERED JAPAN, BUT THERE IS NO CERTAINTY THAT JAPAN TODAY DIFFERS FROM JAPAN OF YESTERDAY. WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT IF THE FUTURE GERMANY PROVES TO BE A DIFFERENT LAND FROM THE PAST IT WILL BE BECAUSE SHE IS CONVINCED BY TRUTH AND NOT BY FORCE.

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IF JAPAN BECOMES OUR FRIEND AND LOYAL ALLY, THAT WILL NOT BE THE RESULT OF THE ATOM BOMB.

IN THIS WORLD EVEN MORE IN THE WORLD OF THE PAST, IDEAS CAN ONLY BE CHANGED BY BETTER IDEAS; FRIENDSHIP CAN ONLY BE GAINED BY FRIENDSHIP, AND NO NATION, NO MATTER HOW LARGE, RICH AND BOASTFUL CAN CONQUER THE WORLD SIMPLY BY SPENDING 60 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR.

THE FIRST STEP TOWARD UNDERSTANDING AND BETTERMENT IS PEACE; REAL PEACE NOT ARMED PEACE; NOT BOASTFUL THREATS OR OVERTURES OF GOOD-WILL CLOAKED BY ACQUISITION OF WORLD-WIDE BASES FOR ATTACK. BUT PEACE ACCOMPANIED BY DISARMAMENT AND ASSERTION OF OUR IDEAS AND PROPOSALS WITH THE HONEST WILLINGNESS TO HEAR AND CONSIDER THE IDEAS OF THE OTHER SIDE.

LATELY OUR CONFERENCES AND PROPOSALS, FROM THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY TO THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY HAVE BORNE NO RESEMBLANCE TO NEGOTIATION, BUT HAVE REEKED WITH THREAT AND ULTIMATUM IF NOT WITH INSULT. MOREOVER THE INITIATIVE RESTS WITH US: THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES BUT WE HAVE INVADED AND ATTANCED THE SOVIETS AND CLEARLY AND REPEATEDLY ANNOUNCE OUR DETERMINATION TO DO THIS AGAIN. WE ARE THE ONLY NATION ON EARTH WHICH HAS LOOSED THE DEADLY ATOM BOMB ON UNARMEND WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND WE PROPOSE TO JAIL ANY AMERICAN WHO OPPOSES DOING THIS AGAIN.

35-5-185

AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF PEACE IS NOT THE END OF HUMAN DIFFERENCES, DISAGREEMENTS AND UNFRIENDLY ACTIONS. IT IS SIMPLY THE BEGINNING OF OUR SITTING DOWN LIKE HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT LIKE ROARING WILD ANIMALS, TO CONSIDER JUST WHAT IS WRONG IN THOUGHT AND DEED AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT SHORT OF MURDER.

CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT THE MOST OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONS TODAY: THE BASIC QUESTION IS UNDOUBTEDLY THAT OF THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRI-

BUTION OF THE GOODS AND SERVICES NECESSARY TO MEET THE PRIMARY WANTS OF MANKIND. NO AMOUNT OF FORCE EVER HAS SETTLED OR EVER CAN SETTLE THIS AGE-OLD PROBLEM; IT IS AT BOTTOM A MATTER OF SCIENCE, TECHNIQUE AND MORALS. IT CALLS FOR EXPERIMENT, RESEARCH, HUMAN SYMPATHY AND MORAL CHARACTER.

WE MAY JUSTLY BELIEVE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WE HAVE DONE MUCH TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM; BUT WE MUST HONESTLY ADMIT THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE HAS NOT WHOLLY SOLVED OUR OWN PROBLEM OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND CRIME; MUCH LESS HAS IT BEGUN TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS FOR THE MAJORITY OF MEN WHO LIVE OUTSIDE OUR BORDERS. NOR HAVE WE ANY RIGHT TO ASSUME THAT THESE BASIC PROBLEMS OF HUMAN LIFE CANNOT EVER BE SOLVED OR THAT OTHER FOLK HAVE NO RIGHT TO ATTEMPT THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS.

IN NO REALM OF HUMAN THOUGHT OR ACTION IS THERE CLEARER DEMAND FOR PEACEFUL CONFERENCE, SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION AND HUMAN RELATIONS ON THE BROADEST BASIS, DESPITE THIS WE ARE INDUCED NOT TO EVEN CONSIDER THIS, BY THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COMMUNIST NATIONS ARE FOLK OF SUCH LOW AND UNRELIABLE CHARACTER; CRIMINALS OF SUCH PROVEN VICIOUSNESS, THAT NO CONFERENCE WITH THEM IS POSSIBLE AND NO SETTLEMENT BUT FORCE FOR A MOMENT TO BE CONSIDERED.

35-5-186

THE VERY STATEMENT OF SO MONSTROUS A THESIS MARKS ITS UTTER ABSURDITY. THIS WORLD DOES NOT CONSIST OF A THOUSAND MILLION CRIMINALS SET OFF AGAINST 500 MILLION ANGELS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE ITS MISTAKES AND COMMITTED ITS CRIMES; AND SO GOD KNOWS HAVE GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. BUT IF WE DISCOUNT THE NATURALLY PREJUDICED TESTIMONY OF MEN WHO HAVE LOST THEIR WEALTH AND PRIVILEGE THROUGH REVOLUTION; AND OF THOSE WHO ARE SELLING LIES FOR PAY AND FOR DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA, THEN WE MUST CONCLUDE ON THE

STRENGTH OF UNIMPEACHABLE TESTIMONY, THAT IN POPULAR EDUCATION, SOCIAL SECURITY, COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE AND PUBLIC WORKS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS ACCOMPLISHED MUCH THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD MUST AT LEAST STUDY SERIOUSLY, BEFORE IT CONDEMNS IT OUT OF HAND.

MOREOVER GREAT AS HAS BEEN THE BLOODY COST OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THIS COST HAS BEEN FAR LESS THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER MODERN REVOLUTION; AND THE CAUSE OF THIS REVOLUTION , THE CZARIST REGIME, WAS CERTAINLY THE ROTTENEST AND WORST THAT EVER DECENT MEN REPUDIATED.

WE HAVE SAID IN OUR OWN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THAT "WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF "THE RIGHT OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS "IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT AND TO INSTITUTE A NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS."

35-5-187

OTHER PROBLEMS OF COLONIES AND THEIR WRETCHED PEOPLES; OF COMMERCE AND TRADE, OF PRICES AND PRICE CONTROL, OF HUNGER, DISEASE AND PESTILENCE, ALL ARE MATTERS OF SCIENCE AND STUDY, HUMAN KNOWLEDGE AND SYMPATHY, OF WORLD-WIDE COOPERATION RATHER THAN OF GUNS AND WAR. ABOVE ALL THE COSTS OF WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR ARE LIKELY TO DRIVE INCREASING NUMBERS OF MEN TO DESPAIR AND SUICICE. THE COST OF A MODERATE TANK WILL BUILD A MODERATE HOME; THE COST OF THE HYDROGEN BOMB MIGHT ELIMINATE CANCER; THE MONEY TO BE SPENT ON WAR NEXT YEAR COULD CLEAR UP ILLITERACY AND GIVE US ENOUGH ADULT EDUCATION TO RENDER THIS A NATION INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK. WE ARE TO SPEND ON AIR BASES ENCIRCLING RUSSIA ENOUGH TO CLEAR THE SLUMS OF OUR CHIEF CITIES AND REPLACE NESTS OF CRIME WITH NURSERY SCHOOLS.

ALL OFTHIS IS NOT THE MERE RANTING OF RADICALS AND CRACKPOTS. THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS NOT A CONSPIRACY OF SPIES AND TRAITORS. IT IS THE NATION THAT HAS GONE INSANE IN THIS UNPRECEDENTED HYSTERIA OF WAR AND WITCHHUNTING.

MENTAL SICKNESSES OF THIS SORT HAVE SWEPT THE EARTH BEFORE, BUT PERHAPS NEVER HAS BEEN SO UNIV RSAL NOR SO THREATENING. FOR THIS VERY REASON THERE IS DIRE NEED FOR OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION FROM MEN WHO ARE EARNEST AND UNAFRAID; AND FROM ORGANIZATIONS WHO PUT TRUTH ABOVE PASSING CONFORMITY.

2000 YEARS AGO A JEWISH CARPENTER TRIED TO TEACH THE WORLD ANEW THE ANCIENT DOCTRINE OF HUMILITY AND LOVE AS A WAY OF LIFE. YOU KNOW THIS HISTORY: "HE WAS WOUNDED FOR OUR TRANSGRESSIONS; HE WAS BRUISED FOR OUR INIQUITIES, THE CHASTISEMENT OF OUR PEACE WAS UPON HIM." HE DIED AS A CRIMINAL.

35-5-188

AMERICANS HAVE LONG REGARDED THEMSELVES AS FOLLOWERS OF JESUS CHRIST. OFTEN IN THE PAST IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THAT CLAIM WITH THE FACTS, BUT NEVER MORE THAN TODAY WHEN WE HAVE BECOME A BOASTFUL, ARROGANT, HATING PEOPLE, WORSHIPING FORCE; A PEOPLE WHO AS THE PROPHET, EISENHOWER SAYS, "CAN LICK THE WORLD" AND BEST FIND SOCIAL SECURITY IN JAIL.

THE 19th CENTURY WITH ITS NEW PROBLEMS OF WEALTH AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

WAS A SEVERE TEST OF ALL ORGANIZED RELIGION. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION, THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, NEGRO SLAVERY, THE RISING LABOR MOVEMENT AND TAINTED MONEY, WAS NOT SUCH AS GAVE TO THE CHURCH THAT MORAL LEADERSHIP OVER THE MINDS OF MEN WHICH RELIGION HAS LONG STRIVEN TO ATTAIN; ON THE CONTRARY, THE MASS OF MEN BELIEVED AND HAS HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE MORE INFLUENTIAL PART OF THE ORGANIZED CHURCH, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT AND JEWISH LONG AGO OPPOSED PUPULAR EDUCATION, TAUGHT THAT WOMAN'S PLACE WAS NOT AT THE POLLS; PREACHED TO SLAVES, "SLAVES, OBEY YOUR MASTERS"; OPPOSED UNION LABOR AND BELIEVED THAT THE RICH HELD THEIR WEALTH BY THE PECULIAR GRACE OF GOD.

THUS THE CHURCH ENTERED THE MIGHTY 20th CENTURY WITHOUT THE ACKNOWLEDGED MORAL LEADERSHIP OF THE MASS OF MEN TO WHICH IT HAD LONG ASPIRED AND WHICH IN THE AGE OF FAITH IT ALMOST ATTAINED. AND FROM THE THRESHOLD OF THIS CENTURY TO ITS MID-CURRENT TODAY, THE CHURCH HAS BEEN FACED BY A MORAL DILEMNA GREATER THAN ALL WHICH THE 19th CENTURY PRESENTED; AND THAT IS: PEACE OR WAR? LET ME SAY FLATLY TO THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP OF THIS COUNTRY, TO THE SILENT ONES AND THE DEAF AND DUMB WHO SEE NOTHING, HEAR NOTHING AND SAY NOTHING, IN THIS GOLGOTHA OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WHEN MEN ARE GOING INSANE WITH FEAR AND FRUSTRATION, YOU OF THE CHURCH ALSO HAVE STAGGERED, RETREATED AND HESITATED BEFORE THIS VAST PROBLEM OF THE SURVIVAL OF CIVILIZATION. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT IS NOW AT HAND AND ITS BLOOD FALLS ON KOREA TONIGHT. UNLESS YOU PLACE RELIGION UNEQUIVOCALLY AND OPENLY ON THE SIDE OF PEACE AND AGAINST MASS MURDER OF MEN WOMEN AND BABIES BY DIABOLICAL INSTRUMENTS OF HELL, YOU WILL NEVER ATTAIN THAT MASTERY OF THE HUMAN MIND WHICH YOU CONTINUALLY DEMAND.

35-5-189

BE NOT DECEIVED GOD IS NOT MOCKED. NO CAMOUFLAGE OF PRAYER RO VIGIL, NO RITE OF BELL, BOOK AND CANDLE CAN OR WILL REPLACE THAT ONE SUPREME WORD: PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN; AND RECOGNITION OF THE VAST TRUTH THAT AMONG MEN ARE 200 MILLION RUSSIANS AND 300 MILLION CHINESE AND 100 MILLION COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS ALL OVER THE WORLD, WHOM NO ATOM BOMB NOR HYDROGEN HORROR CAN DRIVE OUT OF THE KINGDOMS OF THE ALMIGHTY GOD.

Yale University, Jan. 11, 1951

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE THREE CASES

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE RECENT ELECTION/THROWS A SIDE-LIGHT/ON THE CASES WE ARE EXAMINING HERE TONIGHT.// ALMOST THE SAME NUMBER OF PERSONS/VOTED FOR REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES/FOR CONGRESSMEN/IN NOVEMBER;/ 19 MILLION 7 HUNDRED THOUSAND/ON EACH SIDE.// YET THE DEMOCRATS/ELECTED 235 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE/OF REPRESENTATIVES/AND THE REPUBLICANS, 199.// ~~THEY~~ Democrats WERE ABLE TO DO THIS/PRINCIPALLY/BECAUSE MOST SOUTHERN NEGROES CANNOT VOTE.// YET THEIR POLITICAL POWER IS EXERCISED BY SOUTHERN ~~WHITES~~ Democrats.// SOUTH CAROLINA AND CONNECTICUT/HAD THE SAME NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES/IN CONGRESS IN 1944.// BUT SOUTH CAROLINA NEEDED BUT 100,000 VOTES/TO ELECT HERS/WHILE IT TOOK 800,000 TO ELECT YOURS.//

~~WHEN A CITIZEN OF CONNECTICUT/GOES TO THE POLLS, HE CAST BUT ONE BALLOT. A FREE, WHITE CITIZEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA ON THE OTHER HAND CASTS EIGHT.~~

--2--

THUS IN THE LEADING DEMOCRACY/OF THE WORLD,/ MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS/ARE NOT ELECTED/ BY MAJ RITY VOTE.// ON JANUARY 3,/ THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES/DECIDED 244 to 179 VOTES/ NOT TO ALLOW/THE ORDER AND SUBJECT OF ITS BUSINESS/TO BE SETTLED/EVEN BY MAJORITY VOTE;/ BUT TO REST/IN THE HANDS OF A COMMITTEE/HEADED/BY EUGENE COX OF GEORGIA.

MR. COX RECEIVED ~~A UNANIMOUS~~ VOTE/OF 18,930 (19,000) BALLOTS/IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.// IT TOOK 50,000 VOTES/IN A TOTAL OF 90,000/TO DEFEAT VITO MARCANTONIO IN NEW YORK// AND 878,000 (900) BALLOTS IN NEW HAVEN/TO ELECT CONGRESSMAN MAGURE/WITH A PLURALITY OF 89,000 (90).// MR COX HAS OCCUPIED HIS SEAT/UNOPPOSED FOR 25 YEARS.// AND OUT OF A VOTING POPULATION OF 150,000// IN HIS DISTRICT TWO-THIRDS TO FIVE*SIXTHS/ (seven) DO NOT GO TO THE POLLS.// EVIDENTLY VOTES ARE MORE VALUABLE IN GEORGIA/AND FAR MORE INFLUENTIAL/THAN HERE IN NEW HAVEN/SINCE IT TAKES 45 OF YOUR VOTES/TO BALANCE ONE IN GEORGIA.// AS A REWARD FOR THIS DISFRANCHISEMENT OF HIS FELLOW*CITIZENS,/ (Cox) HE IS MADE CHAIRMAN/OF THE POWERFUL

RULES COMMITTEE/BY SENORITY/ AND HE WILL MAKE OR STOP/NATIONAL LEGISLATION FOR MANY YEARS TO COME/IN THIS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

THIS IS NOT ALL./ WHEN THE ~~NEW~~ UNITED STATES SENATE/WAS JUST ORGANIZED,/ THE ~~POWERFUL~~ MAJORITY LEADER/CHOSEN BY THE DEMOCRATS/ WAS MR. MCFARLAND OF ARIZONA.// HE WILL SELECT,/ WITH ADVICE OF COURSE,/ THE MAJORITY MEMBERSHIP OF THE POWERFUL SENATE COMMITTEES.// MR. MCFARLAND IS A SOUTHERN DIXICRAT/WHOSE EVERY VOTE/HAS BEEN REACTIONARY/AND CAST AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS/ FOR FREE LYNCHING,/ FOR THE POLL TAX,/ AND AGAINST FAIR EMPLOYMENT.// HE HAS HELPED FILIBUSTER ~~AGAINST~~ on EVERY SUCH PROPOSAL;// WHICH MEANS/HE HAS DENIED EVEN MAJORITY RULE/IN THE SENATE.// THIS ACTION AS A SENATOR/HE HAS A LEGAL RIGHT TO TAKE.// BUT WHO MADE HIM SENATOR?// HE RECEIVED IN 1948,/TOTAL OF 80,000 VOTES IN ARIZONA;// I RECEIVED LAST YEAR/IN NEW YORK/ 207,000 VOTES FOR SENATOR/ AND STOOD/AT THE BOTTOM OF THE LIST.// SENATOR LEHMAN RECEIVED 2,600,000 VOTES/ OVER 32 TIMES/THE POLL OF MCFARLAND/TO ENABLE HIM TO SIT BESIDE/SENATOR

11-8-94

MCFARLAND/WITH ONLY A FRACTION OF MR. MCFARLAND'S POWER/ OVER LEGISLATION.//

I MENTION THESE FACTS/FIRST TO REMIND YOU/ THAT NO MATTER HOW FAST/WE MAY BE ACCOMPLISHING DEMOCRACY/IN THE UNITED STATES/ WE ARE NOT YET IN POSITION/TO DO MUCH BOASTING.// YOU MAY OBJECT/THAT THIS IS EMPHASIZING/THE COLOR CASTE/LONG CHARACTERISTIC OF THE UNITED STATES/ ON THE VERY OCCASION WHEN WE ARE CELEBRATING/THREE IMPORTANT CASES/IN WHICH THIS CASTE/HAS BEEN BROKEN.// TO THIS I ANSWER SIMPLY/THAT GIVING ALL DUE WEIGHT/ TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE DECISIONS/AND ADMITTING IN ADDITION/THAT MORE NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY/VOTE TODAY/THAN EVER BEFORE.// THAT NINE OUT OF 48 STATES/HAVE FAIR EMPLOYMENT STATUTES;// THAT LYNCHING IS DISAPPEARING/AND SEGREGATION BY RACE/LESS FREQUENT/THAN 25 YEARS AGO.// GRANTING ALL THIS,/IT IS ALSO UNDENIABLE/THAT THE PRESENT LEGAL/AND CUSTOMARY DISCRIMINATION/AGAINST AMERICANS OF NEGRO DESCENT/STILL RENDERS THEM TODAY/THE MOST SUPPRESSED

31-2-94

AND INSULTED GROUP/OF SIMILAR SIZE AND ACCOMPLISHMENT/IN ANY MODERN CIVILIZED LAND.//WE CAN ONLY TURN BACK/TO CZARIST RUSSIA/AND HITLER'S GERMANY/TO FIND A MODERN PARALLEL.

LET US BRIEFLY FACE THE FACTS://IN THE BASIC WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS/OF A MAJORITY OF THE STATES,/NEGROES ARE SPECIFICALLY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST/WITH REGARD/TO SOME FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES.// BY STATE LEGISLATION/A FOURTH TO ONE HALF OF THE STATES/CAN, for color alone ANNUL MARRIAGES,/ INTERFERE WITH TRAVEL/ CURTAIL RECREATION,/ DENY PUBLIC SERVICES,/ TAKE AWAY THE RIGHT TO VOTE/OR TO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE.// STATES CAN, for color alone INTERFERE WITH PROPERTY/ HINDER OR DENY EDUCATION,/DESIGNATE NEGROES/WITH OUTWARD BADGES OF INFERIORITY/ AND MAKE TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION/A GENERAL RULE for them.

THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH,/REGARDLESS OF LAW OR GOSPEL/ NO NEGRO HAS ANY RIGHTS/WHICH A WHITE MAN/CANNOT VIOLATE/WITHOUT ANY PENALTY/COMMENSURATE WITH THE CRIME.// OF THE MILLIONS/WHO HAVE COMPOSED THE MOBS/WHICH HAVE LYNCHED 4000 NEGROES/DURING THE LAST 75 YEARS,/NOT ONE HUNDRED/HAVE RECEIVED ANY

PUNISHMENT WHATSOEVER/AND NONE HAVE BEEN PUNISHED FOR MURDER.//IN THE CASE OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS/OF negro VICTIMS OF MOB VIOLENCE/WITH MILLIONS IN PROPERTY DAMAGE/THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE EFFORT/TO RECOMMENSE OR RESTORE.//THE MAJORITY OF PERSONS/DAILY ARRESTED IN THE SOUTH/ARE NEGROES/WHICH NO CIVILIZED TRIBUNAL/WOULD PUNISH.

WE ARE CELEBRATING TONIGHT/THREE CASES/WHERE NEGRO RIGHTS/HAVE RECEIVED RECOGNITION IN OUR COURTS.// BUT WE ARE NOT CONSIDERING/THE MILLIONS OF CASES/WHERE THE MASS OF NEGROES/ CANNOT GET ORDINARY JUSTICE.// NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE SOUTH/AND MANY IN NORTHERN CITIES/ARE ARRESTED AND JAILED,/ NOT ONLY/WITH NO ADEQUATE PROVISION/FOR THEIR REFORM/BUT WITH THE CALCULATED RISK OF MAKING THEM CRIMINALS.// THIRTY PER CENT/OF ALL THE FELONY PRISONERS/IN THE UNITED STATES/ARE NEGROES/AND 53% OF SUCH PRISONERS/IN THE SOUTH.// HALF OF ~~THE~~ all AMERICANS/EXECUTED FOR CAPITAL CRIMES/ARE NEGROES/AND OF THE WOMEN JAILED IN THE SOUTH/70% ARE COLORED./

IN THE SOUTH FOR 75 YEARS/ CRIME HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF PUBLIC INCOME/ AND PRIVATE PROFIT.// THE STATE OF GEORGIA/ BETWEEN 1876 and 1904/ MADE A MILLION DOLLARS PROFIT ON ITS PRISONERS.// DOES ANY HONEST AMERICAN BELIEVE/ THAT THESE FIGURES/ ARE A REAL MEASURE OF GUILT/ AS BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK FOLK?// OF 1200 PERSONS IN MILITARY PRISONS,/ 250 ARE NEGROES.// IS THIS PROOF OF NEGRO COWARDICE/ OR OF MILITARY INJUSTICE?

THE AVERAGE BLACK CHILD TODAY/ IN THE SOUTHERN SOUTH/ HAS NO ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY/ TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE.// AS ONE HISTORIAN TELLS US,/ THE SOUTH SPENT MORE IN 1939/ FOR TRUCKS TO TRANSPORT WHITE CHILDREN/ THAN FOR SCHOOLHOUSES/ FOR NEGRO CHILDREN.// IN 10 SOUTHERN STATES,/ WHITE PUPILS COST $40 A HEAD/ A YEAR;/ NEGRO CHILDREN COST $13.// THE PRESIDENT COMPLAINS/ OF THE EXTRAORDINARY PROPORTION/ OF ARMY RECRUITS/ FOUND SICK AND IGNORANT.// BUT THE PROPORTION OF YOUNG NEGROES/ UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE/ IS OFTEN AS HIGH AS A THIRD.// IF WE HAD EDUCATED NEGROES/ TO READ AND WRITE/ AS RUSSIA EDUCATED

PEASANTS,/ THERE WOULD BE NO ILLITERATES/ AMONG THEM TODAY.// BUT WE TURNED THE THEORY OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING/ INTO AN ATTEMPT/ TO RETARD NEGRO EDUCATION.// CHARLES DUDLY WARNER,/ WHO WAS AT ONE TIME/ THE DIRECT MOUTHPIECE OF GOD/ IN THIS VALLEY,/ GAVE IT AS HIS CONSIDERED OPINION/ THAT NEGROES AS A RACE/ COULD NOT ASSIMILATE/ COLLEGE EDUCATION.

THE NATION NEEDS MORE PHYSICIANS,/ BUT THE NEED OF THE NEGRO GROUP/ IS FOUR TIMES GREATER/ THAN THAT OF THE WHITES.// YET NEGRO STUDENTS/ ARE STILL SYSTEMATICALLY/ KEPT OUT OF MEDICAL SCHOOLS;/ NEGRO PHYSICIANS ARE USUALLY DENIED HOSPITAL FACILITIES/ AND ONLY A SINGLE NEGRO/ HAS EVER SAT/ IN THE POLICY-MAKING BODY/ OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,/ AND THAT CHIEFLY BECAUSE/ HE OPPOSED SOCIAL MEDICINE.

NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD/ CAN IT HAPPEN/ THAT ANNUALLY GREAT NATIONAL MEETINGS/ ARE HELD FOR SCIENCE, religion AND ATHLETICS/ AT WHICH MEMBERS/ CANNOT, bully PARTICIPATE/ IF THEY ARE COLORED.// DESPITE MUCH SUCCESSFUL EFFORT, IT IS STILL

TRUE/ THAT BLACK FOLK HAVE THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY/ IN FINDING WORK/ AT JOBS THEY ARE FITTED TO DO,/ AND AT WAGES EQUAL/ TO THOSE PAID WHITES.// THE SAGA OF THE BLACK LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN/ IS THE DISGRACEFUL STORY/ OF EXCLUSION ~~OF MERIT~~ BY CHEATING AND COLD-BLOODED MURDER/ OF HONEST WORKERS// AT THE HANDS/ OF ONE OF OUR OLDEST/ AND MOST RESPECTABLE TRADE UNIONS.

46-8-20

THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ SYSTEMATIC DENIAL OF OPPORTUNITY/ TO NEGROES/ IN STUDY, IN RESEARCH/ IN SCIENCE AND IN TEACHING,/ IS THE RULE.// ALL THAT RALPH BUNCHE NEEDED/ WAS OPPORTUNITY/ AND THAT WAS JUST WHAT WAS LONG REFUSED HIM.// HE COULD NOT TEACH IN A FIRST RATE COLLEGE./ HE COULD NOT BE MORE/ THAN A ROUTINE CLERK/ IN THE FEDERAL STATE DEPARTMENT/ AND FOR THAT MUST LIVE IN A JIM-CROW CITY.// BUT WHEN HE BECAME A PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS,/ A SCANDINAVIAN,/ FROM A SOCIALIST COUNTRY/ WHICH DOES NOT FOLLOW THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE,/ GAVE BUNCHE/ A JOB OF POLICY-MAKING/ WITH AUTHORITY OVER WHITE PEOPLE.// AN APPOINTMENT WHICH NO AMERICAN/ WOULD HAVE THOUGHT OF.// BUNCHE BROUGHT PEACE/ TO THE MIDDLE EAST/ WHEN MEN OF LESS ABILITY/ AND HIGHER RANK

BROUGHT WAR IN ASIA.// THEN THE UNITED STATES APPLAUDED RALPH BUNCHE/ GENEROUSLY/ AND HARVARD OFFERED HIM A PROFESSORSHIP.// BUT THE OPPORTUNITY/ FOR DESERVING THIS/ DID NOT COME FROM AMERICA/ NOR HARVARD/ NOR YALE.

HERE IS A SITUATION,/ KNOWN TO ALL WHO WISH TO KNOW.// HERE IS A CASTE SYSTEM/ STILL STRONG,/ FAR-REACHING AND CRUEL.// HERE AND THERE/ IT SHOWS HOPEFUL SIGNS OF BREAKING,/ PARTLY BECAUSE OF OUR HIGHER CULTURAL STANDARDS,/ PARTLY BECAUSE OF WORLD CRITICISM;/ PARTLY BECAUSE IT COSTS TOO MUCH MONEY/ TO CARRY OUT;/ MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE UNCEASING AND UNYIELDING PUSH/ OF 15 MILLION HUMAN BEINGS.

46-8-21

WHEN THUS BY ACCIDENT/ OR GOOD WILL;/ BY COST OR FEAR,// THE COLOR*LINE YIELDS A FRACTION/ AND A REAL FRACTION,/ HERE AND THERE,/ NOW AND THEN,// IN SUCH CASE/ WE HAVE EVOLVED/ AN EXTRAORDINARY PROCEDURE.// WE GO INTO A NATIONAL SNAKE DANCE;/ WE SOUND THE TOM-TOMS/ AND YELL VOCIFEROUSLY/ AND CALL THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD/ TO THE FACT/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/ IS NOW AT LAST

SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY// AND THAT THE COLOR LINE IS DISAPPEARING/ SO RAPIDLY/ THAT IT IS GOOD AS GONE.

WE THEN PROCEED/ TO WORK ON THE PATRIOTISM OF AMERICAN NEGROES/ AND ASK THEM/ PLEASE IF POSSIBLE/ TO YELL LOUDER THAN ALL THE REST.// MRS. EDITH SAMPSON SWALLOWED THIS BAIT/ AND FOLLOWED TOWN HALL/ ALL OVER EUROPE AND ASIA/ TELLING OF HER PEOPLE'S FREEDOM.// WHEN SHE CAME HOME,/ THE CARLTON HOTEL IN WASHINGTON/ REFUSED TO LET HER EAT/ AT THE CELEBRATING BANQUET.// THE EMINENT PUGILIST, SUGAR RAY ROBINSON/ RECENTLY ASSURED FRANCE/ THAT ALL AMERICAN NEGROES DO NOT SUFFER DISCRIMINATION. THE NEW YORK TIMES, HAILED HIM/ IN A CHRISTMAS EDITORIAL/ AS OUR "AMBASSADOR"/ WHO FITTINGLY ANSWERED/ LYING COMMUNISTS.// BUT WHEN PAUL ROBESON DENOUNCES THE COLOR LINE/ AND PRAISES THE SOVIET UNION/ FOR ABOLITION OF RACE DISCRIMINATION,/ HE EARNS THE near UNANIMOUS CONDEMNATION/ OF AMERICA/ AND STERN REFUSAL TO LET HIM TRAVEL, TALK OR SING/ IN EUROPE.

NEGROES ARE NOT FOND/ OF POSING BEFORE THE WORLD/ AS STEP-CHILDREN AND OUT-

CASTS IN THEIR NATIVE LAND.// THEY WELCOME SINCERELY/ EACH SIGN OF PROGRESS./ BUT THEY ARE NOT CALLED ON/ TO EXAGGERATE EACH STEP/ BEYOND ITS MEANING/ OR SIGNIFICANCE/ IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL PICTURE.// WE CAN BE HOPEFUL/ WITHOUT BEING ECSTATIC.

EVER SINCE THE UNITED STATES/ CONCEIVED IT/ THE CHIEF END OF MAN/ TO STOP RUSSIA/ FROM INTERFERING WITH PRIVATE PROFIT,// THE WORLD, THE NATION, AND THE NEGRO/ HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO A STEADY BARRAGE/ OF PROPAGANDA/ TO PROVE THAT NEGRO ADVANCE/ IN THIS GENERATION/ HAS VIRTUALLY SETTLED THE NEGRO PROBLEM. THERE IS NO QUESTION/ BUT WHAT AMERICAN NEGROES/ HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH/ BY THE GOOD WILL OF THEIR NEIGHBORS,/ AND THEIR OWN UNREMITTING EFFORT.// THEY HAVE BEEN GLAD TO TESTIFY TO THIS.// I SOUGHT TO SUM THIS UP/ IN THE NEW YORK TIMES FIVE YEARS AGO.// BUT WHEN ANOTHER WRITER/ IN THE SAME PLACE/ SOUNDS THE SAME NOTE IN 1950,/ BUT LEAVES OUT MY QUALIFICATIONS AND WORDS OF CAUTION/ AND WARNING/ WHICH I THEN APPENDED,// I AM FORCED TO REMEMBER/ THAT RELATIVITY APPLIES

TO THE NEGRO PROBLEM HERE/ AND NOT SIMPLY TO THE SUN AND STARS./ THIS PEOPLE HAVE PROGRESSED/ BUT IN THE NAME OF GOD/ NEVER FORGET THE DISTANCE/ THEY HAVE STILL TO GO:// AND REMEMBER THAT THE MAN/ WHO IS CLIMBING OUT OF A WELL,/ WOULD BEST NOT WASTE TOO MUCH TIME/ CELEBRATING ,/ WHEN FIRST HE SEES LIGHT/ ABOVE.

MOREOVER,/ BOTH WHITE AND BLACK/ MAY EASILY EXAGGERATE/ THE MEANING OF INSTANCES/ LIKE THE THREE CASES WE ARE CONSIDERING./ // THEY INVOLVE SOME SUBTLE COUNTER-COSTS.// THE DECISIONS SAY,/ IN EFFECT, THAT STATES CANNOT DENY/ PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION/ AND ONE NECESSARY PUBLIC SERVICE/ TO NEGROES/ ON DIFFERENT TERMS/ THAN OFFERED WHITES./ // BUT BACK OF THESE CASES/ OF DISCRIMINATION/ LIES A WHOLE FIELD OF OTHER DISCRIMINATIONS,// WHICH IF UNDISTURBED/ RENDERS THE SOCIAL GAIN/ FAR LESS/ THAN IT MAY SEEM:// FOR INSTANCE/ FOR 25 YEARS,/ NEGROES HAVE BEEN COMPELLED/ TO BUILD UP AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM/ TOPPED BY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES./ // WE HAVE OFTEN SNEERED/ AT THIS EFFORT:/ THEY USED TO JOKE IN BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S DAY/ AT THE NEGRO COLLEGE MAN/ GREETING A FELLOW

42-8-24

WITH:/ "IS YO' DONE YO' GREEK."// BUT IT WASN'T A JOKE. / IT BUILT A NATION WITHIN A NATION/ WHICH TODAY/ HAS THE STRENGTH AND WILL TO SURVIVE.

TO BUILD COLLEGES/ THE NEGROES BEGGED ALMS,/ FOUGHT GRAFTERS,/ WHITE AND BLACK:/ DEFIED ADMINISTRATORS,/ STATE AND FEDERAL./ // THEY ENCOURAGED NEGRO SCHOLARS/ TO SEEK TRAINING IN THE NORTH/ AND GRIT THEIR TEETH/ AT INSULT AND COLOR DISCRIMINATION/ ~~AT HARVARD, YALE, CORNELL AND THE WEST~~// IN ORDER TO FILL TEACHING POSITIONS/ OFFERED BY NEGRO COLLEGES/ IN THE SOUTH.// THERE ARE TODAY SOME 20 SUCH COLLEGES/ WHICH ARE OF HIGHER GRADE/ THAN MOST NEW ENGLAND COLLEGES/ OF THE LAST CENTURY,// WITH THOUSANDS OF WELL-TRAINED NEGRO TEACHERS./ // NOW SUDDENLY/ NEGROES/ IN SMALL NUMBER AND UNDER STRESS,/ ARE TO BE ADMITTED TO WHITE COLLEGES./ // THE NUMBER ~~[illegible]~~ WILL GROW/ EVEN UNDER INSULT AND DISCRIMINATION/ OF EVERY KIND./ // THE PARADOX IS COMPLETE./ // THE OFFER MUST BE DEMANDED/ AND ACCEPTED/ OR THE WHOLE FIGHT/ AGAINST THE COLOR BAR/ FAILS./ A

52-8-24

A RACE CANNOT DEMAND EQUALITY/AND THEN REFUSE IT.//BUT AT THE SAME TIME/WHAT BECOMES OF ALL THE NEGRO TEACHERS?//OF THE FIELD OF WORK/OPEN FOR NEGRO SCHOLARS?// OF COLLEGE LIFE UNDER CIVILIZED CONDITIONS,/INSTEAD OF STUDYING/AS SOCIAL OUTCASTS/~~AT HARVARD, CALIFORNIA OR MINNESOTA?~~ JUDGING FROM THE EXPERIENCE AT YALE/IT WILL BE AT LEAST FIFTY YEARS/BEFORE A BLACK PROFESSOR/APPEARS ~~HERE~~.//HERE then IS THE PERFECT PARADOX/WITHOUT ANSWER.//ITS EFFECT MUST BE SUB-TRACED t FROM THE REJOICING/AT THESE DECISIONS.// SO TOO, EQUAL TRAVEL/CAN ONLY BE BASED/ULTIMATELY/ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY,/WORK AND WAGE;/OF WHAT INTEREST IS IT/TO NINE-TENTHS OF AMERICAN NEGROES/THAT THEY CAN EAT ON PULLMANS DINING CARS/IF THEY CANNOT EARN ENOUGH/TO PAY FOR THE MEALS?

THE ADDED DANGER TODAY,/BEYOND THAT OF THE PAST,/IS THAT COLOR CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES/IS ~~NOT~~ STRONG AND EFFECTIVE ENOUGH/DESPITE ALL IMPROVE-MENT/STILL TO BE REASON/FOR THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/IN THIS LAND.//AND A PRIME CAUSE/WHY THIS LAND/IS HEADING TOWARD/A WORLD WAR OF RACES

BETWEEN THE WHITE WORLD/AND ASIA AND AFRICA,/WITH RECKLESS WILLINGNESS/TO RISK CIVILIZATION,/RATHER THAN YIELD THE RIGHT/TO EXPLOIT THE DARKER WORLD/ FOR THE PROFIT/OF AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES.// THIS TRUTH IS CLEAR AND UNDENIABLE. IT IS THE COLOR PREJUDICE/ENDEMIC IN THIS NATION/FOR THREE CENTURIES//WHICH HAS LIGHTED THE PATH/OF OUR TROOPS TO ASIA/UNDER THE LEADERSHIP/OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO.

WE EMBARKED ON WAR IN KOREA/AND may soon ~~NOW~~ IN CHINA/ALL THE MORE GAILY/ BECAUSE THESE ARE COLORED NATIONS.// AND WE ARE BORN UNCONSCIOUSLY/TO DESPISE COLOR. WE DROPPED THE FIRST ATOM BOMB/ON A COLORED NATION--AN UNNECESSARY EXPERI-MENT/WHICH WE WOULD NOT/AT THE TIME/HAVE PERPETRATED/ON ANY WHITE PEOPLE. THE RECEPTION OF THE LATE CHINESE DELEGATION/AT LAKE SUCCESS/REMINDED ME VIVIDLY/OF THE LITTLE DELEGATION/WHICH FIFTY YEARS AGO/ COLORED ATLANTA SENT TO THE FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARY/OPENED THERE.// ~~IT~~ The building HAD ABOVE THE ENTRANCE/A BUST

OF CARNEGIE FLANKED BY W Allen SHAKESPEARE. //AS CITIZENS AND TAXPAYERS/WE NEGROES ASKED THE SAME RIGHTS/IN THAT LIBRARY AS WHITES./ I EVEN VENTURED TO POINT OUT/ THAT SOME OF MY OWN BOOKS/WERE IN THE LIBRARY/AND I MIGHT WANT TO BORROW THEM.// THE DISDAIN WITH WHICH/WE WERE GREETED/WAS MAGNIFICENT/AND ALMOST EQUAL/ TO AUSTIN'S DESIRE TO "SUMMON" CHINA/ TO LAKE SUCCESS/ NOT TO "INVITE" HER.

WE IN ATLANTA/WERE DULY PUNISHED/AND NEGROES GOT NO LIBRARY RIGHTS/FOR TEN YEARS.// THE COST OF REPULSING US WAS LITTLE;//BUT INSULTING ASIA AT LAKE SUCCESS/~~HAS ALREADY~~ may COST more than 50,000/MAIMED AND SLAUGHTERED AMERICAN BOYS/ WITH THE END NOT YET.// THE PRICE OF THE COLOR LINE TODAY/ COMES HIGH/AND MAY RISE TOMORROW.//YOU CAN STEP ON THE FACES OF NEGROES IN AMERICA/FOR 350 YEARS/ WITHOUT FATAL RESULTS.// BUT IT MAY NOT BE THE GREATEST WISDOM/TO TRY THIS GAME/ON 800,000,000 million ASIATICS/AND 150 MILLION/BLACK AFRICANS.

THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION/AS TO THE EFFECT/ WHICH OUR CONTINUED REFUSAL TO

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FACE THE NEGRO PROBLEM/ HAS HAD ON OUR ABILITY TO REASON/AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO APPEAL TO LOGIC/ IN OUR TOTAL CULTURAL PATTERN.// WE STOOD 175 YEARS AGO/ SEEING EVERY FIFTH AMERICAN/A SLAVE/AND YET DECLARING/ THAT ALL MEN WERE ~~BORN~~ created EQUAL:// WE FOUGHT AGAINST TAXATION/WITHOUT REPRESENTATION/TWO CENTURIES AGO/ AND EVER SINCE/WE HAVE TAXED MOST NEGROES/ WITHOUT GIVING THEM VOICE IN GOVERNMENT.// WE FOUGHT FOUR YEARS/ TO MAINTAIN THE RIGHT OF STATES/TO ENSLAVE HUMAN BEINGS/AND THEN EMANCIPATED SLAVES/FROM PERSONAL OWNERSHIP/INTO DELIBERATE SUBJECTION TO POVERTY/ DISEASE AND IGNORANCE.// WE DECLARED THAT THE FREEDMAN MUST BE EDUCATED/AND TODAY THREE GENERATIONS LATER/ THIRTY PER CENT OF YOUNG NEGRO ARMY RECRUITS/ CANNOT READ OR WRITE.// WE HAVE ERECTED THOUSANDS OF SHOWY COLLEGES/AND UNIVERSITYES/FOR THE NATION/ONLY TO FIND THAT AN ASTONISHING NUMBER/OF OUR whole GRADUATE STUDENTS/ XCANNOT INTELLIGENTLY/READ, WRITE OR COUNT.

46-8-24

WE DECLARE THE UNITED STATES A DEMOCRACY, BASED ON FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE WHEN WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT THIS IS NOT A DEMOCRACY NEVER HAS BEEN A DEMOCRACY AND THAT NO LARGE BODY OF LEADERS TODAY INTENDS THAT IT EVER WILL BE A DEMOCRACY. THAT OUR individual INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IS DOMINATED BY VAST MONOPOLIES AND OUR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT INCREASINGLY CHAINED BY LAW, POLICE SPIES AND REFUSAL TO LET ANYBODY EARN A DECENT LIVING WHO DOES NOT THINK AS HE IS TOLD TO THINK.

EVERY TENDENCY DISPLAYED IN THIS RECORD HAS BEEN HELPED, INCREASED AND GUIDED BY THIS BASIC HABIT OF OURS OF REFUSING TO FACE THE FACTS WITH REGARD TO OUR NEGRO POPULATION; OF REFUSING HONESTLY TO RIGHT THESE WRONGS AND OF CONTINUALLY EXCUSING OUR MISTAKES BY DECLARING TO THE WORLD THAT WE HAVE ALREADY DONE THAT WHICH WE HOPE SOMETIME TO DO.

IT IS AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF SUCH TWISTED LOGIC THAT WE DO THE MOST AMAZING THINGS. HOW ELSE WILL POSTERITY EXPALIN THAT YALE UNIVERSITY

REFUSED TO LISTEN TO THE MUSIC OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT MASTERS BECAUSE OF HIS POLITICAL BELIEFS? HOW IS IT THAT FOR 200 YEARS PRINCETON REFUSED TO ENROLL A COLLEGE STUDENT WITH A BLACK FACE? HOW ELSE CAN WE PUT MEN IN JAIL NOT FOR THEIR DEEDS BUT FOR THOUGHTS? HOW ELSE CAN WE DECLARE ALL MEN TRAITORS WHO EVER WANTED VIOLENTLY TO OVERTHROW THE ENTRENCHED EVIL AND GREED OF OUR CIVILIZATION? NOT REASON BUT FORCE: NOT LOGIC BUT THREAT, RESTS AT THE PRESENT BASIS OF MUCH OF OUR POLICY; AND THE MOST PERSISTENT INGREDIENT OF THIS FRAME OF MIND IS THE DENIAL, EXAGGERATION AND DECEPTION WHICH WE HAVE PRACTICED WITH REGARD TO AMERICAN NEGROES.

TODAY OUR RIGHTFUL INTELLIGENTSIA IS CURIOUSLY DUMB AND OUR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SUNKEN TO A LOW LEVEL. WE SEEM UNABLE TO THINK, REASON CLEARLY OR ACT WITH DECISION. TO ME ALL THIS SEEMS TO TRACE ITSELF DIRECTLY BACK TO THE EXTRAORDINARY COLOR-COMPLEX INTO WHICH THIS NATION WAS BORN AND STILL LIVES.

OF ALL HUMAN DISTINCTIONS/ IT IS THE LEAST LOGICAL/ AND/YET AND /FOR THAT REASON/HAS LED TO STILL WIDER LACK OF LOGIC./ /~~HOW ELSE CAN~~ WE RECONCILE OURSELVES TO COLLEGE PRESIDENTS/ LEADING ARMIES AND WAR PROPAGANDA:/ TO A STUDENT BODY IN THIS NATION,/ THE MOST DOCILE, HAND-FED/AND UNQUESTIONING OF ANY SIMILAR GROUP/IN THE WORLD:/(WITH NO OPINIONS,/ AT LEAST ON THIS CAMPUS,/ NOT PRESCRIBED/BY THE GOSPEL /ACCORDING TO LIFE, TIME AND FORTUNE.

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THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE THREE CASES

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

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The recent election throws a side-light on the cases we are examining here tonihgt. They indicate our progress toward democracy. How far have we gone? Almost the same number of persons voted for Republican and Democratic candidates for congressmen in November; 19 million 7 hundred thousand on each side. Yet the Democrats elected 235 members of the House of Representatives and the Republicans 199. They were able to do this principally because most Southern Negroes cannot vote; yet their political power is exercised by Southern whites. South Carolina and Connecticut had the same number of Representatives in Congress in 1944 but South Carolina needed but 100,000 votes to elect hers while it took 800,000 to elect yours. That is when a citizen of Connecticut goes to the polls, he casts one ballot. A free, white citizen of South Crolina on the other hand cast eight.

Most Americans and all students ignore the fact that in the leading democracy of the world, members of the Congress are not elected by majority vote. If one expresses surprise at this, it is answered, What difference does this make? It made considerable difference on January 3, the House of Representatives decided 244 to 179 votes not to allow the order and subject of its business to be settled even by majority vote but to rest it in the hands of a committee headed by Eugene Cox of Georgia.

Mr. Cox received a vote of in the last election which was enough to elect him to his powerful office. It took 50,000 votes in a total of 90,000 to defeat Vito Marcantonio in New York and

Evidently votes are more valuable in Georgia and far more influential than here. Moreover Mr. Cox has occupied his seat unchallenged for years, with a total vote of

As a reward for this disfranchisement of his fellow-citizens he is made Chairman of the powerful rules committee by senority, and he will make or stop national legislation for many years to come in this democratic government.

This is not all. When the new United States Senate was just organized, the powerful majority leader x chosen by the Democrats was Mr. McFarland of Arizona. He will select with advice of course the majority membership of the powerful Senate committees. Mr. McFarland is a Southern Dixiecrat whose every vote has been reactionary and cast against Civil Rights, for free lynching , for the poll tax, and against fair employment. He has helped filibuster against every such proposal which means he has denied even majority rule in the Senate. This action as a Senator he has a legal right to take. But who made him Senator? He received in 1948, a total of 80,000 votes in Arizona; I recieved last year in New York 207,000 votes for Senator and stood at the bottom of the list. Senator Lehman received 2,600,000 votes to enable him to sit beside Senator McFarland with only a fraction of Mr. McFarlands' power over legislation.

I might x take all my allotted time showing that the United States is not a democracy. We have in this land, minority rule, directed by those who control our wealth and implemented by disfranchisement, discrimination and deliberate use of public and private education to distort our domestic ideals and mislead our foreign policy.

I mention these facts first to remind you that no matter how fast we may be accomplishing democracy in the United States, we are not yet in position to do much boasting. You might immediately object that this is emphasizing the color caste long characteristic of the United States on the very occasion when we are celebrating three important cases in which this caste has been broken. To this I simply answer, that giving all due

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weight to the importance of these decisions and admitting in addition that more Negroes vote today than ever before in this country; that states have fair employment statutes; that lynching is disap earing and segregation by race much less frequent than 25 years ago--granting all this, it is also undeniable that the present legal and customary discriimination against Americans of Negro descent still renders them today the most deliberately suppressed and openly insulted group of any of similar lise and accomplishment in any modern civilized land. We can only turn to Czarist Russia and Hitler's Germany to find a modern parallel.

Let us briefly scan the facts; in the basic written Constitut on of a majority of the states of the United States, Negroes and descendants of Negroes to the last visible degree, are openly discriminated against in regard to some of the fundamental liberties of American citizens by state legislation in from a fourth to one half of the states, marriages can be broken, children made bastards; travel interfered with, recreation curtailed, public services denied, the right to vote taken away, the right to hold public office refused, property sequestrated, education hindered or denied, and taxation without representation made a general rule for skin color alone, Throughout the South, regardless of law or gospel, no Negro has any rights which a white man cannot violate without any penalty commensurate with the c crime. Of the millions who have composed the mobs which have lynched since not a hundred have received any punishment whatsoever and none have been punished commensurate with their crime. In the case of hundreds of thousands of victims of mob violence and mil ions of property damage, there has been little effort to recommense or restore. The majority of persons arrested in the South are Negroes which no civilized tribunal would punich.

We are celbrating tonight three cases where Negro rights have received recognition in our courts. But we are not considering the millions of cases

55-8-94

where the great mass of Negroes cannot get ordinary justice for fundamental rights of life, liberty and property. Negro children in the South and many in Northern cities are arrested and jailed, not only with no adequate provision for their reform but with the calculated risk of making them criminals. Thirty per cent of all the felony prisoners in the United States are Negroes and 53% of those in the South. Half of the American executed for capital crimes are Negroes and of the women jailed in the South 70% are colored women. In the South for 75 years crime has been a source of public income and private profit.* Does any honest American believe that these figures are a real measur of guilt as between white and black folk? Of 1200 persons in military prisons, 250 are Negroes. Is this proof of Negro cowardice or of military injustice?

Prisoners. *The state of Georgia betwe n 1876 and 1904 made a million dollars profit on its

The average black child today in the Southern South has no adequate opportunity to learn to read and write. As one historial tell us, in the South $ spent more in 1939 for trucks to transport white children than for new schoolhouses for Negro children. White pupils cost $40 a head a year; Negro children cost $13 in 10 Southern states. The President complains of the extraordinary proportion of army recruits found sick and ignorant but the proportion of young Negroes unable to read and write is often as high as a third. If we had educated Negroes to read and write as Russia educated peasants there would be no illiterates among us today. But we raised the theory of industrial training into an attempt to retard Negro college education. Charles Dudley Warner who was at one time the direct mouthpiece of God in this valley, gave it as his considered opinion based on as he assured us, on personal investigation, that Negroes as a race could not assimilate college education, and the degradation of the Negro schools kept down the efficienty of white Southern white schools.

The nation needs morephysicians, but the need of the Negro group is greater, than that of the whites; yet Negro students are systematically kept out of medical schools; Negro physicians are usually denied hospital facilities and only a single Negro has ever sat in the policy-making body of the American Medical Association, and that chiefly because he opposed social medicine. Despite much successful effort, it is still true that black folk have the greatest difficulty in finding work at jobs they are fitted to do, and at wages equal to those paid whites. The saga of the black locomotive firemen is the disgraceful story of exclusion of merit by cheating and cold-blooded murder of honest workersat the hands of one of our oldest and most respectable trade unions.

Throughout the United States today, systematic denial of opportunity to Negroes in study, in research, in science, in teaching, is the rule. Take the case of Ralph Bunche: when he received a doctorate in History he was offered no instructorship either at Harvard or any other first rate institution in the United States. When he entered the State Department he was never offered an opportunity to be anything but a subordinate clerk, but when he became a part of the United Nations, a Scandinavian, from a socialist country which does not follow the American Way of Life, made him head of an important commission with white men actually under his orders, and with the right to initiate policy. No American would ever have done such a thing; he wouldn't even thought of it. Once given opportunity, Bunche got the Nobel Prize and a Professorship. But the opportunity did not come from America, Harvard or Yale.

Here is a situation, known to all who whis to know. Here is a caste system strong, complete and cruel. Here and there it shows hopeful signs of breaking , partly because of our higher cultural standards, partly because of world criticism; partly because it costs too much money to carry out the system; mainly because of the unceasing and unyielding push of

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15 million human beings.

When now by accident or good will; by cost or fear, the color-line yields a fraction and a real fraction here and there, now and then--in such case we have evolved an extraordinary procedure. We go into a national snake dance; we sound the tom-toms and yell vociferously and call the attention of the world to the fact that the United States is now at last safe for democracy and that the color line is disappearing so rapidly that it is good as gone.

We then proceed to work on the patriotism of American Negroes and ask them please if possible to yell louder than all the rest. Mrs. Edith Sampson swallowed the bait and followed Town Hall all over Europe and Asia telling of her people's freedom. When she came home, the Carlton Hotel in Washington refused to let her eat at the celebrating banquet. But God is good, she is now something like second assistant alternate to Mrs. Roosevelt at Lake Success. Sugar Ray Robinson the eminent pugilist, recently assured France that American Negroes suffer "no discrimination.". The New York Times hailed the line with enthusiasm and the editor called him our "Ambassador". But when Paul Robeson denounces the color line and praises the Soviet Union for abolition of race discrimination, he earns the unanimous condemnation of America and stern refusal to let him talk or sing in Europe.

This is childish nonesense. No one, least of all Negroes, are fond of posing before the world as step-children and outcasts in their native land; all welcome sincerely each sign of progress. But we equally are not called on to exaggerate each step beyond its meaning or significance in relation to the total picture. We can be hopeful without being ecstatic.

Ever since the United States conceived it the chief end of man to stop Russia from interfering with private profit, the world the Nation, and the Negro have been subjected to a steady barrage of propaganda to prove that

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Negro advnace in this generation has virtually settled the Negro Problem. There is no question but what Negroes in this city, in New England, in North and South have accomplished umusual things, by the good will of their Neighbors, and by their own unremitting and undiscouraged effort. They have been glad to acknowledge this. I sought to sum this up in the New York Times 5 years ago, but when another writer in the same place sounds the same note in 1950, but leaves out the very words of caution and warning I then appended, I am forced to remember that relativity applies to the Negro problem here and not si ply to the sun and stars. This people have progressed but in the name of God, never forget the distance they have to go; and remember that the man who is climbing out of a well, would not best waste too much time in celebrating, when first he sees light above.

Moreover both White and Black may easily exaggerate the meaning of instances like the three cases we are considering. They involve some subtle counter costs. The decisions say, in effect, that states cannot deny professional education and certain necessary social services to Negroes on different terms than offered whites. But back of a case of discrimination may lie a whole untouched field of other discriminations, which if undisturbed renders the social gain far less than it may seem: for instance for 25 years, Negroes have been compelled to build up an educational system topped by colleges and universities. We have often sneered at this effort; they used to joke in Booker T. Washington's day at the Negro college man greeting a fellow with: "Is yo' done yo' Greek." But it wasn't a joke. It built a nation within a nation which today has the strength and will to survive.

To build colleges they fought grafters, white and black; they defied administrators, state and federal; they encouraged Negro students to seek training in the North and endure insult and color discrimination at Harvard

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Yale, Cornell and the West, in order to fill these teaching positions offered by Negro colleges in the South. There are today some 20 colleges, public and private, which are of higher grade than most New England colleges of the last century, with thousands of well-trained teachers. Now suddenly Negroes in small number and under intense stress, are to be admitted to white colleges , the number is now small but it will grow. The parador is complete. The offer must be demanded and accepted or the fight against the color line fails. But what becomes of all the Negro teachers? Of the field of work open for Negro scholars? Of college life under civilized conditions, instead of studying as social outcasts at Yale or Minnesota? Here is the perfect paradox without answer. Its effect must be subtracted from the rejoicing at these decisions but much will be left. So to , equal travel can only be based ultimately on equal opportunity, work and wage; of what interest is it to nine-tenths of American Negroes that then can eat on Pullmans' if they cannot earn enough to pay for the meals?

But more than this, the added danger today, beyond that of the past, is that color caste in the United States is yet strong and effective enough despite all improvement and change to still be reason for the failure of the democratic process in this land, and the cause why this land is sparking a world war of races between the xhx white world and Asia and Africa, with the wreckless and stupid desire to risk civilization, before we yield the right to exploit the darker world for the profit of American millionaires. This truth may be a bitter pill for Americans to swallow, but it is clear and undeniable. It is color prejudice end mic in this nation for three centuries which has lighted the path of our troops to Asia under leadership of the Wild Man of Tokyo

We embarked on war in Korea and now in China all the more gaily, because these are colored nations; and we are born unconsciously to despise

color. We dropped the first atom bomb on a colored nation--an unnecessary experiment which we would not at the time have perpertrated on any white people. The xxxxip reception of the late Chinese delegation at Lake Success reminded me vividly of the little delegation which fifty years ago, colored Atlanta sent to the first Public Library ppened there with a bust of Carnegie flanked by Shakespeare. As citizens and taxpayers we asked the same rights in that library as whites. I even ventured to point out that some of my own books were in the library and I might like to borrow them. The disdain with which we were greeted was magnificent and almost equally Austin's desire to "summon" China to Lake Success and not to invite her. We in Atlanta were duly punished and Negroes got no library rights for ten years. The cost of repulsing us was little; but insulting China at Lake Success is already 50,000 maimed and slaughtered American boys, with the end not yet , if ever xx. The Cost of the Color Line today is high and may rise tomorrow. You can step on the faces of Negroes in America for 350 years without fatal results. But it may not be the greatest wisdom to try this game on 800,000,000 Asiatics and 150 million black Africans.

There can be no question as to the effect which our continued refusal to face the Negro problem, has had on our ability to reason and our willingness to appeal to logic in our total cultural pattern. We stood 175 years ago declaring that all men were born equal and at the same moment seeing in every fifth American a slave; we fought against taxation without representation two centuries ago and ever since we have taxed Negroes and others without giving them full voice in government. We fought four years to maintain the right of states to enslave human beings and then emancipated them from personal ownership into deliberate subjection to poverty, disease ignorance. We declared that the freedman must be educated and today three generations later, thirty per cent of young Negro army recruits cannot

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read or write. In our desperate effort to stop the higher education of Negroes, we have not only made it impossible for the average Negro child in Mississippi today to learn to read intelligently, but in the process we have retarded elementary education among Southern whites and given the nation the poorest system of public schools of any modern civilized people . We have erected thousands of showy colleges and universities only to find that an astonishing number of our graduate students cannot intelligently read, write nor count.

We declare the United States a democracy, based on free enterprise and individual initiative when we know perfectly well that h this is not a democracy, never has been a democracy and that no large body of leaders today intends it ever will be a democracy; that our industrial enterprise is dominated by vast monopoly and our freedom of thought chained by law, police spies and increasing refusal to let anybody earn a decent living who does not think as he is told to think.

Every tendency displayed in this record, has been helped, increased and guided by this basic habit of ours of refusing to face the facts with regard to our Negro population, of refusing honestly to right wrongs and of continually excusing our crimes and saving our faces by declaring to the world and our children that we have already done that which we hope sometime to do

It is against a background of such twisted logic that we do the most amazing things. How else will posterity explain that Yale University refused to listen to the music of one of the world's great masters because of his political beliefs? How else can we put men in jail not for deeds but for thoughts? How else can we declare all men traitors who ever wanted violently to overthorw the entrenched evil and greed of our civilization? Not reason but force; not logic but h threat, rests at the present basis of our policy; and the most persistent ingredient of this frame of mind is

the denial, exaggeration and deception which we have practiced with regard to American Negroes.

Today our rightful intelligentsia is dumb and our political leadership sunken to a new low. We seem unable to think, reason clearly or act with decision. To me all this seems to trace itself directly back to the extraordinary color-complex into which this nation was born and still lives. Our historic color complex has become so integral a part of our culture that it has retarded civilization in America. Of all human distinctions it is the least logical and yet and for that reason has led to still wider lack of logic. How else can we reconcile ourselves to a student body in this nation, the most docile hand-fed and unquestioning of an similar group in the world; with no opinions at least on this campus, not pre-digested by the gospel according to LIFE, TIME AND FORTUNE.

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THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE THREE CASES

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

The recent election throws a side-light on the cases we are examining here tonight. ~~They indicate our progress toward democracy. How far have we gone?~~ Almost the same number of persons voted for Republican and Democratic candidates for congressmen in November; 19 million 7 hundred thousand on each side. Yet the Democrats elected 235 members of the House of Representatives and the Republicans, 199. They were able to do this principally because most Southern Negroes cannot vote; yet their political power is exercised by Southern whites. South Carolina and Connecticut had the same number of Representatives in Congress in 1944 but South Carolina needed but 100,000 votes to elect hers while it took 800,000 to elect yours. ~~That is~~ When a citizen of Connecticut goes to the polls, he casts one ballot. A free, white citizen of South Carolina on the other hand casts eight.

~~Most Americans and all students ignore the fact that~~ Thus in the leading democracy of the world, members of the Congress are not elected by majority vote. ~~If one expresses surprise at this, it is answered, What difference does this make? It made considerable difference,~~ On January 3, the House of Representatives decided 244 to 179 votes not to allow the order and subject of its business to be settled even by majority vote, but to rest in the hands of a committee headed by Eugene Cox of Georgia.

Mr. Cox received a majority vote of 78,930 ballots in November in the ~~last~~ election ~~which was enough to elect him to his powerful office.~~ It took 50,000 votes in a total of 90,000 to defeat Vito Marcantonio in New York and 878 000 ballots in New Haven to elect Congressman Ullmann with a plurality of 89,000

Evidently votes are more valuable in Georgia and far more influential than here, ~~Moreover~~ Mr. Cox has occupied his seat unchallenged for 25 years, ~~with a total vote of~~ and out of a voting population of 150000 in his district 2/3 ~~voted~~ do not go to the polls in New Haven since it takes 45 of your votes to balance 1 in Georgia

As a reward for this disfranchisement of his fellow-citizens, he is made Chairman of the powerful rules committee by senority, and he will make or stop national legislation for many years to come in this democratic government.

This is not all. When the new United States Senate was just organized, the ~~powerful~~ majority leader ~~x~~ chosen by the Democrats was Mr. McFarland of Arizona. He will select, with advice of course, the majority membership of the powerful Senate committees. Mr. McFarland is a Southern Dixicrat whose every vote has been reactionary and cast against Civil Rights, for free lynching , for the poll tax, and against fair employment. He has helped filibuster against every such proposal, which means he has denied even majority rule in the Senate. This action as a Senator he has a legal right to take. But who made him Senator? He received in 1948, a total of 80,000 votes in Arizona; I recieved last year in New York 207,000 votes for Senator and stood at the bottom of the list. Senator Lehman received 2,600,000 votes, over 32 times the poll of McFarland to enable him to sit beside Senator McFarland with only a fraction of Mr. McFarlands' power over legislation.

I might ~~x~~ take all my allotted time showing that the United States is not a democracy. We have in this land, minority rule, directed by those who control our wealth, and implemented by disfranchisement, discrimination and deliberate use of public and private education to distort our domestic ideals and mislead our foreign policy.

I mention these facts first to remind you, that no matter how fast we may be accomplishing democracy in the United States, we are not yet in position to do much boasting. You ~~might immediately~~ may object that this is emphasizing the color caste long characteristic of the United States, on the very occasion when we are celebrating three important cases in which this caste has been broken. To this I simply answer, that giving all due

weight to the importance of these decisions and admitting in addition that more Negroes vote today than ever before in this country; that 9 out of 48 states have fair employment statutes; that lynching is disappearing and segregation by race ~~much~~ less frequent than 25 years ago--granting all this, it is also undeniable that the present legal and customary discriimination against Americans of Negro descent still renders them today the most ~~deliberately~~ suppressed and ~~openly~~ insulted group of ~~any of~~ similar size and accomplishment in any modern civilized land. We can only turn back to Czarist Russia and Hitler's Germany to find a modern parallel.

Let us briefly face the facts; in the basic written Constitution of a majority of the states ~~of the United States~~, Negroes ~~and descendants of Negroes to the last visible degree,~~ are ~~openly~~ shamefully discriminated against ~~in~~ with regard to some ~~of the~~ fundamental liberties ~~of American citizens~~ by state legislation ~~in~~ from a fourth to one half of the states, marriages ~~can be broken, children made bastards;~~ can annul members with travel ~~interfered with,~~ curtail recreation ~~curtailed,~~ public services ~~denied,~~ take away the right to vote ~~taken away, the right~~ to hold public office ~~refused,~~ States can interfere with property ~~sequestrated,~~ education ~~hindered~~ or ~~denied,~~ and make taxation without representation ~~made~~ a general rule, ~~for skin color alone.~~ designate Negroes with outward badges of inferiority

Throughout the South, regardless of law or gospel, no Negro has any rights which a white man cannot violate without any penalty commensurate with the crime. Of the millions who have composed the mobs which have lynched 4000 3700 Negroes during the last 75 years since ~~1882~~, not one hundred have received any punishment whatsoever and none have been punished for murder ~~commensurate with their crime.~~ In the case of hundreds of thousands of victims of mob violence with millions of property damage, there has been little effort to recommense or restore. The majority of persons daily arrested in the South are Negroes which no civilized tribunal would punish.

We are celbrating tonight three cases where Negro rights have received recognition in our courts. But we are not considering the millions of cases

where the ~~great~~ mass of Negroes cannot get ordinary justice, ~~for fundamental rights of~~ life, ~~liberty and property.~~ Negro children in the South and many in Northern cities are arrested and jailed, not only with no adequate provision for their reform but with the calculated risk of making them criminals. Thirty per cent of all the felony prisoners in the United States are Negroes and 53% of ~~those~~ such prisoners in the South. Half of the Americans executed for capital crimes are Negroes and of the women jailed in the South 70% are colored. ~~women.~~ In the South for 75 years crime has been a source of public income and private profit. The state of Georgia between 1876 and 1904 made a million dollars profit on its prisoners. Does any honest American believe that these figures are a real measure of guilt as between white and black folk? Of 1200 persons in military prisons, 250 are Negroes. Is this proof of Negro cowardice or of military injustice?

The average black child today in the Southern South has no adequate opportunity to learn to read and write. As one historian tell us, ~~in~~ the South ~~f~~ spent more in 1939 for trucks to transport white children than for ~~new~~ schoolhouses for Negro children. White pupils cost $40 a head a year; Negro children cost $13 in 10 Southern states. The President complains of the extraordinary proportion of army recruits found sick and ignorant; but the proportion of young Negroes unable to read and write is often as high as a third. If we had educated Negroes to read and write as Russia educated peasants, there would be no illiterates among them today. But we ~~raised~~ turned the theory of industrial training into an attempt to retard Negro ~~college~~ education. Charles Dudley Warner, who was at one time the direct mouthpiece of God in this valley, gave it as his considered opinion ~~based~~ ~~on as he assured us, on personal investigation,~~ that Negroes as a race could not assimilate college education, ~~and the dagradation of the Negro schools kept down the efficienty of the Southern white schools.~~

36-8-10

The nation needs morephysicians, but the need of the Negro group is greater, than that of the whites; yet Negro students are still systematically kept out of medical schools; Negro physicians are usually denied hospital facilities and only a single Negro has ever sat in the policy-making body of the American Mediaal Association, and that chiefly because he opposed social medicine. Despite much successful effort, it is still true that black folk have the greatest difficulty in finding work at jobs they are fitted to do, and at wages equal to those paid whites. The saga of the black locomotive firemen is the disgraceful story of exclusion of merit by cheating and cold-blooded murder of honest workersat the hands of one of our oldest and most respectable trade unions.

Throughout the United States today, systematic denial of opportunity to Negroes in study, in research, in science, and in teaching, is the rule. ~~Take~~ All that Ralph Bunche needed was opportunity and that was just what ~~we~~ long refused him. He could not teach in a first rate college; he could not be more than a clerk in the ~~government and~~ Federal State Department and for that must live in a jim-crow city. ~~was never offered an opportunity to be anything but a subordinate clerk,~~ But when he became a part of the United Nations, a Scandinavian, from a socialist country which does not follow the American Way of Life, ~~made him b~~, gave Bunche a job of policy-making ~~in control of~~ with authority over white people, an appointment which no American would have thought of. Bunche brought peace ~~in~~ to the Middle East when men of less ability and higher rank brought war in Asia. Then the United States ~~discovered~~ applauded Ralph Bunche generously ~~got the Nobel Prize and~~ and Harvard offered him a Professorship. But the opportunity for deserving ~~was~~ given, Bunche did not come from America, Harvard or Yale.

Here is a situation, known to all who wish to know. Here is a caste system, still strong, far-reaching ~~complete~~ and cruel. Here and there it shows hopeful signs of breaking , partly because of our higher cultural standards, partly because of world criticism; partly because it costs too much money to carry out ~~the system~~; mainly because of the unceasing and unyielding push of

Nowhere else in the world can it happen that annually great national meetings re held for science and athletics at which ~~certain~~ members cannot participate ~~because~~ if they are colored

15 million human beings.

When now by accident or good will; by cost or fear, the color-line yields a fraction and a real fraction, here and there, now and then--in such case we have evolved an extraordinary procedure. We go into a national snake dance; we sound the tom-toms and yell vociferously and call the attention of the world to the fact that the United States is now at last safe for democracy and that the color line is disappearing so rapidly that it is good as gone.

We then proceed to work on the patriotism of American Negroes and ask them please if possible to yell louder than all the rest. Mrs. Edith Sampson swallowed the bait and followed Town Hall all over Europe and Aisa telling of her people's freedom. When she came home, the Carlton Hotel in Washington refused to let her eat at the celebrating banquet. ~~But God is good, she is now something like second assistant alternate to Mrs. Roosevelt at Lake Success.~~ Sugar Ray Robinson the eminent pugilist, recently assured France that American Negroes suffer ~~no~~ discrimination. The New York Times hailed ~~the line with enthusiasm and the editor called hi~~ him in a Christmas editorial as our "Ambassador". But when Paul Robeson denounces the color line and praises the Soviet Union for abolition of race discrimination, he earns the unanimous condemnation of America and stern refusal to let him talk or sing in Europe.

~~This is childish nonesense. No one, least of all~~ Negroes are fond of posing before the world as step-children and outcasts in their native land; ~~all~~ they welcome sincerely each sign of progress. But ~~we equally~~ they are not called on to exaggerate each step beyond its meaning or significance in relation to the total picture. We can be hopeful without being ecstatic.

Ever since the United States conceived it the chief end of man to stop Russia from interfering with private profit, the world the Nation, and the Negro have been subjected to a steady barrage of propaganda to prove that

Negro advance in this generation has virtually settled the Negro Problem. There is no question but what American Negroes ~~in this city, in New England, in North and South~~ have accomplished ~~unusual things~~ much, by the good will of their neighbors, and ~~by~~ their own unremitting ~~and undiscouraged~~ effort. They have been glad to ~~acknowledge~~ testify to this. I sought to sum this up in the New York Times 5 years ago, but when another writer in the same place sounds the same note in 1950, but leaves out ~~the very~~ many qualifications and words of caution and warning which I then appended, I am forced to remember that relativity applies to the Negro problem here and not simply to the sun and stars. This people have progressed but in the name of God, never forget the distance they have to go; and remember that the man who is climbing out of a well, would not best waste too much time in celebrating, when first he sees light above.

Moreover both White and Black may easily exaggerate the meaning of instances like the three cases we are considering. They involve some subtle counter costs. The decisions say, in effect, that states cannot deny professional education and ~~certain~~ one necessary ~~social~~ public services to Negroes on different terms than offered whites. But back of these cases of discrimination ~~may~~ lies a whole ~~untouched~~ field of other discriminations, which if undisturbed renders the social gain far less than it may seem: for instance for 25 years, Negroes have been compelled to build up an educational system topped by colleges and universities. We have often sneered at this effort; they used to joke in Booker T. Washington's day at the Negro college man greeting a fellow with: "Is yo' done yo' Greek." But it wasn't a joke. It built a nation within a nation which today has the strength and will to survive.

To build colleges ~~they~~ Negroes begged alms, fought grafters, white and black; ~~they~~ defied administrators, state and federal; they encouraged Negro ~~students~~ scholars to seek training in the North and ~~endure~~ visit there insult and color discrimination at Harvard

36-8-13

Yale, Cornell and the West, in order to fill ~~these~~ teaching positions offered by Negro colleges in the South. There are today some 20 such colleges, ~~public and private,~~ which are of higher grade than most New England colleges of the last century, with thousands of well-trained Negro teachers. Now suddenly Negroes in small number and under ~~intense~~ stress, are to be admitted to white colleges, even under insult and discrimination of every kind, the number is now small but it will grow. The paradox is complete. The offer must be demanded and accepted or the whole fight against the color bar ~~line~~ fails. But at the same time what becomes of all the Negro teachers? Of the field of work open for Negro scholars? Of college life under civilized conditions, instead of studying as social outcasts at ~~Yale or~~ Harvard, California or Minnesota? Here is the perfect paradox without answer. Its effect must be subtracted from the rejoicing at these decisions, ~~but much will be left~~. So too, equal travel can only be based ultimately on equal opportunity, work and wage; of what interest is it to nine-tenths of American Negroes that they can eat on Pullmans' driving cars if they cannot earn enough to pay for the meals?

~~But more than this,~~ the added danger today, beyond that of the past, is that color caste in the United States is yet strong and effective enough despite all improvement ~~and change~~, to still be reason for the failure of the democratic process in this land, and a prime cause why this land is heading ~~sparking~~ a world war of races between the ~~xxx~~ white world and Asia and Africa, with ~~the~~ wreckless willing mass and ~~stupid desire~~ to risk civilization, rather than ~~before~~ we yield the right to exploit the darker world for the profit of American millionaires. This truth ~~may be a bitter pill for Americans to swallow, but it~~ is clear and undeniable. It is the color prejudice endemic in this nation for three centuries which has lighted the path of our troops to Asia under leadership of the Wild Man of Tokyo

We embarked on war in Korea and now in China all the more gaily, because these are colored nations; and we are born unconsciously to despise

Lowest

Pl-8-52

A race cannot demand equality and then refuse it

Judging from the experience at Yale it will be at least 50 years before a Negro professor appears here

color. We dropped the first atom bomb on a colored nation--an unnecessary experiment which we would not at the time have perpertrated on any white people. The reception of the late Chinese delegation at Lake Success reminded me vividly of the little delegation which fifty years ago, colored Atlanta sent to the first Public Library ppened there with a bust of Carnegie flanked by Shakespeare. As citizens and taxpayers we asked the same rights in that library as whites. I even ventured to point out that some of my own books were in the library and I might like to borrow them. The disdain with which we were greeted was magnificent and almost equally Austin's desire to "summon" China to Lake Success, and not to "invite" her. We in Atlanta were duly punished and Negroes got no library rights for ten years. The cost of repulsing us was little; but insulting China at Lake Success is already 50,000 maimed and slaughtered American boys, with the end not yet. If ever it is. The Cost of the Color Line today is high and may rise tomorrow. You can step on the faces of Negroes in America for 350 years without fatal results. But it may not be the greatest wisdom to try this game on 800,000,000 Asiatics and 150 million black Africans.

There can be no question as to the effect which our continued refusal to face the Negro problem, has had on our ability to reason and our willingness to appeal to logic in our total cultural pattern. We stood 175 years ago, declaring that all men were born equal, and at the same moment seeing in every fifth American a slave; we fought against taxation without representation two centuries ago and ever since we have taxed Negroes and others without giving them full voice in government. We fought four years to maintain the right of states to enslave human beings and then emancipated them from personal ownership into deliberate subjection to poverty, disease and ignorance. We declared that the freedman must be educated and today three generations later, thirty per cent of young Negro army recruits cannot

read or write. In our desperate effort to stop the higher education of Negroes, we have not only made it impossible for the average Negro child in Mississippi today to learn to read intelligently, but in the process we have retarded elementary education among Southern whites and given the nation the poorest system of public schools of any modern civilized people. We have erected thousands of showy colleges and universities for the modern, only to find that an astonishing number of our graduate students cannot intelligently read, write nor count.

We declare the United States a democracy, based on free enterprise and individual initiative when we know perfectly well that this is not a democracy, never has been a democracy and that no large body of leaders today intends that it ever will be a democracy; that our industrial enterprise is dominated by vast monopolies and our freedom of thought increasingly chained by law, police spies and ~~increasing~~ refusal to let anybody earn a decent living who does not think as he is told to think.

Every tendency displayed in this record, has been helped, increased and guided by this basic habit of ours of refusing to face the facts with regard to our Negro population, of refusing honestly to right great wrongs and of continually excusing our ~~crimes and saving~~ mistakes ~~our faces~~ by declaring to the world ~~and our children~~ that we have already done that which we hope sometime to do

It is against a background of such twisted logic that we do the most amazing things. How else will posterity explain that Yale University refused to listen to the music of one of the world's great masters because of his political beliefs? How else can we put men in jail not for deeds but for thoughts? How else can we declare all men traitors who ever wanted violently to overthorw the entrenched evil and greed of our civilization? Not reason but force; not logic but threat, rests at the present basis of much of our policy; and the most persistent ingredient of this frame of mind is

the denial, exaggeration and deception which we have practiced with regard to American Negroes.

Today our rightful intelligentsia is curiously dumb and our political leadership sunken to a low level. We seem unable to think, reason clearly or act with decision. To me all this seems to trace itself directly back to the extraordinary color-complex into which this nation was born and still lives. ~~Our historic color complex has become so integral a part of our culture that it has retarded civilization~~ in America. Of all human distinctions it is the least logical and yet and for that reason has led to still wider lack of logic. How else can re reconcile ourselves to college presidents leading armies and war propaganda; to a student body in this nation, the most docile, hand-fed and unquestioning of any similar group in the world; with no opinions, at least on this campus, not ~~pre-digested~~ prescribed by the gospel according to LIFE, TIME AND FORTUNE.

36-8-17

St. Nicholas Arena, February 8, 1951

35-5-127

THE REARMING OF GERMANY

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

MORE THAN MOST AMERICANS/NOT OF GERMAN DESCENT,//I HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE GERMAN NATION.///AT PERHAPS THE MOST CRITICAL TIME/IN MY OWN SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT//I WAS FOR TWO YEARS A STUDENT/IN THE FRIEDRICH-WILHELM'S UNIVERSITAT ~~IN~~ SUMMER BERLIN./ I LIVED IN THE SHADOW OF LUTHER'S WARTBURG;/I MADE THE HARZREISE; I VISITED THE HANSA CITIES,/ MUNICH, THE RHEINPHALZ,/ LIEPZIG AND BRESLAU,/I HAVE HEARD WAGNER AT BEIREUTH;/ I HAVE SAILED THE RHEIN/FROM ROTTERDAM TO MAINZ,/AND SUNG THE LORELEI.//I SAT UNDER THE LECTURES/OF SCHMOLLER, WEBER AND VON TREISCHKE/AND MY CERTIFICATE WAS SIGNED/BY RUDOLPH VIRCHOW.//I WAS IN GERMANY FROM 1892 to 1894; IN 1926/AND AGAIN IN 1936.

INDEED I THINK/THAT BEFORE I KNEW THE GERMAN PEOPLE,/I HAD NEVER BEFORE

35-5-128

CONSIDERED WHITE PEOPLE/AS HUMAN BEINGS;//AND THAT DESPITE THE FACT/THAT I WAS BORN AND EDUCATED/IN THE MOST LIBERAL PART/OF AMERICA,/WHERE MY FATHERS HAD BEEN CITIZENS/AND VOTERS/FOR A HUNDRED YEARS./ /I AM CONVINCED THAT NEVER IN THE WORLD/HAVE SO INHERENTLY FINE A PEOPLE,/OF HIGH INTELLECT AND DEEP SENSIBILITY,/BEEN SO UTTERLY RUINED/BY WAR AND THE THEORY OF WAR/AS THE GERMANS.

THE ONE RECOMPENSE/WHICH CIVILIZATION OWED THEM/IN RETURN FOR THEIR PHILOSOPHY,/ SCIENCE, LITERATURE,/ POETRY AND MUSIC/WAS TO DEFEND THEM/FROM WAR/AND THE FRUITS OF WAR;//AFTER TWO OF THE WORST POSSIBLE CONFLICTS/THE WORLD HAS SEEN,/WITH GERMANY THE CENTER OF BOTH,//TO RESCUE THEM FROM THE IMPOVERISHING COSTS/OF MILITARY MINDEDNESS/AND SHATTERING DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR AND WORLD CONQUEST.//BUT NO ! /AS MOCKING FATE WOULD HAVE IT,/ GERMANY WAS SURRENDERED IN FACT/TO THE DOMINATION OF THE ONE COUNTRY/IN THE WORLD/WHICH IN RACE HATE/AND HUMAN DEGRADATION/(IN SOME RESPECTS) OUT-HITLERED HITLER/AND WHICH

often PUT/THE WORSHIP OF WEALTH AND POWER/ABOVE THE LOVE OF GOD/OR BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.//THEY PLACED IN THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY,/A GENERAL FROM GEORGIA/TO EXERCISE NEAR ABSOLUTE RULE/OVER THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY/FOR FOUR CRUCIAL YEARS/AFTER THE HELL OF DEFEAT IN 1945.//HIS SUCCESSOR/EGGED ON BY AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS/HAS DRAGGED GERMANY IN/AS PAWN BETWEEN THE AMERICAN ITCH/FOR WORLD RULE/AS HEIR TO BRITAIN//AND SOVIET DETERMINATION/TO DEFEND EAST EUROPE/AGAINST THE WEST.

35-5-129

¶ IT IS FATAL REPETITION OF HISTORY.// ONCE GERMANY WAS TORN/FOR THIRTY BLOODY YEARS/BETWEEN RAGING RELIGIOUS FANATICS;//ONCE AUSTRIAN, RUSSIAN AND FRENCH IMPERIALISM/FOUGHT OUT THEIR QUARREL/ON GERMAN SOIL/AND LEFT GERMANY A NAME AND NOT A NATION,//AND ONCE AGAIN/ON GERMAN SOIL AND WITH GERMAN SOULS AND BODIES,/ THE FIRST WORLD BATTLE/BETWEEN BIG BUSINESS AND SOCIALISM/AGAIN COVERED THE SOIL OF GERMANY/WITH THE BLOOD OF GERMAN JEWS/AND GENTILES.

ANYONE WHO KNEW GERMANY/ IN THE HEIGHT OF HER SCIENTIFIC/AND ARTISTIC

LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD/AND THEN SAW HER/AFTER THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, CAN UNDERSTAND/IF NOT FORGIVE NAZISM.// I SAW IN 1926/ A NATION OVERTHROWN, TURNED UPSIDE DOWN AND RUINED;/WITH MORE YOUNG GIRLS/FOR SALE ON THE STREETS OF BERLIN/THAN PARIS EVER OFFERED.// I SAW THE WHOLE MIDDLE CLASS DRIVEN DOWN INTO POVERTY/AND THE INTELLIGENSIA FACING UTTER DISPAIR,/WHILE THE WORLD LED BY AMERICA/~~WERE~~ WAS BLEEDING THE CORPSE.//IT IS NOT WONDER/ THAT ON THIS FOUNDATION,/ A PSYCHOPATHIC CRIMINAL/INDUCED LABORERS AND SMALL SHOPKEEPERS/ WHO HAD LONG ENVIED/THE THRIFTY AND TALENTED JEWS/TO SEE IN THEM/AN UNDEFENDED VICTIM/TO BE SACRIFICED/TO GERMAN DEGRADATION/AND DRIVE A CRAZED AND MISLED PEOPLE/INTO MURDER OF SIX MILLION JEWS.

35-5-130

THERE IS AN ANALOGY TO THIS/WHICH FEW SEE/BUT WHICH IS FORCED TO OUR MINDS/BY THE SADISM OF VIRGINIA/IN THE CASE OF THE MARTINSVILLE SEVEN/AND

THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE TRENTON SIX.// SEVEN POOR BLACK LABORERS OF VIRGINIA / HAVE JUST BEEN MURDERED /BY THE STATE/WITHOUT EVER BEING FACED /BY THEIR INSANE ACCUSER/IN COURT/AND ON THE STRENGTH OF CONFESSIONS /BEATEN OUT OF THEM BY POLICE.//IN TRENTON AGAIN/SIX NEGROES /HAVE BEEN HELD IN JAIL TWO YEARS/ON A CHARGE OF MURDER/WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PROVEN/AND BASED AGAIN ON CONFESSIONS/ELICITED BY TORTURE.// WHILE IN GERMANY THE TORTURERS OF THOUSANDS OF JEWS/AND MURDERERS OF HUNDREDS OF UNARMED AMERICAN SOLDIERS/ARE FREED /TO INDUCE GERMANY TO ARM FOR WAR.

35-5-131

GERMANY NURTURED THE JEWISH GROUP/AS IT FOUGHT ITS WAY UP TO LEADER-SHIP/IN ART, MUSIC AND INDUSTRY.//SO THE UNITED STATES/STOLE AND HELD IN SLAVERY/A GROUP OF NEGROES/FOR 300 YEARS/ UNTIL THEY NUMBERED FOUR MILLION SLAVES IN 1863.// THESE NEGROES HAD NO CHANCE/ TO LEAD IN ANY HUMAN ENDEAVOR SAVE THE HARD TOIL/ON WHICH THE WEALTH OF AMERICA TODAY RESTS.//WHEN EMAN-CIPATION CAME/ THROUGH NEGRO SOLDIERS/AS WELL AS WHITE,/ AND WHEN THE THREAT OF UNCOUNTED THOUSANDS/OF MORE BLACK SOLDIERS/FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER,

THEN IT WAS/THAT FOR 85 YEARS AFTER/THE HATE AND JEALOUSY OF THE WHITE SOUTHERN LABORER/AND GREED OF THE FORMER SLAVE HOLDER/HAS VENTED ITSELF ON BLACK FOLK.//THEY HAVE LYNCHED 4000 WITH MOBS/ THEY HAVE KILLED TENS OF THOUSANDS/BY MOB VIOLENCE/ THEY HAVE STOLEN AND DESTROYED PROPERTY/ AND NOW BY LEGAL PRETENCE/ THEY ARE HANGING NEGROES DAILY/FOR DEEDS FOR WHICH NO WHITE AMERICAN/IS USUALLY EVEN ARRESTED.//THEPLIGHT OF GERMAN JEWS AND AMERICAN NEGROES/DIFFER IN DETAIL AND CIRCUMSTANCE,/ BUT BOTH ARE BASED ON THE DEGRADATION OF THE HUMAN SOUL/ BY WHICH TODAY WEALTH AND POWER/ IS BEING BUILT.//AND THE TOOL OF THIS BLASPHEMY/IS WAR AND MORE WAR/ WORLD WAR AFTER WORLD WAR,/ IMPERIALISM AGAINST IMPERIALISM/WITH HUMANITY FORGOTTEN AND TRAMPLED IN THE DUST.

35-5-132

CONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF GERMANY/SINCE 1800, IT MUST BE CLEAR WHAT CURRENTS OF OPINION /ARE TODAY THERE MANIFEST/ FIRST THERE MUST A LARGE NUMBER OF GERMANS,/ PROBABLY A CLEAR MAJORITY/OF BOTH THE EDUCATED /AND THE

WORKING CLASSES,/WHO SAY THAT WAR/AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PROGRESS/IS ABSOLUTELY UNTHINKABLE;/ THAT GERMANY NEEDS PEACE/FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:/FOR THE NORMAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH:/ FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS;/ THAT THEREFORE RE-ARMAMENT/IS DISTINCTLY INADMISSABLE.

35-5-104

ANOTHER PORTION/IS AFRAID FOR THE FUTURE/OF PROPERTY AND CAPITAL://THEY ARE UNDER COMPULSION/FROM INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL/TO SEEK A PLACE IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPEMENT/OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY,/ IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD./ /THIS PARTY IS PUSHED/BY AMERICAN INDUSTRY/IN EVERY WAY/TO AGREE TO DEFEND INVESTMENT/BY RE-ARMING;//THEY DO NOT WISH TO RE-ARM/BUT THEY FEAR THE POSSIBLE ATTITUDE/OF THE CAPITALISTIC WORLD/AND THE RETALIATION OF THE WORLD/OF COMMUNISM.//THEY WILL SUBMIT TO RE-ARMAMENT/IF THEY MUST.

FINALLY/THERE ARE THE REMNANTS OF HITLERISM/IN GERMANY/WHO WANT REVENGE OR ANNIHILATION/OF EUROPE.//IT IS THESE LEADERS/WHOM THE UNITED STATES IS

RELEASING FROM PUNISHMENT/AND CONSULTING ABOUT A NEW GERMAN ARMY.//EVERY EFFORT OF ALL AMERICANS/WHO BELIEVE IN PEACE/AND A RESTORATION OF THE REAL GREATNESS OF GERMANY,/ SHOULD BE EXERCISED/IN BEHALF OF THE MAJORITY OF GERMANS/WHO LIKE THE MAJORITY OF THE FRENCH/ AND ITALIANS/ AND LIKE ALL SANE AMERICANS/WANT NO MORE WAR.

35-5-133

St. Nicholas Arena, February 8, 1951

THE REARMING OF GERMANY

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

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INDEED I THINK THAT BEFORE I KNEW THE GERMAN PEOPLE, I HAD NEVER BEFORE

46-8-92

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ANYONE WHO KNEW GERMANY IN THE HEIGHT OF HER SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC

E6-8-47

LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD AND THEN SAW HER AFTER THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, CAN UNDERSTAND IF NOT FORGIVE NAZISM. I SAW IN 1926, A NATION OVERTHROWN, TURNED UPSIDE DOWN AND RUINED: WITH WORN YOUNG GIRLS FOR SALE ON THE STREETS OF BERLIN THAN PARIS EVER OFFERED. I SAW THE WHOLE MIDDLE CLASS DRIVEN DOWN INTO POVERTY AND THE INTELLIGENSIA FACING UTTER DISPAIR, WHILE THE WORLD LED BY AMERICA WERE BLEEDING THE CORPSE. IT IS NOT WONDER THAT ON THIS FOUNDATION, A PSYCHOPATHIC CRIMINAL INDUCED LABORERS AND SMALL SHOPKEEPERS WHO HAD LONG ENVIED THE THRIFTY AND TALENTED JEWS TO SEE IN THEM AN UNDEFENDED VICTIM TO BE SACRIFICED TO GERMAN DEGRADATION AND DRIVE A CRAZED AND MISLED PEOPLE INTO MURDER OF SIX MILLION JEWS.

THERE IS AN ANALOGY TO THIS WHICH FEW SEE BUT WHICH IS FORCED TO OUR MINDS BY THE SADISM OF VIRGINIA IN THE CASE OF THE MARTINSVILLE SEVEN AND

THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE TRENTON SIX. SEVEN POOR BLACK LABORERS OF VIRGINIA HAVE JUST BEEN MURDERED BY THE STATE WITHOUT EVER BEING FACED BY THEIR INSANE ACCUSER IN COURT AND ON THE STRENGTH OF CONFESSIONS BEATEN OUT OF THEM BY POLICE. IN TRENTON AGAIN SIX NEGROES HAVE BEEN HELD IN JAIL TWO YEARS ON A CHARGE OF MURDER WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PROVEN AND BASED AGAIN ON CONFESSIONS ELICITED BY TORTURE. WHILE IN GERMANY THE TORTURERS OF THOUSANDS OF JEWS AND MURDERERS OF HUNDREDS OF UNARMED AMERICAN SOLDIERS ARE FREED TO INDUCE GERMANY TO ARM FOR WAR.

GERMANY NURTURED THE JEWISH GROUP AS IT FOUGHT ITS WAY UP TO LEADERSHIP IN ART, MUSIC AND INDUSTRY: SO THE UNITED STATES STOLE AND HELD IN SLAVERY A GROUP OF NEGROES FOR 300 YEARS UNTIL THEY NUMBERED FOUR MILLION SLAVES IN 1863. THESE NEGROES HAD NO CHANCE TO LEAD IN ANY HUMAN ENDEAVOR SAVE THE HARD TOIL ON WHICH THE WEALTH OF AMERICA TODAY RESTS. WHEN EMANCIPATION CAME THROUGH NEGRO SOLDIERS AS WELL AS WHITE: AND WHEN THE THREAT OF UNCOUNTED THOUSANDS OF MORE BLACK SOLDIERS FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER,

46-8-94

THEN IT WAS THAT FOR 85 YEARS AFTER THE HATE AND JEALOUSLY OF THE WHITE SOUTHERN LABORER AND GREED OF THE FORMER SLAVE HOLDER HAS VENTED ITSELF ON BLACK FOLK. THEY HAVE LYNCHED 4000 WITH MOBS, THEY HAVE KILLED TENS OF THOUSANDS BY MOB VIOLENCE: THEY HAVE STOLEN AND DESTROYED PROPERTY: AND NOW BY LEGAL PRETENCE, THEY ARE HANGING NEGROES DAILY FOR DEEDS FOR WHICH NO WHITE AMERICAN IS USUALLY EVEN ARRESTED. THE PLIGHT OF GERMAN JEWS AND AMERICAN NEGROES DIFFER IN DETAIL AND CIRCUMSTANCE, BUT BOTH ARE BASED ON THE DEGRADATION OF THE HUMAN SOUL BY WHICH TODAY WEALTH AND POWER IS BEING BUILT. AND THE TOOL OF THIS BLASPHEMY IS WAR AND MORE WAR: WORLD WAR AFTER WORLD WAR, IMPERIALISM AGAINST IMPERIALISM WITH HUMANITY FORGOTTEN AND TRAMPLED IN THE DUST.

CONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF GERMANY SINCE 1800, IT MUST BE CLEAR WHAT CURRENTS OF OPINION ARE TODAY THERE MANIFEST: FIRST THERE MUST A LARGE NUMBER OF GERMANS, PROBABLY A CLEAR MAJORITY OF BOTH THE EDUCATED AND THE

WORKING CLASSES, WHO SAY THAT WAR AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PROGRESS IS ABSOLUTELY UNTHINKABLE: THAT GERMANY NEEDS PEACE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: FOR THE NORMAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH: FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS: THAT THEREFORE RE-ARMAMENT IS DISTINCTLY INADMISSABLE.

ANOTHER PORTION IS AFRAID FOR THE FUTURE OF PROPERTY AND CAPITAL: THEY ARE UNDER COMPULSION FROM INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL TO SEEK A PLACE IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD. THIS PARTY IS PUSHED BY AMERICAN INDUSTRY IN EVERY WAY TO AGREE TO DEFENT INVESTMENT BY RE-ARMING: THEY DO NOT WISH TO RE-ARM BUT THEY FEAR THE POSSIBLE ATTITUDE OF THE CAPITALISTIC WORLD AND THE RETALIATION OF THE WORLD BY COMMUNISM. THEY WILL SUBMIT TO RE-ARMAMENT IF THEY MUST.

FINALLY THERE ARE THE REMNANTS OF HITLERISM IN GERMANY WHO WANT REVENGE OR ANNIHILATION OF EUROPE. IT IS THESE LEADERS WHOM THE UNITED STATES IS

RELEASING FROM PUNISHMENT AND CONSULTING AB UT A NEW GERMAN ARMY. EVERY EFFORT OF ALL AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN PEACE AND A REST RATION OF THE REAL GREATNESS OF GERMANY, SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN BEHALF OF THE MAJORITY OF GERMANS WHO LIKE THE MAJORITY OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIANS AND LIKE ALL SANE AMERICANS WANT NO MORE WAR.

56-8-24

St Nicholas Arena - 2/8/54 have heard Wagner at Bayreuth

THE REARMING OF GERMANY

More than most Americans not of German descent, I have had opportunity to know the German nation. At perhaps the most critical time in my spiritual development I was for two years a student in the Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. I lived in the shadow of Luther's Wartburg; I made the Harzreise; I visited the Hansa cities, Munich, the Rheinphalz, Leipzig and Breslau; I have sailed the Rhein from Rotterdam to Mainz; I sat under the lectures of Schmoller, Wagner and von Treischke and my certificate was signed by Virchow. I was in Germany in 1892 to 1894; in 1926 and again in 1936. Indeed I think that before I knew the German people, I had never before considered white people as human beings; and that despite the fact that I was born and educated in the most liberal part of America, where my fathers had been citizens and voters for a hundred years. I am convinced that never in the world have an inherently fine people, of high intellect and deep sensibility, been so utterly ruined by war and the theory of war as the Germans. The one repayment and recompense which civilization owed them in return for philosophy, literature, poetry and music was to defend them from war and the fruits of war; from the impoverishing costs of militaty mindedness and delusions of grandeur and world conquest But no! As mocking fate would have it, Germany was surrendered to the dominat tion of the one country in the world which in race hate and human degradation out-Hitlered Hitler and put the worship of wealth and power above the love of God or brotherhood of man. They placed in the seats of the mighty, a general from Georgia to near absolute rule over the economic development of Germany for four years after the Hell of defeat. His successor has dragged Germany in as pawn between the American itch for world rule as heir to Britain and Soviet determmination to hold east Europe against the West. It is the fatal repitition of history. Once Germany was torn for thirty bloody years between religios fanatics; again Austrian, Russian and French imperialism fought out their quarrel on German soil, and finally on German soil and with German souls and bodies, the first battle between Big Business and socialism again covered the soil of Germany with the blood of German Jews and Gentiles

and left Germany a name > not a Nation

Anyone who knew Germany in the height of her scientific and artistic leadership of the world and then saw her after the end of the first world war, can understand if not forgive Nazism. I saw in 1926, a nation overthrown turned upside down and ruined; with more young girls for sale on the streets of

Berlin than Paris at her worst ever offered; I saw the whole middle class dri ven down into ~~bare~~ poverty and the intelligensia facing utter dispair, while the world led by America were bleeding the corpse. It is no wonder that on this foundation, a psychopathic criminal induced ~~the~~ laborers and small shopkeepers who had long envied the thrifty and talented Jews to see in them an unde fended sacrifice to ~~the~~ German degradation and drive a crazed and misled people into murder of six million Jews.

victim of

There is an analogy to this which few see but which is forced to our min minds by the sadism of Virginia in the case of the Martinsville Seven and the crucifixion of the Trenton Six. Germany nurtured the Jewish group as it fought its way up to leadership in art, music and industry; so the United States stole and held in slavery a group of Negroes for 300 years until they numbered four million slaves in 1863. ~~They~~ These Negroes had ~~small~~ no chance to lead in any human endeavor save the hard toil on which the wealth of America today rests ~~Then~~ When emancipation came through Negro soldiers as well as white; and when the threat of uncounted thousands of more black soldiers forced the South to surrender, then it was that for 85 years after the hate and jealousy of the white Southern laborer and the former slave-holder has vented itself on black folk they have lynched 4000 with mobs; they have killed tens of thousands by not violence, they have stolen and destroyed property, and now by legal pretence, they are hanging Negroes daily for deeds for which no white American is ~~punished~~ usually even arrested. The plight of German Jews and American Negroes differs in detail and circumstance, but both are based on the degradation of the human soul by which today wealth and power is being built. And the tool of of this blasphemy is war and more war; world war after world war, imperialism against imperialism with humanity forgotten and trampled in the dust

Seven poor black laborers of Virginia have just been murdered by the State without ever being faced by their accuser in court and on the strength of confessions insane beaten out of them by police ~~in secret confinement~~. In Trenton again six Negroes have been held in jail two years on a charge of murder which has never been proven and based again on confessions elicited by torture. While in Germany the torturers of thousands of Jews and murderers of hundreds of unarmed American soldiers are freed to induce Germany to arm for war

of Germans

Considering the history since 1800, it must be clear what currents of opinion are today manifest: First there must be a large number of Germans, probably a clear majority of both the educated and working classes, who say that war ~~for~~ so as a method of social progress is absolutely unthinkable, that Germany needs peace for social development, for the normal education of youth, for health and happiness; that therefor re-armament is distinctly inadmissable. ~~But~~ An other portion is afraid for the future of property and capital; they are under compulsion from international capital to seek a place in the future develope of commerce and industry in Europe and the world. This party is pushed by American industry in every way to agree to defend investment by re-arming; they do not wish to re-arm but they fear the posible attitude of the capitalistic world ~~and~~ they will submit if they must. Finally there are the remnants of Hitlerism in Germany who want revenge or annihilation of Europe. It is these leaders who the United States is releasing from punishment and consulting about a new German army. Every effort of all Americans who believe in peace and a restoration of the real greatness of Germany, should be exercised in behalf of the majority of Germans who like the majority of the French and Italians want no more war.

and like all sane Americans

and the rebuilders of the world of Communism

30-8-26

Feb. 11, 1951
Boston program
party

THE WORLD IS ASTONISHED/AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES./ OUR ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES/ARE DISCUSSED/WITH PUZZLED WONDER/ON THE STREETS OF EVERY CITY IN THE WORLD.//RELUCTANTLY THE WORLD IS COMING TO BELIEVE/THAT WE ACTUALLY WANT WAR:/THAT WE MUST HAVE WAR:/THAT IN NO OTHER WAY CAN WE KEEP OUR WORKERS EMPLOYED/AND MAINTAIN HUGE PROFITS/SAVE BY SPENDING 50 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS/A YEAR FOR WAR PREPARATION/AND ADDING TO THE VAST DEBT OF 218 THOUSNAD MILLIONS/WHICH WE ALREADY OWE CHIEFLY FOR WAR.

OUR PRESENT WAR EXPENDITURE MUST BE INCREASED./YET WE CANNOT TAX THE RICH MUCH MORE/SINCE THE LAWYERS WHO MAKE THE TAX LAWS/CAN ALSO BREAK THEM/AND LET THE BULK OF WEALTH GO UNTAXED./ /WE CANNOT RAISE THE TAXES ON THE POOR/ MUCH HIGHER/BECAUSE RISING PRICES LEAVE LESS AND LESS TO TAX.//CITIZENS HAVE BORROWED/200 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS ON HOMES/ FARMS AND FURNITURE/AND THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASS/HAVE SPENT NEARLY ALL THEIR SAVINGS./ /YET WE CANNOT STOP:/ EITHER WE SPEND MORE AND MORE/ON TOP OF WHAT WE ARE SPENDING/OR OUR

WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION,/WITH ITS BILLIONS OF PRIVATE PROFIT MONOPOLY,/ WILL FACE COLLAPSE./ /ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THE SOVIET UNION/WHOM WE ARE DETERMINED TO DESTROY/DOES NOT SEEM WILLING TO FIGHT./ /WE HAVE WARNED AND DARED IT. WE HAVE PUBLICLY/AND PRIVATELY INSULTED IT./ / WE HAVE EAGERLY GIVEN CURRENCY/TO EVERY CHARGE/WHICH ANYONE/AT ANYTIME/MAKES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION,/ITS ECONOMY,/ITS MORALS, ITS PLANS./ /WE THOUGHT THAT AT LAST/IN KOREA/WE HAD THEM WHERE THEY MUST FIGHT/AND WE PREPARED JAUNTILY/FOR WORLD WAR III/ALMOST WITH SHOUTS OF JOY.

WE WERE SURE/THE RUSSIANS HAD STARTED THE KOREAN UPRISING,/ WERE FURNISHING ARMS/AND READY TO MARCH TO WAR./ / HENRY WALLACE ACTUALLY SAW THEM/AND RAN BACKWARD/SO FAST THAT HE TRIPPED OVER HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS,/ AND STEPPED IN THE FACES OF HIS FRIENDS./ /STILL THE SOVIETS DID NOT FIGHT/AND BEGAN INSTEAD/TO CALL FOR WORLD PEACE,/ FOR UNION AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB,/ FOR PEACE CONGRESSES./ /BUT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT MISLED,/ NOT THEY./ THEY STOPPED

46-8-94
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46-8-107

THE PEACE APPEAL.// I AM RIGHT NOW UNDER ~~INQUIRY FOR~~ INDICTMENT/BY THE FEDERAL courts/ ~~DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE~~ FOR MY ACTIVITY/ IN DISTRIBUTING THE STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL. THEY PICKED UP AND JAILED/ADVOCATES OF PEACE/ THEY BARRED FROM OUR SHORES FOREIGN ADVOCATES OF PEACE,/ EVEN MEN OF THE HIGHEST REPUTATION.

HIGHLY PLACED PUBLIC OFFICIALS/AND MILITARY MEN/BEGAN OPENLY TO DECLARE THAT IF THE RUSSIANS WOULD ATTACK US/WE WOULD ATTACK THEM/TO KEEP THEM FROM ATTACKING US.// THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO/ WHO REMEMBERS SHOOTING DOWN WORLD WAR I VETERANS IN WASHINGTON/ TURNED KOREA INTO A STINKING DESERT,/ ~~HAS~~ and RECEIVED THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/IN AUDIENCE.// WHATEVER THEY TALKED ABOUT,/THE RESULT,/ IF MCARTHUR HAS HIS WAY,/WAS NOT PEACE NOW OR EVER,/ UNTIL WE SEIZE CHINA,/ CON QUER SOUTHEAST ASIA/AND DROP ATOM BOMBS ON MOSCOW.// MEANTIME,/WAVE AFTER WAVE/OF OUR YOUNG MEN/ARE BEING TRAINED FOR MURDER/AND CONGRESS IS ON THE VERGE/OF CALLING EVERY YOUTH/IN THE LAND FOR THIS PURPOSE.//WE ARE SET TO "LICK THE WORLD" WITH EISENHOWER AND STASSEN/ THE EDUCATORS OF YOUTH: /DEWEY AND HANLEY/THE NEW BRAND OF STATESMEN:/AND HERBERT LEHMAN SUPPORTING NOTOROUS

201-8-94

GENERAL ANDERS/IN ORDER TO MAKE OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENT/PAY/WITH OIL, PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY.//WE WILL RESTORE KOREA/AND WHEN WE ARE THROUGH RESTORATION/WITH TAXES RAISED FROM OUR POOR,/ LEHMAN BROTHERS AND LIKE INVESTORS WILL OWN EVERYTHING IN KOREA/WORTH OWNING/AND WILL DRAW FABULOUS PROFITS/FROM RISKS THEY NEVER TOOK.//AFTER THAT WE WILL RAIL AT KOREA/FOR NOT LOVING US FOR OUR GENORISITY/WHILE THE KOREANS PAY FOR DEMOCRACY/AT FIFTY CENTS A DAY AND NOT LAND.//THIS IS WHAT EUROPE SEES US SET FOR,/IN CONTRADICTION TO EVERY* THING WE ONCE PROFESSED--LIBERTY, FREE SPEECH, TRUTH AND JUSTICE.//TO THIS OUR MASTERS WILL LEAD US/UNLESS YOU INTERVENE/UNLESS RIGHT HERE AND NOW YOU,/ THE VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES/SAY NO! ENOUGH OF THIS HYSTERIA,/ THIS CRAZY FOOLISHNESS.

201-8-94

OUR SLOW BUT STEADY/DESCENT INTO BELIEF IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL WAR AND OUR DETERMINATION/TO MAKE ALL MEN AGREE/WITH WHAT SOME BELIEVE,/ RATHER

THAN TO LET THEM EXERCISE/ THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE/ OF CHOOSING TRUTH-- THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL/ IN OUR DAY/ AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY/ HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE/ THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS/ CANNOT BELIEVE WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE;// AND SIT BEWILDERED/ RUBBING THEIR EYES/ IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION/ OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED TO THE LAND/ WHICH ONCE DECLARED "THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT,/ THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL,/ THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR/ WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS;/ THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE,/ LIBERTY/ AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

NO AMERICAN/ BORN BEFORE 1900,/ COULD POSSIBLY CONCEIVE/ THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME A LAND/ APPROACHING UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE,/ WITH ITS ARMED FORCES/ IN EVERY CONTINENT/ AND ON EVERY SEA,/ PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL MASSES OF MANKIND,/ ORDER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION AND BELIEF/ OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD/ AND READY TO SPEND FOR THESE OBJECTS/ MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT/ FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION OR SOCIAL UPLIFT/ ALTOGETHER.

48-8-110

WHEN MEN ARISE AND SAY THIS/ AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH,/ EVERY EFFORT IS MADE/ BY SECRET POLICE,/ ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS;/ BY DELIBERATE SUBVERSION/ OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW,/ TO IMPRISON, SLANDER AND SILENCE SUCH PERSONS,/ AND DEPRIVE THEM OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

AVOIDING ALL HYSTERIA/ AND EXAGGERATION,/ ALL NATURAL INDIGNATION AND INSTINCTIVE DEFENSE/ OF THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH/ AND HATRED OF THOUGHT CONTROL/ IT IS CLEAR TO ALL AMERICANS/ WHO STILL DARE THINK,/ THAT MY DESCRIPTION OF THIS AMERICA/ IS TRUE AND IF TRUE/ FRIGHTENING TO ALL MEN/ WHO ONCE THOUGHT OF THIS LAND/ AS THE LAND OF THE FREE.

MY PLATFORM THEN,/ LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVERY HONEST AMERICAN/ WHO STILL DARES BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM,/ TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND/ AGAINST WAR AND SLAVERY./ /THERE WAS A DAY WHEN MOST MEN BELIEVED/ THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR:/ THAT BY WAR AND MAINLY BY WAR/ HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM,/ RELIGION

46-8-111

AND DEMOCRACY.// WE BELIEVED THIS/BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS/IN OUR LITERATURE AND SCIENCE,/ IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL,/ ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPERS.// IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE/AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL/AND SO HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAT EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES/IT AS MURDER,/CRIPPLING, INSANITY AND STARK DEATH/ OF HUMAN CULTURE/ WE REALIZE THAT THERE IS SCARCE A VICTORY/FORMERLY CLAIMED BY WAR,/ WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED/MORE CHEAPLY AND MORE DECENTLY/ AND EVEN MORE COMPLETLY/BY METHODS OF PEACE.// IF THAT WAS TRUE IN THE PAST,/ IT IS SO CLEAR AND INDISPUTABLE TODAY/THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT.//AND YET OF ALL NATIONS/OF EARTH TODAY/THE UNITED STATES apparently ALONE WANTS WAR,/ PREPARES FOR WAR,/ FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT/ AND ASKS YOU AND ME/TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES GIVE UP HEALTH AND SCHOOLS,/ SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/TO A "JIM-CROW" ARMY/AND COMMIT SUICIDE/FOR A WORLD WAR/THAT NOBODY WANTS/BUT THE RICH AMERICANS WHO PROFIT BY IT.

IF WAR WERE A MATTER OF CAREFUL STUDY/AND GRAVE DECISIONS/OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT/AND SOLEMN DELIBERATION/WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OUTBREAK/AS

46-8-112

AT LEAST NO MORE/THAN HUMAN ERROR,/SOON TO BE STOPPED BY DECENCY/AND COMMON-SENSE.//BUT WHEN DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR?/ YOU WHO HAVE SPENT MOST OF YOUR LIVES/IN A FIGHTING, MURDERING WORLD,//WHEN DID YOU/EVER HAVE A CHANCE TO DECIDE THIS MATTER/OF MAIMING AND MURDER?// NEVER! AND YOU NEVER WILL/AS LONG AS AN EXECUTIVE/OF HIS OWN INITIATIVE/CAN START A "LITTLE POLICE ACTION"/ WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH/OF 50,000 AMERICAN BOYS/IN ORDER THAT BIG BUSINESS CAN INTERFERE/WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

OF WHAT ARE ~~THEY~~ WE IN SUCH DEATHLY FEAR?/ HAVE WE BEEN INVADED?/ HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US?//HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED/OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS?//IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING/AND ARE OUR MILLIONAIRES DISAPPEARING? HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT/GONE DOWN?//IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING/OR OUR NATURAL RESOURCES/DESTROYED BY STRANGERS?/ /IS THERE ANY SIGN/THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/ IS VICTIM/OR CAN BE VICTIM OF ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY?//NO! THEN OF WHAT/ARE WE AFRAID/AND WHY ARE WE TRYING TO GUARD THE EARTH/FROM

46-8-113

PACIFIC TO ATLANTIC/ AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE,/ UNLESS IT BE FROM OURSELVES.

OUR RULERS ARE AFRAID OF AN IDEA;// TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER/ WHICH THIS IDEA FIGHTS.//THE POWER THEY CRAVE/LONG MISLED AND SLAUGHTERED THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA,/ AND NOW INSIDIOUSLY CREEPS INTO OUR OWN FEVER-MAD HEADS,/ AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM--WORLD RULE OVER THE WORLD./ /ONCE THIS WAS SOUGHT BY BLACK SLAVERY:/ THEN IT WAS MADE EASY BY YELLOW COOLIES:/ THEN ALL "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW,"/ WHO COULD FURNISH A WHITE MAN'S BURDEN/AND LET HIM STRUT OVER THE WORLD/ AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA/AND RULE AND RULE/ WORLD WITHOUT END FOREVER AND FOREVER.//THAT WAS THE VISION OF THE 19TH CENTURY./ /THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM/CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES/AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED/AND WE CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS OUT OF DYING SPAIN./ /BUT THESE WERE BUT SMALL CHANGE/WHICH WHETTED OUR APPETITE.// WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR/CAME THE VISION OF AN IMPERIAL UNITED STATES/AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE/ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS// WE

46-8-114

RUSHED SO MADLY/AT THE SPOILS LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRE/ THAT WE BROUGHT DOWN OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.//

IT WOULD SEEM/THAT THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION/ OF THE THIRTIES/ WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN/THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH TO THE MILLENIUM/ AND THAT WHAT WE NEED/IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM OF WORK/AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/ BEFORE WE ATTEMPT TO TEACH THE WORLD/ WHAT TO THINK OR HOW TO LIVE.

BUT WHAT THE MEN OF BIG BUSINESS/ IGNORED/WAS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/WHICH THEY WERE SEEKING/ TO RE-INSTALL/ HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE:// THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM/AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM/ HAD ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED./ /SUCH EFFORTS COMPREHENDED LOOSELY/BY THE NAME "SOCIALISM"/ WERE NOT INVENTED BY RUSSIA/NOR FIRST TRIED BY RUSSIA.// ON THE CONTRARY,/ SOCIALISM IS AN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION/AND WAS TRIED IN RUSSIA/BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND/WAS ONE OF THE LAST AND WORST VICTIMS/OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

46-8-115

IF TOMORROW RUSSIA/ DISAPPEARED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH,// THE BASIC PROBLEM/FACING THE MODERN WORLD/WOULD REMAIN:// AND THAT IS/ WHY IS IT,/ WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE/ AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES,/ AND MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE,/ WITH OUR COMMERCE BELTING THE ~~EARTH~~ WORLD/ AND GOODS AND SERVICES/POURING FROM OUR STORES,/ FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES,/ WHY IS IT THAT NEVERTHE* LESS/MOST HOMAN BEINGS/ARE STARVING TO DEATH,/ DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE/AND TOO IGNORANT/TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER,/ WHILE A SMALL MINORITY/ARE SO RICH THAT THEY CANNOT/SPEND THEIR INCOME?

THAT IS THE PROBLEM/WHICH FACES THE WORLD,/ AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT,/ NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST TO ASK/AND DEMAND ANSWER.// THE 19TH CENTURY SAID/ THAT THIS SITUATION WAS INEVITABLE/AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN/BE* CAUSE OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY/OF MOST MEN.// THE 20TH CENTURY KNOWS BETTER. IT SAYS/THAT THERE IS FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL:/ THAT CLOTHES AND SHELTER FOR ALL CAN BE PROVIDED:/ THAT MOST DISEASE/IS PREVENTABLE/AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING

MASS/OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE EDUCATED.// THAT INTELLIGENCE, HEALTH/AND DECENT COMFORT/ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE/BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED,/ BY ALL MEN/PLANNED BY ALL STATES/AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE/BY ALL VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION.

BUT THE POWERFUL/WHO TODAY OWN THE EARTH/AND THE FULNESS THEREOF,// WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY/AND OWN ITS PRESS AND SCREEN ITS NEWS,/ HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER:/ THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA:// TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH/ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY,/DISEASE AND IGNORANCE:// AND TO DO THIS/BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/ON ANY PEOPLE/WHO DARE TO TRY/TO PLAN PLENTY FOR ALL MANKIND.// FROM THE 19TH CENTURY/THEY ATTEMPTED TO TAKE OVER IMPERIALISM TO BRIBE THE WORKERS/AND THINKERS OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES/BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE/TO BUILD A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY/ON THE SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION** THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE/OF AFRICA AND ASIA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA,/ AND TO PAY THE PRICE FOR THIS/THEY DEMAND THAT YOU,/ YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/IN ENDLESS STREAM/BE MURDERED AND CRIPPLED IN ENDLESS WARS.

THIS IS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING/OR PREPARING TO FIGHT/IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA--NOT AGAINST AN ENEMY/BUT AGAINST THE IDEA--AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND/OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD/FOR BETTER WAGE, DECENT HOUSING,/ REGULAR EMPLOYMENT/ MEDICAL SERVICE AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND/TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA HAVE THESE THINGS/IN GREATER ABUNDANCE/THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD./ IF OUR PROSPERITY IS BASED ON/OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF ON/THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION OF THE REST OF MANKIND?// REMEMBER IT IS AMERICAN MONEY/THAT OWNS MORE AND MORE/OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES/WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR;//IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE/THAT FATTENS OFF RHODESIAN COPPER.//IT IS AMERICAN INVESTORS/THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE/CHINA, INDIA, KOREA, AND BURMA: /THAT ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS OF THE NEAR EAST.

YET/IS IT NOT CLEAR/THAT SUCH A PROGRAM/IS SHEER INSANITY? / THAT NO NATION,/ HOWEVER RICH AND SMART/CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD?/ HAVE NOT EGYPT, ASSYRIA

46-8-118

GREECE, ROME AND BRITAIN/AND GERMANY/TAUGHT US THIS?//AND ALSO THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH/AND RIGHTEOUSNESS/ CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED/BY FORCE AND MURDER?

I NEVER THOUGHT/I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY/THAT FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF OPINION/WOULD BE SO THROTTLED IN THE UNITED STATES/AS IT IS TODAY. TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY,/ NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING,/ OF ESCAPING SLANDER/AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE:/ OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL / UNLESS PUBLICLY/AND REPEATEDLY HE PROCLAIMS:

1. THAT HE HATES RUSSIA
2. THAT HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.
3. THAT HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA.
4. THAT HE IS READY/TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT/FOR FURTHER WAR/ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME
5. THAT HE IS READY/TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY,

46-8-119

OR COUNTRIES TOGETHER.

6. THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND REGARDS ANYONE OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR.

7. THAT HE NOT ONLY BELIVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AS HE DOES.

46-8-120

THE MERE STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING JUST SIT STILL; BEND TO THE STORM; IF NECESSARY, ~~LIE AND~~ JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT, SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER NEVER DID YOU EVER SYMPATHIZE WITH THE RUSSIAN PEASANTS FIGHT TO BE FREE; THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A BIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID; AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS NO MORE COWARDS AND LIARS. IT NEEDS HONEST MEN AND HONEST CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD.

WE STILL HAVE ELECTIONS AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. IF YOU DO

NOT WANT WAR, VOTE FOR MEN WHO WILL STOP IT. IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED TO THE CONSTITUTION YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO SAY SO. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. IF YOU FAIL TO EXERC SE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND YOU OUGHT TO SUFFER. TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT CRAZY, DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCH-HUNT. THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU.

46-8-121

IN THIS PRESENT CRISIS, AMERICAN NEGROES ARE HESITANT AND DIVIDED. FOR MANY YEARS OUR POLICY HAS BEEN TO AGREE WITH AND SUPPORT THE MOST POWERFUL CLASSES AND MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, IF BY THAT METHOD ~~THEY~~ WE COULD BE ASSURED OF RECIPROCAL SUPPORT FOR NEGRO EQUALITY OF CIVIL, POLITICAL RIGHTS. FOR THIS REASON WE WERE LONG CONGENITAL REPUBLICANS VOTING UNQUESTIONINGLY

FOR HIGH TARIFFS / FOR CONTAINING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT/AND IN GENERAL FOR GOVERNMENT/IN THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH.// THIS ATTITUDE IN NEW ENGLAND WAS STRENGTHENED/BY THE GIFTS OF THE WELL-TO-DO/ TO NEGRO EDUCATION/AND OTHER SOCIAL ENTERPRISES.// THE DEPRESSION SHOCK US OUT OF THIS ATTITUDE/AND DROVE US TO SUPPORT THE SOCIAL PROGRAM /OF THE NEW DEAL./ WHICH PROVED OUR ECONOMIC SALVATION.// WE THEREFORE VOTED FOR ROOSEVELT/AS LONG AS HE LIVED.// TODAY WE ARE THROWN BACK/WHERE WE MUST MAKE NEW POLITICAL/AND SOCIAL CHOICES.// OUR PLAN OF EMANCIPATION/AS FOLLOWED BY THE NAACP for 40 YEARS/HAS HAD GREAT SUCCESS. / NEGRO RIGHTS/HAVE BEEN WIDELY ESTABLISHED/BEFORE THE COURTS/AND RACE DISCRIMINATION/HAS BEEN DRIVEN TO A NEW LOW.

46-8-122

BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN/THAT THE BATTLE IS WON./ THE CASES OF ROSA INGRAM THE MARTINSVILLE SEVEN,/ WILLIE MCGEE AND THE TRENTON SIX/PROVE THAT NEGROES CANNOT BE SURE OF BASIC JUSTICE/BEFORE THE COURTS.// MORE NEGROES VOTE IN THE SOUTH THAN EVER BEFORE,/ BUT IT IS STILL TRUE/ THE MOST ~~[illegible]~~ SOUTHERN NEGROES

DO NOT VOTE NOR HOLD OFFICE.// TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS STILL THE RULE OF THE BLACK SOUTH./ /OVER THE WHOLE NATION,/ AND NOT LEAST IN NEW ENGLAND, DISCRIMINATION /AGAINST NEGROES IN JOBS AND WAGE IS STILL THE RULE /AND THE NEGRO TODAY /IS FACED BY THE QUESTION/A S TO WHETHER SIMPLY/TO CONTINUE A PROGRAM /WHICH IN THE PAST HAS BROUGHT NOTABLE SUCCESS/ OR WHETHER THE MOMENTOUS CHANGE/WHICH IS OVERTAKING THE WORLD,/ MAY NOT CALL FOR CHANGE OF TACTICS /AND BROADENING OF AIM ON OUR PART.

46-8-123

DECISION IS ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE/SINCE CUSTOM AND INERTIA,/ EXAMPLE AND PRESENT SAFETY/IMPEL OUR UPPER CLASSES/TOWARD REACTION AND CONSERVATIVE ACTION./ /WE HAVE EVOLVED A GROWING CLASS/OF WELL-TO-DO NEGROES,/ WITH EDUCATION BEAUTIFUL HOMES AND EXPENSIVE CARS.// INSTINCTIVELY THIS CLASS/SEEK ALLIANCE OF INTERESTS/WITH PROPERTY AND RESPECTABILITY.// BUT THE DANGER HERE LIES IN THE FACT /THAT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD/ THE RULE OF ORGANIZED WEALTH/ IS BEING

CHALLENGED/AS NEVER BEFORE//ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND MONOPOLY/HAVE BEEN BEHIND COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/AND THE SERFDOM OF THE DARKER PEOPLES/OF THE WORLD/IN AFRICA, ASIA/AND THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES:// ~~THEY~~ We NEED SOCIAL MEDICINE, FREE LEGAL ADVICE/ CHEAP MUNICIPAL HOUSING/ WAGE FLOORS IN INDUSTRY: SOCIAL SECURITY AND INSURANCE.//THESE GREAT SOCIAL RAMPARTS/ARE THE GOAL OF ALL LABORING PEOPLE/AND HAVE BEEN THE SALVATION OF ALL SCANDINAVIAN LANDS.//THEY ARE SPREADING IN EVERY CIVLIZED COUNTRY/TODAY AND ARE BEING FORWARDED BY NATIONAL CONTROL/OF ALL INDUSTRY/WHICH IS LIABLE TO ABUSE IN PRIVATE HANDS. TODAY RAILROADS,/ TELEPHONES AND TELEGRAPH,/ STREET CARS AND SUBWAYS,/EXPRESS FREIGHT,/ ROADS ,/RIVERS AND RIVER CONTROL,/ POWER AND TRANSMISSION,//ALL THESE THINGS/ARE UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL AND OWNERSHIP/IN ALL CIVILIZED LANDS.//ONLY THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING/THIS SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY BITTERLY,/ALTHOUGH EVEN HERE/THE FIGHT WAS NOT ALTOGETHER SUCCESSFUL/ AS THE TVA AND SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS PROVE.//BUT TO CARRY ON THIS FIGHT/AGAINST THE SOCIAL CONTROL

46-8-124

OF WEALTH,/ BIG BUSINESS HAS TRIED TO CONTROL CHEAP LABOR AND CHEAP RAW MATERIALS THE WORLD OVER/AND TO MAKE THIS NATION/ENTER A THIRD WORLD WAR/OSTENSIBLY AGAINST COMMUNISM,/ BUT REALLY AGAINST THE RISE OF THE WORKING CLASS/IN THIS NATION.+ in the World

ALLIED WITH BIG BUSINESS/IN THE UNITED STATES/IS THE RACE DISCRIMINATION OF THE SOUTH.//IT IS THE SOUTH/WHICH BLOCKS NOT ONLY ANTI-LYNCHING LAWS/BUT ANTI-POLL TAX LEGISLATION//AND STIMIES EVERY EFFORT FOR A FAIR EMPLOYMENT LAW. HAND IN GLOVE WITH THE SOUTH/IS NORTHERN WEALTH,//AND THE WHOLE NATION BLACK AND WHITE/IS MISLED AS TO CURRENT TRENDS IN THE WORLD/BY A PRESS AND PERIODICAL CONTROL/UNDER THE OWNERSHIP OF MONOPOLY.// OUR NEWS IS SCREENED,/ OUR EDUCATION IS PROPAGANDA,/ OUR PLATFORM OF DEBATE IS LIMITED/AND ANY NEGRO WHO WANTS THE PRAISE OF WHITE FOLK TODAY,/WOULD BETTER START BY DAMNING PAUL ROBESON/AND END LIKE HAZEL SCOTT/BY DESPISING COMMUNISTS.

46-8-125

THIS IS THE DAY/FOR NEGROES OF INTEGRITY/TO STAND UP/AND DO THEIR OWN THINKING!/ TO REALIZE/THAT THERE IS BUT ONE PARTY/WHICH DESERVES THEIR VOTES AND THAT IS THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY./ THAT THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ARE BUT THE SAME PRINCIPLES/UNDER TWO NAMES./AS FREEDOM CAME BY A THIRD PARTY IN 1860,/SO IT CAN ONLY COME/IN THE SAME WAY IN 1952.

A NEW ERA OF POWER,/ HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES/THE WORLD OVER,/ IS DAWNING/AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM IS NOT YET CLEAR,/ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK/ BY ANY POWER OF MAN.

96-8-126

Progressive
Boston
2/21/51

The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want war: that we must have war: that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 50 thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war. Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the lawyers who make the tax laws can also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prices leave less and less to tax. Citizens have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms and furniture and the poor and middle class have spent nearly all their savings. Yet we cannot stop: either we spend more and more on top of what we are spending or our whole industrial organization, with its billions of private profit monopoly, will face collapse. On the other hand, the Soviet Union whom we are determined to destroy does not seem willing to fight. We have warned and dared it. We have publicly and privately insulted it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at anytime makes against the Soviet Union, its ecomony, its morals, its plans. We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared jauntily for World War III almost with shouts of joy.

We were sure the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and ready to march to war. Henry Wallace actually saw them and ran backward so fast that he tripped over his own resolutions, and stepped

18-8-84

in the faces of his friends. Still the Soviets did not fight and began instead to call for world peace: for union against the atom bomb: for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled: Not they. They stopped the peace appeal: They picked up and jailed advocates of peace: They barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace, even men of the highest reputation.

Highly placed public officials and military men began openly to declare that if the Russians would not attack us we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. The Wild Man of Tokyo, who remembers shooting down World War I veterans in Washington, turned Korea into a stinking desert, has received the President of the United States in audience. Whatever they talked about, the result, if MacArthur has his way, was not peace now or ever, until we seize China, conquer southeast Asia and drop atom bombs on Moscow. Meantime, wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder and congress is on the verge of calling every youth in the land for this purpose. We are set to "lick the world" with Eisenhower and Stassen, the educators of youth: Dewey and Hanley the new brand of statesmen: and Herbert Lehman supporting notorious General Anders in order to make out foreign investment pay with oil, planes, battleships and artillery. We will restore Korea and when we are through restoration with taxes raised from our poor, Lehman Brothers and like investors will own everything in Korea worth owning and will draw fabulous profits from risks they never took, after that we will rail at Korea for not loving us for our generosity while the Koreans pay for democracy at fifty cents a day and no land. This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once professed--liberty, free speech, truth and justice. To this our masters will lead us unless you intervene: unless right here and now you, the voters of the United States say No. Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness.

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make all men agree with what some believe, rather

than to let them exercise their free American heritage of choosing truth--this literal descent into Hell in our day and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete than many honest Americans cannot believe what they actually hear and see: and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague conception of what can have happened to the land which once declared "These truths to be self evident that all men were created equal: that they were endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

No American born before 1900, ~~could 1900~~, could possibly conceive that the United States would become a land approaching universla military service: with its armed forces in every continent and on every sea, pledged to conquer and control masses of mankind, order the thought and act on and belief of the nations of the world and ready to spend for these objects more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift altogether.

When men arise and say this and try to prove its truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers: by deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our law, to imprison, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livelihood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and instinctive defense of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare think, that my description of this America is true and if true frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the land of the free.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dares believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war: that by war and mainly by war had modern men gained freedom religion and democracy. We believed this becuase we were taught this in

our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture. We realize that there is scarce a victory formerly claimed by war, which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today the United States alone wants war, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a "Jim-Crow" army and commit suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision: of prayerful thought and solemn deliberation we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and common-sense. But when did you ever vote for war? You who have spend most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you never will as long as an executive of his own initiative can start a "little police action" which costs the lives and health of 50,000 American boys in order that big business can interfere with the governments of Asia.

Of what are they in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning or our natural resources destroyed by stangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim or can be victim of any foreign country? No! Then of what are we afraid and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the North to the South Pole, unless it be from ourselves.

$

Our rulers

~~They~~ are afraid of an idea: tempted by a vision of power which this idea fights. The power they crave long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads, and that is imperialism--world rule over the world. Once this was sought by black slavery: then it was made easy by yellow coolies: then all "lesser breeds without the law," who could furnish a white man's burden and let him strut over the world and lord it in Asia and Africa and rule and rule without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the 19th century. The fever of imperialism caught the United States as the 19th century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. But these were but small change which whetted our appetite. With the first World War came the vision of an Imperial United States as successor of the empire on which the sun already sets, we rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

But what the men of Big Business ignored was that the industrial system which they were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse: that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism," were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is: why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous

technique, with our commerce belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses, why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The 19th century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men, the 20th century knows better. It says that there is food enough for all: that clothes and shelter for all can be provided: that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated. That intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible but should be demanded, by all men planned by all states and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof: who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer: they order us to fight and idea: to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance: and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the 19th century they attempt to take over imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation--the low wage and disease of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea, and to pay the price for this they demand that you, your sons and daughters in endless stream be murdered and crippled in endless wars.

This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia and Africa-- not against an enemy but against the idea--against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

48-8-94

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based on or seeks to base itself on the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor: it is American enterprise that fattens off Rhodesian copper. It is American investors that seek to domin te China, India, Korea and Burma: that are throttling the starved workers of the Near East.

Yet is it wnot clear that such a program is sheer insanity? [redacted]at no nation, however rich and smart can conquer this world? Have not Egypt, Assyra, Greece, Rome, Britain and Germany taught us this? And also that no idea based on truth and righteousness can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence: or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

That he hates Russia.
That he opposes Socialism and Communism.
That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.
That he is ready to spend any amount for further war anywhere or at anytime.
That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together.
That he believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction and regards anyone opposed as a traitor.
That he not only believes in and consents to all these things but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce themif they do not believe as he does.

The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: nothing: Just sit still : bend to the storm: if necessary, lit and join the witch-hunt,

48-8-84

8

swear to God that never, never did y u ever sympathize with the Russain peasants fight to be free: that y u never in your life belonged to a liberal organization or had a friend who did: and if so, you were decieved, deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say: we can do something: that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the [redacted]

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, vote for men who will stop it. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so. In this Democracy, you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer. Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy, do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

15

Stub

62-8-94

9

that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry Peace--No More War!

A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over , is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

16-8-94

[1951]

A

I am right now under inquiry for indictment by thr Federal Department of Justice for my activity in distributing the Stockholm Peace Appeal

West Indies. It becomes therefore a grave question as to how far American Negroes can depend for full emancipation on the very forces which are making serfs out of African Negroes , Chinese and Indian coolies and all classes of people who are exploited by Big Business at home and abroad. No people need basic socialism like the poor Negroes of the United States and need

69-5-55

THOSE FOLK WHO ASSUME THAT COLONIALISM IS DEAD/SHOULD MODIFY THEIR CONSLUSIONS/BY CLOSE STUDY/OF THE PAST HISTORY OF COLONIES,/ AND CONSIDERATION OF THE RELATION OF COLONIES/TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN CULTURE.

ANCIENT COLONIES/WERE EXCURSIONS OF MEMBERS OF CULTURAL GROUPS/INTO THE VAST SURROUNDING BARBARISMS/FOR TRADE OR REFUGE/WHICH LED OFTEN TO REINOCULATION/OF CULTURAL ORGANISMS/AND TO NEW CENTERS OF CIVILIZATION.//AS IN THE CASE OF THE ISLANDS/OFF ASIA MINOR AND GREECE.//MARCO POLO AND VASCO DA GAMA/ INSPIRED/SIMILAR TRADE PROJECTS IN ASIA,/without migration//AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA,/ EUROPEANS MADE ~~SOME~~ COLONIZING EFFORTS/ FOR TRADE, REFUGE AND TREASURE.// TWO DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWED/ IN EMPTY AMERICA,/AFRICAN AND LATER ASIATIC LABOR/WAS IMPORTED/AND INDIAN LABOR IMPOUNDED/FOR THE HARD TOIL OF DEVELOPMENT. IN ASIA HOWEVER/WITH ABUNDANT LABOR,/ THERE FOLLOWED POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL MANIPULATION/WHICH RESULTED IN COMMERCIAL CONTROL OF CHINA/AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF INDIA.// IN AMERICA/SLAVERY CHANGED TO COLOR CASTE/IN THE UNITED STATES AND INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM/AND COMMERCIAL CONTROL/AROSE IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA/AND THE WEST INDIES.

Boston Community Church
Sun. Feb. 11, 1961
35-5-68
Color Caste Class

35-5-69

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY,/ THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLES /OF THE WORLD /WERE UNDER THE CONTROL OF EUROPE:/ EITHER COMPLETE POLITICAL DOMINATION AS IN THE CASE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE /IN ASIA AND AFRICA /AND THE WEST INDIES: HOLLAND IN INDONESIA,/ FRANCE IN NORTH AFRICA,/ BELGIUM IN THE CONGO,/ AND PORTUGAL IN SOUTH AFRICA;// OR IN COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONTROL,/ AS IN THE CASE OF CAPITAL AND MARKETS /FURNISHED BY THE UNITED STATES,/ GREAT BRITAIN, AND FRANCE /IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA,/ CANADA, RUSSIA, CHINA, EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, AUSTRALIA AND THE BALKANS.// IT WAS ASSUMED AT THE TIME THAT FULL POLITICAL CONTROL /OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLE /BY GREAT IMPERIALISMS /WAS THE GOAL OF WORLD RULE /AND THAT COMMERCIAL CONTROL OF QUASI-COLONIES /WAS OFTEN BUT A STEP TOWARD THIS.

BUT MEANTIME /THE IMPERIAL PROGRAM /WAS INFLUENCED BY VARIOUS OCCURENCES IN THE COLONIAL /AND SEMI-COLONIAL REGIONS /THEMSELVES./ /SLAVE LABOR IN AMERICA

FORCED EMANCIPATION/BY REVOLT AND COLLABORATION/AND THEN DEMANDED EDUCATION AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE.//THE PROTESTANT CHURCH,/ IN AMERICA, ASIA AND AFRICA,/ AS CARRIER OF THE LIBERAL TRADITION/FROM THE REFORMATION/TO THE REFORM LAWS IN THE 18th CENTURY,//ESTABLISHED SCHOOLS,/BUT YIELDED TO STRICTLY CONTROLLED POLITICAL RIGHTS/AND ~~THEIR~~ DENIAL ~~TO~~ of DOMINATION OF RIGHTS OF PROPERTY,//IN WHICH attitude IT WAS JOINED BY THE CATHOLICS.

35-5-20

SOME GROUPS OF COLONIALS,/LIKE THOSE IN WEST AFRICA,/ ~~AND THE WEST AFRICA~~ AND THE WEST INDIES/ PRESSED ON TOWARD VOTING AND PROPERTY HOLDING,/HIGHER EDUCATION/ OFFICE-HOLDING,/ LEGISLATION AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE/OR INTEGRATION/INTO FULL CITIZENSHIP.//THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED IN HAITI,/LIBERIA, ETHIOPIA AND CUBA:/AND PARTIALLY BY THE NEGRO GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES.//BUT EVEN HERE A NEW TYPE OF CONTROL/BECAME MANIFEST THROUGH MARKETS AND PRICES AND CREDIT FACILITIES/FOR TOOLS, MACHINERY AND CAPITAL GOODS,/AND LOAN OF TECHNICIANS.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR FAILED TO EFFECT THAT REDISTRIBUTION OF COLONIES WHICH WAS ITS DIRECT CAUSE, THERE WAS RENEWED CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL AND CONTROL OF CREDIT IN GREAT CENTERS LIKE LONDON, NEW YORK AND PARIS. // THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES LIKE INDIA, INDONESIA AND PARTS OF NORTH AFRICA WAS DEPENDENT ON THOSE PERSONS AND GROUPS WHICH CONTROLLED THIS CAPITAL: AND ~~AS~~ also MANY COUNTRIES, NOMINALLY FREE AND POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT, LIKE THOSE OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA; CHINA AND JAPAN, EGYPT, THE BALKANS AND EVEN CANADA AND RUSSIA TENDED TO SINK INTO A POSITION OF QUASI-COLONIES, CONTROLLED BY THE MONEY MASTERS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. // BEHIND A MORE OR LESS CLEAR FACADE OF POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM, MOST OF THESE NATIONS CAME UNDER THE CONTROL OF A NEW PHASE OF IMPERIALISM, WHICH GAINED INCREASING POWER FROM SUCH INDUSTRIAL INNOVATIONS AS MASS PRODUCTION, ELECTRIC POWER AND CHEMICAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

before the First World War

35-5-71

35-5-72

IN THIS PHASE OF IMPERIAL CONTROL OF COLONIES AND SEMI-COLONIES, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA STOOD FOREMOST. BECAUSE THE INDUSTRIAL UNITY OF HER VAST AND VARIED NATURAL RESOURCES HAD NOT BEEN HELD BACK BY PARTICULARISM AND REPRESSION, AND BECAUSE HER WORKING CLASS HAD BEEN RECRUITED FROM THREE CONTINENTS AND ALL NATIONS AND HAD UNRIVALLED TALENT, RESOURCEFULNESS AND INDIVIDUALITY. OUR DEMOCRATIC PAST HAD BURST THE BONDS OF CLASS, BIRTH AND INHERITED WEALTH AND HAD EVEN BREECHED THE WALLS OF RACE.

AS THE UNITED STATES, AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, STEPPED FORWARD TO SUCCEED GREAT BRITAIN AS RULER OF THE WORLD, SHE MET HEAD ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND THE PEOPLE IN SEMI-COLONIAL STATUS INSPIRED BY THE WAR TO SHARE NOT ONLY IN FUTURE POLITICAL POWER, BUT IN A NEW POLITICAL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE WHICH LABORING CLASSES IN ALL NATIONS WERE ASKING. THIS SOCIALISM DID NOT, AS MOST AMERICANS SEEMED TO ASSUME, BEGIN IN RUSSIA. IT WAS ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN IN CONCEPT AND DEVELOPMENT AND

THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT TOWARD SOCIALISM/WAS WELL ON ITS WAY/IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

ON THE OTHER HAND,/ AND IN OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM,/ THERE HAD BEEN DEVELOPING IN AMERICA,/ AFRICA AND ASIA,/ UNDER BRITISH, FRENCH AND NORTH AMERICAN LEADERSHIP,/ A NEW SO-CALLED DEMOCRACY/WHICH WAS NOW POWERFUL.// IT CONSISTED IN A MANIPULATION,/ LIMITATION AND CONTROL/ OF THE VOTING POPULATION THROUGH THE POWER/OF EMPLOYERS AND FINANCIERS,/ SO THAT THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRACIES/ OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS/ OF BALKAN STATES AND OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES,/ PUT THESE AREAS UNDER THE CONTROL/OF ORGANIZED AND CONCENTRATED CAPITAL.

35-5-73

MEANTIME IN RUSSIA,/ AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY,/ WITH LITTLE INDUSTRY AND HIGH ILLITERACY,/ THE FIRST WORLD WAR/FORCED AN ATTEMPT TO INAUGURATE COMPLETE SOCIALISM/BY MEANS OF THE COMMUNISTIC STATE.// THE EXPERIMENT WAS MADE UNDER THE MOST INOPPORTUNE CIRCUMSTANCES/IN THE MIDST OF WAR,/ FAMINE AND RELIGIOUS

INTOLERANCE/AND WITH THE UNITED OPPOSITION/OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.// THE LEADERS DOUBTED SUCCESS/BUT HAD IN REALITY ~~NO~~ small ALTERNATIVE.// IF THE EXPERIMENT HAD FAILED/WITHIN TEN YEARS OF ITS INCEPTION,/ IT WOULD HAVE SETTLED NOTHING/AS TO THE MERITS OF SOCIALISM.// THAT IT HAS SURVIVED,/ WITH CERTAINLY SOME SUCCESS CALLS FOR THE MOST CAREFUL/AND EARNEST EVALUATION/OF ITS POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION.

35-5-74

BUT THIS ATTITUDE TODAY/AND IN AMERICA/IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE/AND THAT NOT BECAUSE OF THE MERITS/OR DEMERITS AND DANGERS OF COMMUNISM,/ BUT BECAUSE OF AN EXTRAORDINARY SOCIAL MOVEMENT,/ THE SIGNIFICANCE AND DANGER OF WHICH/IS REALIZED BY FEW AMERICANS.// AND THAT IS AN EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA/UNSURPASSED IN MODERN HISTORY/AMONG CIVILIZED PEOPLE.// ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE/ HAVE SO DOMINATED THE PRESS/AND NEWSGATHERING,/ THE RADIO, CINEMA AND PLATFORM THAT NO UNCOERCED STUDY/OF THE SOVIET UNION/OR COMMUNISM IS POSSIBLE.

THIS DOES NOT PROVE/THE EFFICIENCY AND SUCCESS OF COMMUNISM,/ BUT IT

CERTAINLY DOES NOT DISPROVE, AND IT IS CLEAR TESTIMONY THAT WEALTH AND INDUSTRY TODAY FEAR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND FREE EXPRESSION ON THIS SUBJECT. // THE FIRST ORGANIZED EFFORT OF WEALTH AND INDUSTRY TO MEET THE SOCIALIST THREAT AFTER THE INVASION OF RUSSIA BY 14 EUROPEAN NATIONS WAS FRUSTRATED NOT ONLY BY RUSSIAN RESISTANCE BUT MORE EFFECTIVELY BY THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 30'S // THIS WHICH WAS SURELY DUE MORE TO A DISEASED CAPITALISM THAN TO COMMUNISM AND THE FASCISM OF MUSSOLINI AND THE NAZISM OF HITLER INTERVENED TO PREVENT THE WORLD FROM TURNING TO COMMUNISM AS A PANACEA. // BOTH EFFORTS WERE WELCOMED AND ENCOURAGED BY IMPERIAL EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, UNTIL THE PRICE OF THIS COOPERATION WAS FIXED BY MAD-MEN AT WORLD DOMINATION BY DICTATORSHIP, WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES EXCLUDED. // THEN OCCURRED THE MOST ASTONISHING TRANSFORMATION OF ALL HISTORY, WHEN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM JOINED COMMUNISM TO STOP AN EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC DICTATORSHIP SET UP BY EUROPEAN

35-5-75

IMPERIALSIM /TO OVERTHROW COMMUNISM.// THUS THE IMMINENT THIRD WORLD WAR/IS NOT AN UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENT,/ BUT SIMPLY A REVERSION/TO THE BATTLE AGAINST SOCIALISM/ BEGUN before CAPITALISM COLLAPSED IN 1929.

25-5-26

JUST AS THE FIRST WORLD WAR/COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED/IF DOMINATION OF COLONIAL ASIA AND AFRICA /BY EUROPE AND AMERICA/HAD NOT BEEN INSISTED UPON AS INEVITABLE;// SO THE SECOND WORLD WAR/WAS UNNECESSARY/ IF WESTERN DEMOCRACY HAD NOT ADOPTED/ AND ENCOURAGED colonies/UNTIL HITLER AND MUSSOLINI/ REFUSED TO SHARE THE LOOT OF colonial EMPIRE.//THIS LEAVES US/FACE TO FACE/WITH A THIRD WORLD WAR/TO PRESERVE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR/ AT HOME, /BUT ESPECIALLY AMONG Colonies and THE DEPRESSED PEOPLES/ OF ASIA, AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA./// TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, UNPRECEDENTED EFFORT/ IS FINANCED BY ORGANIZED INDUSTRY/ TO PREVENT ANY STUDY OR UNCOERCED EXPRESSION OF OPINION/ON THE FUTURE CONDUCT AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/ THE WORLD OVER// THE EFFECT OF THIS/ ON OUR OWN INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT/ OUR MORAL VALUES AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS/OF GOVERNMENT IS DISASTROUS// BUT WHAT IS THE EFFECT ON

COLONIAL PEOPLES?

IF EVERY LIBERAL/ IN THE UNITED STATES IS CALLED A COMMUNIST/AND THREATENED WITH LOSS OF STATUS/AND OPPORTUNITY TO EARN A LIVELIHOOD/, HOW MUCH EASIER IS IT/FOR EVERY MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL LANDS/, TOWARD EDUCATION, VOTING, LAND CONTROL,/ CONTROL OF INVESTMENT ESPECIALLY FOREIGN,//LEGISLATION AND TAXATION/AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE,/ TO BE CALLED COMMUNISTIC/ OR COMMUNIST INSPIRED.// THIS HELPS/TO CONCENTRATE POWER AND INFLUENCE/IN THE HANDS OF LOCAL REACTION/AND LOCAL RECIPIENTS/OF FOREIGN CAPITAL AND CREDIT// THIS SEEMS TO HERD THE COLONIES/OR THE DEPENDENT PEOPLES/on THE SIDE OF THE INVESTMENT IMPERIALISTS.

IT IS THIS TACTIC/WHICH IS SURRENDERING THE UNITED NATIONS/INTO THE CONTROL OF THE UNITED STATES/ AND ENABLING A MAJORITY/COMPOSED OF IMPERIAL NATIONS AND THEIR ECONOMIC SATELLITES/TO OVERRIDE/THE JUST DEMANDS OF CHINA AND INDIA/WITH A MAJORITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH.

35-5-27

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THROUGH THIS MURK AND MISLEADING/ THE COLONIAL PEOPLE ARE STAGGERING ON/AND WE MAY NOW BRIEFLY SCAN THEIR CONDITION.///THE MOST TREMENDOUS RESULT OF THE TWO WORLD WARS/WAS THE FREEING OF INDIA./ THIS WAS NOT PHILANTHROPY BUT A SHREWD ATTEMPT/OF THE GREATEST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/TO CHANGE FROM A POLITICAL/TO AN INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM/ WHEN THE MILITARY CONTROL OF INDIA/ BY BRITAIN/WAS NO LONGER POSSIBLE.///THE TRAVAIL OF INDIA TODAY/ IS DUE TO THIS FACT./ SHE IS A NATION DOMINATED/BY HUGE SUMS OF INVESTED CAPITAL/ BOTH NATIVE AND FOREIGN,/ AND AT THE SAME TIME WEIGHTED/ DOWN BY POVERTY,/IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/WHICH TWO CENTURIES SUBJECTION/TO THE RULE OF FOREIGN INTERESTS/HAVE HEAPED UOPN HER.// THE ENERGY WHICH SHOULD GO/TO LINKING HER INDUSTRY/AND AGRICULTURE,/ CONTROLLING CAPITAL/AND DEVELOPING HER RESOURSES/ IN MANPOWER, ~~AND INDUSTRY~~/ MUST FOR YEARS BE DISSIPATED/BY ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL RELIGIOUS DOGMA/WHICH FOREIGN RULE/HAS CRAFTILY FOSTERED.//HELP FROM THE WESTERN WORLD CAN ONLY BE HAD/BY JOINING BLINDLY/IN THE PROPOSED WAR ON COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM.

35-5-78

12

CHINA HAS STAGGERED THROUGH HELL/ SINCE SUN YAT SEN/FOUND ONLY IN RUSSIA THE HELP/WHICH HE BEGGED/TO ESTABLISH THE CHINESE REPUBLIC// WHEN CHINA SOUGHT AID FROM THE WEST/AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION,/ THE WEST SIDED originally WITH JAPANESE IMPERIALISM.//WHEN JAPANESE IMPERIALISM/TRIED TO UNITE GERMANY, ITALY AND THE EAST/AGAINST THE WEST,/ GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES/BACKED CHIANG KAI SHEK/TO RESTORE CHINA/TO THE CONTROL OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM.//CHINA FOUND IN COMMUNISM/AS ESTABLISHED IN RUSSIA/THE ONLY OPEN PATH TO AUTONOMY / AND SHE TOOK IT.///BECAUSE OF her ALLIANCE WITH COMMUNISM/AND ~~not~~ WITH ~~her~~ no REFERENCE/TO HER ATTEMPT TO UPLIFT THE CHINESE PEOPLE/ WE ARE TODAY MAKING EVERY EFFORT/TO START A THIRD WORLD WAR/FOR AMERICAN CONTROL OF CHINA.

35-5-79

IN THE NEAR EAST,/ INCLUDING IN THAT TERM,/EGYPT AND THE ARABS, IN ~~ETHIOPIA AND~~ THE SUDAN, TURKEY AND SYRIA/ WE HAVE AN IGNORANT, POOR AND DISEASED/MASS OF PEOPLE/IN THE FIRM GRIP OF OVERLORDS,/ AND COURTED BY WESTERN PROFIT/FOR OIL TO USE IN WAR/AND FOR COTTON AND CHEAP FOODS/AND RAW

MATERIALS.//ETHIOPIA AND ISRAEL/PRESENT DEFINITE VARIATIONS OF THIS PROBLEM,/ BUT BOTH LIE/AT THE MERCY OF IMPERIAL INVESTMENT.

IN SOUTHEAST ASIA,/ THE LANDS BETWEEN CHINA AND INDONESIA/FIRED BY BOTH SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM/ARE DIRECT TARGETS OF INVESTING IMPERIALISM/BECAUSE OF TIN, RUBBER,/TEA, RICE, AND A HUNDRED OTHER VALUABLE RAW MATERIALS.// THIS BRINGS THE ARMS OF FRANCE,/ BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES/ TO CONTROL THEM, AND THE ISSUE DEPENDS/ON CHINA AND INDONESIA.//HOLLAND HAS EASED POLITICAL CONTROL/OF THE FABULOUS SPICE ISLANDS/OUT OF WHICH FOR THREE CENTURIES/SHE HAS DRAINED WEALTH AND ~~EASE~~ POWER.//BUT HER INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT / THERE/IS STILL LARGE/AND BOTH BRITAIN AND AMERICA ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED/IN THE PRESERVATION OF INCOME/FROM THIS CAPITAL.// THE INDONESIANS ARE ALSO INVOLVED IN THIS INVESTMENT/BY BLOOD AND MONEY/AND BY COMMERCE WITH THE WEST.// HOW FAR THEY WILL YIELD/THIS URGE OF WESTERN ALLIANCE/TO THE NEED OF A POVERTY-STRICKEN PEASANTRY/IS A PROBLEM:/WITH CHINA PULLING IN ONE DIRECTION/AND THE

35-5-80

DOMINANT PHILIPPINE CAPITALISTS/IN ALLIANCE WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS/ON THE OTHER. AMERICAN AND AUSTRALIAN COLOR HATE/MAY TIP THE BALANCE TOWARD ASIA/AS IT ONCE DID IN THE CASE OF JAPAN.

35-5-81

THE CONTRADICTIONS/IN THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE/SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ARE LARGELY EXPLAINED/BY THE SITUATION OF AFRICA.//THE present ENGLISH SOCIALIST STATE/HAS BEEN TORM FROM THE ORBIT OF SOCIALISM/IN SCANDINAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION/AND ANNEXED TO THE CAPITALIST UNITED STATES/BY THE VISION OF COLONIAL WEALTH/THROUGH A RE-BIRTH/OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA.

FOR THIS END/ KENYA HAS BEEN MADE A MILITARY FORTRESS/ EGYPT DENIED COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE/AND ISRAEL DISCOURAGED://UGANDA HAS BEEN REPRESSED AND EAST AFRICA/MADE THE CENTER OF EXPERIMENTS/IN A NEW PLANTATION ECONOMY. THE BLACK SUDAN/IS HELD IN A TIGHT GRIP/AND STRONG EFFORT was MADE/TO DOMINATE

ETHIOPIA.///THE RHODESIAS AND SOUTH AFRICA/HAVE BEEN BUILT UP/INTO SATELLITE NATIONS/WITH BLACK SERFS/WHO ARE GIVEN LITTLE EDUCATION,/MINIMUM WAGE AND ALMOST NO POLITICAL POWER.//BRITISH AND AMERICAN CAPITAL DOMINATES THE CONGO AND PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

35-5-82

¶ JUST WHAT DOES COLONIAL DOMINATION MEAN?//NO HUMAN BEING IN THE WORLD IS QUITE SO HELPLESS/AS THE COLONIAL SUBJECT/OF A GREAT EMPIRE.//THE WORLD DOES NOT HEAR ABOUT HIM./ HE IS NOT "NEWS."/ HE CAN ONLY APPEAL FOR REDRESS TO A LOCAL COLONIAL ADMINISTRATOR/AND HIS COMPLAINT MAY NEVER BE FORWARDED/TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY/AND USUALLY IS NOT.//CONSIDER ONE ASPECT OF COLONIALISM/AND THAT Crucial IS THE OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND.

35-5-83

THE SYSTEMS OF LAND TENURE /IN NATIVE AFRICA/ WERE VARIED AND OFTEN COMPLICATED./ THE TENURE OF THE SOIL/ WAS CONNECTED WITH THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP/AND THERE WERE MAGICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL RIGHTS /AS WELL A S AGRICULTURAL CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH ITS USE./ /THERE WAS ABANDONED LAND/IN ALL PARTS OF AFRICA,/ AND YET EACH TRIBAL UNIT/ KNEW THE BOUNDARIES OF ITS TERRITORY /AND GUARDED THEM JEALOUSLY.// INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP OF LAND/WAS SELDOM RECOGNIZED, BUT AFRICANS WERE HOSPITABLE /IN ASSIGNING STRANGERS/ LAND FOR HABITATION.// AND THEY READILY GAVE MISSIONARIES /AND GUESTS/ DWELLING PLACES.

INDEED /IT WAS THROUGH THE ABUSE AND MISINTERPRETATION /OF THIS LAND HOSPITALITY/ THAT MUCH OF THE EUROPEAN CLAIM/TO AFRICAN LAND TODAY/ IS BASED. THE BELGIAN TITLE /TO MORE THAN 900,000 SQUARE MILES/ IN THE CONGO/ IS FOUNDED ON "TREATIES MADE/WITH FOUR HUNDRED FIFTY INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHIEFS" /BY HENRY M. STANLEY.//THROUGH WHICH THEY WERE REPRESENTED /AS GIVING AWAY TRIBAL LANDS FOR NOTHING.// ALTHOUGH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE USUAL AFRICAN CUSTOM/ THE CHIEF COULD <u>ASSIGN</u> LAND/ FOR TEMPORARY USE /BUT COULD <u>NEVER</u> GIVE IT AWAY.

17.

FP IN PARTS OF AFRICA/ INFLUENCED BY MOSLEM LAW/ THE HEAD OF THE STATE HAD OFTEN SOME ADDITIONAL POWER/WITH REGARD TO THE DISPOSAL OF LAND/ BUT EVEN HERE HIS POWER/WAS CURTAILED BY ANCIENT TRIBAL CUSTOM.

THE PROCESS/BY WHICH THE LAND OF AFRICA/ HAS BEEN ALIENATED REMINDS ONE OF THAT CELEBRATED CHAPTER/ IN KARL MARX ON "PRIMARY ACCUMULATION,"/WHERE HE SHOWS THAT THE PEASANTS OF EUROPE/ BETWEEN 1801 and 1831/ DID NOT "EVER GET A FARTHING'S WORTH/ OF COMPENSATION FOR THE 3,511,770 ACRES/ OF COMMON LAND / STOLEN FROM THEM."/ AND HE ADDS THAT THE EXPROPRIATION/ OF PEASANTS/ FROM THE LAND/ FORMED THE BASIS OF THE CAPITALISTIC METHOD PRODUCTION. Today it is the basis of colonial control

35-5-84

18.

35-5-85

//IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TODAY/ NATIVES FORMING/EIGHTY PER CENT OF THE POPULATION/POSSESS EIGHT PER CENT/OF THE LAND/ /THE SIX AND ONE-HALF MILLION NATIVES/ RESIDENT IN THE UNION/HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED RIGHTS IN TWENTY-ONE MILLION ACRES.// RECENT LEGISLATION/ NOT YET CARRIED OUT/ PROPOSES TO INCREASE THIS TO THIRTY-SEVEN MILLION ACRES./ /IN THE EVENT THIS LEGISLATION/IS CARRIED OUT, WHICH IS NOT ALTOGETHER CERTAIN,/ THE PROPORTION OF THE UNION LEFT TO THE NATIVES/WILL BE THIRTEEN PER CENT// OR, IN OTHER WORDS, NINETY-ONE PER CENT of the Land OF CAPE COLONY,/ SIXTY-SEVEN PER CENT OF NATAL/ EIGHTY-one PER CENT OF THE TRANSVAAL:/AND NINETY-NINE PER CENT OF THE FREE STATE/ARE NOW IN POSSESSION OF WHITES.// YET ONLY FIVE PER CENT/OF THE LAND OWNED BY WHITES/IS IN ACTUAL USE.

THE HISTORY OF THIS LAND ALIENATION/MAY BE INDICATED, /ALTHOUGH NEITHER SOUTH AFRICA/NOR ANY OF ITS CONSTITUENTS/HAVE MADE ANY DETAILED INVESTIGATION OF NATIVE LAND RIGHTS,/AND THE WHOLE HISTORY IS COMPLICATED/BY A LONG SERIES OF INVASIONS /AND TRIBAL DISLOCATIONS./ DUE TO INVADING BANTU TRIBES SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

19

THE EARLY SETTLERS/ TOOK ENORMOUS FARMS/AND THE CAPITALIST LAND SPECULATORS TOOK MORE.// IN THE TRANSVAAL/ THIRTEEN LAND COMPANIES/HOLD NEARLY FIVE MILLION ACRES OF LAND,/ MOST OF WHICH IS UNUSED.// EVEN THE RIGHT OF NATIVES TO BUY LAND/IS NOW LIMITED.//INDEED LAND SEQUESTRATION WENT SO FAR/THAT IT WAS RECOGNIZED/IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY/THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE TO PRESERVE Land FOR THE NATIVES/EVEN SUCH RIGHTS AS WOULD GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO EARN A LIVING:/TO FURNISH THE LABOR WHICH THE WHITES NEEDED:/TO PAY TAXES AND ESPECIALLY TO MEET THEIR RISING DISCONTENT.//AS EARLY AS 1903 THE COMMISSION ON NATIVE AFFAIRS REPORTED/THAT THE RESERVES AND LOCATIONS WERE INSUFFICIENT TO SUPPORT THE POPULATION.

35-5-86

THIS DOMINATION, OF WHITE CONTROL IS OF COURSE IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO THE BASIC TENETS OF ~~PEOPLES~~ SOCIALISM AND PRE-ELECTION PROMISES OF THE ~~Labour~~ SOCIALIST ~~PARTY~~ doctrine FOR INSTANCE IN BRITAIN. JUST AS IMPERIAL COLONIALISM LONG CONTRADICTED BRITISH DEMOCRACY. // BUT ~~JUST AS THIS CONTRADICTION~~ NEVER HINDERED BRITISH WEALTH AND POWER, SO INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM IN PARTERSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT OVERTHROW, ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOT HELP DEVELOPE A STRONG SOCIALISM. // SO LONG AS the BEVINS AND CHURCHILLS SEE EYE TO EYE, BRITAIN WILL ARM TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIET UNION USING FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR, THE ENERGY AND WEALTH NECESSARY TO BUILD A REAL SOCIALISTIC STATE.

THERE IS HOWEVER ONE LARGE FLY IN THIS ATTEMPT TO RESTORE ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THAT IS WEST AFRICA. IN WEST AFRICA THE LAND WAS NEVER SUCCESSFULLY TAKEN FROM THE NATIVES AS WAS THE CASE IN EAST, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA // AND THAT IS BECAUSE WEST AFRICA WAS NOT CONQUERED BY THE WHITES BUT ANNEXED BY TREATY, TRADE AND DIPLOMACY.

~~AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, AND THAT IS WEST AFRICANWITH ITS HUNDRED MILLION BLACK FOLK WHICH NO WHITE NATION EVER CONQUERED.~~ UNDER THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH/BLACK PEOPLES WHOSE HIGH CULTURE/GO BACK TO DAHOMEY AND ASHANTI,/ THE HAUSSA AND SONGHAY/ THE BENI AND MOSSI/STAND YET TODAY, AFTER 20 CENTURIES, A BITTER BULWARK/AGAINST WHITE IMPERIALISM.//TO THEM TODAY BRITAIN AND FRANCE ARE YIELDING ~~CONTROL OF LAND~~/ PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT/AND LEGISLATION AND EVEN A VAGUE PROMISE/OF AUTONOMY OR INDEPENDENCE.//THEY HAVE SOME SMALL HOLD OF COMMERCE/AS IN THE CASE OF COCOA AND PALM OIL.//AGAINST THEM AND THEIR AMBITION/ARE ARRAYED SOUTH AFRICA/AND THE RHODESIAS, THE BELGIAN CONGO/ AND THE VAST INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN INVESTORS.//THESE CAPITALISTS HAVE REDUCED LIBERIA/TO AN AMERICAN COLONY/BY CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, HARBOR AND AIRPORT.//IT MAY WELL BE/THAT THE FUTURE BATTLE OF WEST AFRICA/MAY SPARK THE LAST BATTLE FOR LIBERTY/IN THE COLONIAL WORLD.//NATURALLY EVERY BLACK

35-5-88

LEADER OF WEST AFRICA/IS ACCUSED OF COMMUNISM/AND IN FRENCH AFRICA THEY HAVE OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE FACT.

ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT/THE WEB OF INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM/HAS BEEN TIGHTLY WOVEN.// THE NATURALLY RICH WEST INDIES/HAVE THEIR ONLY MARKETS/FOR FRUIT AND FOODS/IN THE UNITED STATES/AND THEIR ONLY SOURCE FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS.// THE AMERICAN MARKET IS SO RIGGED/AS TO REDUCE THESE ISLANDS/TO ECONOMIC SERVITUDE/ NO MATTER WHETHER THEY ARE NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT POLITICALLY/ OR NOT.//ADD TO THIS FOREIGN INVESTMENT/IN SUGAR, FRUIT AND COFFEE/AND MONOPOLY OF THE CARRYING TRADE/AND THE PICTURE IS COMPLETE.// CUBA AND HAITI PURETO RICO AND JAMAICA,/SAN DOMINGO AND THE FRENCH ISLANDS/ARE ALL IN THRALL TO INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM/AND WHILE THEY PROGRESS IN POLITICAL POWER,/ THIS POWER IS NEGATIVED/BY ECONOMIC CONTROL/CENTERED IN LONDON, PARIS, AND NEW YORK.

SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA/~~is~~ are BUT A LARGER AND MORE COMPLICATED SITUATION/OF SIMILAR SORT.//CERTAIN NATIONS LIKE MEXICO, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA HAVE

35-5-89

ACHIEVED SOME INDEPENDENCE/BUT THEY MUST BOW TO INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE,/ INTERNATIONAL TECHNIQUE/AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE LEADING INDUSTRIAL NATIONS/AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL GOODS// THEIR SALES OF RAW MATERIAL/IS ALSO AT THE MERCY OF POWERS/ WHICH THEY CONTROL BUT WEAKLY./// HERE THEN LOOMS A LARGER PROBLEM/OF WORLD CONTROL/ WITH DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTION/ FERTILITY OF SOILS AND APTITUDES OF HUMAN FACTORS./ THE FUTURE WORLD HAS GOT TO DECIDE THESE MATTERS/ NOT ACCORDING TO THE DICTATES OF ONE NATION/OR SET OF NATIONS/BUT FOR THE WIDEST COMMON WEAL.// THE UNITED NATIONS/FAR FROM FACING SUCH ~~NATIONS~~ problems IS HALTED/BY THE VAST QUESTION/OF THE APPLICATION OF FORCE/TO GUIDE OPINION. THE BASIC PROBLEM/ HAS NOT EVEN COME TO STATEMENT.

35-5-90

THUS THE COLONIAL PROBLEM/AS IT REMAINS/ IS A LARGE PART OF OUR PRESSING PROBLEM/OF WAR AND PEACE/AND BACK OF THAT/THE PERSISTENT PROBLEM OF POVERTY. THIS IS NO PETTY POINT FOUR:/ IT IS EMANCIPATION/FOR THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND FROM DICTATORSHIP OF THE FEW./ UNLESS A RESUSITATED AMERICAN DEMOCRACY,

35-5-91

SHORN OF COWARDICE AND GREED/CAN THROW OFF THE DRUG OF AMERICAN WEALTH/AND CAPITALISM/AND STAND TO FIGHT AGAIN/FOR LIBERTY AND JUSTICE,/EVEN ACROSS THE COLOR LINE,/ THEN THE STAR OF EMPIRE/IN ITS HIGHEST SPIRITUAL SENSE/WILL PASS FROM EUROPE AND AMERICA/AND THE HOPE OF MANKIND WILL REST/IN WEST AFRICA, INDIA AND CHINA,/THE COLONIAL AND QUASI-COLONIAL LANDS.

35-5-92

TO ALL THIS/MUST BE ADDED A CURIOUS NEW COLONIALISM/ARISING FROM THE DOMINATION OF NATIONS/LATELY CONQUERED IN WORLD WAR.// TODAY GERMANY, JAPAN AND ITALY/STAND IN THE RELATION OF COLONIES/TO THE UNITED STATES ESPECIALLY,/ SINCE WE ALONE/HAVE THE CAPITAL TO DEVELOPE THEM/OR BY WITHHOLDING/TO RETARD OR RUIN THEM.//WE HOLD ITALY TODAY/IN ALMOST COMPLETE DOMINATION.//WE PLAN TO MAKE JAPAN/THE EASTERN BULWARK OF OUR WORLD CONTROL./ ~~BUT CAN WE DO THIS? ONCE ITALY BEGINS TO RECOVER WHAT WILL BE HER ATTITUDE TOWARD US?~~ CONSIDER THE PLIGHT OF GERMANY.

35-5-93

MORE THAN MOST AMERICANS NOT OF GERMAN DESC NT, I HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE GERMAN NATION. AT PERHAPS THE MOST CRITICAL TIME IN MY SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT I WAS FOR TWO YEARS A STUDENT IN THE FRIEDRICH-WILHEM UNIVERSITAT ZU BERLIN. I LIVED IN THE SHADOW OF LUTHER'S WARTBURG: I MADE THE HARZREISE: I VISITED THE HANSA CITIES, MUNICH, THE RHEINPHALZ, LEIPZIG AND BRESLAU, I HAVE HEARD WAGNER AT BEIREUTH: I HAVE SAILED THE RHEIN FROM ROTTERDAM TO MAINZ, AND SUNG THE LORELEI. I SAT UNDER THE LECTURES OF SCHMOLLER, WEBER AND VON TREISCHKE AND MY CERTIFICATE WAS SIGNED BY RUDOLPH VIRCHOW. I WAS IN GERMANY FROM 1892 to 1894: IN 1926 AND AGAIN IN 1936.

INDEED I THINK THAT BEFORE I KNEW THE GERMAN PEOPLE, I HAD NEVER BEFORE CONSIDERED WHITE PEOPLE AS HUMAN BEINGS: AND THAT DESPITE THE FACT THAT I WAS BORN AND EDUCATED IN THE MOST LIBERAL PART OF AMERICA, WHERE MY FATHERS HAD BEEN CITIZENS AND VOTERS FOR A HUNDRED YEARS. I AM CONVINCED THAT NEVER IN THE WORLD HAVE SO INHERENTLY FINA A PEOPLE, OF HIGH INTELLECT AND DEEP

SENSIBILITY, BEEN SO UTTERLY RUINED BY WAR AND THE THEORY OF WAR AS THE GERMANS.

THE ONE RECOMPENSE WHICH CIVILIZATION OWED THEM IN RETURN FOR THEIR PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, LITERATURE, POETRY AND MUSIC WAS TO DEFEND THEM FROM WAR AND THE FRUITS OF WAR: AFTER TWO OF THE WORST POSSIBLE CONFLICTS THE WORLD HAS SEEN, WITH GERMANY THE CENTER OF BOTH, // TO RESCUE THEM FROM THE IMPOVERISHING COSTS OF MILITARY MINDEDNESS AND SHATTERING DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR AND WORLD CONQUEST. // BUT NO! AS MOCKING FATE WOULD HAVE IT, GERMANY WAS SURRENDERED IN FACT TO THE DOMINATION OF THE ONE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHICH IN RACE HATE AND HUMAN DEGRADATION OFTEN OUT-HITLERED HITLER AND WHICH more PUT THE WORSHIP OF WEALTH AND POWER ABOVE THE LOVE OF GOD OR BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. // THEY PLACED IN THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY, A GENERAL FROM GEORGIA TO EXERCISE NEAR ABSOLUTE RULE OVER THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY FOR FOUR CRUCIAL YEARS AFTER THE HELL OF DEFEAT IN 1945! // HIS SUCCESSOR EGGED ON BY AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

35-5-94

HAS DRAGGED GERMANY IN/AS PAWN/BETWEEN THE AMERICAN ITCH FOR WORLD RULE/AS HEIR TO BRITAIN,/ AND SOVIET DETERMINATION/TO DEFEND EAST EUROPE/AGAINST THE WEST.

IT IS FATAL REPETITION OF HISTORY.// ONCE GERMANY WAS TORN FOR THIRTY BLOODY YEARS/BETWEEN RAGING RELIGIOUS FANATICS.// ONCE AUSTRIAN, RUSSIAN AND FRENCH IMPERIALISM/FOUGHT OUT THEIR QUARREL ON GERMAN SOIL/AND LEFT GERMANY/A NAME AND NOT A NATION.// AND ONCE AGAIN ON GERMAN SOIL/AND WITH GERMAN SOULS AND BODIES,/THE FIRST WORLD BATTLE/BETWEEN BIG BUSINESS AND SOCIALISM/AGAIN COVERED/THE SOIL OF GERMANY/WITH THE BLOOD OF GERMAN JEWS AND GENTILES.

ANYONE WHO KNEW GERMANY/IN THE HEIGHT OF HER SCIENTIFIC/AND ARTISTIC LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD/AND THEN SAW HER/AFTER THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAN UNDERSTAND IF NOT FORGIVE NAZISM.// I SAW IN 1926,/A NATION OVERTHROWN, TURNED UPSIDE DOWN AND RUINED/WITH MORE YOUNG GIRLS FOR SALE/ON THE STREETS OF BERLIN/THAN PARIS EVER OFFERED.// I SAW THE WHOLE MIDDLE CLASS/DRIVEN DOWN INTO POVERTY/AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA/FACING UTTER DESPAIR,/WHILE THE WORLD

35-5-95

LED BY AMERICA/WERE BLEEDING THE CORPSE.//IT IS NO WONDER THAT ON THIS FOUNDATION,/A PSYCHOPATHIC CRIMINAL/INDUCED LABORERS AND SMALL SHOPKEEPERS WHO HAD LONG ENVIED/THE THRIFTY AND TALENTED JEWS/TO SEE IN THEM AN UNDEFENDED VICTIM/TO BE SACRIFICED TO GERMAN DEGRADATION/AND DRIVE A CRAZED AND MISLED PEOPLE/INTO MURDER OF SIX MILLION JEWS.

35-5-96

[GERMANY NURTURED THE JEWSIH GROUP AS IT FOUGHT ITS WAY UP TO LEADERSHIP IN ART, MUSIC AND INDUSTRY: SO THE UNITED STATES STOLE AND HELD IN SLAVERY A GROUP OF NEGROES FOR 300 YEARS UNTIL THEY NUMBERED FOUR MILLION SLAVES IN 1863. THESE NEGROES HAD NO CHANCE TO LEAD IN ANY HUMAN ENDEAVOR SAVE THE HARD TOIL ON WHICH THE WEALTH OF AMERICA TODAY RESTS. WHEN EMANCIPATION CAME THROUGH NEGRO SOLDIERS AS WELL AS WHITE: AND WHEN THE THREAT OF UNCOUNTED THOUSANDS OF MORE BLACK SOLDIERS FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER, THEN IT WAS THAT FOR 85 YEARS AFTER THE HATE AND JEALOUSY OF THE WHITE]

[SOUTHERN LABORER AND GREED OF THE FORMER SLAVE HOLDER HAS VENTED ITSELF ON BLACK FOLK. THEY HAVE LYNCHED 4000 WITH MOBS, THEY HAVE KILLED TENS OF THOUSANDS BY MOB VIOLENCE: THEY HAVE STOLEN AND DESTROYED PROPERTY: AND NOW BY LEGAL PRETENSE, THEY ARE HANGING NEGROES DAILY FOR DEEDS FOR WHICH NO WHITE AMERICAN IS USUALLY EVEN ARRESTED.] THE PLIGHT OF GERMAN JEWS/AND AMERICAN NEGROES/ DIFFERS IN DETAIL AND CIRCUMSTANCE,/ BUT BOTH ARE BASED ON THE DEGRADATION OF THE HUMAN SOUL/ BY WHICH TODAY WEALTH AND POWER/ IS BEING BUILT./ AND THE TOOL OF THIS BLASPHMY/ IS WAR AND MORE WAR:/ WORLD WAR AFTER WORLD WAR, IMPERIALISM AGAINST IMPERIALSIM/WITH HUMANITY FORGOTTEN/AND TRAMPLED IN THE DUST.

35-5-92

CONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF GERMANY/SINCE 1800,/ IT MUST BE CLEAR WHAT CURRENTS OF OPINION/ARE TODAY THERE MANIFEST:/ FIRST THERE MUST BE A LARGE NUMBER OF GERMANS,/ PROBABLY A CLEAR MAJORITY/OF BOTH THE EDUCATED/AND THE WORKING CLASSES,/ WHO SAY THAT WAR/AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL PROGRESS/IS ABSOLUTELY

UNTHINKABLE:/ THAT GERMANY NEEDS PEACE/ FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT;// FOR THE NORMAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH:/ FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS:/ THAT THEREFORE REARMAMENT IS DISTINCTLY INADMISSABLE.

ANOTHER PORTION/ IS AFRAID FOR THE FUTURE/ OF PROPERTY AND CAPITAL:/ THEY ARE UNDER COMPULSION/ FROM INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL/ TO SEEK A PLACE IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT/ OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY./ IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD./ THIS PARTY IS PUSHED BY AMERICAN INDUSTRY/ IN EVERY WAY/ TO AGREE TO DEFEND INVESTMENT BY REARMING:/ THEY DO NOT WISH TO RE-AREM/ BUT THEY FEAR THE POSSIBLE ATTITUDE OF THE CAPITALISTIC WORLD/ AND THE RETALIATION OF THE WORLD ~~BY~~ OF COMMUNISM./ THEY WILL SUBMIT TO RE ARMAMENT ONLY IF THEY MUST.

FINALLY/ THERE ARE THE REMNANTS OF HITLERISM/ IN GERMANY/ WHO WANT REVENGE OR ANNIHILATION OF EUROPE./// IT IS THESE LEADERS/ WHOM THE UNITED STATES IS RELEASHING/ FROM PUNISHMENT/ AND CONSULTING/ ABOUT A NEW GERMAN ARMY./ EVERY

35-5-98

EFFORT OF ALL AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN PEACE AND RESTORATION OF THE REAL GREATNESS OF GERMANY, SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN BEHALF OF THE MAJORITY OF GERMANS WHO LIKE THE MAJORITY OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIANS AND LIKE ALL SANE AMERICANS WANT NO MORE WAR.

35-5-99

WHAT IS BEING ATTEMPTED IN GERMANY AND ALSO FORESHADOWED IN JAPAN IS COLONIALSIM UNDER ANOTHER NAME AND WITH EXUCSES DIFFERENT FROM THE RACE THEORIES ON WHICH WE BUILD THE COLONIALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY. THEN NATIONS had to ~~MUST~~ OBEY EUROPE BECAUSE THEY ~~WERE NOT ABLE TO STAND ALONE~~ of military power & economic completion. NOW NATIONS MUST either because of economic strangulation or OBEY THE UNITED STATES FOR FEAR OF ~~A PUSH FROM RY RUSSIA~~ communism. IN BOTH CASES THE OUTCOME IS THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE IMPERIAL MASTER DICTATES POLICY AND ~~NOT~~ THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION ITSELF. IN BOTH CASES DEMOCRATIC METHODS ARE LIMITED BY MILITARY FORCE AND DICTATORSHIP MORE OR LESS CONCEALED MAKES THE NATION THE COLONIAL APPENDAGE OF CONCENTRATED POWER. IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN CRAZY FOR US TO DREAM THAT JAPAN WILL EVER ALLY HERSELF WILLINGLY WITH

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THE UNITED STATES AGAINST ASIA.// THE RACE HATE/WHICH WE FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY/INSPIRED/AMONG THE JAPANESE/AGAINST THE WHITE WORLD/WILL NOT BE DISSIPATED/BY THE TACTICS OF GENERAL MCARTHUR.// WE MAY RESTORE THE FORMER INDUSTRIAL MASTERS OF JAPAN/TO TEMPORARY POWER./ BUT THAT POWER WILL NEVER LAST/AFTER ITS CRASS FAILURE/IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

BACK OF ALL THIS-/--COLONIAL IMPERIALISM./ INVESTMENT IMPERIALISM./ THE WAR AGAINST SOCIALISM-/--BACK OF ALL THIS/LIES THE PERSISTENT BELIEF/THAT MANKIND HAS TO BE CONTROLLED/AND THAT THOSE WHO CONTROL/HAVE A RIGHT TO SEEK THEIR OWN INTERESTS/BEFORE THE INTERESTS OF THE MASS OF MANKIND./ THIS BELIEF IS DEEP-SEATED/IN THE UNITED STATES/DESPITE ALL TALK ABOUT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.// NEVER WERE THE METHODS AND BELIEFS/OF DICTATORSHIP/STRONGER THAN IN AMERICA OF TODAY.

35-5-100

Original

Community Church--Boston, 2/11/51

full length

THE RISE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Those folk who assume that colonialism is dead should modify their conclusions by close study of the past history of colonies, and consideration of the relation of colonies to the development of European culture.

Ancient colonies were excursions of members of cultural groups into the vast surrounding barbarisms for trade or refuge which led often to re-inoculation of cultural organisms and to new centers of civilization, as in the case of the islands off Asia Minor and Greece. Marco Pole and Vasco da Gama inspired similar trade projects in Asia. After the discovery of America, Europeans made such colonizing efforts, for trade, refuge and treasure. Two different developments followed: in empty America, African and later Asiatic labor was imported and Indian labor impounded for the hard toil of development. In Asia however with abundant labor, there followed political and commericial manipulation which resulted in commercial control of China and political control of India. In America slavery changed to color caste in the United States and investment imperialism ~~in~~ and commercial control arose in Central and South America and the West Indies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of the peoples of the world were under the control of Europe: either complete political domination as in the case of the British Empire in Asia and Africa and the West Indies; Holland in Indonesia, France in North Africa, Belgium in the Congo, and Portugal in South Africa; or in commercial and industrial control, as in the case of capital and markets furnished by the United States, Great Britain, and France in Central and South America, Canada, Russia, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Australia and the Balkans. It was assumed ~~ik~~ at the time that full political control of the colonial people by

46-8-47

great imperialisms was the goal of world rule and that commercial control of quasi-colonies was but a step toward this.

But meantime the imperial program was influenced by various occurences in the colonial and semi-colonial regions themselves. Slave labor in America forced emancipation by revolt and collaboration and then demanded education and the right to vote. The Protestant Church, in America, Asia and Africa, as carrier of the liberal tradition from the Reformation to the Reform laws in the 18th century, established schools, but yielded to strictly controlled political rights on and their denial to domination of rights of property, in which it was joined by the Catholics.

Some groups of colonials, like those in West Africa, and the West Indies, pressed on toward voting and property holding, higher education, office-holding, legislation and political independence or integration into full citizenship. This was accomplished in Haiti, Liberia, Ethiopia and Cuba; and partially by the Negro group in the United States. But even here a new type of control became manifest through markets and prices and credit facilities for tools, machinery and capital goods, and loan of technicians. After the First World War failed to effect that re-distribution of colonies which was its direct cause, ~~there~~ There was renewed concentration of capital and control of credit in great centers like London, New York, Paris ~~and Berlin~~. The economic progress of the colonies like India, Indonesia and parts of North Africa was dependent on those persons and groups which comtrolled this capital; and always many countries, nominally free and politically independent, like those of Central and South America; China and Japan, Egypt, the Balkans and even Canada and Russia tended to sink into a position of quasi-colonies, controlled by the money masters of Western Europe and North America. Behind a more or less clear facade of political and democratic freedom, most of these nations came under the control of a new phase of imperialism, which gained

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increasing power from such industrial innovations as mass production, electric power and chemical transformations.

In this phase of imperial control of colonies and semi-colonies, the United States of America stood foremost, because the industrial unity of her vast and varied natural resources had not been held back by particularism and repression, and because her working class had been recruited from three continents and all nations and had unrivalled talent, fulness and individuallity. Our democratic past had burst the bonds of class, birth and inherited wealth and had even breeched the walls of race.

As the United States after the First World War, stepped forward to succeed Great Britain as ruler of the world, she met head on the determination of the colonial peoples and of the people in semi-colonial status inspired by the war to share not only in future political power, but in a new political control of industry and commerce which laboring classes in all nations were asking. This Socialism did not , as most Americans seemed to assume, begin in Russia. It was English, French and German in concept and development and the European movement toward socialism was well on its way in the latter part of the 19th century.

On the other hand, and in opposition to socialism, there had been developing in America, Africa and Asia, under British, ~~French~~ French and North American leadership, a new so-called democracy which was now powerful It consisted in a manipulation , limitation and control of the voting population, through the power of empoyers and financiers, so that the so-called democracies of South American nations, of Balkan states and of the Southern part of the United States, put these ~~nations~~ areas under the control of organized and concentrated capital.

Meantime in Russia, an agricultural country, with little industry and high illiteracy, the First World War forced an attempt to inaugurate complete socialism by means of the Communistic state. The experiment was

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made under the most inopportune circumstances in the midst of war, famine and religious intolerance and with the united opposition of the civilized world, the leaders doubt ed success but had in reality no alternative. If the experiment had failed within ten years of its inception, it would have settled nothing as to the merits of socialism. That it has survived, with certainly some success, calls for the most careful and earnest evaluation of its possible contribution to civlization.

But this attitude today and in America is absolutely impossible and that not because of the merits or demerits and dangers of communism, but because of an extraordinary social movement, the significance and danger of which is realized by few Americans. And that is an effort at propaganda unsurpassed in modern history among civilized people. Organized indusdtry and commerce have so dominated the press and newsgathering, the radio, cinema and platform that no uncoerced study of the Soviet Union or Communism is possible.

46-8-10

This does not prove the efficiency and success of Communism, but it certainly does not disprove it, and it is clear testimony that wealth and industry today fear scientific research and free expression on this subject. The first organized effort of wealth and industry to meet the socialist threat after the invasion of Russia by 14 European nations was frustrated not only by Russian ~~xxxxxxx~~ resistance but more effectively by the Great Depression of the 30's. This which was surely due more to a diseased capitalism than to Communism and the Fascism of Mussolini and the Nazism of Hitler intervened to prevent the world from turning to Communism as a panacea. Both efforts were welcomed and encouraged by imperial Europe and the United States, until the price of this cooperation, was fixed by mad-men at world domination by dictatorship with Britain, France and the United States excluded. Then occurred the most astonishing transformation of all history, when Colonial Imperialism joined Communism to

stop an European and Asiatic dictatorship set up by European Imperialism to overthrow Communism. Thus the imminent Third World War is not an unexpected development, but simply a reversion to the battle against socialism begun when Capitalism collapsed in 1929.

Just as the First World War could have been avoided if domination of colonial Asia and Africa by Europe and America had not been insisted as inevitable; so the Second World War was unnecessary if Western democracy had not adopted and encouraged it until Hitler and Mussolini refused to share the loot of Empire. This leaves us face to face with a Third World War to preserve exploitation of labor at home, but especially among the depressed peoples of Asia, Africa and South America. To accomplish this, unprecedented effort is financed by organized industry to prevent any study or uncoerced expression of opinion on the future conduct and control of industry, the world over. The effect of this on our own intellectual development, our moral values and democratic methods of government is disastrous. But what is the effect on colonial peoples?

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If every liberal in the United States is called a Communist and threatened with loss of status and opportunity to earn a livelihood, how much easier is it for every movement in colonial lands, toward education, voting, land control, control of investment especially foreign, legislation and taxation and political independence, to be called communistic, or communist inspired. This helps to concentrate power and influence in the hands of local reaction and local recipients of foreign capital and credit. This seems to herd the colonies or the dependent peoples to the side of the Investment Imperialists.

It is this tactic which is surrendering the United Nations into the c ntrol of the United States and enabling a majority composed of imperial nations and their economic satellites to override the just demands of China and India with a majority of the inhabitants of the earth.

Through this murk and misleading, the colonial people are staggering on and we may now briefly scan their condition. The most tremendous result of the two world wars was the freeing of India. This was not philanthropy but a shrewd attempt of the greatest Colonial Imperialism to change from a political to an Investment Imperialism, when the military control of India by Britain was no longer possible. The travail of India today is due to this fact. She is a nation dominated by huge sums of invested capital both native and foreign, and at the same time weighted down by poverty, ignorance and disease which two centuries subjection to the rule of foreign interests have heaped upon her. The energy which should go to linking her industry and agricultue, controlling capital and developing her resourses in man-power and industry, must for years be dissipated by attempts to control religious dogma which foreign rule has craftily fostered. Help from the Western world can only be had by joining blindly in the proposed war on Communism and socialism.

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China has staggered through Hell since Sun yat Sen found only in Russia the help which he begged to establish the Chinese Republic. When China sought aid from the West against Japanese aggression, the West sided with Japanese imperialism. When Japanese Imperialism tried to unite Germany, Italy and the East against the West, Great Britain and the United States backed Chiang kai-Shek to restore China to the control of Western Imperialism. China found in Communism as established in Russia the only open path to autonomy and she took it. Because of her alliance with communism and not with any reference to her attempt to uplift the Chinese people, we are today making every effort to start a Third World War for American control of China.

In the Near East, including in that term, Egypt and the Arabias, ~~Ekki~~ Ethiopia and the Sudan, Turkey and Syria, we have an ignorant, poor and diseased mass of people in the firm grip of overlords, and courted by

Western profit for oil to use in war and for cotton and ~~other~~ cheap foods and raw materials. Ethiopia and Isreel present definite variations of this problem, but both lie at the mercy of imperial investment.

In Southeast Asia, the lands between China and Indonesia fired by both socialism and nationalism are direct targets of investing imperialism because of tin, rubber, tea, rice, and a hundred other valuable raw materials; this brings the arms of France, Britain and the United States to control them, and the issue depends on China and Indonesia. Holland has eased political control of the fabulous Spice Islands out of which for three centuries she has drained wealth and ease; but her industrial and commerical investment there is still large and both Britain and America are deeply involved in the preservation of income from this capital. The Indonesians are also involved in this investment by blood and money and by commerce with the West. How far they will yield this urge of Western alliance to the need of a poverty-stricken peasantry is a problem; with China pulling in one direction and the dominant Philippine capitalists in alliance with American business, on the other. American and Australian color hate may tip the blaance toward Asia as it once did in the case of Japan.

146-8-94
201-8-103

The contradictions in the policy of the British Empire since the Second World War are largely explained by the situation of Africa. This English socialist state has been torn from the orbit of socialism in Scandinavia and the Soviet Union and annexed to the capitalist United States by the vision of Colonial wealth through a re-birth of the Brithis Empire in Africa.

For this end, Kenya has been made a military fortress, Egypt denied complete independence and Israel discouraged; Uganda has been repressed and East Africa made the center of experiments in a new plantation economy. The black Sudan is held in a tight grip and strong effort made to dominate Ethiopia. The Rhodesias and South Africa have been built up into satelite nations with black serfs who are given little education, minimum wage and

almost no political power. British and American capital dominates the Congo and Portuguese Africa.

This domination of a continent by white control is of course in direct contradiction to socialism and pre-election promises of the Socialist Party, just as Imperial Colonialism long contradicted British democracy. But just as contadiction never hindered Brithis wealth and power so investment imperialism in partership with the United States will not overthrow, although it will not help develope a strong socialism.

So long as Bevin's and Churchills' see eye to eye, Britain will arm to overthrow the Soviet Union using for a Third World War, the energy and wealth necessary to build a real Socialistic state.

There is however one large fly in this attempt to restore an Anglo-American imperialism, and that is West Africa with its hundred million black folk which no white nation ever conquered. Under the British, French and Spanish black peoples whose high culture go back to Dahomey and Ashanti, the Haussa and Songhay, the Beni and Mossi stand yet today, after 20 centuries, a bitter bulwark against white imperialism. To them today Britain and France are yielding control of land, participation in government and legislation and even a vague promise of autonomy or independence. They have some small hold of commerce as in the case of cocoa and palm oil. Against them and their ambition are arrayed South Africa and Rhodesias, the Belgian Congo and the vast influence of American investors. These capitalists have reduced Liberia to an American colony by control of industry, commerce, harbor, and airport. It may well be that the future battle of West Africa may spark the last battle for liberty in the colonial world. Naturally every black leader of West Africa is accused of Communism and in French Africa they have openly acknowledged the fact.

On the American continent the web of investment Imperialism has been tightly woven. The naturally rich West Indies have their only market for

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fruit and foods in the United States and their only source for manufactured goods. The American market is so rigged as to reduce these islands to economic servitude, no matter whether they are nominally independent politically or not. Add to this foreign investment in sugar, fruit and coffee and monopoly of the carrying trade and the picture is complete: Cuba and Haiti; Puerto Rico and Jamaica, San Domingo and the French Islands are all in thrall to investment imperialism and while they progress in political power, this power is negatived by economic control centered in London, Paris, and New York.

South and Central America is but a larger and more complicated situation of similar sort. Certain nations like Mexico, Brazil and Argentina have achieved some independence but they must bow to international commerce, international technique as exemplified by the leading industrial nations and the distribution of capital goods. Their sales of raw material is also at the mercy of powers which they control but weakly. Here then looms a larger problem of world control, with distribution of functions, fertility of soils and aptitudes of human f ctors. The future world has got to decide these matters not according to the dictates of one nation or set of nations but for the widest common weal. The United Nations far from facing such nations is halted by the vast question of the application of force to guide opinion. The basic problem has not even come to statement.

Thus the colonial problem as it remains, is a large part of our pressing problem of war and peace and back of that the persistent problem of poverty. This is no petty Point Four; it is emancipation for the majority of mankind from dictatorship of the Few. Unless a resuscitated American democracy, shorn of cowardice and greed can throw off the drug of American wealth and capitalism and stand to fight again for Liberty and Justice, even across the Color line, then the Star of Empire in its highest spiritual sense will pass from Europe and America and the Hope of Mankind will rest in West Africa, India and China, the colonial and quasi-colonial lands.

94-8-105

THE RISE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES

Community Church Boston 2/11/67

Those folk who assume that colonialism is dead or dying, should modify their conclusions by close study of the past history of colonies, and consideration of the relation of this group of phenomena with the development of European culture.

Ancient colonies were excursions of members of cultural groups into the vast surrounding barbarisms for trade, which led often to reinoculation of cultural patterns and new centers of civilization, as in the case of the islands of Asia Minor and Gfeece. After the discovery of America, Europeans made such colonizing efforts, for trade and treasure. Marco Polo inspired similar trade projects in China. Two different developments followed: in empty America, African and later Asiatic labor was imported for the hard toil of development, but in China, with abundant labor, political and commercial manipulation of Asiatic lands followed which resulted in international control of China and political control of India. Labor revolt in America to color caste in the United States and investment imperialism in Central and South America and the West Indies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of the peoples of the world were under the control of Europe: either complete political domination as in the case of the British Empire in Asia and Africa and the West Indies; Holland in Indonesia, France in North Africa and Belgium in the Congo, or in commercial control, as in the case of capital furnished by the United States, Great Britain, and France in Central and South America, Canada, Russia China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Australia and the Balkans. It was assumed then that full political control by great imperialisms was the goal of world rule and that commercial control was but a step toward this.

But meantime the imperial program was influenced by various occurences in the colonial and semi-colonial regions themselves. Slave labor in America forced emancipation by revolt and then demanded education and the right to vote. The Protestant church, in America, Asia and Africa, as carrier of the liberal tradition of the Reformation and Reform, in the 18th century established schools, but yielded to strictly controlled political rights and domination of the rights of property, in which it was joined by the Catholics.

One group of colonials, like those in West Africa, the West Indies, pressed on toward voting and property holding, higher education, office-holding, legislation and political independence or integration into full citizenship. This was accomplished in Haiti, Liberia, Ethiopia and Cuba; and partially by the Negro group in the United States.

In most of the colonial world however, a new type of control became manifest after the First World War failed to effect that re-distribution of colonies which was its direct

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
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DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

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cause. This was the concentration of capital and control of credit in great centers like London, New York, Paris and Berlin. The economic progress of the colonies like India, Indonesia and parts of North Africa was dependent on those persons and groups which controlled this capital; and always many countries, nominally free and politically independent, like those of Central and South America; China and Japan; Egypt, the Balkans and even Russia, and Canada tended to sink into a position of quasi-colonies, controlled by the money masters of western Europe and North America. Behind a more or less clear facade of political and democratic freedom, most of these nations came under the control of a new phase of imperialism, which gained increasing power from such industrial innovations as mass production, electric power and chemical transformations.

36-8-28

In this phase of imperial control of colonies and semi-colonies, the United States of America stood foremost, because the industrial unity of her vast and varied resources had not been held back by particularism and repression, and because her working class had been recruited from three continens and all nations and had unrivalled talent fulness and individuallity. Our democratic past had burst the bonds of class, birth and inherited wealth and had even breeched the walls of race.

As the United States after the First World War, stepped forward to succeed Great Britain as ruler of the world, she met head on the renewed determination of the colonial peoples and of the people in semi-colonial status matured by the War to share not only in future political power, but in a new control of industry and commerce. This political and economic Socialism did not, as most Americans seem to assume, begin in Russia. It was Eng ish , French and German in concept and development and the European movement toward socialism was well on its way in the latter part of the I9th century.

On the other hand, and in opposition to socialism, there had been developing in America, Africa and Asia, under the leadership of British, French and North American leadership, a new so-called democracy which was now powerful. It consisted in a manipulation, screening and control of the voting population, through the power of employers and financiers, so that the so-called democracies of South Americam nations, of Balkan stæ states and of the Southern part of the United States, put these nations under the control of organized and concentrated capital

Meantime in Russia, an agricultural country, with little industry and high illiteracy, an attempt was made to inaugurate complete socialism by means of the Communistic state. The experiment was forced under the most inopportune circumstances The First World War forced on it

in the midst of war, famine and religious intolerance and with the united opposition of the civilized world. If the experiment had failed within ten years of its inception, it would have settled nothing as to the merits of socialism. That it has survived, with certainly some success, calls for the most careful and earnest evaluation of its possible contribution to civilization. But this attitude today and in America is absolutely impossible and that not because of the merits or demerits and dangers of communism, but because of an extraordinary social movement, the significance and danger of which is realized by few Americans. And that is an effort at propaganda unsurpassed in modern history among civilized people. Organized wealth has so dominated the press and newsgathering, radio, cinema and platform that no uncoerced study of the Soviet Union or Communism is possible. This does not prove the efficiency and success of Communism, but it certainly does not disprove it, and it is clear testimony that wealth and industry today fear unfettered research and free thought on this subject. The effect of this on our own intellectual development, our moral values and democratic methods, is disastrous. But what is the effect on colonial peoples?

If every liberal in the United States is called a Communist and threatened with loss of status and opportunity to earn a livelihood, how much easier is it to call every movement in colonial lands, toward education, voting, land control, control of investment especially foreign, legislation and taxation, and political independence, to be called communistic, or communist inspired. This concentrates power and influence in the hands of reaction, recipients of foreign capital and credit, and to herd the colonies or especially the economically dependent peoples to the side of the Investment Imperialists. It is this tactic which is transforming the United Nations into the control of the United States and making a majority composed of imperial nations and their economic satellites, override the just demands of China and India with the majority of the inhabitants of the earth.

Through this murk and misleading, the colonial people are staggering on and we may now briefly scan their condition. The most tremendous result of the two world wars was the freeing of India. This was not philanthropy but a shrewd attempt of the greatest Colonial Imperialism to change from a political to an Investment Imperialism, when the military control of India by Britain was no longer possible. The travail of India today is due to this fact. She is a nation dominated by huge sums of invested capital both native and foreign and at the same time weighted down by poverty, ignorance and disease which

SLAVES
America

1500-1600 — 900,000
1600-1700 2,750,000
1700-1800 7,000,000
1800-1900 4,000,000
14,650,000

The first organized effort of wealth and industry to meet the socialist threat after the invasion of Russia by I4 European nations was frustrated not only by Russian resistance but more effectively by the Great Depression of the thirties. This which was mainly due to a diseased capitalism, was the Fascism of Mussolini and the Naziism ogf Hitler. Both efforts were welcomed and helped by imperial Europe and the United States, until the price of cooperation, was world domination with Britain, France and the United States excluded. ~~Then these lands joined Russia to exterminate Fascism and with her indispensible aid succedded in a Second World War.~~ Just as the First World War could have been avoided if domination of Asia and Africa by Europe and America had not been insisted as inevitable; so the second world war was unnecessary if western democracy had not adopted and encouraged it until it refused to surrender the loot. This leaves us face to face with a third world war to preserve exploitation at home and especially among the depressed peoples of Asia, Africa and South America. To accomplish this unprecedented effort is financed by organized industry to prevent any study or uncoerced expression of opinion on the future conduct and control of industry the world over.

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In the Near East, including in that term, Egypt and the Arabias, Ethiopia and the Sudan, Turkey and Syria, we have an oppressed , poor and ignorant mass of people, in the iron grip of overlords, and courted by western profit for oil for to use in war and cotton and other cheap foods raw materials. At rither and Ethiopia and Israel present a different definite variation of the problem , but they Both lie at the mercy of imperial investment.

In Southeast Asia, the lands between China and Indonesia fired by both socialism and nationalism are aimed at frantically Targets of by the investin g imperialism of the West because of tin, rice, rubber, tea, and a hundred other valuable raw materials; this brings the arms of xxxx France, Britain and the United States to control them, and the issue depends on China and Indonesia. Holland has eased poligical control of the fabulous Spice Islands out of which for three centuries she has drained wealth and ease; but her industrial and commercial investment there is still large and bot h Britain and America are deeply involved, in the preservation of income from this capital. The Indonesians are also involved in this investment by blood and money and by commerce with the west. How far they will yield this xxx urge of western alliance to the need of a poverty stricken peasantryis a problem, with China pulling in one direction and the dominant Phillipine capitalists in alliance w with Amrican business, on the other. American and Australian color hate may decide the balance toward Asia as it once did in the case of Japan.

The contradictions in the policy of the British Empire since the Second World War are largely explained by the situation of Africa. This English socialist state has been

wrested from the orbit of the Soviet Union and nearly annexed to the capitalist United States by the vision of a re-birth of the British Empire in Africa. For this end, Kenya has been made a military fortress, Egypt denied independence and Israel discouraged, East Africa has been made the center of experiments in a new plantation economy, the black Sudan held in a tight grip and strong effort started to dominate Ethiopia. The Rhodesias and South Africa have built up into satelite nations with black serfs repressed with little education, minimum wage and no political power. British and American capital dominates the Congo and Portuguese Africa. This domination of a continent by white control of blacks is of course in direct contradiction to socialism as Imperial Colonialism long contradicted democracy. But just as contradiction never hindered British democracy, so investment imperialism in partnership with the United States will not overthrow although it may not help develope strong socialism. So long as Bevins and and Churchhills see eye to eye, Britain will arm to overthrow the Soviet Union using for a third world war the energy and wealth necessary to build a real Socialistic state to stand beside Scandi navia. There is however one large fly in this attempt to restore an Anglo-American imperialism, and that is West Africa with its hundred million black folk which no white nation ever conquered Under the British, French and Spanish, black peoples whose culture of a high grade go back to Dahomey and Ashanti, the Haussa and Yohnga, Beni and Mossi stand still today after 20 centuries a bitter bukwark against white imperialism To them today Britain and France are yielding control of land, participation in govermment and legislation and even a vague promise of autonomy or independence. They have some small hold of commerce as in the case of cocoa and palm oil. Against them and their ambition are arrayed South Africa and the Rhodesias, the Belgian Congo and the vast influence of American investors. These capitalists have reduced Liberia to an American colony by control of industry, commerce, harbor and airport. It may well be that the future battle of West Africa may spark the battle for liberty in the colonial world. Naturally every black leader of West Africa is accused of Communism and in French Africa they have openly acknowledged the fact.

On the American continent the web of Investment Imperialism has been tightly woven. The naturally rich West Indies have their only market for fruit and foods in the United States and their only source for manufactured goods . The American market is so rigged as to reduce t these islands to economic servitude, no matter whether they are nominally independent politically or not. Add to this foreign investment in sugar, fruit and coffee and monopoly of the carrying trade and the picture is complete: Cuba and Haiti; Puerto Rico and Jamaica San Domingo and the F rench islands are all in thrall to investment imperialism and while they progress in political power, this power is negatived by economic control centered in London, Paris and New York.

South and Central America is but a larger and more complicated situation of similar sort. Certain nations like Mexico, Brazil and Argentine have achieved some independence but they must bow to international commerce, international technique as exemplified by the leading industrial nations and the distribution of capital goods. Their sales of raw material is also at the mercy of powers which they control but weakly. Here then looms a larger problem of world control, with distribution of functions, fertiity of soils and aptitudes of human factors. The future world has got to decide these matters not according to the dictates of one nation or set of nations but for the widest common weal. The United nations far from facing such nati ns is halted by the vast question of the application of force to guide opinion. The basic problem has not even come to statement.

36-8-32

Thus the colonial problem as it remains, is a large part of our pressing problem of war and peace and back of that the persisten problem of poverty. This is no petty Point Four; it is emancipation for the majority of mankind from dictatorship of the Few.

Unless a resusitated American democracy, shorn of cowardice and greed [illegible] off the drug of American wealth and capitalism and stand to fight again for Liberty and Justice, even across the Color line, then the Star of Empire in its highest spiritual sense will pass from Europe and America and the Hope of mankind will rest in Africa, India and China the colonial and quasi-colonial lands.

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W. E. B. Du Bois
Golden Gate Speech
7/21/51

PEACE AND WAR

THE MOST SINISTER EVIL/OF THIS DAY/IS THE WIDE-SPREAD CONVICTION/THAT WAR IS INEVITABLE/AND THAT THERE IS NO TIME LEFT/FOR DISCUSSION.// IT IS DOUBTFUL/IF THE MASS OF AMERICANS/WHO ACCEPT THIS JUDGMENT/REALIZE JUST WHAT ITS IMPLICATIONS ARE.//WAR IS PHYSICAL FORCE/EXERCISED BY MEN AND MACHINES/ON OTHER MEN/SO AS TO COMPEL SUBMISSION/TO THE WILL OF THE VICTORS.//UNQUESTIONABLY/IN PRIMITIVE TIMES/THERE WERE REPEATED OCCASIONS/WHEN SUCH RECOURSE TO FORCE/WAS THE ONLY PATH TO SOCIAL PROGRESS.//BUT AS CIVILIZATION HAS PROGRESSED/AND INCLUDED LARGER AND LARGER/MASSES OF MEN/AND PORTIONS OF THE EARTH,/ TWO THINGS HAVE BECOME/INCREASINGLY CLEAR:/ ONE,/THAT THE COSTS OF WAR HAVE BECOME TOO GREAT/FOR ANY NATION TO PAY/~~NO MATTER WHAT THE ALTERNATIVE;~~//AND TWO: THAT IN WAR/AS NOW CARRIED ON,/ THERE CAN BE NO VICTORIOUS PARTY.//IN MODERN WORLD WAR/ALL CONTESTANTS LOSE/AND NOT ONLY LOSE/THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF STRIFE,/BUT CRIPPLE THE FUNDAMENTAL BASES/OF HUMAN CULTURE.//
Remember/in the last 3500 years,/the world has been at peace/only 1 year in 12

48-8-128

--2--

FOR THESE REASONS,/EVEN BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY,/REPEATED EFFORTS/OF VARIOUS SORTS/WERE MADE TO AVOID/OR LIMIT WAR:// BY APPEAL TO REASON AND PHILANTHROPY: BY RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS/AND CONTROLS//BY RULES OF CHIVALRY/AND GOOD BREEDING.// AMONG THE NATIONS OF EUROPE/IN THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES,/THE RELATIVE SIZE AND POWERS/OF THE LEADING STATES/WERE SO BALANCED AND OFF-SET/AGAINST EACH OTHER/AS TO DETER ~~ANY~~ APPEAL TO WAR/AND COMPEL DIPLOMACY AND TREATY.//

THE 19TH CENTURY/WENT FURTHER/AND SEGREGATED WAR IN SUCH A WAY/THAT THE YEARS 1815 to 1915/ARE KNOWN AS/THE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE,/DESPITE THE FACT/THAT THEY WERE REPLETE/WITH BLOODY STRUGGLES.//WHAT HAPPENED WAS/THAT THE LEADING/CIVILIZED STATES OF EUROPE/BY DIPLOMACY AND UNDERSTANDING,/MAINTAINED PEACE/WITH EACH OTHER.//WHILE OUTSIDE EUROPE/THESE SAME NATIONS/WERE REDUCING/MOST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD/TO SERFDOM/UNDER THE CONTROL OF EUROPEAN EMPIRES.//THUS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/WAS BUILT UPON A SUBSTRUCTURE OF PEACE IN EUROPE/AND WAR IN THE REST OF THE WORLD.

46-8-129

THIS EUROPEAN PEACE, WITH THE MATERIALS AND LABOR OF MOST OF THE WORLD AT ITS DISPOSAL, BUILT A BRILLIANT CULTURE IN LETTERS, ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING, SCULPTURE AND MUSIC; WITH A HIGH INCOME AND A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING AND GRACIOUS MANNERS AMONG THE UPPER CLASSES. // THIS CULTURE ENVISAGED A FUTURE BASED ON THE STRONG INFLUENCE OF WEALTH OVER WORKING CLASSES AT HOME AND ALMOST COMPLETE DOMINATION OF THE [redacted] PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA. // AT THE ZENITH OF THIS WORLD RULE, EUROPE REGARDED ITSELF AS THE WORLD AND EUROPEAN CULTURE AS HUMAN CULTURE.

WHEN WITHIN THIS CULTURE, THE WHITE WORKERS REVOLTED IN THE LATE 18TH CENTURY AND ACHIEVED HIGHER WAGE, ~~SOME~~ CIVIL RIGHTS, EDUCATION AND PARTIAL DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT. // THIS WAS REGARDED AS THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD AND NOT MERELY OF THE WHITE RACE. // AND MEN FORGOT THAT THIS EUROPEAN PROGRESS WAS BUILT LARGELY ON THE DEGRADATION, SERFDOM AND SLAVERY OF THE COLORED PEOPLES WHO WERE REDUCED TO POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. // THIS DEGRADATION OF MOST

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MEN SUPPORTED THE WEALTH AND HIGH WAGE OF EUROPEANS AND NORTH AMERICANS. // IN THE 20TH CENTURY THE DETERMINATION OF GERMANY TO SECURE A LARGER SHARE OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE THAN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE WILLING TO ALLOW, BROUGHT THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THIS WAS NOT SIMPLY ANOTHER WAR. // IT WAS REVOLUTION WHICH MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE FREEING OF THE DARKER PEOPLES FROM EUROPEAN CONTROL AND THE BEGINNING OF A METHOD OF WAR WHICH COULD NOT CONTINUE IF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION WAS TO SURVIVE.

IT IS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE THAT MEN LIVING TODAY REALIZE THIS FUNDAMENTAL FACT: // HUMAN WARFARE CARRIED ON AS IT IS IN OUR EXPERIENCE: AND ON THE SCALE AND OVER THE AREA WHICH IT NOW COVERS CANNOT BE PERSISTED IN WITHOUT RUINING THE SYSTEM OF HUMAN CULTURE IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN BORN AND LIVE. // THIS WILL NOT OF COURSE MEAN THE ABSOLUTE END OF HUMAN CULTURE; // BUT IT WILL MEAN

and when I say "WE" I mean American Negroes as well as whites

46-8-131

A VASTER WORLD CATASTROPHE/THAN THE FALL OF EGYPT/500 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST/ OR THE FALL OF ROME/500 YEARS AFTER.//AND ~~THE~~ ENSUING DARK AGES/ FAR WORSE/ BECAUSE MORE EXTENSIVE/ THAN THE ECLIPSE OF EUROPE/AFTER THE YEAR 1000.//

THERE IS NO USE/DISGUISING THIS DANGER.// THERE CAN BE NO PRETENSE/THAT THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM/OR OF SOCIALISM/OR RACE ~~SUPERIORITY~~ mixture/IS SO GREAT/THAT WE CANNOT AFFORD/TO INVESTIGATE OR DISCUSS/THE OBJECT OF/OR REASONS FOR/WAR BUT ARE LITERALLY COMPELLED/TO HURL OURSELVES/BLIND AND HEADLONG/INTO WHOLESALE MURDER,/MAIMING AND MASS INSANITY.//WITHOUT PAUSING TO ASK/WHAT WE CAN ACCOMPLISH BY WAR/EVEN IF WE WIN.//

REMEMBER/THAT A FORETASTE/OF CULTURAL RETROGRESSION/IS ALREADY UPON US.//TWO WORLD WARS/HAVE TAKEN TERRIBLE TOLL/ON OUR CIVILIZATION.// ONLY THE BLIND AND FOOLISH/CAN DENY THIS.//WE HAVE KILLED 30 MILLION HUMAN BEINGS/ AND WOUNDED 55 MILLION OTHERS.// THE PROPERTY LOSS/HAS BEEN ONE ½ MILLION, ~~THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND~~/MILLION DOLLARS./ A FIGURE SO VAST/THAT IT IS DIFFICULT/TO

49-8-132

EXPRESS IT.//IF A THIRD WORLD WAR/COSTS AS MUCH MORE/AS THE SECOND DID/~~OVER THE FIRST~~ WE CAN LOOK FORWARD/TO 40 MORE MILLION DEAD/AND A PROPERTY COST SO VAST/AS TO DEFY FIGURES.

MOREOVER THE DEAD AND WOUNDED,/AND THE PROPERTY LOSS/ARE ONLY THE IMMEDIATE COSTS OF WAR.// WE HAVE WIPED OUT THE CREAM/OF TWO GENERATIONS OF THE WORLDS' YOUTH/ WITH ALL THEIR DREAMS/AND VIGOR AND TALENT./ /WE HAVE LARGELY DEPRIVED TWO GENERATIONS OF WOMEN/OF LOVERS, HUSBANDS AND CHILDREN.// WHEN/ IN THE NEXT ~~2000~~ CENTURY/MEN DEPLORE/THE SHORT-COMINGS OF YOUTH,/ AND THEIR BAD MANNERS//WHEN THEY RAIL/AT LACK OF NEW MUSIC,/ LITERATURE AND ART./ LET ALL REMEMBER/HOW MANY LEONARDOS AND BEETHOVENS/ ~~VOLTAIRES,/TOM PAINES,~~/DUNBARS & CARVERS, LINCOLNS AND GARRISONS/WE HAVE MURDERED SINCE 1914.

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NOT ONLY DEATH/IN BODY AND GENIUS/ARE AMONG THE COSTS OF WAR,/BUT THE INCREASE/OF THE INSANE AND CRIMINAL;//THE RISING USE OF ALCHOHOL AND DRUGS;//

THE DEGRADATION OF SEX/ AND THE VULGARIZATION/ OF LANGUAGE AND MANNERS:// THESE ARE AMONG THE AWFUL COSTS OF WAR/ AND INCREASING COSTS OF WORLD WARS.// IT IS A BILL/ THAT CIVILIZATION/ SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD,/ NO MATTER WHETHER THIS OR THAT/ NATION'S WINS OR LOSES.//

MOREOVER WE FAIL TO REALIZE/ HOW THE COSTS OF SUCH WARS ARE MET/ AND WHO AND WHAT/ BEARS THE BURDEN.// IF THE VAST COSTS OF WAR/ FELL EQUITABLY/ ON THOSE BEST ABLE TO PAY/ THEY WOULD STILL BE TOO GREAT/ FOR RISING STANDARDS OF LIFE.// BUT WHEN JOHN DOE/ CANNOT ORDINARILY EARN ENOUGH/ TO RAISE HIS FAMILY DECENTLY/ AND THEN HAS/ A THIRD OF THAT/ TAKEN FOR WAR,/ THE RESULT IS LYING,/ STEALING AND DISEASE.// I KNOW A YOUNG TEACHER,/ WHO HAS WORKED 18 YEARS FAITHFULLY/ FOR LOW WAGE.// THIS YEAR OUT OF $4000 DOLLARS SALARY,/ SHE IS ASKED TO PAY $800 TAX/ OR 20%/ IN ADDITION TO PROPERTY TAX ON HER HOME/ AND THE COST OF EDUCATION OF HER CHILD.// IS THERE A SINGLE ONE/ OF THE MORE THAN 100 AMERICANS/ WHOSE INCOME IS AT LEAST/ ONE MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR/ WHO PAYS A FIFTH OF HIS

INCOME IN TAXES?// AND IF HE PAID $200,000/ OUT OF A MILLION INCOME/ WOULD HIS TAX BURDEN COMPARE/ WITH THAT OF THIS ONE TEACHER?// OUR TAX SYSTEM/ IS DELIBERATELY RIGGED/ TO EXEMPT THE RICH,/ THE BUSINESS MAN AND THE GAMBLER/ AND TO CRUCIFY/ THE SALARIED MAN,/ THE WAGE EARNER/ AND THE CASUAL WORKER.// THE SALES TAX/ WHICH PUTS AN UNBEARABLE ~~TAX~~ BURDEN/ ON THE POOR CONSUMER/ IS PAID IN 29 STATES/ AND IS SPREADING OVER THE NATION/ BECAUSE THE POOR CANNOT PROTEST.

THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ HAS ONE OF THE POOREST/ ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN THE WORLD,/ WITH TOO FEW AND POORLY PAID TEACHERS,/ POOR SCHOOL HOUSES SAVE IN THE RICH SECTIONS OF CITIES.// CROWDED CLASSROOMS AND POOR EQUIPMENT.// THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION/ OF OUR CITIZENS DIE ANNUALLY/ OF CANCER, PNEUMONIA TUBERCULOSIS,/ INFANTILE PARALYSIS AND HEART DISEASE.// WITH A TENTH OF WHAT WE ARE SPENDING TODAY/ ON ATOM BOMBS AND WAR GEAR/ WE COULD SAVE HALF OF THESE. from premature death.

and we Negroes have the poorest of the poor

WE HAVE ONLY 6500 HOSPITALS/AND A MILLION AND A HALF BEDS/FOR A NATION/THAT NEEDS TEN TIMES/THAT NUMBER/ADEQUATELY TO CARE FOR THE SICK AND INSANE.//YET OUR APPROPRIATIONS/FOR HEALTH AND EDUCATION/ARE BEING CUT DOWN/TO EXPAND OUR ARMY ~~AND~~ NAVY AND AIRFORCE.

MILLIONS OF AMERICAN FAMILIES/ARE HOMELESS/OR INDECENTLY CROWDED:/WHICH MEANS/ INCREASED CRIME, DIVORCE AND DISEASE.//A NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM/COULD BE CARRIED ON/FOR LESS THAN ONE ~~TENTH~~ QUARTER/OF WHAT IT COSTS TO RUN THE NAVY.

IT HAS BEEN THE EFFORT/OF EVERY CIVILIZED NATION/FOR THE LAST 5000 YEARS/ TO AVOID BEING RULED/BY PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS.//MEN TRAINED TO FIGHT/ARE NOT FIT LEADERS/IN POLITICAL LIFE,/ JUST AS BLACKSMITHS ARE NOT MUSICIANS.// TODAY WE SEE OUR WHOLE ECONOMY,/ OUR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS/PASSING UNDER THE CONTROL OF MEN/TRAINED TO ORGANIZE/FOR MURDER AND FORCE.//OUR UNIVERSITIES/ARE SUBSIDIZED BY THE ARMY AND NAVY.//OUR UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS ARE YELLING FOR WAR/OR RESIGNING.//OUR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS/ARE EITHER LUKEWARM/IN THEIR STAND FOR PEACE/OR ACTUALLY CALLING FOR A CRUSADE/AGAINST

REAL FREEDOM/OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF/AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.//THIS MEANS THAT WE LACK INCREASINGLY/ INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL LEADERSHIP:/WHILE OUR DEMOCRACY IS SLIPPING INTO OLIGARCHY/AND OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES DISAPPEARING.

IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE/WHAT NATION IS CONCERNED,/ NOR WHAT ITS OBJECTS OR AMBITIONS ARE,/ THERE IS NO SOLUTION OF ITS PROBLEMS TODAY/WHICH CALLS FOR WORLD WAR.// NEITHER THE UNITED STATES/NOR SOVIET RUSSIA/ NEITHER FRANCE NOR CHINA,/ BRITAIN NOR ~~THE MALAY STATES~~ GERMANY/CAN REALIZE THEIR IDEALS/IF THE WORLD RESORTS TO THE WAR/WHICH IS TODAY PREPARING.// THIS LEAVES BUT ONE SOLUTION/ TO OUR PRESENT TENSIONS AND DISPUTES/AND THAT IS CONSULTATION, UNDERSTANDING AND COMPROMISE.

IT IS JUST HERE THAT THE UNITED STATES/IS THE CHIEF SINNER/AND WAR-MONGER OF THE NATIONS;/ COMMUNISM IS THE WAY OF LIFE/OF HALF THE WORLD:/YET WE REFUSE TO DISCUSS COMMUNISM:/ WE REFUSE TO LET OUR CITIZENS/LISTEN TO

Can we ... this by democratic methods?

46-8-136

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ARGUMENT.// WE FORESTALL ALL APPROACH/ TO UNDERSTANDING/ BY ASSERTING THAT RUSSIANS AND COMMUNISTS/ ARE ALL LIARS AND SCOUNDRELS./ /THE NEW REPUBLIC, ORGAN OF INTELLIGENT LIBERALS/ DECLARES: EVERY LOYAL AMERICAN" DESPISES" COMMUNISM.// A LATE NOVEL CALLS A COMMUNIST A "LOUSE"// THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN A NATIONAL, PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENT/ SAYS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS GOOD/ AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS EVIL;/ THAT THEY CAN AND MUST LIVE TOGETHER/ BUT ONLY AS WE RECOGNIZE/ THIS FUNDAMENTAL FACT.// SUCH WILD WORDS ARE/ IN THEMSELVES DECLARATIONS OF WAR.// WE FOLLOW THIS UP/ BY EITHER REFUSING POINT BLANK/ TO DISCUSS DIFFERENCES/ BETWEEN US AND RUSSIA/ OR IF WE AGREE/ WE ANNOUNCE BEFOREHAND THAT CONFERENCE IS USELESS/ BECAUSE RUSSIA IS NOT TO BE TRUSTED/ AND THAT OUR TERMS/ MUST BE ACCEPTED ENTIRELY/ AS WE PRESENT THEM,/ IN WHICH CASE NO CONFERENCE IS NECESSARY.

THIS IS IDIOTIC.// THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES AMONG MEN/ WHICH CANNOT BE DISCUSSED./ THE ALTERNATIVE TO DISCUSSION/ IS WAR/ AND WAR IS INCREASINGLY

IMPOSSIBLE/ AS A METHOD OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

LET US LOOK SQUARELY/ AT THE DIFFERENCES/ BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION:// THERE IS FIRST THE QUESTION OF HONESTY:// NO NATION OF 200 MILLION PEOPLE/ IS WHOLLY DISHONEST AND ENSLAVED// THIS IS IMPOSSIBLE.// NO NATION OF 150 MILLION PEOPLE/ IS WHOLLY SELFISH, MONEY-MAD AND TYRANICAL.// GRANTING THEN/ THAT THERE ARE MILLIONS/ OF HONEST RUSSIANS AND AMERICANS,/ WHY CANNOT THEY UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER?// THE MAIN OBSTACLE/ PUT FORWARD TODAY/ IS THAT RUSSIA/ IS DOMINATED BY A CLIQUE/ AND THE UNITED STATES BY BIG BUSINESS.// IF EITHER CASE IS TRUE/ OR BOTH THE CURE IS CLEAR:// RUSSIA MUST CURE THE THE EVILS OF RUSSIA/ AND THE UNITED STATES THOSE OF AMERICA:// WHAT IS INADMISSABLE IS THAT WE SHOULD REFORM RUSSIA/ AND RUSSIA REFORM US.// THE BASIC DISAGREEMENT HOWEVER IS NOT THIS,/ BUT IT IS THE FACT/ THAT THESE NATIONS DIFFER RADICALLY ON THE WAY IN WHICH INDUSTRY/ SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.// BUT CAN THAT DIFFERENCE/ BE SETTLED BY THE ATOM BOMB?/ CERTAINLY NOT.//

DOUBTFUL AND INTERESTED SOURCES/AND IS CONTRADICTED BY TESTIMONY OF GREAT CREDIBILITY.//DESPITE PROPHECIES OF DISASTER SINCE 1917/ DESPITE CIVIL WAR WITH HORRIBLE AND REGRETABLE OCCURENCES:/ DESPITE FOREIGN INVASION AND UNIVERSAL DISBELIEF,/ THE SOVIET UNION STILL STANDS/AND CERTAINLY IN EDUCATION,/ INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH/HAS MADE UNDISPUTED STRIDES./ /UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, NO FORCE FROM WITHOUT/CAN DECIDE THE DESTINY OF RUSSIA./ ONLY RUSSIANS CAN RESCUE RUSSIA.

MOREOVER,/ HOW FAR CAN WE/THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES/BE SO SURE / OF OUR KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE/AS TO UNDERTAKE TO RULE/AND GUIDE THE WORLD?// WE HAD LEGAL HUMAN SLAVERY/HERE UNTIL 1865/AND STILL HAVE DISTINCT VESTIGES OF IT.// COLOR CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES/IS YET STRONG AND EFFECTIVE ENOUGH / DESPITE ALL IMPROVEMENT AND CHANGE/TO BE REASON/FOR THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN THIS LAND/AND CAUSE OF THE FACT/THAT THIS LAND IS

SPARKING A WORLD WAR OF RACES/BETWEEN THE WHITE WORLD AND ASIA AND AFRICA,/ FOR THE SAKE OF PROFIT/AND NOT IN REALITY/BECAUSE OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM.// THIS TRUTH/MAY BE A BITTER PILL/FOR MANY AMERICANS TO SWALLOW/ BUT IT IS CLEAR AND UNDENIABLE.//IT IS THE COLOR PREJUDICE/ENDEMIC IN THIS NATION/FOR THREE CENTURIES/WHICH HAS LIGHTED THE PATH/ OF OUR TROOPS TO ASIA/UNDER LEADERSHIP / OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO.

WE EMBARKED ON WAR IN KOREA/AND NOW IN CHINA/ALL THE MORE GAILY,/ BECAUSE THESE ARE COLORED NATIONS:/AND WE ARE BORN UNCONSCIOUSLY/ TO DESPISE COLOR.//WE DROPPED THE FIRST ATOM BOMB ON A COLORED NATION--AN UNNECESSARY EXPERIMENT/WHICH WE WOULD NOT AT THE TIME/HAVE PERPERTRATED ON ANY WHITE PEOPLE.// THE RECEPTION/OF THE LATE CHINESE DELEGATION/AT LAKE SUCCESS/REMINDED ME VIVIDLY/OF THE LITTLE DELEGATION/WHICH FIFTY YEARS AGO,/ COLORED ATLANTA SENT TO THE FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARY/OPENED THERE,/ WITH A BUST OF CARNEGIE FLANKED BY SHAKESPEARE.//AS CITIZENS AND TAXPAYERS/ WE ASKED THE SAME RIGHTS/IN THAT

ASTONISHING NUMBER/OF OUR GRADUATES OF ALL COLORS AND RACES/CANNOT INTELLIGENTLY READ,/ WRITE NOR COUNT.//

WE DECLARE THE UNITED STATES/A DEMOCRACY,/ BASED ON FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE,//WHEN WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL/THAT THIS NATION IS NOT A DEMOCRACY,/ NEVER HAS BEEN A DEMOCRACY/AND THAT A LARGE BODY OF LEADERS/TODAY DO NOT INTEND/ THAT IT EVER SHALL BE A DEMOCRACY.// OUR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IS ~~DOMINATED~~ OWNED/BY VAST MONOPOLY/WHICH DOMINATES AND REGIMENTS OUR WORKERS.//OUR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT/ IS INCREASINGLY CHAINED BY LAW,/ POLICE SPIES AND REFUSAL TO LET ANYBODY/EARN A DECENT LIVING/WHO DOES NOT THINK/AS THE MAJORITY THINK.

46-8-142

THE RECENT ELECTION PROVES THIS.//ALMOST THE SAME NUMBER OF PERSONS / VOTED FOR THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES/FOR CONGRESSMEN/LAST NOVEMBER,//~~10~~ 20 MILLION, ~~7 HUNDRED THOUSAND~~ ON EACH SIDE.//YET THE DEMOCRATS ELECTED 235 MEMBERS/OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES/AND THE REPUBLICANS 199.

DEMOCRATS WERE ABLE TO DO THIS/PRINCIPALLY/BECAUSE/MOST SOUTHERN NEGROES STILL CANNOT VOTE,/ YET THEIR POLITICAL POWER/IS EXERCISED BY SOUTHERN WHITES.//SOUTH CAROLINA AND CONNECTICUT/HAD THE SAME NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES/IN CONGRESS IN 1944.// BUT SOUTH CAROLINA NEEDED BUT 100,000 VOTES/TO ELECT HERS/WHILE IT TOOK 800,000/TO ELECT THOSE FROM CONNECTICUT.// THAT IS/WHEN A CITIZEN OF CONNECTICUT/GOES TO THE POLLS,/ HE CASTS ONE BALLOT./ A FREE WHITE CITIZEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA,/ ON THE OTHER HAND, CASTS EIGHT.

46-8-143

MOST AMERICANS/~~AND ALL STUDENTS~~/IGNORE THE FACT/THAT IN THE LEADING DEMOCRACY OF THE WORLD,/ MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS/ARE NOT ELECTED BY MAJORITY VOTE.// IF ONE EXPRESSES SURPRISE AT THIS,/ IT IS ANSWERED,/WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES THIS MAKE?//IT MADE CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE/ON JANUARY 3.//THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,/ THEN DECIDED 244 to 179 VOTES/NOT TO ALLOW THE ORDER AND SUBJECT/OF ITS BUSINESS/TO BE SETTLED/EVEN BY MAJORITY VOTE/BUT TO REST IT IN THE HANDS/OF A COMMITTEE/WHOSE SECOND MAJORITY MEMBER/WAS EUGENE COX OF GEORGIA.

MR. COX/RECEIVED A UNANIMOUS VOTE OF 19,000/IN THE LAST ELECTION/WHICH WAS ENOUGH TO ~~GIVE~~ HIM ~~HIS POWERFUL OFFICE~~.//IT TOOK 50,000 VOTES/IN A TOTAL OF 90,000/TO DEFEAT VITO MARCANTONIO IN NEW YORK.//MOREOVER, MR. COX HAS OCCUPIED HIS SEAT/UNCHALLENGED/FOR ~~25~~ YEARS/AND OUT OF A TOTAL VOTING POPULATION OF 150,000/ TWO-THIRDS NEVER VOTE./ MOST OF THESE ARE NEGROES.//AS A REWARD FOR THIS DISFRANCHISEMENT/OF HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS/ COX IS MADE A MEMBER/OF THE POWERFUL RULES COMMITTEE/BY SENORITY,/AND HE WILL MAKE OR STOP NATIONAL LEGISLATION/FOR MANY YEARS TO COME/IN THIS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. AND HE WILL VOTE FOR WAR,/FREE LYNCHING,/ THE POLL TAX/AND NO F.E.P.C.

THIS IS NOT ALL.//WHEN THE NEW UNITED STATES SENATE/WAS LAST ORGANIZED THE POWERFUL MAJORITY LEADER/CHOSEN BY THE DEMOCRATS/WAS MR. MCFARLAND OF ARIZONA.//HE WILL SELECT, WITH ADVICE,/ THE MAJORITY MEMBERSHIP OF THE POWERFUL SENATE COMMITTEES.// MR. MCFARLAND IS A SOUTHERN DIXICRAT/WHOSE

46-8-44

EVERY VOTE/HAS BEEN REACTIONARY/AND CAST AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS/ AGAINST FEDERAL RESTRICTION ON LYNCHING/ AGAINST FAIR EMPLOYMENT/AND FOR THE POLL TAX. HE HAS HELPED FILIBUSTER/AGAINST EVERY PROPOSAL/TO VOTE ON THESE MEASURES/ WHICH MEANS/HE HAS DENIED/EVEN MAJORITY RULE IN THE SENATE.//HIS VOTE IS INVARIABLY FOR WAR.

THIS ACTION AS A SENATOR/HE HAS A LEGAL RIGHT TO TAKE./ BUT WHO MADE HIM SENATOR?//HE RECEIVED IN 1948, A TOTAL OF 80,000 VOTES IN ARIZONA.//I RECEIVED LAST YEAR/IN NEW YORK 207,000 VOTES/FOR SENATOR/AND STOOD AT THE BOTTOM OF THE LIST.//SENATOR LEHMAN RECEIVED 2,600,000 VOTES/TO ENABLE HIM TO SIT BESIDE SENATOR MCFARLAND/WITH ONLY A FRACTION OF MR. MCFARLANDS' POWER/OVER LEGISLATION.//IT MAY BE SAID/THAT THIS IS THE RESULT OF OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM./ /IN THAT CASE OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM/IS NOT DEMOCRATIC/AND WE MUST NOT PRETEND THAT IT IS.//BECAUSE IT MAKES 60,000 VOTERS/IN MCCARRANS ~~GAMBLING~~ CHEAP CENTER/OF GAMBLING AND DIVORCE/CALLED NEVADA/ MORE POWERFUL THAN 5 MILLION VOTERS IN NEW YORK.

Sh/-8-94

OUR AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE/-OUR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE,/OUR FREE ENTERPRISE/HAVE DONE MUCH FOR THIS NATION;//BUT THEY HAVE NOT SPELLED UNALLOYED SUCCESS./ /THEY HAVE GENERATED MONOPOLY AND CRIME,/ORGANIZED LYING AND A FANTASTIC INEQUALITY/IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH./ /MOST OF OUR FAMILIES/EARN LESS/THAN IS NECESSARY FOR DECENT LIFE./ OUR IGNORANCE AND ILLITERACY/IS FAR GREATER THAN WE ADMIT./ /WHAT WE NEED TODAY/IS NOT TO SPEND A HUNDRED BILLIONS/ON MURDER AND CONQUEST./ BUT TO BUILD SCHOOLHOUSES, HOMES AND HOSPITALS:/TO CURB AND HARNESS OUR WATER POWER/ TO INITIATE VAST SOCIAL PROJECTS/FOR HEALTH AND RECREATION:/ TO TAX SEVERELY GREAT ACCUMULATIONS OF WEALTH/AND CURB CONCENTRATED INDUSTRIAL POWER;//TO ATTACK DISEASE SYSTEMATICALLY.//WITH A TENTH/OF WHAT WE ARE WASTEING ON WAR/WE COULD ROOT OUT CANCER, INFANTILE PARALYSIS,/ HEART DISEASE AND THE COMMON FATAL COLD./ /WE HAVE NOT,/ AND FOR DECADES HAVE NOT HAD,/ THAT FREEDOM OF OPPORTUNITY/OF WHICH SO LONG WE RIGHTLY BOASTED./ /TODAY WEALTH AND POWER/ RACE AND RELIGION //

CURTAIL AND DETERMINE/OUR CHILDRENS DESTINY/AND WE ARE SEEKING TO BASE NEW WEALTH AND POWER/NOT ON OUR NATIVE ABILITY/AND HARD WORK/BUT ON THE CHEAP SERF LABOR/OF FOREIGN LANDS/ AND OTHER CONTINENTS. owned by the Rich here.

WHY IS IT/THAT TODAY WE ARE INTERESTED IN MEXICO,/THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA?/ /WHY ARE WE EAGER TO CONTROL ASIA/AND AFRICA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC?//IS IT SIMPLY PHILANTHROPY AND SYMPATHY/FOR HUMAN BEINGS? OR IS IT NOT,/ BECAUSE WE ARE SET/TO SUCCEED GREAT BRITAIN/AS THE EMPIRE/ON WHICH THE SUN NEVER SETS,//MAKE OUR RICH RICHER/BECAUSE OF THE STARVING WAGE AND LACK OF ALL DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/OVER GOVERNMENT OR INDUSTRY,/ WHICH THE DARKER WORLD/STILL OFFERS TO RESOURCEFUL/UNSCRUPULOUS AMERICANS/ARMED BY MONOPOLY/OF TECHNIQUE AND RAW MATERIALS?//THAT IS WHY AMERICAN CAPITAL/HAS JUST BOUGHT OUT/THE COPPER AND URANIUM CORPORATIONS/OF THE BELGIAN CONGO: THAT IS THE REASON/THAT THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,/ THE MOST REACTIONARY

CENTER/OF RACE HATE AND OLIGARCHY ON EARTH, HAS JUST RECEIVED /80 MILLION$ DOLLARS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL.// THE VASTEST INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLIES ON EARTH,/ FROM CHILE AND BOLIVIA/TO MALAYA AND INDONESIA AND INDIA,/ CAN HAVE AMERICAN CAPITAL AND "KNOW-HOW"/ON ONE CONDITION ONLY-/-GUARANTEED PROFIT/WITH NO QUESTIONS ASKED/AS TO STANDARDS OF LIVING,/ WAGES OR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION/IN GOVERNMENT.

IT IS THIS AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION/ WHICH IS BACK OF OUR WAR PSYCHOLOGY/AND GIGANTIC EFFORT TO COMMIT MORAL SUICIDE/AND ECONOMIC ANARCHY/ NOT TO MENTION UNIVERSAL SLAVERY/OF HALF-GROWN BOYS IN THE ARMY,/TO BE KILLED AND CRIPPLED/AND DRIVEN INSANE/ FOR THE SAKE OF THE HIGHEST PROFITS INDUSTRY EVER KNEW.

TODAY COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM/SET UP REGIMES OF DISCIPLINE AND REGIMENTATION/IN INDUSTRY/AND INCOME/TO WHICH AMERICANS ARE NOT USED.// NEVERTHELESS/ALL AMERICANS MUST ACKNOWLEDGE/ THAT IF THOSE NATIONS HAVE TOO MUCH

SOCIAL CONTROL/FOR THE COMMON GOOD,/ WE CERTAINLY HAVE TOO LITTLE: /AND THAT, ~~THEN~~ THIS/IS THE TIME FOR COMPARISON/ INVESTIGATION AND UNDERSTANDING,/ TO DETERMINE/WHERE FOR DIFFERENT PEOPLES/THE MEANING OF FREEDOM LIES.// OF ALL SOLUTIONS OF THIS PROBLEM,/ WAR IS THE WORST:/ AND THE LYING TESTIMONY OF PAID SPIES AND INFORMERS/IS A POOR SUBSTITUTE FOR TRUTH.

ALL THIS BRINGS US BACK/TO OUR MAIN THEME:/ WAR IS TODAY NO LONGER A FEASABLE METHOD/OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.// EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS/FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST 36 YEARS.// WE FOUGHT FOUR YEARS IN A WAR TO END ALL WARS.// I REMEMBER VIVIDLY IN 1919,/ WALKING IN THE MUD AND SLIME OF THE ARGONNE FOREST:/ SEEING THE RUINS OF VERDUN:/ WATCHING THE WILD CHILDREN IN THE STREETS OF MOSCOW/AND WITNESSING THE DE-LOUSING OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE:/ AND SAYING/THE WAR TO END WAR IS OVER!/ THIS GOAL AT LEAST IS REACHED!/ NO MORE WARS!//IN 20 YEARS/THE WORLD WAS FIGHTING FIERCER/THAN EVER BEFORE.//WE

THUS FAR I HAVE TALKED TO THIS AUDIENCE ALMOST EXACTLY AS I WOULD TALK TO ANY AUDIENCE IGNORING DIFFERENCES OF RACE AND COLOR. INSTINCTIVELY SOME OF YOU FEEL THAT THIS IS A MISTAKE. THAT BECAUSE OF THE HISTORY AND CONDITION OF NEGROES IN AMERICA THERE MUST BE FOR THEM A SPECIAL APPROACH AND SOLUTION FOR EVERY SOCIAL PROBLEM. USUALLY WE ASK THEREFORE NOT WHAT IS THE RIGHT ATTITUDE TO WAR TOWARD OURSELVES BUT WHAT SHOULD OUR ATTITUDE BE IN THIS WAR? AND THE ANSWER IS PAT: IF BY FIGHTING WE GAIN OUR RIGHTS? THEN FIGHT. IF NOT THAN COMPLAIN AGAINST DENIAL OF OUR RIGHTS BUT NOT AGAINST WAR. IN WAR AS SUCH WE ASSUME WE HAVE NO INTEREST. IF THE WHITES WANT TO MURDER EACH OTHER LET THEM DO IT. THIS PHILOSOPHY HAS ITS HISTORICAL CAUSES BASED ON OUR LONG EXCLUSION FROM THE CULTURAL WORLD OF THE WHITES. BUT THAT EXCLUSION ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS ENDED IS TODAY SLOWLY BUT SURELY ENDING AND WE ARE BECOMING PART OF THE MODERN WORLD AND SO PART VICTIM OF ALL ITS ILLS AS WELL AS HEIR TO ALL ITS PROGRESS. THE WORLD THEN WHICH WAR IS SET TO DESTROY IS OUR WORLD. WE HAVE HELPED BUILD IT WE LOSE IF IT IS HURT OR DESTROYED IN JUST THE PROPORTION THAT WE SHARE IT. WHEN

4-8-150

THEN THE WHITE WORLD COMMITS SUICIDE IT IS OUR BLOOD WHICH FLOWS. IT IS OUR DUTY TO HELP SAVE THAT IN THE WORLD WHICH IS WORTH SAVING AND IF THE EVIL COUNCILLORS OF THIS WORLD CAN DEPEND UPON AMERICAN NEGROES THOUGHTLESSLY AND CARELESSLY TO FOLLOW THEM IN RETURN FOR CONCESSIONS WHICH COUNT LITTLE COMPARED WITH THE LOSS AND HURT OF WAR THEN WE ARE UNTRUE TO OURSELVES AND FALSE TO THE NATION AND CIVILIZATION WHICH WE SHARE AND HAVE A RIGHT TO SHARE. JUST BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES HELPS NEGRO CAPITAL EXPLOIT LABOR JUST BECAUSE IT HONORS THOSE NEGRO PHYSICIANS WHO FIGHT SOCIAL MEDICINE JUST BECAUSE IT PAYS SOME OF OUR SPORTSMEN TO LIE ABOUT OUR TREATMENT THIS IS NO REASON FOR US TO SHOUT FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF OUR SONS AND RUIN OF OUR HOUSING SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL WELFARE. EVERY STEP AN AMERICAN NEGRO TAKES OUT OF CASTE AND EXPLOITATION INTO FULL RIGHTS OF MANHOOD IS EARNEST OF HIS DUTY TO THINK AND ACT AS A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD BEARING THE WORLD'S BURDENS AND ITS GREATEST BURDEN TODAY THE FIGHT FOR PEACE.

4-8-151

THAT IS THE REASON MY FRIENDS/ THAT TODAY THE POWERS OF THIS NATION/ ARE BEING DIRECTED/ TOWARD THOSE WHO DARE SPEAK FOR PEACE.// FOR WAR IS THE ATTEMPT TO DRIVE BACK TO SLAVERY/ THE DARKER PEOPLES OF THE EARTH/ SO THAT THIS CHEAP LABOR/ CAN BOTH BRIBE AND CHAIN DEMOCRACY/ AMONG THE WHITE WORKERS OF THE WORLD./ [redacted] LISTEN TO JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL:

"LET LIARS FEAR/ LET COWARDS SHRINK /
LET TRAITORS TURN AWAY,
WHATEVER WE HAVE DARED TO THINK
THAT DARE WE/ ALSO/ SAY."

46-8-15-8

A.L.P

The most sinister evil of this day is the wide spread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgment realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated ~~by times~~ occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear: one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay no matter what the alternative; and two; that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party; in modern world war all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture.

35-6-185

For these reasons, before the 20th century, repeated effort of various sorts were made to avoid or limit war: by appeal to reason and philanthropy; by religious sanctions and controls; by rules of chivalry and good breeding. Among the nations of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, the relative size and powers of the leading states were so balanced and off-set against each other as to deter any ~~f~~ appeal to war and compell diplomacy and treaty. The 19th century went further and segregated war in such a way that the years 1815 to 1915 are known as the Hundred Years of Peace, despite the fact that they were replete with bloody struggles. What happened was that the leading civilized states of Europe by diplomacy and understanding, maintained peace with each other, while outside Europe these same nations were reducing most of the peoples of the word to serfdom under the control of European Empires. Thus colonial imperialism was built upon a substructure of peace in Europe and war in the rest of the world.

This European peace, with the materials and labor of most of the world

at its disposal, built a brilliant culture in letters, architecture, painting, sculpture and music; with a high standard of living and gracious manners among the upper classes. This culture envisaged a future based on the strong influence of wealth over working classes at home and almost complete domination of the inferior peoples of Asia, Africa, South and Central America and the islands of the sea. At the zenith of this world rule, Europe regarded itself as the World and European culture as Human Culture. When within this culture, the workers revolted in the late 18th century and achieved some rights education and partial democratic control of government, higher wage, this was regarded as the progress of the world and not merely of the white race. And men forgot that this European progress was built largely on the degradation, serfdom and slavery of the colored peoples who were reduced to poverty, ignorance and disease. This degradation of most men supported the wealth and high wage of Europeans and North Americans. In the 20th century the determination of Germany to secure a larger share of the colonial empire than Great Britain and France were willing to allow, brought the First World War.

35-8-186

This was not simply another war. It was revolution which marked the beginning of the freeing of the darker peoples from European control and the beginning of a method of war which could not continue if European Civilization was to survive.

It is of primary importance that men living today realize this fundamental fact: Human warfare carried on as it is in our experience; and on the scale and over the area which it now covers cannot be persisted in without ruining the system of human culture in which we have been born and live. This will not of course mean the absolute end of human culture; but it will mean a vaster world catastrophe than the Fall of Egypt 500 years before Christ or the Fall of Rome 500 years after and the ensuing Dark Ages, far worse because more extensive than the eclipse of Europe after the year 1000.

There is no use disguising this danger. There can be no pretense that

or race inferiority

the threat of Communism or of Socialism, is so great that we cannot afford to investigate or discuss the object of or reasons for war but are litteraly compelled to hurl ourselves blind and headlong into wholesale murder, maiming and mass insanity, without pausing to ask what we can accomplish by war even if we win.

That a

Remember ~~the~~ foretaste of cultural retrogression is already upon us. Two world wars have taken terrible toll on our civilization. Only the blind and foolish can deny this. We have killed 30 million human beings and wounded 55 million others. The property loss has been one million, three hundred thousand million, dollars, a figure so vast that it is difficult to express it. If a Third World War costs as much more as ~~a~~ the Second did, we can look forward to 40 more million dead and a property coast so vast as to defy figures.

35-6-187

Moreover the dead and wounded, and the property loss are only the immediate ~~least of the~~ costs of war. We have wiped out the cream of two generations of the worlds' youth, with all their dreams and vigor and talent. We have deprived two generations of women of lovers, husbands and children. When in the next half century men deplore the short comings of youth and their bad manners when they rail at lack of new music, literature and art, let all remember how many Leonardos and Beethovens; Voltaires, Tom Paines, Lincolns and Garrisons we have murdered since 1914.

Not only death in body and genius are among the costs of war, but the increase of the insane and criminal; the rising use of alchohol and drugs; the degradation of sex and the vulgarization of language and manners; these are among the awful costs of war and increasing costs of world wars. It is a bill that civilization simply cannot afford, no matter whether this or that nation wins or loses.

Moreover we fail to realize how the costs of such wars are met and who and what bears the burden. If the vast costs of war fell equitably on those best able to pay, they would be too great for rising standards of

life. But when John Doe cannot ordinarily earn enough to raise his family decently and then has a third of that taken for war, the result is lying, stealing and disease. I know a young teacher, who has worked 18 years faithfull for low wage. This year out of a $4000 dollar salary, she is asked to pay $800 tax of 20% in addition to property tax on her home and the education of her child. Is there a single one of the more than 100 Americans whose income is at least one million dollars a year who pays a fifth of his income in taxes? And if he paid $200,000 out of a million income would his tax burden compare with that of this one teacher? Our tax system is deliberately rigged to exempt the rich, the business man and the gambler and to crucify the salaried man, the wage-earner and the casual worker. The sales tax which steals from the poor consumer is paid in 29 states and is spreading over the nation because the poor cannot protest.

35-6-881

put an unbearable tax burden on

The United States today has one of the poorest elementary school systems in the world; with too few and poorly paid teachers; poor schoolshouses save in the rich sections of cities; crowded classrooms and poor equipment. Three quarters of a million of our citizens die annually of cancer, pneumonia tuberculosis, and infantile paraysis and heart disease. With a tenth of what we are spending today on atom bombs and war gear, we could save half of these. We have only 6500 hospitals and a million and a half beds for a nation that needs 10 times that number to adequately care for the sick and insane. Yet our appropriations for health and educat on are being cut down to expand our army and navy and airforce.

Millions of Americans families are homeless or indecently crowded; which means increased crime, divorce and disease. A national housing program could be carried on for less than one tenth of what it costs to run the navy.

We are supposed to be ready to fight for democracy. How much democracy have we left in America and how much will we have after we finance this

men trained to fight are not fit leaders in political life, just as blacksmiths are not musicians

It has been the effort of every civilized nation for the last 5000 years to avoid being ruled by professional soldiers. Today we see our whole economy, our domestic and foreign affairs passing under the control of men trained to organize for murder and force. Our universities are subsidized by the army and navy. Our university presidents are yelling for war or resigning. Our religious organizations are either lukewarm in their stand for peace or actually calling for a crusade against real freedom of religious belief and religious education. This means that we lack increasingly, intellectual and moral leadership; while our democracy is slipping into oligarchy and our civil liberties disappearing

335-1180

It makes no difference what nation is concerned, nor what its objects or ambitions are, there is no solution of its problems today which call for world war. Neither the United States nor Soviet Russia; neither France nor China, Britain nor the Malay states can relize their ideals if the world resorts to the war which is today preparing. This leaves but one solution to our present tensions and disputes and that is consultation, understanding and compromise. It is just here that the United States is the chief sinner and war-monger of the nations: Communism is the way of life of half the world; yet we refuse to discuss Communism; we refuse to let our citizens listen to argument; we forestall all approach to understanding by asserting that Russians and Communists are all liars and scoundrels. The New Republic, organ of intelligent Liberals declares: Every loyal American despises Communists. A late novel calls a Communist "a louse" The Secretary of State in a national, public pronouncement says that the United States is Good and the Soviet Union is Evil; that they can and must live together but only as we recognize this fundamental fact. Such wild words are in themselves declarations of war. We follow this up by either point-blank refusing to discuss differences, or if we agree we announce beforehand that conference is useless because Russia is not to be trusted and that our terms must be accepted entirely as we present them; in which case no conference is necessary

between us and Russia

This is ~~sheer insanity~~ idiotic. There are no differences among men which cannot be discussed. The ~~only~~ alternative to discussion is war and war is increasingly impossible as a method of human progress.

Let us look squarely at the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union: there is first the question of honesty; no nation of 200 million people is wholly dishonest and enslaved. This is impossible. No nation of 150 people is wholly selfish, money-mad and tyranical. Granting then that there are millions of honest Russians and Americans, why cannot they understand each other? The main obstacle put forward today is that Russia is dominated by a clique and the United States by Big Business. Neither case is true (over) these nations differ radically on the way in which industry should be conducted. But can that difference be settled by the Atom Bomb? Certainly not.

For centuries men have killed and tortured each other in order to force certain religious beliefs. This and bloody horrible effort failed and failed again. Today most men acknowledge that a belief cannot be pounded into men's heads nor killed by force. What is true in religion is just as true in economics and industry; but with this difference: while religious dogma is not a matter of proof, economic doctrine is; and if hunger, ignorance and disease can be conquered by this or that doctrine, Time that great referee will prove ~~or disprove~~ the validity of the theory. Communism then cannot be proven or disproven by war; and the American Way of Life must depend on ~~our standard of living~~ its success and not on the number of ships and airplanes we have. ~~But~~ It is asserted that in Russia, force and slavery deception and murder, keeps the present regime in power and that until this clique is driven from power, there can be no test of economic systems. The answer is that this grave charge is unproven; ~~that~~ the indictment comes from doubtful and interested sources and is contradicted by testimony of great credibility, ~~that~~ despite prophecies of disaster since 1917; despite civil war, with horrible and repellable occurrences; despite foreign invasion and universal disbelief, the Soviet Union still stands and certainly in education, industrial development and scientific research has

DBI-9-58

made undisputed strides. Under these circumstances, no force from without can decide the destiny of Russia. Only Russians can rescue Russia.

Moreover, how far can we the citizens of the United States be so sure of our knowledge and experience as to undertake to rule and guide the world? We had legal human slavery until 1865 and still have distinct vestiges of it. Color caste in the United States is yet strong and effective enough despite all improvement and change to be the reason for the failure of the democratic process in this land, and the cause why this land is sparking a world war of races between the white world and Asia and Africa, with the reckless and stupid desire to risk civilization, before we yield the right to exploit the darker world for the profit of American millionaires. This truth may be a bitter pill for Americans to swallow, but it is clear and undeniable. It is color prejudice endemic in this nation for three centuries which has lighted the path of our troops to Asia under leadership of the Wild Man of Tokyo.

We embarked on war in Korea and now in China all the more gaily, because these are colored nations; and we are born unconsicously to despise color. We dropped the first atom bomb on a colored nation--an unnecessary experiment which we would not at the time have perpertrated on any white people. The reception of the late Chinese delegation at Lake Success reminded me vividly of the little delegation which fifty years ago, colored Atlanta sent to the first Public Library opened there, with a bust of Carnegie flanked by Shakespeare. As citizens and taxpayers we asked the same rights in that library as whites. I even ventured to point out that some of my own books were in the library and I might like to borrow them. The disdain with which we were greeted was magnificent and almost equalled Austin's desire to "summon" China to Lake Success and not to invite her. We in Atlanta were duly punished and Negroes got no library rights for ten years. The cost of repulsing us was little; but insulting China at Lake

Success is already costing thousands of maimed and slaughtered American boys, with the end not yet, if ever. The Cost of the Color Line today is high and may rise tomorrow. You can step on the faces of Negroes in America for 350 years without fatal esults. But it may not be the greatest wisdom to try this game on 800,000,000 Asiatics and 150 million black Africans.

35-6-192

There can be no question as to the effect which our continued refusal to face the Negro problem has had on our ability to reason and our willingness to appeal to logic in our total cultural pattern. We stood 175 years ago declaring that all men were born equal and at the same moment seeing in every fifth American a slave; we fought against "taxation without representation" two centuries ago and ever since we have taxed Negroes and many others without giving them full voice in government. We fought four years to maintain the right of states to enslave human beings and then emancipated them from personal ownership with great cost and deliberate subjection to poverty, disease and ignorance. We declared that the freedman must be educated, and today three generations later, thirty per cent of young Negro army recruits cannot read or write. In our desperate effort to stop the higher education of Negroes, we have not only made it impossible for the average Negro child in Mississsippi today to learn to read intelligently, but in the process we have retarded elementary education among Southern whites and given the South the poorest public school system of any modern civilized people. We have erected thousands of showy colleges and universities only to find that an astonishing number of our graduates of all colors and races cannot intelligently read, write nor count.

We declare the United States a democracy, based on free enterprise and individual initiative, when we know perfectly well that this nation is not a democracy, never has been a democracy and that a large body of leaders today do not intend that it ever will be a democracy. Our industrial enterprise is dominated by vast monopoly and our freedom of thought is increasingly chained by law, which dominates and regiments our workers.

police spies and ~~increasing~~ refusal to let anybody earn a decent living who does not think as ~~he is told to~~ the majority think.

The recent election proves this. Almost the same number of persons voted for the Republican and Democratic candidates for congressmen each in November; 19 million 7 hundred ~~k~~ thousand on each side. Yet the Democrats elected 235 members of the House of Representatives and the Republicans 199. ~~They~~ Democrats were able to do this principally because most Southern Negroes cannot vote; yet their political power is exercised by Southern whites. South Carolina and Connecticut had the same number of Representatives in Congress in 1944 but South Carolina needed but 100,000 votes to elect hers while it took 800,000 to elect those from Connecticut. That is when a citizen of Connecticut goes to the polls, he casts one ballot. A free, white citizen of South Carolina, on the other hand, casts eight.

35-6-193

Most Americans and all students ignore the fact that in the leading democracy of the world, members of the Congress are not elected by majority vote. If one expresses surprise at this, it is answered, What difference does this make? It made considerable difference on January 3, the House of Representatives there decided 244 to 179 votes not to allow the order and subject of its business to be settled even by majority vote but to rest it in the hands of a committee whose second majority member was ~~headed by~~ Eugene Cox of Georgia.

Mr. Cox received a unanimous vote of 19,000 in the last election which was enough to ~~elect~~ give him ~~to~~ his powerful office. It took 50,000 votes in a total of 90,000 to defeat Vito Marcantonio in New York. Moreover, Mr. Cox has occupied his seat unchallenged for 25 years and out of a total voting population of 150,000, two-thirds never vote. Most of these are Negroes. As a reward for this disfranchisement of his fellow-citizens, Cox is made a member of the powerful rules committee by senority, and he will make or stop national legislation for many years to come in this democratic government. And he will vote for war, free lynching, the poll tax and no FEPC.

This is not all. When the New United States Senate was ~~just~~ last organized, the powerful majority leader chosen by the Democrats was Mr. McFarland of Arizona. He will select, with advice, ~~of course~~ the majority membership of the powerful Senate Committees. Mr. McFarland is a Southern Dixiecrat whose every vote has been reactionary and cast against Civil Rights, ~~for~~ against federal restriction on ~~free~~ lynching, for the poll tax, and against fair employment. He has helped filibuster against every ~~such~~ proposal which means he has denied even majority rule in the Senate. His vote is invariably for war. This acton as a Senator he has a legal right to take. But who made him Senator? He received in 1948, a total of 80,000 votes in Arizona; I received last year in New York 207,000 votes for Senator and stood at the bottom of the list. Senator Lehman received 2,600,000 votes to enable him to sit beside Senator McFarland with only a fraction of Mr. McFarlands' power over legislation. It may be said that this is the result of our Federal system. In that case our Federal system is not democratic because it makes 60,000 voters in McCarrans' gambling center called Nevada, more powerful than 5 million voters in NewYork.

I might take more time to show that the United States is not a democracy. We have in this land, minority rule, directed carefully by the 1000 persons who control our wealth, and implemented by disfranchisement, discrimination and deliberate use of public and private education to distort our domestic ideals, mislead our foreign policy and rush us into war.

If we should conquer the world or any large part if it, our experience in governing colonies like Puerto Rico and the Phillipines is not reassuring; our attempts to govern foreign lands like Haiti, Japan, and Germany have had no conspicuous success. If we conquered Russia, Poland and the Balkans; if we dominated China, Tibet and Korea, what could we give them or with what experience and knowledge could we train them? How would our color prejudice help our understanding of Asia and Africa? Any attempts at rule along these lines would be the most disastrous thing that could happen to our economy and moral ~~organization~~ principles

Our American Way of Life--our individual freedom and initiative, our free enterprise have ~~much been~~ unalloyed success: they have generated Monopoly and Crime, organized lying and a ~~distribution~~ distribution of wealth ~~of~~ fantastic inequalities. Most of our families earn less than is necessary for decent life; our ignorance and illiteracy is far greater than we boast. What we need today is not to spend a hundred billions on murder and conquest, but to build schoolhouses, homes and hospitals; to curb and harness our water power, to initiate vast social projects for health and recreation; to tax severely great accumulations of wealth and curb concentrated industrial power; to attack disease systematically. With a tenth of what we are wasteing on war we could root out canc er, infantile paralysis, heart disease and the common fatal cold. We have not , and for decades have not had, that freedom of opportunity of which so long we rightly boasted. Today wealth and power, race and ~~family~~ religion curtail and determine our childrens destiny and we are seeking to base new wealth and power not on our native ability and hard work but on the cheap serf labor of foreign lands and other continents.

Why is it that today we are interested in Mexico, the West Indies and South America? Why are we eager to control Asia and Africa and the Islands of the Pacific? Is it simply philanthropy and sympathy for humans beings? Or is it not, because we are set to succeed Great Britain as the Empire on which the sun never sets, ~~and children~~ make our rich richer because of the starving wage and lack of all democratic control over government or industry, which the darker world still offers to resourceful unscrupulous Americans armed by monopoly of technique and raw materials? That is why American capital has just bought out the copper and uranium corporations of the Belgium Congo; that is the reason that the Union of South Africa, the most reactionary center of race hate and oligarchy on earth, has just received 80 millions of American capital. The vastest industrial monopolies on earth, from Chile and Bolivia to Malaya and Indonesia and India, can have American capital and "knowhow" on

one condition only---guaranteed profit with no questions asked as to standards of living, wages or democratic ~~control.~~ participation in government

It is this American industrial expansion which is back of our war psychology and gigantic effort to commit moral suicide and economic anarchy; not to mention universal slavery of half-grown boys in the army, to be killed and crippled and driven insane for the sake of the highest profits industry ever knew.

35-6-961

Today Communism and Socialism set up regimes of discipline and regimentation to which Americans are not used ~~to~~. Nevertheless all Americans must acknowledge that if those nations have too much social control for the common good, we certainly have too little; and that is the time for comparison, investigation and understanding, to determine where for different peoples the meaning of freedom lies. Of all solutions of this problem, War is the worst; and the lying testimony of paid spies and informers is a poor substitute for Truth.

All this brings us back to our main theme: war is today no longer a feasable method of social progress. Everybody knows this from the experience of the last 36 years. We fought four years in a war to end all wars. I remember vividly in 1919, walking in the mud and ~~ruin~~ slime of the Argonne forest; seeing the ruins of Verdun; watching the wild children in the sewers of Moscow and witnessing the delousing of American troops in France; and saying: the War to end War is over. No more Wars. In 20 years the world was fighting fiercer than ever before. We fought a Second World War to abolish Fascism at staggering cost and pain. Six years after, we are ready to fight Communism and even Socialism everywhere and root ~~it~~ them out ~~together with Socialism~~.

The point is that none of these objects could have been gained by force. If men believe in war, they will fight; men believe in democracy, force will not change their minds; and neither communism nor democracy can be beathen in battle. Peace is the way and the only way to Civilization.

Today our rightful intelligentsia is dumb and our political leadership sunken to a new low. We seem unable to think, reason clearly or act with decision. To me all this seems to trace itself directly back to the extra-ordinary color-complex into which this nation was born and still lives.

35-6-197

Our historic color complex has become so integral a part of our culture that it has retarded civilization in America. Of all human distinctions it is the least logical and yet and for that reason has led to still wider lack of logic. How else can we reconcile ourselves to a student body in this nation the most docile hand-fed and unquestioning of any similar group in the world; with no opinions at least not pre-digested by the gospel according to LIFE, TIME AND FORTUNE.

while today we are set to "Dick the Nord" for no reason which we can clearly state or logically defend.

for Macedonia? (1)

PEACE & WAR

The most sinister evil of this day is the wide spread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time for discussion of this fact. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgment realize just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeatedly times when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress. But as civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear: one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay no matter what the alternative; and two: that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party; in modern world war all contestants lose and lose not only the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture.

36-8-39

For these reasons, before the 20th century, repeated effort of various sorts were made to avoid or limit war: by appeal to reason and philanthropy; by religious sanctions and controls; by rules of chivalry and good breeding. Among the nations of Europe in the I6th and I7th centuries , the relative size and powers of the leading states were so balanced and off-set against each other as to deter any form of war and compel diplomacy and treaty. The I9th century went further and segregated war in such a way that the years ~~19xI5~~ I8I5 to I9I5 are known as the Hundred Years of Peace, despite the fact that they were replete with bloody struggles. What happened was that the leading civilized states of Europe by diplomacy and understanding, maintained peace with each other, while outside Europe these same nations were reducing most of the peoples of the word to serfdome under the control of European Empires. Thus colonial imperialism was built upon a substructure of peace in Europe and war in the rest of the word.

This European peace, with the ~~wealth~~ materials and labor of most of the world at its disposal, built a brilliant culture in letters, architecture, painting, sculpture and music; with a high standard of living and gracious manners among the upper classes with high income. This culture envisaged a future based on the rule of wealth and power over working classes and the inferior peoples of Asia, Africa, South and Central America and the islands of the sea. At the zenith of this world rule, Europe regarded itself as the World and European culture as Human Culture. When within this culture, the workers revolted in the late I8th century and achieved some education & market democratic control of government and higher wage, this was regarded as the progress of the world and not merely of the white race. And men forgot that this European progress was built largely on the degradation, serfdom and slavery of the colored peoples who were ~~sunk in~~ reduced & poverty, ignorance and dsiaase. But this degradation of most men

supported the wealth and high wage of Europeans and North Americans. In the 20th century the determination of Germany to secure a larger share of the colonial empire than Great Britain and France were willing to allow, brought the first World War.

This was not simply another war. It was revolution which was the beginning of the freeing of the darker peoples and also the beginning of a sort of war which could not spread if European Civilization was to survive.

It is of primary importance that men living today realize this fundamental fact: Human warfare carried on as it is in our experience; and on the scale and over the area which it now covers cannot be persisted in without ruining the system of human culture in which which we have been born and live. This will not mean the end of human culture entirely; but it will mean a vaster world catastrophe than the Fall of Rome and ensuing Dark Ages far worse because more extensive.

There is no use disguising this danger. There can be no pretense that the threat of Communism or of Socialism is so great and imminent that we cannot afford to investigate or discuss the object or meaning of war but are literally compelled to hurl ourselves blind and headlong into wholesale murder, maiming and mass insanity, without pausing to ask what we can accomplish by war even if we win.

Remember the forecast of cultural retrogression is already upon us. Two world wars have already taken terrible toll on our civilization. Only the blind and foolish can deny this. We have lost in persons killed 30 million human beings and 55 million others wounded. The property loss has been one million, three hundred thousand million, a figure so vast that it is difficult to express it. If a Third World War costs as much more as a second did, we can look forward to 40 milion dead and a property cost so vast as to defy figures

Moreover the dead and wounded, and the propery loss are the least of the costs of war. We have wiped out the cream of two generations of the worlds youth, with all their dreams and talent. When in the next half century men deplore the short comings of youth and their bad manners, and the lack of new music and art, let all remember how many Leonardos and Beethovens; Voltaires and Cervantes we have murdered since 1914.

Not only death in body and soul are among the costs of war, but also the increase of the insane and criminal; the increased use of alchohol and drugs; the degradation of sex and the vulgarization of language and manners; these are among the awful costs of war and increasing costs of world wars. It is a bill that civilization simply cannot afford, no matter whether this or that nation wins or loses.

Cong record 81st cong (82nd)

Cox, Ga

— Marcantonio

— N. Haven member of U.S. Cong.

~~Lehman's vote~~

~~S.C. & Geo vote~~

Profit from Crime - South

Moreover we fail to realize how the costs of such wars are met and who and what bears the burden. If the ~~burden of the~~ vast costs of war fell equitably, ~~the costs~~ would be too great for rising standards of life. But when John Doe cannot ordinarily earn enough to raise his family decently and then has a third of that taken for war, the result is lying, stealing and disease. I know a young teacher, who has worked 18 years faithfully for low wage. This year out of a $4000 dollar salary, she is asked to pay $800 tax or 20% in addition to property tax on her home and the education of her child. Is there a single one of our ~~millionaires in the United States who is paying~~ of his income in taxes? And if he paid $200,000 out of a million income would his tax burden compare with that of this teacher? Our tax system is deliberately rigged to exempt the rich, the business man and the gambler and to crucify the salaried man, the wage-earner and the casual worker. The sales tax which ~~impoverishes~~ deals from the poor consumer is spreading over the nation because the poor cannot protest.

The United States today has one of the poorest elementary school ~~educational~~ systems in the ~~civilized~~ world; with too few and poorly paid teachers; poor schoolhouses save in the rich sections of cities; crowded classrooms and poor equipment. ~~Our system will be much worse if instead of education we waste money in war.~~ With a tenth of what we are spending on Atom bombs, we could conquer cancer, infantile paraysis and heart disease; ~~we could house the millions of homeless and hospitalise the sick.~~ ~~Instead of such a program we boast of our high standard of living and our superior intelligence.~~

We are supposed to be ready to fight for democracy. How much democracy have we left in America and how much will we have after we finance this last world war? It has been the effort of every civilized nation for the last 5000 years to avoid being ruled by professional soldiers. Today we see our whole economy, our domestic and foreign affairs passing under the control of men trained to organize for murder and force. Our universities are subsidized by ~~our departments of~~ the army and navy. ~~And~~ Our university presidents are yelling for war or resigning. This means that we lack increasingly, intellectual and moral leadership; while our democracy is slipping into oligarchy.

30-8-41 14-8-41

over

We could cure half of cancer

4000
197
471
56
21
766

over 2

Millions of American families are homeless or miserably crowded, which means increased crime, divorce and disease. A national housing program could be carried out for less than ~~the present expenditure~~ one tenth of what it costs to run the Navy.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

(1)

We have only 6500 hospitals & a million & a half beds for a nation that needs 10 times that number adequately to care for the sick and insane. Yet our appropriations for health & education are being cut down to expand our army air navy & airforce.

(2)

Our religious organizations are either lukewarm in their stand for peace or actively calling for a crusade against real ~~under~~ freedom of religious belief and religious education

4 ¼ ⑨

It makes no difference what nation is concerned, nor what its objects or ambitions are, there is no solution of its problems today which call for world war ~~can furnish~~. Neither the United States nor Soviet Russia; neither France nor China, Britain nor the Malay states can realize their ideals if the world resorts to the war which is today is preparing. This leaves but one solution to our present tensions and disputes and that is consultation, understanding and compromise. It is just here that the United States is the chief sinner and warmonger of the nations: we refuse to discuss Communism; we refuse to let our citizens listen to argument; we forestall all approach to understanding by asserting tnat Russians and Communists are all liars and scoundrels. The New Republic, organ of intelligent Liberals declares: Every loyal American despises Communists. The Secretary of State in a national, public pronouncement says that the United States is good and the Soviet Union is Evil; that they can and must live together but only as we recognize this fundamental fact Such wild words are in themselves declarations of war. We follow this up by either refusing to discuss differences or if we agree we announce beforehand that conference is useless, that Russia isnot to be trusted and that our terms must be accepted entirely or no agreement is possible.

36-8-42

This is sheer insanity. There are no differences among men which cannot be discussed. The only alternative to discussion is war and war is increasingly impossible as a method of human progress.

Let us look squarely at the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union: there is first the question of honesty; no nation of 200 million people is wholly dishonest and enslaved. This is impossible. No nation of 150 people is wholly selfish, money-mad and tyranical. Granting then that there are millions of honest Russians and ~~A~~d Americans, why cannot they understand each other? The main obstacle put forward today is that these nations differ radically on the way in which industry should be conducted. But can that difference be settled by the Atom Bomb? Certainly not. For centuries men have killed and tortured each other in order to force certain religious beliefs. This bloody horrible effort failed and failed again. Today most men acknowledge that a belief cannot be pounded into men's heads nor ~~extracted~~ pulled by force. What is true in religion is just as true in economics and industry; but with this difference: while religious dogma is not a matter of proof, economic doctrine is, and if hunger, ignorance and disease can be conquered by this or that doctrine, time that great refereee will prove or disprove the validity of the theory. Communism then cannot be proven or disproven by war; and the American Way of life must depend on our standard of living and not on the nuber

of ships and airplanes we have. But it is asserted that in Russia, force and slavery, deception and murder keeps the present regime in power and that until this clique is driven from power, there can be no test of economic systems. The answer ~~to this~~ is that the grave charge is unproven; that the indictment comes from doubtful sources and is contradicted by testimony of great credibility; that despite prophecies of disaster since 1917; despite civil war, foreign invasion and universal disbelief, the Soviet Union still stands and certainly in education industrial development and scientific research has made undisputed strides. Under these circumstsnces, no force from without can decide the destiny of Russiaxx. Only Russians can rescue Russia.

Moreover, how far can we the citizens of the United States be so sure of our knowledge and experience as to undertake to rule and guide the world? We had legal human slavery until 1865 and still have distinct vestiges of it. We are not a democracy, never have been and have no distinct plans to become ~~is that~~ color caste in the United States is yet strong and effective enough despite all improvement and change to still be reason for the failure of the democratic process in this land, and the cause why this land is sparking a world war of races between the xhe white world and Asia and Africa, with the wreckless and stupid desire to risk civilization, before we yield the right to exploit the darker world for the profit of American millionaires. This truth may be a bitter pill for Americans to swallow, but it is clear and undeniable. It is color prejudice and mic in this nation for three centuries which has lighted the path of our troops to Asia under leadership of the Wild Man of Tokyo

We embarked on war in Korea and now in China all the more gaily, because these are colored nations; and we are born unconsciously to despise

30-8-43

Color

We dropped the first atom bomb on a colored nation--an unnecessary experiment which we would not at the time have perpertrated on any white people. The reception of the late Chinese delegation at Lake Success reminded me vividly of the little delegation which fifty years ago, colored Atlanta sent to the first Public Library opened there with a bust of Carnegie flanked by Shakespeare. As citizens and taxpayers we asked the same rights in that library as whites. I even ventured to point out that some of my own books were in the library and I might like to borrow them. The disdain with which we were greeted was magnificent and almost equally Austin's desire to "summon" China to Lake Success and not to invite her. We in Atlanta were duly punished and Negroes got no library rights for ten years. The cost of repulsing us was little; but insulting China at Lake Success is already 50,000 maimed and slaughtered American boys, with the end not yet , if ever in. The Cost of the Color Line today is high and may rise tomorrow. You can step on the faces of Negroes in America for 350 years without fatal results. But it may not be the greatest wisdom to try this game on 800,000,000 Asiatics and 150 million black Africans.

There can be no question as to the effect which our continued refusal to face the Negro problem, has had on our ability to reason and our willingness to appeal to logic in our total cultural pattern. We stood 175 years ago declaring that all men were born equal and at the same moment seeing in every fifth American a slave; we fought against taxation without representation two centuries ago and ever since we have taxed Negroes and others without giving them full voice in government. We fought four years to maintain the right of states to enslave human beings and then emancipated them from personal ownership into deliberate subjection to poverty, disease ignorance. We declared that the freedman must be educated and today three generations later, thirty per cent of young Negro army recruits cannot

44-8-92

read or write. In our desperate effort to stop the higher education of Negroes, we have not only made it impossible for the average Negro child in Mississippi today to learn to read intelligently, but in the process we have retarded elementary education among Southern whites and given the nation the poorest system of public schools of any modern civilised people . We have erected thousands of showy colleges and universities only to find that an astonishing number of our graduate students cannot intelligently read, write nor count.

We declare the United States a democracy, based on free enterprise and individual initiative when we know perfectly well that k this is not a democracy, never has been a democracy and that no large body of leaders today intends it ever will be a democracy; that our industrial enterprise is dominated by vast monopoly and our freedom of thought chained by law, police spies and increasing refusal to let anybody earn a decent living who does not think as he is told to think.

~~8~~

The recent election ~~throws a side-light on~~ shows this ~~the cases we are examining here tonight. They indicate our progress toward democracy. How far have we gone?~~ Almost the same number of persons voted for Republican and Democratic candidates for congressmen in November; 19 million 7 hundred thousand on each side. Yet the Democrats elected 235 members of the House of Representatives and the Republicans 199. They were able to do this principally because most Southern Negroes cannot vote; yet their political power is exercised by Southern whites. South Carolina and Connecticut had the same number of Representatives in Congress in 1944 but South Carolina needed but 100,000 votes to elect hers while it took 800,000 to elect ~~yours~~ those from Connecticut. That is when a citizen of Connecticut goes to the polls, he casts one ballot. A free, white citizen of South Crolina on the other hand cast eight.

94-8-82

Most Americans and all students ignore the fact that in the leading democracy of the world, members of the Congress are not elected by majority vote. If one expresses surprise at this, it is answered, What difference does this make? It made considerable difference on January 3, the House of Representatives decided 244 to 179 votes not to allow the order and subject of its business to be settled even by majority vote but to rest it in the hands of a committee headed by Eugene Cox of Georgia.

Mr. Cox received a vote of 7,600 in the last election which was enough to elect him to his powerful office. It took 60,000 votes in a total of 90,000 to defeat Vito Marcantonio in New York ~~and~~

~~Evidently votes are more valuable in Georgia and far more influential than here.~~ Moreover Mr. Cox has occupied his seat unchallenged for 25 years, ~~with~~ and a total vote of population of 150000, two-thirds never vote. Most of these are Negroes

6 9 9

As a reward for this disfranchisement of his fellow-citizens, he is made ~~Chairman~~ a member of the powerful rules committee by senority, and he will make or stop national legislation for many years to come in this democratic government. And he will vote for War

36-8-47

This is not all. When the new United States Senate was just organized, the powerful majority leader x chosen by the Democrats was Mr. McFarland of Arizona. He will select with advice of course the majority membership of the powerful Senate committees. Mr. McFarland is a Southern Dixicrat whose every vote has been reactionary and cast against Civil Rights, for free lynching, for the poll tax, and against fair employment. He has helped filibuster against every such proposal which means he has denied even majority rule in the Senate. This action as a Senator he has a legal right to take. But who made him Senator? He received in 1948, a total of 80,000 votes in Arizona; I received last year in New York 207,000 votes for Senator and stood at the bottom of the list. Senator Lehman received 2,600,000 votes to enable him to sit beside Senator McFarland with only a fraction of Mr. McFarlands' power over legislation.

It may be said that this is the result of federal system. In that case our federal system is not democratic because

I might x take ~~all my allotted time~~ more showing that the United States is not a democracy. We have in this land, minority rule, directed by ~~those~~ (~~the~~ 1,000 persons who control our wealth and implemented by disfranchisement, discrimination and deliberate use of public and private education to distort our domestic ideals and mislead our foreign policy, and push us into War

If we should conquer the World or any large part of it, (10

Our experience in governing ~~PuerkexRicex~~ colonies like Puerto Rico and the Phillipines is not reassuring; our attempts to govern foreign lands like Haiti, Japan, and Germany have had no conspicuous success. If we conquered Russia, Poland and the Balkans; if we dominated China, Tibet and Korea what could we give them or with what experience and knowledge could we train them? How would our color prejudice help our understanding of Asia and Africa? Any attempts at rule along these lines would be the most disastrous thing that could happen to our economy and moral organization (insert A) — ?

36-8-48

Our American Way of Life -- our individual freedom and initiative, our free enterprise have not been unalloyed success: they have generated Monopoly & and Crime, organized lying and ~~stealing and~~ a distribution of wealth of fanta tastic inequalities. Most of our families earn less than is necessary for decent life; our ignorance and illiteracy is far greater than we boast. What w we need today is not to spend a hundred billions on murder and conquest, but to build schoolhouses, homes and hospitals; to curb and harness our water power, to initiate vast social projects for health and recreation; to tax severely great accumulations of wealth and industrial power; to attack disease syatematically. With a tenth of what we are wasteing on war we could root ou Cancer, Infantile Paralysis, Heart Disease and the common fatal cold We have not & and for decades have not had that freedom of [illegible])

opportunity of which so long we rightly boasted. Today wealth and power, race and family curtail and determine our childrens destiny and we are seeking to base new wealth and power not on our native ability and hard work but on the cheap serf labor of foreign lands and other continents.

Why is it that today we are interested in Mexico, the West Indies and South America? Why are we eager to control Asia and Africa and the Islands of the Pacific? Is it simply philanthropy and sympathy for humans beings? Or is it not because we are set to succeed the ~~British Empire~~ Great Britain as the Empire on which the sun never sets and which will make our rich richer because of the starving wage and lack of all democratic control over government or industry, which the darker world still offers to resourceful unscrupulous Americans armed by monopoly of technique and raw materials. That is why ~~xexhaxexjux~~ American capital has just bought out the copper and uranium of the Belgium Congo; that is the reason that the Union of South Africa, the most reactionary center of race hate and oligarchy on earth has just received 80 milions of American capital ~~from our Export and Import Bank~~. The vastest industrial monopolies on earth, from Chili and Bolivia to Malaysia and Indonesia and India can have American capital and know-how on one condition only -- guar nteed profit with no questions asked as to standards of living , wages or democratic control.

It is this American industrial expansion which is back of our war psychology and gigantic effort to commit moral suicide and economic anarchy; not to mention universal slavery (in the army) of half-grown boys to be killed and crippled and driven insane for the sake of the highest profits industry ever knew.

~~which was once characteristic of a new rich~~ undeveloped frontier. Today Communism and Socialism set up regimes of discipline and regimentation which Americans are not used to. Nevertheless all Americans must acknowledge that ~~if~~ where some nations have too much social control for the common good, we certainly have too little; and this is the time for ~~study~~ comparison, investigation and understanding to determine where for different peoples the mean of freedom lies. Of all solutions of this problem, War is the worst; and the lying testimony of paid spies and informers ~~the worst~~ as a poor substitute for ~~foundation of~~ Truth.

All this brings us back to our main theme: war is today no longer a feasable method of social progress. Everybody knows this from the experience of the last 36 years. We fought four years in a war to end all wars.. I remember vividly in 1919, walking in the mud and ruin of the Argoone forest; seeing the ruins of Verdun; watching the wild children of Moscow and witnessing the delousing of American troops in France; and saying: the War to end War is over. No more Wars. In 20 years the world was fighting fiercer than before. We fought a second World War to abolish Fascism at staggering cost and pain. Six years after we ar are ready to fight Communism everywhere and root it out together with Socialism.

The point is that none of these objects could have been gained by force. If men ~~w~~ believe in war they will fight; ~~if tyrrany over peoples or classes is believed in b~~ men believe in democracy ~~by powerful interests.~~ force will not change their minds; and neither communism nor ~~Democracy socialism~~ can be beaten in battle. Peace is the way of the only way to Civilization

36-8-50

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LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

13)

Today our rightful intelligentsia is ~~dumb~~ dumb and our political leadership sunken to a new low. We seem unable to think, reason clearly or act with decision. To me all this seems to trace itself directly back to the extraordinary color-complex into which this nation was born and still lives. Our historic color complex has become so integral a part of our culture that it has retarded civilization in America. Of all human distinctions it is the least logical and yet and for that reason has led to still wider lack of logic. How else can re reconcile ourselves to a student body in this nation, the most docile hand-fed and unquestioning of an similar group in the world; with no opinions [at least on this campus,] not pre-digested by the gospel according to LIFE, TIME AND FORTUNE.

36-8-51

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Thanks for lending us your copy of this great speech!

Sincerely,

Peggy Officer

48-8-127

In February, 1868, there was born in Gt. Barrington, Mass. a little boy called Willie, the son of Alfred Du Bois and Mary Burghardt. His mothers family had lived in this valley 200 years; his father was West Indian and grandson of a Dutchman. He grew up in this town, attending the elementary schools, entering the High School at 12 and graduating at 16, with an oration on Wendell Phillips. He went south to Fisk University for his college course, graduating in the Class of 1888. Securing a scholarship he went to Harvard enrollig as a junior and graduating with another A.B., in 1890. Among his teachers were William James, George Santayana and Josiah Royce. Under Albert Bushnell Hart he entered the Graduate School, specializing in history, and studied two years on a fellowship, and writing his thesis on the Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States. Approaching the late President Hayes, then at the head of the Slater Fund, Du Bois secured a fellowship and went to Germany where he studied three semesters under Schmoller and Wagner. He returned to the United States in 1894 at the age of 26, having finished his education and ready for work.

He was offered work at Wilberforce and Tuskegee but chose Wilberforce where he taught Latin and Greek for two years, and married Nina Gomer of Iowa. He then accepted an appointment as Assistant Instructor of Sociology at the University. He was assigned no teaching but was asked to make a study of the Negroes in Philadelphia. He accomplished this in a year and a half and meantime was offered a professorship at Atlanta University in History and Economics. Here at Atlanta, he began his life work, remaining there 13 years, and inaugurating the first systemat-

There was little color prejudice in the town, and yet it did not occur to any of the town folk, that a colored boy could find a vocation there. But a former member of the Indian Bureau suggested that William might go South to a mission school and grow up there and find a place as leader of the Freedmen. Four churches contributed to a scholarship and in 1885, William went to Fisk

He graduated "with honor" and was one of the three Commencement speakers in a class of 300

Except for $400 from his grandfather, Du Bois had no funds of his own, but from 1885 to 1894 supported himself entirely on scholarships won by hard study. At Harvard he was fortunate in the high calibre of the teachers he met:

Here too in 1896 he

They lived in Wellesley 55 years

systematic scientific study of the Negro in the United States, publishing I5 studies which were read all over the world. He also published the "Souls of Black Folk" which remained in print for forty years; also a novel and a biography of John Brown.

Then Dr. Du Bois radically changed his career, from that of cloistered scholar to to that of advocate of Negro rights in America and Africa. By organizing the Niagara Movement in I906, he led a movement against the Booker Washington doctrine of appeasement of whites and for industrial in place of college education. In I9I0, the Niagara Movement merged with the new NAACP and for 23 years Dr. Du Bois as founder and editor of the Crisis was the leading executive of this fighting body. Beside editing the Crisis, Dr. Du Bois wrote six books in this time, culminating with Black Reconstruction.

Du Bois then, in I934, made another radical change in his life, seeking to return to teaching and writing at Atlanta University. He wrote an autobiography and other books and founded and edited Phylon, a quarterly. In I944, he was retired from teaching for age and after hesitation, returned to the NAACp as director of Special Research where he remained four years, writing two books and an appeal to the United Nations. His supoort of the Progressive Party in I948, led to his retirement from the NAACP in I948, since which time, has devoted his time to writing and lecturing and travelling in the interests of world peace Since his first trip to Europe in I892, Dr. Du Bois has visited Europe I3 times; he has also been in the West Indies and in every state in the United States many times
Twice he visited Russia and once went around the globe visiting China and Japan

24-41-20

During this time he inaugurated the Pan-African Congresses, holding meetings in London, Paris, Brussells and Lisbon. In I923 he visited West Africa as special Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Liberia

In I944, he was elected member of the National Institute of Atrs and Letters

In February, 1868, there was born in Great Barrington, Mass. a little colored boy called Willie, the son of Alfred Du Bois and Mary Burghardt. His mother's family had lived in this valley 200 years; his father was a West Indian and French Huguenot extraction. He grew up in this town, attending the elementary schools, entering the High School at 12 and graduating at 16, with an oration on Wendell Phillips.

There was little color prejudice in the town, and yet it did not occur to any of the town folk, that an educated colored boy could find a vocation there. But a former member of the United States Indian Bureau suggested that William might go South to a mission school and grow up there and find a place as leader of the Freedmen. Four churches contributed to a scholarship and in 1885, William went south to Fisk University, graduating in the Class of 1888. Du Bois had always wanted to go to Harvard. In the Fall of 1888 he secured a scholarship and went to Harvard enrolling as a junior and graduating with another A.B. in 1890. He graduated "with honor" and was one of the five commencement speakers in a class of 300.

Except for $400 inherited from his grandfather, Du Bois had no funds of his own, but from 1885 to 1894 supported himself entirely on scholarships won by hard study. At Harvard he was fortunate in the high calibre of the teachers he met: William James, George Santayana, Josiah Royce and Nathaniel Shaler. Under Albert Bushnell Hart he entered the Graduate School, on a fellowship in 1890, specializing in history for 2 years. Then approaching the late President Hayes, head of the Slater Fund, Du Bois secured a travelling fellowship and went to Germany where he studied sociology 2 years under Schmoller and Wagner. He returned to the United States in 1894 at the age of 26, having finished his education and ready for work.

He was offered work at Wilberforce and Tuskegee but chose Wilberforce where he taught Latin and Greek for two years. While here he took his

24-41-21

Ph. D. at Harvard and his thesis on the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States" was published as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies. Here too ~~in 1896~~ he married Nina Gomer of Iowa. ~~[illegible]~~ They lived in wedlock 55 years, and had 2 children: a boy who died in infancy and a daughter who lives in Baltimore. Desiring to teach in his special field, he secured appointment as Assistant Instructor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. He was assigned no teaching duties but ~~[illegible]~~ research work for a book "The Philadelphia Negro". Next he was offered a professorship at Atlanta University in History and Economics. Here ~~at Atlanta,~~ he began his real life work, remaining ~~there~~ 13 years, and inaugurating the first systematic scientific study of the Negro in the United States. He published 15 studies which were read all over the world. He also published the "Souls of Black Folk" which remained in print for 40 years; ~~also~~ together with a novel and a biography of John Brown.

Then Dr. Du Bois radically changed his career, from that of cloistered scholar to that of advocate of Negro rights in America and Africa. By organizing the Niagara Movement among the Negro intelligensia in 1906, he led a movement against the Booker Washington doctrine of appeasement of whites and ~~for industrial in place of college education~~ limited education for Negroes. In 1910, the Niagara Movement merged ~~with the~~ he became one of the founders of the inter-racial NAACP in which ~~and~~ for 23 years Dr. Du Bois as founder and editor of the CRISIS, was the leading executive of this fighting body. ~~Beside editing the CRISIS,~~ Dr. Du Bois wrote six books in this time, culminating with "Black Reconstruction." ~~During this time~~ he also inaugurated the Pan-African Congresses, holding meetings in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921, 1923 and 1945. In 1923 he visited West Africa as special Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Liberia.

Du Bois then, in 1934, made another radical change in his life, seeking at the age of 65 to give up public life and return to teaching and writing at Atlanta University. There he wrote an autobiography and some other books and founded and edited PHYLON, a quarterly. In 1944, he was unwillingly retired from teaching for age and after hesitation was urged to return to the NAACP as director of Special Research where he accepted and remained four years, writing two books and

24-4-22

1934
1868
66

An Appeal to the United Nations. His support of the Progressive Party in 1948, led to his retirement from the NAACP in 1948. Since that time, he has devoted himself to writing and lecturing, and travelling in the interest of world peace. Since his first trip to Europe in 1892, Dr. Du Bois has visited Europe 13 times; he has also been in the West Indies, Canada & Mexico and in every state in the United States.

He has been to Russia three times and once went around the globe visiting China and Japan. In 1944, he was elected member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and is a life Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

24-41-23

In February, 1868, there was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a little Colored boy called Willie, the son of Alfred Du Bois and Mary Burghardt. His mothers' family had lived in this valley 200 years; his father was of West Indian and French Huguenot extraction. He grew up in this town, attending the elementary schools, entering the High School at 12 and graduating at 16, with an oration on Wendell Phillips.

There was little color prejudice in the town, and yet it did not occur to any of the town folk, that an educated colored boy could find a vocation there. But a former member of the United States Indian Bureau suggested that William might go South to a mission school and grow up there and find a place as leader of the Freedmen. Four churches contributed to a scholarship and in 1885, William went south to Fisk University, graduating in the Class of 1888. But he had always wanted to go to Harvard. In the Fall of 1888 he secured a scholarship and went to Harvard, enrolling as a junior and graduating with another A.B. in 1890. He was graduated "with honor" and was one of the five commencement speakers in a class of 300.

Except for $400 inherited from his grandfather, Du Bois had no funds of his own, but from 1885 to 1894 supported himself entirely on scholarships won by hard study. At Harvard he was fortunate in the high calibre of the teachers he met: William James, George Santayana, Josiah Royce and Nathaniel Shaler. Under Albert Bushnell Hart he entered the Graduate School in 1890 on a fellowship specialising in history for 2 years. Then approaching the late President Hayes, head of the Slater Fund, Du Bois secured a travelling fellowship and went to Germany where he studied sociology for 2 years under Schmoller and Wagner. He returned to the United States in 1894 at the age of 26, having finished his education and ready for work.

He was offered work at Wilberforce and Tuskegee but chose Wilberforce where he taught Latin and Greek for two years. While here he took his Ph.D. at Harvard and his thesis on the "Suppression of the African Slave

24-41-27

Trade to the United States" w s published as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies. Here too he married Nina Gomer of Iowa. They lived in wedlock 55 years and had two children: a boy who died in infantcy and a daughter who teaches in Baltimore. Desiring to teach in his special field, he secured appointment as Assistant Instructor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. He was assigned no teaching duties but research work for a book "The Philadelphia Negro." Next he was offered a professorship at Atlanta University in History and Economics. Here he began his real life work, remaining 13 years, and inaugurating the first systematic scientific study of the Negro in the United States. He published 15 studies which were read all over the world. He also published the "Souls of Black Folk" which remained in print for 40 years; together with a novel and a biography of John Brown.

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24-41-28

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24-11-29

Guest List for Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois's Birthday Dinner, February 23, 1951

Dr. & Mrs. E. C. Bowden
223 Blvd. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Mrs. Leah Laster
Laster Cottage
Spring Lake, New Jersey

Mrs. Mae Owings
5439 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Edward Beasley
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. & Mrs. John Somerville
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock
407 West 5th Street
Dayton, Ohio

Mrs. Catherine Harris
133 Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey

Mrs. Christine Howell
12 Spring Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. & Mrs. Walter M. Beckman
170 Jerome Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Mary White Ovington
526 Auburn Street
Auburndale, Mass.

Jo Davidson
323 East 58th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

John Sloan
The Chelsea, 222 West 23rd Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Van Wyck Brooks
Bridgewater
Connecticut

John Mason Brown
17 East 89th Street
New York 28, New York

Bernard De Voto
8 Berkeley Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Edna Ferber
~~Fxfrrd~~ Spepney, Conn.
~~Miss~~

Lillian Hellman
63 East 82nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Walter Lippmann
3525 Woodley Road, N.W.
Washington, 16, D. C.

Thomas Mann
1550 San Remo Drive
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

Eugene O. O'Neill
c/o Random House
457 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Bliss Perry
Milton Hill House
Milton, Mass.

Carl Sandburg
Flat Rock
North Carolina

Upton Sinclair
Highhope
Monrovia, Calif.

Dorothy Thompson
237 East 48th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Ridgely Torrence
69 Morton Street
New York 14, New York

Louis Untermeyer
88 Remsen Street
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

~~Carl Van Doren~~
~~41 Central Park West~~
~~New York 23, N. Y.~~

24-4-53

Mark Van Doren
393 Bleecker Street
New York 14, N. Y.

Deems Taylor
2 East 60th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Diego Rivera
c/o Instituto de Bellas Artes
Hidalgo y Teatro Nacional
Mexico City, D. F. Mexico

Jules Romains
6 rue de Solferino
Paris 7, France

Signor Benedetto Croce
Trinita Maggiore 12
Naples, Italy

Mr. John Masefield
c/o Heinemann, ~~Ltd~~ Ltd.
19 Great Russell Street
London W. C. England

Mr. George Santayana
Piccola Compagnia dei Maria
Via Santo Stefano Rotondo 6
Rome Italy

24-41-31

45-5-14

OVER ASPECTS OF THIS DAY, AND SIMPLY SEEK TO FOLLOW ONE THEME WHICH NOW SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME CENTRAL IN MY LIFE UNDER VARIOUS NAMES AND ASPECTS. AND THAT IS PEACE. Or in other words, I am treating as the world that robbed, threatens & disrupts the all around and ignores the world itself

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS CHANGED IN APPROACH AND EMPHASIS BEFORE MY DAY AND DURING IT. BUT ALWAYS IN ESSENCE THE HUMAN CRY FOR PEACE HAS EVER BEEN TO ELIMINATE FORCE FROM HUMAN ACTION AND SUBSTITUTE MORE AND MORE THAT FREE EXERCISE AND UNBINDING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WHICH WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO REACH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST MANIFESTATION. WE LONG THOUGHT OF WAR AS THE BREAKING OF PEACE AND THE HALTING OF FREEDOM FOR CERTAIN CLEAR CAUSES AND WE SET OURSELVES FIRST TO RECOGNIZE AND CORRECT OR ELIMINATE THOSE CAUSES OF WAR AS THE FIRST AND ONLY WAY TO STOP WAR.

THIS IN OTHER TIMES MEANT, SEVEN SORTS OF AGGRESSION: THE SUDDEN MARAUDER COMING "DOWN LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD,"--DRIVEN BY HUNGER AND BECKONED BY

35-5-284

Over 25 centuries only one year in every 12 has been a year of Peace

~~Tonight tomorrow~~

Tonight my task is simplified. I do not have to choose a theme -- the theme of peace on earth, ~~good will toward men~~ chooses me. It has been but one of many threads of my life's efforts and yet in a sense new even to my thought it becomes today central

WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR AS MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY DID. It was the (peculiar delusion that made me) basal of my BEGAN WITH BLACK SLAVERY AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLE AS THE CAUSE OF THE SUBJECTION OF WHITE LABOR AND CONSEQUENTLY THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

25-5-286

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA, I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949, TO [redacted] FIGHT FOR PEACE, BUT I BEGAN AT THE VERY THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY WHEN IN LONDON IN 1900, ON THE WAY FROM THE PARIS EXHIBITION, I SAT DOWN WITH A DOZEN PERSONS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A WEST INDIAN (Garvey) AND TRIED TO PLAN A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH SOMETIME WOULD TURN THE HUNDRED YEARS OF EUROPEAN PEACE INTO A WORLD PEACE FOR ALL NATIONS AND RACES. IN 1911, LED BY THE ETHICAL SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD, FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF BECAME AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RACES CONGRESS WHICH MET IN LONDON, WITH GUISEPPI SERGI, FRANZ BOAS, JOHN HUBSON, (the intellectual leaders of the day)

 45-5-15

HIDEOUS PRICE THE WORLD WAS PAYING FOR VICTORY, AND ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION, IF THERE WAS ANY JUSTIFICATION, WAS THAT WE HAD ENDED ALL WAR--NO MORE WAR!

ON THIS FOUNDATION I PROPOSED TO BUILD. SINCE WAR FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH RACISM THE CHILD OF EXPLOITATION, NOW THAT WAR HAD CEASED, A NEW RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS MUST ENSUE. I WAS BUT A LONE PYGMY GRASPING AT THUNDERBOLTS ~~AND THE~~ AMERICANS JEERED AT MY PLAN FOR A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND FOR GIVING THE NEGRO VOICE IN THE CONTROL OF THE MANDATED GERMAN COLONIES. BUT I WALKED PAST THE SOFT ADVICE OF COLONEL HOUSE, WHO TALKED FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, AND WITH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE AFRICAN WHO SAVED FRANCE WITH 150,000 BLACK SENGALESE, I WENT STRAIGHT TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE. AS SECRETARY OF STATE POLK WAS REFUSING PASSPORTS TO NEGROES, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: AND WHILE BRITAIN WOULD NOT LET EVEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES ATTEND, CLEMENCEAU SAID "GO AHEAD"! AND WE WENT.

Just

American

Quick at a world conflagration I when I had no dream.

35-5-25

IS UNFAIR AND DISCOURAGING.

"WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OF PERMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST, PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS ON THE PLATFORM, IN THE PRESS, AND BY WORD OF MOUTH, THAT COLOR AND RACE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

THERE FOLLOWED THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL. I SAW A NATION ON ITS KNEES STRUGGLING TO EXPAND INTO A BROADER SOCIALISM AND A NEW INTERNATIONALISM. I BEGAN anew A NEW SEARCH FOR GUIDANCE AND TRUTH. IN BODY AND SPIRIT in 1936 I WENT AROUND THE WORLD: I STAYED FIVE MONTHS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY: I TRAVERSED THE SOVIET UNION FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA: FOR THE FIRST TIME I SAW ASIA THROUGH CHINA AND JAPAN. I CAME BACK BY the GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII WITH A NEW VISION OF PEACE AND INTERRACIAL COMITY. AND I CAME BACK TO NEW WORLD WAR.

It was again contradiction and paradox
It was scientific frustration and denial
of knowledge. The vocabulary — the
terms of human action which I used
beginning to formulate was all foolishness

But
THEN AT LAST IN MIND AND SPIRIT I GREW UP. I SAW WAR FOR WHAT IT WAS:
A CAUSE, AND NOT MERELY A LINK IN A CHAIN: A VICIOUS HABIT OF SEMI-CIVILIZED
MAN, USED TO CLOAK OBJECTS AND DESIGNS WHICH THEY DARE NOT OPENLY DECLARE.

I KNEW OF COURSE AS A SCIENTIST THAT EVEN A GREAT CAUSE MUST ITSELF BE
CAUSED: BUT I ALSO SAW THAT IN THE CHAIN OF EVENTS SOME LINKS LOOM LARGE AND
PURPOSEFUL FOR obscure REASONS OF INNER WILL OR OUTER FORCE, FOR WHICH WE PERHAPS,
MAY EVER SEARCH AND NEVER find. CERTAINLY IN OUR DAY, WAR ITSELF IS THE
EMBODIMENT OF an EVIL WHICH MUST BE FOUGHT HEAD-ON, TO CLEAR THE WAY AND GIVE
THE TIME AND SAVE THE LIFE TO RESCUE THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF MANKIND.

FOR THIS REASON, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, I HAVE
GIVEN ALL THE THOUGHT AND ENERGY I COULD TO PEACE, WHENEVER AND WHEREEVER
I FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY. I WAS SPONSOR AND SPEAKER AT THE CULTURAL AND
SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE, HELD IN NEW YORK IN MARCH 1949. I
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24-41-50
17---

THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS."

IN THE MEANWHILE OUR BUREAU WAS CLOSING ITS TEMPORARY ROLE AS VARIOUS PEACE MOVEMENTS AROSE IN HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN CENTERS AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS APPEARED. BY OCTOBER WE HAD CLOSED OUR ACTIVITIES AND WERE ONLY ANSWERING CORRESPONDENCE WHICH CONTINUED TO COME ASKING NEWS OF CONVENING NEW PEACE MEETINGS. THE OFFICE CLOSED COMPLETELY IN JANUARY.

ON FEBRUARY 16, FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON. IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO A CRIMINAL COURT. BEFORE WE APPEARED AT THE DOCK, FIVE OTHER PERSONS WERE ARRAIGNED: A WHITE YOUTH ACCUSED OF MANSLAUGHTER AND ANOTHER FOR NOT SUPPORTING HIS CHILD: TWO WHITE MEN ACCUSED OF GAMBLING AND ONE THIN BLACK GIRL OF FORGERY. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED, MADE TO EMPTY ALL MY POCKETS: FRISKED FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HAND-CUFFED. LATER BAIL WAS GRANTED.

THUS I STAND TONIGHT FACING THE POSSIBILITY OF CELEBRATING MY FUTURE BIRTHDAYS IN PRISON. THE PROSPECT IS NOT PLEASANT. YET I CONTINUE TO

24-41-53

17

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W. E. B. DU BOIS FEBRUARY 23, 1951

BIRTHDAY DINNER

THE SUCCESSION OF BIRTHDAY DINNERS WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN ME IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS, HAVE BECOME I ASSURE YOU, AS EMBARASSING TO ME AS TO YOU. THE FIRST WAS GIVEN WHEN I WAS FIFTY YEARS OLD IN 1918. I WAS JUST ABOUT TO GO ON A MISSION OF INTERRACIAL PEACE IN EUROPE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. SINCE THEN THIS WORLD HAS STAGGERED THROUGH THE MOST FANTASTIC PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY. CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX POURED OVER PARADOX AND CONTRADICTION. POSSIBLY IN PREVIOUS AGES MORE INTRICATE PATTERNS OF LIFE HAVE BEEN WOVEN BUT THEY WERE ON MUCH SMALLER SCALE AND WROUGHT OF SLIGHTER THREADS ON MORE DELICATE FABRIC. PERHAPS TOO THE VERY QUANTITY AND SWEEP OF OUR KNOWING TODAY OVERWHELMNS US AND ELUDES COMPREHENSION AS COMPARED WITH THE INFINITUDE OF THE MARKET PLACE OF ATHENS OR THE BO TREE OF GAUTAMA. IN THIS FANTASTIC GENERATION, I HAVE ON FIVE ANNIVERSARIES AFTER 1918 BEEN PUT IN POSITION WHERE I MUST EXPLAIN AND

35-5-105

--2--

INTERPRET IF NOT JUSTIFY MY CONTINUED EXISTENCE. TWO OR THREE TIMES I TRIED FAREWELL ADDRESSES, UNTIL THEY HAVE LOST MEANING. FOR I WAS NOT BIDDING THE WORLD FAREWELL, I WAS STILL ALIVE. THEN I SOUGHT INTERPRETATION OF MY DAYS AND DEEDS, UNTIL I WAS NO LONGER QUITE SURE EITHER OF MY VISION NOR LOGIC.

WHATEVER IT ALL WAS AND IS, I WAS ASKED TO GIVE MEANING TO WHAT WAS TO ME TOO OFTEN MEANINGLESS OR IF SIGNIFICANT NOW IN THIS WAY, TOMORROW WITH SIGNIFICANCE CHANGED WAS TAKING NEW HUES AND NUANCES: NEW CHORDS AND DISSONANCES.

35-5-106

THIS MADE INTERPRETATION FUNNY. I HELD DESPERATELY TO SIMPLE THEMES EVEN WHEN I SAW THEM CONTRADICTING THEMSELVES. THE WORLD WAS NOT THE NEGRO PROBLEM. THEN THE WORLD WAS AFRICA. THE WORLD WAS WEALTH, KNOWLEDGE WAS THE WORLD. YET NEVER WAS THE WORLD QUITE ALL OR ANY OF THESE THINGS. PERHAPS A SHORTER LIFE LIKE KEATS, WOULD HAVE REVEALED SOME ORDER AND MEANING, SOME PATTERN

OF REASON. // BUT 80 YEARS FROM GLADSTONE TO CHURCHILL, // FROM GRANT TO ROOSEVELT // HAS NO PATTERN / AND ~~DECREES~~ NO GUIDING STAR; / BUT TURNS WHIRLS / AND ROARS IN UTTER CHAOS / WHILE WE / BLIND RIDERS OF DREAMS, / HANG WILDLY ON / AND TRY EACH DECADE / TO FORMULATE / WHAT THE LAST DENIED. // HAD I DIED AT FIFTY / MY LIFE WOULD HAVE HAD A CERTAIN UNITY / AND MEANING / WHICH IT CAN NOW NEVER ATTAIN. / IT HAS BECOME NOW / PART OF A VASTER ARC / WHICH I SHALL NEVER MYSELF FINISH / AND WHICH TODAY / ELUDES RATIONALIZATION.

35-5-107

HOWEVER

TONIGHT, MY TASK IS SIMPLIFIED. // I DO NOT HAVE TO CHOOSE A THEME--THE THEME OF PEACE ON EARTH, CHOOSES ME. // IT HAS BEEN BUT ONE / OF MANY THREADS OF MY LIFE'S EFFORTS / AND YET IN A SENSE NEW / EVEN TO MY THOUGHT / IT BECOMES TODAY CENTRAL. /// THE SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS CHANGED IN APPROACH AND EMPHASIS BEFORE MY DAY AND DURING IT. // IN 25 CENTURIES / ONLY ONE YEAR IN EVERY 12 / HAS BEEN A YEAR OF PEACE. // BUT ALWAYS IN ESSENCE / THE HUMAN CRY FOR PEACE / HAS / EVER BEEN to ELIMINATE FORCE / FROM HUMAN ACTION / AND SUBSTITUTE MORE AND MORE / THAT FREE EXERCISE / AND UNBINDING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, / WHICH WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO

REACH / ITS HIGHEST AND BEST MANIFESTATION.

WE LONG THOUGHT OF WAR / AS THE BREAKING OF PEACE / AND THE HALTING OF FREEDOM / FOR CERTAIN CLEAR CAUSES / AND WE SET OURSELVES / FIRST TO RECOGNIZE AND CORRECT OR ELIMINATE THOSE CAUSES / OF WAR / AS THE FIRST AND ONLY WAY TO STOP WAR. // THIS IN OTHER TIMES / MEANT OPPOSITION TO SEVEN SORTS OF AGGRESSION: / THE SUDDEN MARAUDER / COMING "DOWN LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD," / --DRIVEN BY HUNGER / AND BECKONED BY

35-5-108

FERTILE VALLEYS, LIKE THE MONGOLS IN CHINA. // THEN PROTECTION OF FOOD AND HARVEST, IN THE MIDST OF DESERT, AS WHEN THE NILE CALLED TO BLACK AFRICA. // PEACE SOON RETREATED TO HIGH WALLED CITIES, LIKE BABYLON, WHOSE STRENGTH STRETCHED OVER OUT TO THE SURROUNDING FIELDS. // THEN THE EXPLORERS WENT OUT TO THE INDIES AND AMERICAS, TO FIND WHAT WAS SCARCE, AND TAKE IT IF THEY COULD. ¶ AMID ALL THIS PRIMITIVE TURMOIL, GREW BELIEF--RELIGIOUS FAITH, AND CULTURAL PATTERN, THE FRIGHTFUL FIGHT, FOR WHICH, TOOK ON ANCIENT AND ETERNAL SANCTIONS, AND TRANSCENDED FEAR OF DEATH. // ABOVE AND AROUND THIS, GREW THE STATE, A VAST AND DEATHLESS IDEA, WHICH WAS NOT BORN, AND COULD NOT DIE, AND BECAME PART OF MENS' THOUGHTS, EMOTIONS AND MEMORIES, AND THEREFORE PART OF THEMSELVES. // FINALLY, OVERSHADOWING ALL THIS BROAD, AND TIMELESS BUILDING, LOOMED THE IDEA OF RACE: OF A HIGH AND HOLY CONCEPT, OF SUPER-HUMANITY, WHOSE PRESERVATION, WAS THE ONLY REAL END OF MAN, while most men were nothing.

¶ IT WAS IN THE MIDST, OF THIS CONCEPT OF RACE INTEGRITY, // AND THE BELIEF IN

35-5-109

ITS DEFENSE, TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD, AND THE LAST CRINGE OF MISERY, THAT I WAS BORN, AND GREW TO MANHOOD. // TO ME THEREFORE, THE CAUSE OF WAR, SEEMED RACE HATE AND THE FIRST [redacted] OF ALL ATTACK ON WAR, MUST BE ATTACK ON RACE PREJUDICE.

BEFORE MY TIME, WAR HAD SEEMED, TO HAVE OTHER MAJOR CAUSES: // FEAR OF STRANGERS, DESERT HORDES TOO VAST TO TAME; BARBARIANS WHO SPOKE STRANGE TONGUES, AND DID STRANGE THINGS; FOREIGNERS OF EVERY SORT, AND HATEFUL HERETICS. FINALLY AS THE WORLD GREW EUROPEAN, IN SCHEME AND CULTURE, THE DARKER RACES APPEARED, THE UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF STRIFE. // THE GREAT AND MIGHTY PLEAS FOR PEACE, FROM BUDDHA TO JESUS, FROM DANTE TO KANT, FROM GROTIUS TO GANDHI, WERE RAISED THEREFORE, TO STRIKE AT THESE CAUSES OF WAR, RATHER THAN AT WAR ITSELF; men felt that War THAT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH, A CAUSE IN ITSELF, AS [redacted] A RESULT OF EVIL FORCES: // THAT THEREFORE ATTACK, ON THESE FORCES, WAS ATTACK ON WAR.

C

35-5-110

35-5-112

IT WAS THE 19TH CENTURY/WHICH TAUGHT US A NEW CONCEPT/OF THE CAUSES OF WAR;// NAMELY, THAT WHATEVER WAR WAS AGAINST,/ IT WAS ALWAYS MAINLY FOUGHT FOR PERSONAL GAIN,/ FOR INCOME/AND CONTROL/OF THE LABOR OF MEN. THE 20TH CENTURY WENT FURTHER/TO TELL US THAT IN ITS PRESENT AWFUL STATURE,/WAR, WORLD WAR, BECOMES NOT A MERE RESULT/BUT A major CAUSE:/A LINK IN THE GREAT CHAIN OF EVENTS/ WHICH SO SWELLS AND LOOMS/ABOVE ALL OTHERS,/ THAT EITHER WE ATTACK WAR/AS WAR OR THE WORLD SINKS/TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER:

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT:
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL,
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL:
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN THE ETERNAL NIGHT.

IN THE ~~CENTURY~~ decade THEN/WHEN I ~~WAS BORN~~ began my life work/ IT WAS NATURAL FOR ME/TO SEIZE ON GAIN/AS THE MAIN CAUSE OF WAR/AND TO FIND ITS CHIEF EXAMPLE/IN NEGRO SLAVERY/AND IN THAT EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY,/ RACE HATE.// BUT INSTEAD OF BEGINNING

8

WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR/AS DID MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY,/ IT WAS THE TWIST/OF MY PECULIAR SITUATION/ THAT MADE ME BEGIN/WITH BLACK SLAVERY/AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLE/AS THE CAUSE OF THE ~~SUBJECTION~~ exploitation OF WHITE LABOR/ AND CONSEQUENTLY/THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

35-5-112

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA,/ I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949,/ TO FIGHT FOR PEACE,/ BUT I BEGAN/AT THE VERY THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY/WHEN IN LONDON/IN 1900, ON THE WAY/FROM THE PARIS EXHIBITION,/ I SAT DOWN WITH A DOZEN PERSONS,/ UNDER THE LEADERSHIP/OF A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER/AND TRIED TO PLAN/A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH/SOMETIME/WOULD TURN/THE HUNDRED YEARS OF EUROPEAN PEACE/INTO A WORLD PEACE/FOR ALL NATIONS AND RACES.// IN 1911,/ LED BY THE ETHICAL SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD/ FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF/ BECAME AMERICAN SECRETARIES/OF THE INTERNATIONAL RACES CONGRESS WHICH MET IN LONDON,/ WITH THE INTELLECTUAL LEADERS/OF THE DAY, GUISEPPI SERGI, FRANZ BOAS, JOHN HOBSON,

35-5-113

SIR SIDNEY OLIVER, ISRAEL ZANGWILL, SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, AND WU TING FANG:
WITH FELIX VON LUSCHAN AND LEON BOURGEOIS. IT WAS, WE ALL FELT, THE FIRST
CONCERTED ATTACK OF CIVILIZATION UPON THAT DOCTRINE OF RACE WHICH WAS HELP-
ING TO SPLIT THE EARTH INTO HATING, COMPETING, BITTER FOMENTORS OF UNIVERSAL
WAR. I READ TO THAT MULTITUDE IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON:

these words:

"WE BE BLOOD-GUILTY! LO, OUR HANDS BE RED!
LET NO MAN BLAME THE OTHER IN THIS SIN!
BUT HERE--HERE IN THE WHITE SILENCE OF THE DAWN,
BEFORE THE WOMB OF TIME,
WITH BOWED HEARTS ALL FLAME AND SHAME,
WE FACE THE BIRTH-PANGS OF A WORLD:
WE HEAR THE STIFLED CRY OF NATIONS ALL BUT BORN--
THE WAIL OF WOMEN RAVISHED OF THEIR STUNTED BROOD!
WE SEE THE NAKEDNESS OF TOIL, THE POVERTY OF WEALTH,
WE KNOW THE ANARCHY OF EMPIRE, AND DOLEFUL DEATH OF LIFE!
AND HEARING, SEEING, KNOWING ALL, WE CRY:

"SAVE US, WORLD-SPIRIT, FROM OUR LESSER SELVES!
GRANT US THAT WAR AND HATRED CEASE,
REVEAL OUR SOULS IN EVERY RACE AND HUE!
HELP US, O HUMAN GOD, IN THIS THY TRUCE,
TO MAKE HUMANITY DIVINE! "

35-5-114

AND A DESTRUCTION (OF WEALTH) SUFFICIENT TO HEAL ALL CURABLE SICK
EDUCATE ALL THE IGNORANT AND FEED ALL THE WORLD'S HUN
GRY.

BUT IT WAS NO TRUCE. THIS WAS (instead) THE (very) THRESHHOLD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR:
IT WAS WHEN THAT LITTLE GERMAN WARSHIP SLIPPED INTO NORTH AFRICA AND BEGAN
A CONFLAGRATION WHOSE FLAMES ARE STILL BURNING, FED BY 30 MILLION CORPSES
OF THE WORLDS' YOUTH. IT WAS THE BEGINNING OF A SERIES OF WARS, SO DESTRUC-
TIVE, SO MURDEROUS, SO BESTIAL THAT WAR IN THIS CENTURY TAKES ON NEW
MEANING. IT IS A GREAT AND EVIL MONSTER SET TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION: AT
FIRST SIGHT OUT OF SHEER MADNESS AND INBORN EVIL: BUT ON SECOND AND CLEARER
SIGHT, WITH THE DETERMINATION TO PLACE CONTROL OF THE WORLD WEALTH (and WORK)
IN THE HANDS OF THE ONE INTERNATIONAL CLIQUE OF UNSCRUPULOUS MEN.

THUS IT HAPPENED THAT IN 1918, WHEN FIRST YOU FELL INTO THIS BAD
HABIT OF TENDERING ME DELIGHTFUL DINNERS, I FELL INTO WHAT IS NOW STIGMA-
TISED AS THE EQUALLY BAD HABIT OF SEEING WAR AS A MAIN LINK OF THAT CHAIN
OF EVILS WHICH TODAY THREATENS ALL WHICH WE COUNT AS WORTH PRESERVING AND
LIVING FOR.

35-5-115

MY START IN 1918, SEEMED LOGICAL AND TIMELY. AFTER THAT DAY OF WRATH, PEACE HAD COME. THE WAR TO END ALL WAR WAS DONE. THE ENDLESS WARS OF ALL THE WORLDS HAD CULMINATED IN ONE VAST HOLOCAUST OF BLOOD AND SHAME. GERMANY, THAT PEERLESS LEADER OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY WAS IN THE DUST. FRANCE WAS DECIMATED. I SAT IN THE HALLS OF THE TROCADERO AND HEARD THE VOICE OF A MAGNIFICENT FIGURE FROM THE COMEDIE FRANCAIS CRY "C'EST LA VICTOIRE! C'EST LA VICTOIRE!" THERE WERE TEARS IN HER VOICE. IN VAIN FRANCE KISSED BLACK AFRICA AND YELLOW INDO-CHINA ON THE CHEEK AND WOUND THE CROIX DE GUERRE ON THEIR BREASTS: IN VAIN: FOR BELOW WRITHED IN UTTER GRIEF AND ABANDON THE MOTHERS OF SIX MILLION FRENCH. I TRAMPED THROUGH THE MUD AND FILTH OF THE ARGONNE: I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN CRAWLING THROUGH THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW. I SAW THE UNENDING LINE OF YOUNG WHORES THRONGING THE FRIEDRICHSTRASSE OF BERLIN; AND IN LONDON, ENGLISHMEN TRIED TO LOOK STOLID, WHEN THEIR EMPIRE WAS TOTTERING AND THE GUTS HAD BEEN BEATEN OUT OF THEIR HEARTS. IT WAS A

35-5-116

HIDEOUS PRICE THE WORLD WAS PAYING FOR VICTORY, AND ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION, IF THERE WAS ANY JUSTIFICATION, WAS THAT WE HAD ENDED ALL WAR--NO MORE WAR!

ON THIS FOUNDATION I PROPOSED TO BUILD. SINCE WAR FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH RACISM THE CHILD OF EXPLOITATION, NOW THAT WAR HAD CEASED, A NEW RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS MUST ENSUE. I WAS BUT A LONE PYGMY GRASPING AT THUNDERBOLTS AND A WORLD CONFLAGRATION OF WHICH I HAD NO DREAM. AMERICANS JEERED AT MY PLAN FOR A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND FOR GIVING THE NEGRO VOICE IN THE CONTROL OF THE MANDATED GERMAN COLONIES. BUT I WALKED PAST THE SOFT ADVICE OF COLONEL HOUSE, WHO TALKED FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, AND WITH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE AFRICAN WHO SAVED FRANCE WITH 150,000 BLACK SENGALESE, I WENT STRAIGHT TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE. JUST AS SECRETARY OF STATE, POLK WAS REFUSING PASSPORTS TO AMERICAN NEGROES, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS; AND WHILE BRITAIN WOULD NOT LET EVEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES ATTEND,

CLEMENCEAU SAID "GO AHEAD"! AND WE WENT.

35-5-117

BUT OF COURSE/ WE DID NOT GO FAR:/ JUST A LITTLE STEP.// WE HELD PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN PARIS,/ LONDON, BRUSSELS/ AND LISBON/ IN 1919, 1921, and 1923. WE AROUSED (then as now) THE FURY OF THE IMPERIALISTS:/ WE WERE "FINANCED FROM MOSCOW" /YELLED THE BELGIANS:/ WE WERE "GARVEY REVOLUTIONISTS"/ YELLED THE ENGLISH.// BUT WE DID PLANT IDEAS/ WITH THE MANDATES COMMISSION/ AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

THERE CAME/ THE DECADE OF INDECISION/ FROM ~~1919~~ to ~~1929~~ (1920—1930).// I SAW RUSSIA AND GERMANY:/ AND FOR THE FIRST TIME,/ I SAW AFRICA:/ I CAME HOME ~~TO THE GREAT DEPRESSION;~~ TO LYNCHING AND RACE RIOT/ AND DISFRANCHISEMENT./ THE ELECTION OF 1928/ ~~MARKED~~ showed THE LOWEST MARK/ OF NEGRO POLITICAL RECOGNITION/ IN THIS LAND.// TWENTY-FIVE NEGROES/ OF EVERY SHADE OF OPINION/ -ROBERT MOTON, /JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,/ JOHN HOPE, NATHANIEL DETT,/ FRED MOORE AND BISHOP CAREY,/ UNITED TO SAY:

"THAT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPIAGN OF 1928,/ MORE THAN IN PREVIOUS CAMPAIGNS/ SINCE THE CIVIL WAR,/ THE AMERICAN NEGRO/ WAS TREATED/ IN A MANNER WHICH

35-5-118

IS UNFAIR AND DISCOURAGING.

"WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS/ OF THIS CAMPAIGN/ OF PERMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST,/ PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS/ ON THE PLATFORM,/ IN THE PRESS, AND BY WORD OF MOUTH,/ THAT COLOR AND RACE/ CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES/ AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

THERE FOLLOWED THE GREAT DEPRESSION/ AND THE NEW DEAL.// I SAW A NATION ON ITS KNEES/ STRUGGLING TO EXPAND INTO A BROADER SOCIALISM/ AND A NEW INTERNATIONALISM.// I BEGAN/ ANEW SEARCH FOR GUIDANCE AND TRUTH.// IN BODY AND SPIRIT/ I WENT AROUND THE WORLD IN 1936:/ I STAYED FIVE MONTHS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY:/ I TRAVERSED THE SOVIET UNION/ FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA:// FOR THE FIRST TIME/ I SAW ASIA/ THROUGH CHINA AND JAPAN.// I CAME BACK BY THE GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII/ WITH A NEW VISION/ OF PEACE AND INTERRACIAL COMITY.// AND I CAME BACK TO NEW WORLD WAR. IT WAS AGAIN CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX./ IT WAS SCIENTIFIC FRUSTRATION/ AND DENIAL OF KNOWLEDGE.// MY SOCIOLOGY,/ MY SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION/ WHICH I WAS BEGINNING TO FORMULATE/ WAS ALL FOOLISHNESS.

15 (at last)

BUT AT LAST/ IN MIND AND SPIRIT/ I GREW/ TO THAT MATURITY/ WHICH STILL LEARNS BUT IS NOT IGNORANT/ // DARES TO REACH DECISIONS/ AND YET TO CHANGE THEM.// I SAW WAR/ NOT HISTORICALLY OR THEORETICALLY/ BUT ACTUALLY/ FOR WHAT IT WAS:/ A CAUSE, AND NOT MERELY A LINK IN A CHAIN;/ A VICIOUS HABIT OF SEMI-CIVILIZED MEN/ USED TO CLOAK OBJECTS AND DESIGNS/ WHICH THEY DARE NOT OPENLY DECLARE.

35-5-119

I KNEW OF COURSE/ AS A SCIENTIST/ THAT EVEN A GREAT CAUSE/ MUST ITSELF BE CAUSED:/ BUT I ALSO SAW/ THAT IN THE CHAIN OF EVENTS/ ALL CAUSES ARE NOT EQUAL/ NOR EQUALLY CAUSED.// SOME LINKS LOOM LARGE/ AND PURPOSEFUL/ FOR OBSCURE REASONS/ OF INNER WILL OR OUTER FORCE,// FOR WHICH PERHAPS/ WE MAY EVER SEARCH/ AND NEVER FIND.// CERTAINLY IN OUR DAY,/ WAR ITSELF/ IS THE EMBODIMENT OF AN EVIL/ WHICH MUST BE FOUGHT HEAD-ON,/ TO CLEAR THE WAY/ AND GIVE THE TIME/ AND SAVE THE LIFE/ TO RESCUE THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF MANKIND.// AND THE PURE HYPOTHESIS/ THAT THIS COUNTERACTING FORCE/ CAN BE APPLIED BY US/ AS OLD AS TIME/ AND AS TRUE AS TRUTH.

FOR THIS REASON,/ SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR,/ I HAVE GIVEN ALL THE THOUGHT AND ENERGY/ I COULD/ TO PEACE,/ WHENEVER AND WHEREEVER I FOUND

16

AN OPPORTUNITY.// I WAS SPONSOR AND SPEAKER/ AT THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE/ HELD IN NEW YORK/ IN MARCH 1949.// I ATTENDED GLADLY THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE/ HELD IN APRIL/ WHICH WAS

35-5-120

THE GREATEST MEETING I HAVE EVER SEEN. I [redacted] TO ATTEND THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE IN MEXICO CITY, IN SEPTEMBER, BUT BEFORE THAT I WAS INVITED TO AN ALL RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW IN AUGUST. // [redacted] UNITED STATES I WAS ON THE PROGRAM OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES.

MEANTIME IN THE UNITED STATES PEACE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS WERE NOT NEWS. THE PRESS WAS ALMOST COMPLETELY SILENT ON THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD PEACE WHICH WERE SHAKING THE ENTIRE WORLD. // TO COUNTERACT THIS IGNORANCE AND LET AMERICA REALIZE THAT MOST MEN DID NOT WANT WAR, FORTY-TWO PERSONS ON APRIL 3, 1950, FORMED THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU FOR THE PURPOSE OF LETTING AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ASIA, AND OF LETTING THE WORLD KNOW THAT A PEACE MOVEMENT WAS GROWING HERE. // WE PRINTED AND CIRCULATED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE

I KNEW THEN THAT NEITHER THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION NOR OF THE UNITED STATES WANT WAR. ONLY THOSE WHO WANT WAR WHO MAKE MONEY OUT OF WAR [redacted]

35-5-12

NOONE, I MEAN NOONE, COULD HAVE COME FROM THAT MEETING AND DOUBT FOR A MOMENT THAT ALL THE WORLD WANTS PEACE.

ATOM BOMB. WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS PROTEST: WE SPREAD NEWS OF THE QUAKER STATEMENT AND OUR PEACE-[redacted]GRAMS WENT TO THOUSANDS AND MILLIONS RESPONDED.

THEN THE COUNTER-ATTACK CAME. // FIRST THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONDEMNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AS A CONSPIRACY. // THEN FOUR MONTHS AFTER OUR ACTIVITIES BEGAN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DEMANDED THAT WE REGISTER AS "PUBLICITY AGENT" OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." // WE PROTESTED AND WROTE:

35-5-122

"THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WAS CONCEIVED AND FORMED BY A GROUP OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, APPREHENSIVE LEST THE GROWING TENSIONS AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD BURST INTO A TERRIBLE CONFLAGRATION WHICH MIGHT WELL SNUFF OUT CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT. // THEY BELIEVED THAT THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS FOR PEACE. // THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE AVOIDANCE OF THE MASS DESTRUCTION AND HUMAN MISERY OF A THIRD WORLD WAR WAS DEPENDENT, IN A LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXPRESSION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE. // THEY CONCEIVED THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WOULD SERVE THE

19 [illegible]

AMERICAN PEOPLE/ BY INFORMING THEM/ OF THE ISSUES OF PEACE:/ BY MAKING AVAILABLE TO THEM/ DATA CONCERNING THE GREAT STRUGGLES/ BEING CARRIED ON FOR THE MAINTENANCE/ OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE;/ AND BY PROVIDING THE MEANS/ AND FORUM/ FOR EXPRESSING THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE."

35-5-123

THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED. I then ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WAS DENIED. I therefore WROTE IN SEPTEMBER:

"I CANNOT BUT FEEL/ THAT IN A MATTER OF SUCH SERIOUS CONCERN/ MR. FOLEY'S DENIAL TO ME/ OF AN OPPORTUNITY/ TO BE HEARD/ MUST NECESSARILY REFLECT ADVERSELY UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.// I SHOULD THINK/ THAT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNJUSTIFIED ENFORCEMENT/ OF THE ACT/ WOULD IMPEL THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT/ TO BEND EVERY EFFORT/ TO MAKE CERTAIN OF ITS CONCLUSIONS.// THE DEPARTMENT'S ARBITRARY/ AND CAPRICIOUS REFUSAL/ TO CONFER WITH ME/ COMPELS ME TO INFER/ THAT EITHER THE DEPARTMENT IS UNAWARE/ OF THE IMPORT OF THE STATUTE/ WHICH IT SEEKS TO ENFORCE,/ OR THAT IT IS UNWISE ENOUGH/ TO DEAL CAVALIERLY/ WITH

20

THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS."

IN THE MEANWHILE/ OUR BUREAU WAS CLOSING/ ITS TEMPORARY ROLE/ AS VARIOUS PEACE MOVEMENTS/ AROSE IN HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN CENTERS/ AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS APPEARED.// BY OCTOBER/ WE HAD CLOSED OUR ACTIVITIES/ AND WERE ONLY ANSWERING CORRESPONDENCE/ WHICH CONTINUED TO COME/ ASKING ESPECIALLY/ NEWS OF THE CONVENING OF NEW PEACE MEETINGS.// THE OFFICE CLOSED COMPLETELY IN JANUARY.

ON FEBRUARY 16,/ FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON.// IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT/ TO A CRIMINAL COURT.// BEFORE WE APPEARED AT THE DOCK,/ FIVE OTHER PERSONS WERE ARRAIGNED/ A WHITE YOUTH ACCUSED OF MANSLAUGHTER/ AND ANOTHER FOR NOT SUPPORTING HIS CHILD;/ TWO ~~WHITE~~ BLACK MEN ACCUSED OF GAMBLING/ AND ONE THIN BLACK GIRL OF FORGERY.// I WAS FINGER-PRINTED,/ MADE TO EMPTY ALL MY POCKETS;/ "FRISKED" FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS/ AND HAND-CUFFED. ~~LATER BAIL WAS GRANTED.~~

35-5-124

IMMEDIATELY THE ESSEX HOTEL CANCELLED ARRANGEMENTS FOR MY BIRTHDAY DINNER THREE DAYS BEFORE AND TWO PROMINENT CITIZENS CANCELLED THEIR SPEECHES

THUS I STAND TONIGHT/ FACING THE POSSIBILITY/ OF CELEBRATING MY FUTURE BIRTHDAYS IN PRISON/ and $10000 fine ~~AND THUS RELIEVING ALL "HOUSES OF ESSEX"/ FROM EMBARASSMENT~~

THE PROSPECT IS NOT PLEASANT.// YET I CONTINUE TO

35-5-125

MAINTAIN/THAT ADVOCACY OF PEACE IS NOT TREASON:/THAT I AM THE AGENT/OF NO FOREIGN PRINCIPAL/AND NEVER HAVE BEEN;/THAT I AM THE CHAMPION OF NO IDEA ALIEN TO THIS NATION:/AND THAT I HAVE THE RIGHT/~~WITHIN THIS LAW~~/IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST/TO FIGHT FOR PEACE.

ONE OFTEN WONDERS/HOW FAR IT IS WISE TO FIGHT/FOR UNPOPULAR CAUSES/AND AGAINST THE WEIGHT/OF PUBLIC OPINION.// THE VERY SWEEP AND POWER OF THE WORLD AT ANY AGE/MAKES ANY HUMAN BEING/DOUBT HIS KNOWLEDGE AND JUDGMENT/AND SHRINK BEFORE THE HOSTS OF TIME.// YET AS I LOOK BACK/I SEEM TO SEE MANY VICTORIES AND MUCH SATISFACTION FOR/MY EFFORTS/~~[illegible]~~ IF WE SEEM AT PRESENT/WORSTED IN OUR EFFORT TO HALT WAR,/THIS MAY BE/IN PART DUE TO OUR FAILURE/TO SEE IN WAR/THE VAST EVIL/IT HAS RECENTLY BECOME;// AND IN PART TOO/BECAUSE WE DO NOT YET KNOW/HOW MUCH WE HAVE REALLY ACCOMPLISHED.// VICTORY MAY BE NEARER/THAN WE THINK.

WE CANNOT FORGET THAT WAR IS THE WAY WHICH SELFISH AND UNSCRUPULOUS MEN ARE TAKING TO MAKE MONEY

35-5-126

LET US DREAM WITH SHELLY:

"TO SUFFER WOES WHICH HOPE THINKS INFINITE:
TO FORGIVE WRONGS DARKER THAN DEATH OR NIGHT:
TO DEFY POWER, WHICH SEEMS OMNIPOTENT:
TO LOVE, AND BEAR: TO HOPE TILL HOPE CREATES
FROM ITS OWN WRECK THE THING IT CONTEMPLATES:
NEITHER TO CHANGE,/NOR FALTER,/NOR REPENT:
THIS, LIKE THE GLORY, TITAN! IS TO BE
GOOD,/GREAT AND JOYOUS,/BEAUTIFUL AND FREE:
THIS IS ALONE LIFE, JOY, EMPIRE AND VICTORY.

36-8-78
36-8-78

BIRTHDAY DINNER

The succession of birthday dinners which have been given me in the last thirty years, have become I assure you, as embarrassing to me as to you. The first was given when I was fifty years old in 1918. I was just about to go on a mission of interracial peace in Europe, in connection with the Congress of Versailles at the end of the first World War.

Since then this world has staggered through the most fantastic period of its history. Contradiction and paradox poured over paradox and contradiction. Possibly in previous ages more intricate matters of life have been woven, but they were on much smaller scale and wrought of slighter threads on more delicate fabric. Perhaps too, the very quantity and sweep of our knowing today overwhelms us and eludes comprehension as compared with the infinitude of the marketplace of Athens or the Bo tree of Gautama.

And in this fantastic generation, I have on five anniversaries been put in position where I must explain and interpret if not justify my continued existence. Two or three times I tried farewell addresses, until they lost meaning, for I was not bidding the world farewell, I was still alive. Then I sought interpretation of my days and deeds, until I was no longer quite sure either of my vision nor logic. Whatever it all was and is, I was asked to give meaning to what was to me too often meaningless, or if significant now in this way, tomorrow with significance changed was taking new hues and nuances; new chords and dissonances. This made interpretation funny. I held desperately to simple themes even when I saw them contradicting themselves. The world was now the Negro problem; then the world was Africa. The world was wealth, knowledge was the world. Yet never was the world quite all or any

of these things.

Perhaps a shorter life like Keats, would have revealed some order and meaning, some pattern or reason. But 80 years from Gladstone to Churchill, from Grant to Roosevelt, has no pattern and deseries no guiding star, but turns whirls and roars in utter chaos, while we blind riders of dreams hang wildly on and try each decade to formulate what the last denied. Had I died at fifty my life would have had a certain unity and meaning which it can now never attain. It has become now part of a vaster arc which I shall never myself finish and which today eludes rationalisation.

36-8-79

Tonight my task is simplified. I do not have to choose a theme -- the theme of Peace on Earth, chooses me. It has been but one of many threads of my life's efforts, and yet in a sense now even to my thought it becomes today central. The search for Peace has changed in approach and emphasis before my day and during it. In 25 centuries only one year in every 12 has been a year of peace. But always in essence the human cry for Peace has ever been to eliminate force from human action, and substitute more and more that free exercise and unbinding of the human spirit, which would enable mankind to reach its highest and best manifestation.

We long thought of war as the breaking of peace and the halting of freedom for certain clear causes, and we set ourselves first to recognize and correct or eliminate those causes of war as the first and only way to stop war. This in other times meant opposition to seven sorts of aggression: the sudden marauder coming "down like a wolf on the fold", -- driven by hunger and beckoned by fertile valleys, like the Mongol toward China. Then protection of food and harvest, in the midst of desert, as when the Nile called to black Central Africa. Peace soon retreated to high walled cities like Babylon, whose strength stretched out over the surrounding fields. Then the explorers

went out to the Indies and Americas to find what was scarce and take it if they could.

Amid all this primitive turmoil, grew belief -- religious faith and cultural pattern, the frightful fight for which took on ancient and eternal sanctions and transcended fear of death. Above and around this grew the state, a vast and deathless idea, which was not born and could not die, and became part of mens' thoughts, emotions and memories and therefore part of themselves. Finally, overshadowing all this broad and timeless building, loomed the idea of race; of a high and holy concept of super-humanity whose preservation was the only real end of man.

It was in the midst of this concept of race integrity, and the belief in its defense to the last drop of blood and the last cringe of misery, that I was born and grew to manhood. To me, therefore, the cause of war seemed race hate, and the first of all attacks on war must be attack on race prejudice.

Before my time, war had seemed to have other major causes: fear of strangers; desert hordes too vast to tame; barbarians who spoke strange tongues and did strange things; foreigners of every sort; and hateful heretics. Finally as the world grew European in scheme and culture, the darker races appeared the universal cause of strife.

The great and mighty pleas for Peace, from Buddha to Jesus, from Dante to Kant, from Grotius to Gandhi, were raised therefore to strike at these causes of war rather than at war itself: men felt that war was not so much a cause in itself as a result of evil forces; that therefore attack on these forces was attack on war.

It was in the 19th century which taught us a new concept of the causes of war: namely, that whatever war was against, it was always mainly

fought for personal gain, for income and control of the labor of men. The 20th century went further to tell us that in its present awful stature war, world war, becomes not a mere result but a major cause: a link in the great chain of events which so swells and looms above all others, that either we attack war as war, or the world sinks to death.

In the decade then when I began my life work, it was natural for me to seize on gain as the main cause of war, and to find its chief example in Negro slavery, and in that excuse for slavery, race hate. But instead of beginning with the exploitation of white labor as did most reformers of my day, it was the twist of my peculiar situation that made me begin with black slavery and the subjection of the darker people as the cause of the subjection of white labor and consequently the chief cause of war.

36-8-81

Once I grasped this idea, I did not wait until 1949 to fight for Peace, but I began at the very threshold of the 20th century, when in London in 1900, on the way from the Paris exhibition, I sat down with a dozen persons, under the leadership of a West Indian barrister, and tried to plan a course of action which sometime would turn the hundred years of European peace into a world peace for all nations and races. In 1911, led by the Ethical Societies of the world, Felix Adler and myself became American secretaries of the International Races Congress which met in London, with the intellectual leaders of the day, Guiseppi Sergi, Franz Boas, John Hobson, Sir Sidney Oliver, Israel Zangwill, Sir Harry Johnston, and Wu Ting Fang, with Felix von Luschan and Leon Bourgeois. It was, we all felt, the first concerted attack of civilization upon that doctrine of race which was helping to split the earth into hating, competing, bitter fomentors of universal war. I said to a multitude in the Great Hall of the University of London:

"Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this thy truce,
To make humanity divine!"

But this meeting was no truce. This was, instead, the very threshold of the first World War: it was when that little German warship slipped into North Africa and began a conflagration whose flames are still burning, fed by 30 million corpses of the world's youth. It was the beginning of a series of wars so destructive, so murderous, so bestial, that war in this century takes on new meaning. It is a great and evil monster set to destroy civilization: at first sight out of sheer madness and inborn evil; but on second and clearer sight, with the determination to place control of the world wealth in the hands of the one international clique of unscrupulous men.

36-8-82

Thus it happened that in 1918, when first you fell into this bad habit of tendering me delightful dinners, I fell into what is now stigmatised as the equally bad habit of seeing war as a main link of that chain of evils which today threatens all which we count as worth preserving and living for.

My new start in 1918, seemed logical and timely after that day of wrath. Peace had come. The war to end all war was done. The endless wars of all the worlds had culminated in one vast holocaust of blood and shame. Germany, that peerless leader of science and philosophy, was in the dust. France was decimated: I sat in the halls of the Trocadero and heard the voice of a magnificent figure from the Comedie Francais cry "C'est la Victoire! C'est la Victoire!" There were tears in her voice.

But in vain France kissed black Africa and yellow Indo-China on the cheek and wound the Crox de Guerre on their breasts; in vain, for below writhed in utter grief and abandon the mothers of six million French boys. I

tramped through the mud and filth of the Argonne; I saw the wild children crawling through the sewers of Moscow, I saw the unending line of young whores thronging the Friedrichstrasse of Berlin, and in London, Englishmen tried to look stolid, when their empire was tottering and the guts had been beaten out of their hearts. It was a hideous price the world was paying for victory, and its only justification, if there was any justification, was that we had ended all war -- no more war!

On this foundation I proposed to build. Since war for centuries had been coupled with racism, the child of exploitation, now that war had ceased a new racial understanding and progress must ensue. I was but a lone pigmy grasping at thunderbolts and at a world conflagration of which I had no dream. Americans jeered at my plan for a Pan-African Congress and for giving the Negro voice in the control of the mandated German colonies.

We did not go far: just a little step. We held Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921, and 1923. Then, as now, we aroused the fury of the imperialists: we were "financed from Moscow" yelled the Belgians; we were "Garvey Revolutionists" yelled the English. But we did plant ideas with the Mandates Commission and the International Labor Organisation.

There came the decade of indecision from 1919 to 1929. I saw Russia and Germany; and for the first time, I saw Africa; I came home to lynching and race riot and disfranchisement. The election of 1928 marked the lowest mark of Negro political recognition in this land. Twenty-five Negroes of every shade of opinion -- Robert Moton, James Weldon Johnson, John Hope, Nathaniel Dett, Fred Moore and Bishop Carey, united to say:

"That in the Presidential Campaign of 1928, more than in previous campaigns since the Civil War, the American Negro was treated in a manner

which is unfair and discouraging.

"We accuse the political leaders of this campaign of permitting without protest, public and repeated assertions on the platform, in the press, and by word of mouth, that color and race constitute in themselves an imputation of guilt and crime."

There followed the great depression and the New Deal. I saw a nation on its knees struggling to expand into a broader socialism and a new internationalism. I began a new search for guidance and truth. In body and spirit I went around the world in 1936: I stayed five months in England, France and Germany; I traversed the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria; for the first time I saw Asia through China and Japan. I came back by the golden rain of Hawaii with a new vision of peace and interracial comity.

And I came back to a new world war. It was again contradiction and paradox. It was scientific frustration and denial of knowledge. My sociology, my science of human action which I was beginning to formulate, was all foolishness.

But at last in mind and spirit I grew to that maturity which still learns but is ignorant, reaches decisions and yet dares to change them. I saw war not historically or theoretically but actually for what it was: a cause, and not merely a link in a chain: a vicious habit of semi-civilised man, used to cloaking objects and designs which they dare not openly declare.

I knew of course, as a scientist, that even a great cause must itself be caused; but I also saw that in the chain of events all are not equal nor equally caused. Some links loom large and purposeful for obscure reasons of inner will or outer force, for which perhaps we may ever search and never find. Certainly in our day, war itself is the embodiment of an evil which must be fought headon, to clear the way and give the time, and save the life, to rescue the future progress of mankind. And the pure hypothesis that this counteracting force can be applied by us ourselves is as old as time and as true as Truth.

For this reason, since the beginning of the second World War, I have given all the thought and energy I could to Peace, whenever and wherever I found an opportunity. I was sponsor and speaker at the cultural and scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York in March 1949. I attended gladly the Paris World Congress for Peace held in April, which was the greatest meeting I have ever seen. I planned to attend the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City in September, but before that I was invited to an all Russian Peace Congress in Moscow in August. In the United States, I was on the programme of the meeting of the Committee of Peaceful Alternatives.

36-8-85

Meantime in the United States Peace and Peace movements were not news. The press was almost completely silent on the movements toward peace which were shaking the entire world. To counteract this ignorance and let America realize that most men did not want war, forty-two persons on April 3, 1950, formed the Peace Information Bureau for the purpose of letting as many Americans as possible know the facts about the Peace movement in Europe and Asia, and letting the world know that a peace movement was growing here. We printed and circulated the Stockholm Appeal against the Atom Bomb; we distributed the Red Cross protest; we spread news of the Quaker statement, and our Peace-grams went to thousands, and millions responded.

Then the counter-attack came. First the Secretary of State condemned the Stockholm Appeal as a conspiracy; then four months after our activities began, the Department of Justice demanded that we register as "publicity agent" of a "foreign principal". We protested and wrote:

"The Peace Information Center was conceived and formed by a group of American citizens, apprehensive lest the growing tensions among the govern-

ments of the world burst into a terrible conflagration which might well snuff out civilization as we know it. They believed that the overwhelming desire of the American people was for Peace. They also believed that the avoidance of the mass destruction and human misery of a third World War was dependent, in a large measure, on the expression by the American people of their desire for peace. They conceived that the Peace Information Center would serve the American people by informing them of the issues of peace; by making available to them data concerning the great struggles being carried on for the maintenance of international peace; and by providing the means and forum for expressing their desire for peace."

The Department insisted that they were not satisfied. I then asked for a personal conference which was denied. I therefore wrote in September:

"I cannot but feel that in a matter of such serious concern,... denial to me of an opportunity to be heard must necessarily reflect adversely upon the Department of Justice. I should think that the possible consequences of an unjustified enforcement of the Act, would impel the Justice Department to bend every effort to make certain of its conclusions. The Department's arbitrary and capricious refusal to confer with me compels me to infer that either the Department is unaware of the import of the statute which it seeks to enforce, or that it is unwise enough to deal cavalierly with the rights of American citizens."

In the meanwhile our Bureau was closing its temporary role, as various peace movements arose in hundreds of American centers and national organizations appeared. By October we had closed our activities and were only answering correspondence which continued to come asking especially

news of the convening new peace meetings. The office closed completely in January.

On February 16, four of us were arriagned in Washington. Thus I stand tonight facing the possibility of celebrating my future birthdays in prison, and thus relieving all "Houses of Essex" from embarrassment. The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I maintain that advocacy of peace is not treason; that I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been; that I am the champion of no idea alien to this nation; and that I have the right within the law in the future as in the past to fight for peace.

L8-8-93

One often wonders how far it is right to fight for unpopular causes and with negligible force against the weight of public opinion. The very sweep and power of the world at any age makes any human being doubt his knowledge and judgment and shrink before the hosts of time. Yet as I look back I seem to see many victories and much satisfaction for such efforts. If we seem at present worsted in our effort to halt war, this may be in part due to our failure to see in war the vast evil it has recently become; and in part to because we do not yet know how much we have really accomplished. Victory may be nearer than we think.

Let us continue to dream with Shelley:

"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like the Glory, Titan! is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free:
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

[1951]

BIRTHDAY DINNER

The succession of birthday dinners which have been given me in the last thirty years, have become I assure you almost as embarassing to me as to you. The first was given when [redacted] I was just about to go on a mission of interracial peace in Europe, following the Peace of Versailles and indeed designed to be [redacted] the end of the First World War. Since 1918, this world has staggered along the strangest paths and to and by the most fearful goals humanity has ever pictured. And in this fantastic generation, I have been put in position where on five anniversaries I must explain and interpret if not justify my continued existence. Two or three times I tried farewell addresses, until they lost meaning; then I sought interpretation of my days and deeds until I was no longer sure either of my vision nor logic. So now at last I divest myself of the personal aspect of this day, and simply seek to follow one theme which now seems to have been central in my life under various names and aspects. And that is Peace.

24-41-93

The world search for Peace has changed in approach and emphasis before my day and during it. But always in essence the human cry for peace has been to eliminate force from human action and substitute more and more that free exercise and unbinding of the human spirit which would enable mankind to reach its highest and best manifestation. We long thought of War as the breaking of peace and the halting of freedom for certain clear causes. And we set ourselves first to recognize and correct or eliminate those causes of war as the first and only way to stop war.

This in other times meant seven sorts of aggression: the sudden marauder coming "down like a wolf on the fold,"--driven by hunger and beckoned by fertile valleys like the Mongols on China. Then protection of food and harvest, in the midst of desert, as when the Nile called to Black Africa, Peace retreated to high walled cities like Babylon, whose strength protected the surrounding fields. Then the explorers went out to the Indies and

Americas to find what was scarce and take it if they could. Amid all this primitive turmoil grew Belief--religious faith and cultural pattern, the frightful fight for which took on ancient and eternal sanctions and transcended fear of death. Above and around this grew the State, a vast and deathless Idea, which was not born and could not die, and became part of men's thoughts, emotions and memories and therefore part of themselves. Finally, overshadowing all this broad and timeless building loomed the idea of race; of a high and holy concept of super-humanity whose preservation was the only real end of Man.

It was in the midst of the concept of race integrity, and the belief in its defence to the last drop of blood and the last cringe of misery, that I was born and grew to manhood. To me therefore the cause of war seemed race hate and the chief aim of all attack on war must be attack on race prejudice.

24-41-74

Before my time War had seemed to have other major causes: fear of strangers, desert hordes too vast to tame; barbarians who spoke strange tongues and did strange things; foreigners of every sort and hateful Heretics. Finally as the world grew whiter in scheme and culture, the Darker Races appeared as the universal cause of strife. The great and mighty pleas for Peace, from Socrates to from Jesus Christ to Grotius, from Buddha to Dante were raised therefore to Strike at these causes of war rather than at war itself, assuming that war was not habit, evil in itself, or a wrong way of life; that it was never a Cause in itself but always a result of mighty forces; that therefore attack on these forces was attack on war. It was the 19th century which taught us a new conception of causes of war: namely, that whatever war was against it was always for personal gain, income, control of labor of men; and the 20th century is teaching us that in its present awful stature War, World War becomes not a mere result but a Cause; a link in the great chain of events which so swells and looms above all others, that either we attack War as War or the world sinks to a day when neither:

Star nor sun shall waken
  Nor any change of light:
Nor sound of waters shaken
  Nor any sound or sight:
Nor wintry leaves nor vernal,
  Nor days nor things vernal,
Only the sleep eternal
  In the eternal night.

In the Century then that I was born, it was natural for me to seize on gain and labor as the main cause of War and to find its chief example in Negro slavery and in that excuse for slavery, race hate. Instead of beginning as most reformers of my day did with the exploitation of white labor as cause of war, I began with black slavery and the subjection of the Darker peoples as the cause of the subjection of white labor and the chief cause of war. Once I grasped this idea, I did not wait until 1949, to become agent of a Foreign Power to fight for Peace, but I began at the very threshold of the 20th century when in London in 1900, on the way from the Paris Exhibition, I sat down with a dozen persons, under the leadership of a West Indian and tried to plan a course of action which sometime would turn the Hundred Years of European Peace into a peace for all nations and races. In 1911, led by the Ethical Societies of the World, Felix Adler and myself became American Secretaries of the International Races Congress which met in London, with Guiseppi Sergi, Franz Boas, John Hobson, Sir Sidney Oliver and Wu Ting Fang , Felix von Luschan. It was,we all felt, the first concerted attack of civilization upon that doctrine of race which was helping to split the earth into hating, competing, bitter fomentors of universal war. It was then I read to that splendid multitude:"Save us, World Spirit from our lessor selves

Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every face and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

But it was no truce. This was before the First World War; it was when that little German war-ship slipped into North Africa and began a conflagration whose flames are still burning, fed by the corpes of the world's youth. It was the beginning of a series of war, so destructive, so murderous, so

bestial that War in this century takes on another meaning: it is no longer a resutl, it is a Cause--a great and evil Monster set to destroy civilization, at first sight out of sheer madness and inborn evil. But out of second and clearer sight, with the determination to place control of the world in the hands of one clique of unscrupulous men.

Thus it happened that when in 1918, when first you fell into this bad habit of tendering me delightful dinners, I fell apparently into the equally bad habit of seeing war not as a result but as a cuase of that procession of evils which today threatens all which we count as worth preserving and living for.

My start in 1918 seemed logical and timely after that Day of Wrath, Peace had come. The War to end all War was done. The endless wars of all the worlds had culminated in one vast holocast of blood and shame. Germany, that peerless leader of Science and Philosophy was in the dust. France was decimated; I sat in the halls of the Trocadero and heard the voice of a magnificent figure from Comedie Francais cry "C'est la Victorie" C'est le victorie. There were tears in that voice. In vain France kissed Black Africa and Yellow Indo-China on the cheek and wound the Crox de Guerre on their breasts ; in vain for below writhed in utter gried and abandon the mothers of French boys I tramped through the mud and filth of the Argonne; I saw the wild children crawling through the sewers of Moscow, I saw the unending line of young whores thronging the Freidrechstrasse of Berlin, and in London, Englishmen trying to look stolid when their empire was tottering and the guts had been beaten out of their hearts--it was a hideous price the world was paying for victory and its only justification, if there was any justification was that we had ended all war--no more War!

On this foundation I proposed to build. Since war for centuries had been the result of race prejudice and racism of exploitation, not xx the war had ceased, a new racial understanding and progress must ensue. I was but

24-41-17

a lone pygmy grasping at thunderbolts and the Americans jeered at my plan for a Pan-African Congress and for giving the Negro voice in the mandated German colonies. But I walked past the soft advice of Colonel House, who talked for Wilson, and through the help of Blaise Diagne, the African who saved France with 150,000 black Sengalese, I went straight to Clemenceau; and when Secretary of State Polk was refusing passports to Negroes, because there would be no Congress and while Britain would not even let representatives of the old anti-slavery societies attend, Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France said "Go ahead!" and we went.

But of course not far; just a little step. We held Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921, and 1923. We aroused the fury of the imperialists; we were financed from Moscow, yelled the Belgians; we were Garvey revolutionists yelled the English, but we did plant ~~xxxxxx~~ an idea with the Mandates Commission and the International Labor Organisation.

There came the Breathless Decade. The Decade of Indecision from 1819 to 1829 passed. I saw Russia and Germany for the first time I saw Africa; I came home to the Great Depression, to lynching and race riot and disfranchisement. The election of 1928 marked the lowest mark of Negro political recognition in this land. Twenty Five /Negroes of every shade of opinion united to say:

" That in the presidential campaign of 1928, more than in previous ~~c~~mpagins since the Civil War, the American Negro was treated in a manner which is unfair and discouraging.

"We accuse the political leaders of this campaign of permitting without protest, public and repeated assertions on the platform, in the press, and b word of mouth, that color and race constitute in themselves an imputation of guilt and crime.

24-41-28

There followed the Great Depression and the New Deal. I saw the nation on its knees, expand into a broader socialism and a new internationalism. I began a new search for guidance and truth. In body and spirit I went around the World: I stayed five months in England, France and Germany; I traversed the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria; for the first time I saw Asia through China and Japan. I came back by golden rain of Hawaii with a new vision of peace and interracial comity. And I came back to renewed World War.

Then at last in mind and spirit I gew up. I saw War for what it was : a Cause, not merely an effect; a vicious habit of semi-civilized man, used to cloak objects and designs which they dare not openly declare.

I knew of course as a scientist that even a great Cause must itself be caused; but I also saw that while in the chain of events some links loom large and some small, for reasons we perhaps may ever search for and never know, certainly in our day, War itself is the embodiment of evil which must be fought head-on, to clear the way and give the time and save the life to rescue the civilization of mankind.

24-41-79

For this reason, since the beginning of the Second World War, I have given all the thought and energy I could to Peace, whenever and wherever I found an opportunity. I was sponsor and speaker at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York in March 1949. I attended gladly the Paris World Congress for Peace held in April, which was the greatest meeting I have ever seen. I promised to attend the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City, in September, but before that I was invited to an All Russian Peace Congress in Moscow in August. I went to Moscow but was unable to get to Mexico on time. In the United States I was on the programme of the meeting of the Committee of Peaceful Alternatives. Meantime many were asking about the status of the Peace movement here and abroad, since there was almost no news in the press. Some two dozen persons met in April, 1950, to form a Peace Information Bureau. The object was,

to supply information about peace activities at home and abroad; to cooperate in cultural exchange of peace advocates from here to Europe and from Europe here.

On August 11, four and a half months after the beginning of our work, the Attorney-General, wrote us ask ng us to register as "publicity agent for a "Foreign Principal." We immediately send our attorney to Washington and wrote a statement:

"The Peace Information Center was conceived and formed bya group of American citizens, apprehensive lest the gorwing tensions among the governments of the world burst into a terrible conflagration which might well snuff out civlization as we know it. They believed that the overwhelmng desire of the American people was for peace. They also believed that the avoidance of the mass destruction and human ~~xiuxory~~ misery of a Third World War was dependent, in large measure on the expression by the American people of their desire for peace. They conceived that the Peace Information Center would serve the American people by informing them of the issues of peace; by making available to them data concerning the great struggles being carried on for the maintenance of international peace; and by providing the means and forum for expressing their desire for peace.

"In furtherance of these aims and purposes, the Peace Information Center honored the requests of many groups and individuals throughout the country that they be supplied with information and material concerning the World Peace Appeal. This, as you may know, is a statement calling for the outlawing of atomic weapons, coupled with the declaration that the nation which will first ~~x~~ use atomic weapons against anogher country will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal. The information and material so supplied, included prints of the wording of the Appeal, the names and numbers of persons who have supported or signed it, and statements that may have been made about it. Similarly, the Peace Information Center has made available to interested prsons and organizations

the statement of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which calls for a treaty to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. The greater part of the organizational life of the Peace Information Center, as a result of the tremendous interest expressed by the people of this country in the world Peace Appeal, has, empirically, been devoted to supplying the demands made upon it concerning the Appeal.

"This general summary presents the constitution, purposes and conduct of the Peace Information Center. In fact, this organization never has, nor was there ever the intention or agreement to act for a "foreign principal", and none can be inferred from its conduct, except by warping the facts and reading into them that which does not, in fact, exist."

Requesting a conference. This was denied and September 19, we were told that the Department was not satisfied that we were not agents. I replied:

"I cannot but feel that, in a matter of such serious concern, Mr. Foley(s denial to me of an opportunity to be heard must necessarily reflect adversely upon the Department of Justice. I should think that the possible consequences of an unjustified enforcement of the Act, would impel the Justice Department to bend every effort to make certain of its conclusions. The Department's arbitrary and capricious refusal to confer with me compels me to infer that either the Department is unaware of the import of the statute which it seeks to enforce, or that it is unwise enough to deal cavalierly with the rights of American citizens."

February 2, we were again notified to register and a few days later indicted for criminally refusing to register. Four of our officers were arraigned February 16 and were remanded for trial. With us were arraigned persons accused of manslaughter, forgery, failure to support a child and gambling.

24-41-81

I was finger-prined, made to empty my pockets, frisked for concealed weapons and hand-cuffed. Later bail was granted. I stand tonight on my birthday with the possiblity of fine of five thousand dollars and dying in prison. The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I continue to maintain that advocacy of Peace is not treason. That I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been. And that I shall continue in the future as in the past to keep the law and fight for peace.

One often wonders how far it pays to fight for unpopular causes and against the weight of public opinion. Yet as I look back I can see many victories and much satisfaction for the effort against race prejudice and its results. If we seem at present worsted in our effort to halt war, this is in part due to our failure to see in war the vast evil it has recently become; and in part too because we do not yet know how much we have really accomplished. Victory may be nearer than we think.

24-41-82

BIRTHDAY DINNER

Feb. 23, 1951

The succession of birthday dinners which have been given me in the last thirty years, have become I assure you almost as embarassing to me as to you. The first was given when I was fifty, ~~at a dinner changed~~ years old in 1918. I was just about to go on a mission of interracial peace in Europe, ~~following~~ in connection with the ~~Peace~~ Congress of Versailles and indeed designed to be part of that finish of the First World War. Since 1918, this world has staggered along the strangest paths and to and by the most fearful goals, humanity has ever pictured. And in this fantastic generation, I have been put in position where on five anniversaries I must explain and interpret if not justify my continued existence. ~~Two~~ or three times I tried farewell addresses, until they lost meaning; then I sought interpretation of my days and deeds, until I was no longer quite sure either of my vision nor logic. So now at last I divest myself of the personal aspects of this day, and simply seek to follow one theme which now seems to have ~~been~~ become central in my life under various names and aspects. And that is Peace.

24-41-3

The world search for Peace has changed in approach and emphasis before my day and during it. But always in essence the human cry for peace has ever been to eliminate force from human action and substitute more and more that free exercise and unbinding of the human spirit, which would enable mankind to reach its highest and best manifestation. We long thought of War as the breaking of peace and the halting of freedom for certain clear causes. And we set ourselves first to recognize and correct or eliminate those causes of war as the first and only way to stop war.

This in other times meant seven sorts of aggression: the sudden marauder coming "down like a wolf on the fold,"--driven by hunger and beckoned by fertile valleys, like the Mongols on China. Then protection of food and harvest, in the midst of desert when as the Nile called to Black Africa. Peace soon retreated to ~~the~~ high walled cities like Babylon, whose strength ~~held~~ shielded the surrounding fields. Then the explorers went out to the Indies and

Americas to find what was scarce and take it if they could. Amid all this primitive turmoil grew Belief--religious faith and cultural pattern, the frightful fight for which, took on ancient and eternal sanctions and transcended fear of death. Above and around this grew the State, a vast and deathless Idea, which was not born and could not die, and became part of men's thoughts, emotions and memories and therefore part of themselves. Finally, overshadowing all this broad and timeless building loomed the idea of race; of a high and holy concept of super-humanity whose preservation was the only real end of Man.

It was in the midst of ~~the~~ this concept of race integrity, and the belief in its defence to the last drop of blood and the last cringe of misery that I was born and grew to manhood. To me therefore the cause of war seemed race hate and the ~~chief~~ first aim of all attack on war, must be attack on race prejudice.

24-41-4

Before my time, War had seemed to have other major causes: fear of strangers, desert hordes too vast to tame; barbarians who spoke strange tongues and did strange things; foreigners of every sort and hateful Heretics. Finally as the world grew ~~whiter~~ European in scheme and culture, the Darker Races appeared the universal cause of strife. The great and mighty pleas for Peace, from ~~Socrates to~~ Buddha to Jesus, from Dante to Kant, from Grotius to Gandhi ~~from Jesus Christ to Grotius, from Buddha to Dante~~ were raised therefore to strike at these causes of war rather than at war itself; assuming that war was not habit, evil in itself, or a wrong way of life; that it was ~~never~~ not so much a Cause in itself ~~but~~ as always ~~of~~ a result of ~~mighty~~ evil forces; that therefore attack on these forces was attack on war. It was the 19th century which taught us a new concept~~ion~~ of the causes of war: namely, that whatever war was against, it was always mainly fought for personal gain, for income and control of labor of men ~~and~~ the 20th century ~~is teaching~~ went further to tell us that in its present awful stature War, World War, becomes not a mere result but a Cause; a link in the great chain of events which so swells and looms above all others, that either we attack War as War or the world sinks to a day when neither:

Star nor sun shall waken
  Nor any change of light:
Nor sound of waters shaken
  Nor any sound or sight:
Nor wintry leaves nor vernal,
  Nor days nor things ~~vernal,~~ diurnal;
Only the sleep eternal
  In the eternal night.

In the Century then ~~that~~ when I was born, it was natural for me to seize on gain ~~and labor~~ as the main cause of War and to find its chief example in Negro slavery and in that excuse for slavery, race hate. Instead of beginning as most reformers of my day did with the exploitation of white labor ~~as cause of war,~~ I began with black slavery and the subjection of the Darker peoples as the cause of the subjection ~~fm~~ of white labor and consequently the chief cause of war. Once I grasped this idea, I did not wait until 1949, ~~to become agent of a Foreign Power~~ to fight for Peace, but I began at the very threshold of the 20th century when in London in 1900, on the way from the Paris Exhibition, I sat down with a dozen persons, under the leadership of a West Indian and tried to plan a course of action which sometime would turn the Hundred Years of European Peace into a world peace for all nations and races. In 1911, led by the Ethical Societies of the World, Felix Adler and myself became American Secretaries of the International Races Congress which met in London, with Guiseppi Sergi, Franz Boas, John Hobson, Sir Sidney Oliver, Israel Zangwill, Sir Harry Johnston and Wu Ting Fang; with Felix von Luschan, Léon Bourgeois. It was, we all felt, the first concerted attack of civilization upon that doctrine of race which was helping to split the earth into hating, competing, bitter fomentors of universal war. ~~It was then~~ I read to that ~~splendid~~ multitude: "Save us, World Spirit from our lessor selves

Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our soul in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

But it was no truce. This was ~~before~~ the First World War; it was when that little German war-ship slipped into North Africa and began a conflagration whose flames are still burning, fed by ~~the corpses~~ 30 million corpses of the world's youth. It was the beginning of a series of war, so destructive, so murderous, so

24-41-5

W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

We be blood-guilty! Lo, our hands be red!
Let no man blame the other in this sin!
But here--here in the white Silence of the Dawn,
Before the Womb of Time,
With bowed hearts all flame and shame,
We face the birth-pangs of a world:
We hear the stifled cry of Nations all but born--
The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!
We see the nakedness of Toil, the poverty of Wealth,
We know the Anarchy of Empire, and doleful Death of Life!
And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:

Save us, World-Spirit, form our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

bestial that War in this century takes on another meaning: ~~it is no longer a result~~ It is a ~~cause~~ great and evil Monster set to destroy civilization; at first sight out of sheer madness and inborn evil; but on second and clearer sight, with the determination to place control of the world's wealth in the hands of one international clique of unscrupulous men.

Thus it happened that when in 1918, when first you fell into this bad habit of tendering me delightful dinners, I fell ~~apparently~~ into what is now stigmatized as the equally bad habit of seeing war ~~not as a result but~~ as a cause (William Link) of that chain ~~procession~~ of evils which today threatens all which we count as worth preserving and living for.

My start in 1918 seemed logical and timely after that Day of Wrath, Peace had come. The War to end all War was done. The endless wars of all the worlds had culminated in one vast holocaust of blood and shame. Germany, that peerless leader of Science and Philosophy was in the dust. France was decimated; I sat in the halls of the Trocadero and heard the voice of a magnificent figure from the Comedie Francais cry "C'est la Victoire"! C'est le victoire." There were tears in that voice. In vain France kissed Black Africa and Yellow Indo-China on the cheek, and wound the Crox de Guerre on their breasts ; in vain, for below writhed in utter grief and abandon the mothers of six million French boys. I tramped through the mud and filth of the Argonne; I saw the wild children crawling through the sewers of Moscow, I saw the unending line of young whores thronging the Friedrichstrasse of Berlin, and in London, Englishmen tried to look stolid, when their Empire was tottering and the guts had been beaten out of their hearts. It was a hideous price the world was paying for victory, and its only justification, if there was any justification, was that we had ended all war--no more War!

On this foundation I proposed to build. Since war for centuries had been ~~the result of race prejudice and~~ coupled with racism and the child of exploitation, now that the war had ceased, a new racial understanding and progress must ensue. I was but

24-41-6

Start

a lone pygmy grasping at thunderbolts and the Americans jeered at my plan for a Pan-African Congress and for giving the Negro voice in the control of the mandated German colonies. But I walked past the soft advice of Colonel House, who talked for President Wilson, and ~~through~~ with the help of Blaise Diagne, the African who saved France with 150,000 black Sengalese, I went straight to ~~Clemenceau~~; and ~~when~~ as Secretary of State Polk was refusing passports to Negroes, because there would be no Pan-African Congress, and while Britain would not let even ~~her~~ representatives of the old anti-slavery societies attend, Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France Clemenceau said "Go ahead!" and we went.

But of course we did not go far; just a little step. We held Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921, and 1923. We aroused the fury of the imperialists; we were "financed from Moscow," yelled the Belgians; we were "Garvey revolutionists" yelled the English, But we did plant ~~xxxxxx~~ an idea with the Mandates Commission and the International Labor Organization.

There came the ~~Grand Black Decade~~ Decade of Indecision from 1819 to 1829 ~~passed~~. I saw Russia and Germany; for the first time, I saw Africa; I came home to the Great Depression, to lynching and race riot and disfranchisement. The election of 1928 marked the lowest mark of Negro political recognition in this land. Twenty Five Negroes of every shade of opinion united to say:

" That in the presidential campaign of 1928, more than in previous csmpagins since the Civil War, the American Negro was treated in a manner which is unfair and discouraging.

"We accuse the political leaders of this campaign of permitting without pretest, public and repeated assertions on the platform, in the press, and by word of mouth, that color and race constitute in themselves an imputation of guilt and crime."

— Robert Nixon, James Weldon Johnson, John Hope, Nathaniel Dett, Fred Moore and Bishop Carey —

24-41-7

There followed the Great Depression and the New Deal. I saw ~~the~~ a nation on its knees, struggling to expand into a broader socialism and a new internationalism. I began a new search for guidance and truth. In body and spirit I went around the World: I stayed five months in England, France and Germany; I traversed the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria; for the first time I saw Asia through China and Japan. I came back by golden rain of Hawaii with a new vision of peace and interracial comity. And I came back to ~~renewed~~ new World War.

Then at last in mind and spirit I grew up. I saw War for what it was: a Cause, and not merely ~~an effect~~ a link in a chain; a vicious habit of semi-civilized man, used to cloak objects and designs which they dare not openly declare.

I knew of course as a scientist that even a great Cause must itself be caused; but I also saw that ~~while~~ in the chain of events some links loom large and ~~and some small~~ purposeful, for reasons of which will a outer force, for which we perhaps may ever search far and never know. Certainly in our day, War itself is the embodiment of evil which must be fought head-on, to clear the way and give the time and save the life to rescue the ~~civilization~~ future progress of mankind.

24-41-8

For this reason, since the beginning of the Second World War, I have given all the thought and energy I could to Peace, whenever and whereever I found an opportunity. I was sponsor and speaker at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York in March 1949. I attended gladly the Paris World Congress for Peace held in April, which was the greatest meeting I have ever seen. I promised to attend the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City, in September, but before that I was invited to an All Russian Peace Congress in Moscow in August. ~~I went to Moscow but was unable to get to Mexico on time.~~ In the United States I was on the programme of the meeting of the Committee of Peaceful Alternatives.

Meantime many were asking about the status of the Peace movement here and abroad, since there was almost no news in the press. Some two dozen persons met in April, 1950, to form a Peace Information Bureau. The object was,

Meantime in the United States, Peace and Peace movements were not news. The Press was almost completely silent on the movements toward peace which were shaking the entire world. To counteract this ignorance and let America realize that most men did no want war, on April 3, 1950, forty-two persons formed the Peace Information Bureau for the purpose of letting as many Americans as possible know the facts about the peace movement in Europe and Asia, and letting the world know that a peace movement was growing here. We printed and circulated the Stockholm Appeal against the atom bomb; we distributed the Red Cross protest; we spread news of the Quaker statement and our peace-grams went to thousands and millions responded.

Then the counter-attack came. First the Secretary of State condemned the Stockholm as a conspiracy; then four months after our activities began the Department of Justice demanded that we register as "Publicity Agent" of a "Foreign Principal". We protested and wrote:

24-411-9

to supply information about peace activities at home and abroad; to cooperate in cultural exchange of peace advocates from here to Europe and from Europe here. Our information was widely sought after. Our correspondence covered the nation.

On August 11, four and a half months after the beginning of our work, the Attorney-General, wrote us asking us to register as "publicity agent" for a "Foreign Principal." We immediately send our attorney to Washington and wrote a statement:

"The Peace Information Center was conceived and formed by a group of American citizens, apprehensive lest the growing tensions among the governments of the world burst into a terrible conflagration which might well snuff out civlization as we know it. They believed that the overwhelmng desire of the American people was for peace. They also believed that the avoidance of the mass destruction and human misery of a Third World War was dependent, in large measure on the expression by the American people of their desire for peace. They conceived that the Peace Information Center would serve the American people by informing them of the issues of peace; by making available to them data concerning the great struggles being carried on for the maintenance of international peace; and by providing the means and forum for expressing their desire for peace."

"In furtherance of these aims and purposes, the Peace Information Center honored the requests of many groups and individuals throughout the country in that they be supplied with information and material concerning the World Peace Appeal. This, as you may know, is a statement calling for the outlawing of atomic weapons, coupled with the declaration that the nation which will first use atomic weapons against anogher country will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal. The information and material so supplied, included prints of the wording of the Appeal, the names and numbers of persons who have supported or signed it, and statements that may have been made about it. Similarly, the Peace Information Center has made available to interested prsons and organizations

24-41-10

The Department insisted that they were not satisfied . I asked for a personal conferenc

which was denied. I then wrote in September

24-41-11

the statement of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which calls for a treaty to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. The greater part of the organizational life of the Peace Information Center, as a result of the tremendous interest expressed by the people of this country in the world Peace Appeal, has, empirically, been devoted to supplying the demands made upon it concerning the Appeal.

"This general summary presents the constitution, purposes and conduct of the Peace Information Center. In fact, this organization never has, nor was there ever the intention or agreement to act for a "foreign principal", and none can be inferred from its conduct, except by warping the facts and reading into them that which does not, in fact, exist."

Requesting a conference, but this was denied and September 19, we were told that the Department was not satisfied that we were not agents. I replied:

"I cannot but feel that, in a matter of such serious concern, Mr. Foley(s denial to me of an opportunity to be heard must necessarily reflect adversely upon the Department of Justice. I should think that the possible consequences of an unjustified enforcement of the Act, would impel the Justice Department to bend every effort to make certain of its conclusions. The Department's arbitrary and capricious refusal to confer with me compels me to infer that either the Department is unaware of the import of the statute which it seeks to enforce, or that it is unwise enough to deal cavalierly with the rights of American citizens."

24-41-12

On February 9 we were indicted for criminally refusing to register. Four of our officers were arraigned February 16 and were remanded for trial. With us were arraigned one person accused of manslaughter, one of forgery, one of failure to support a child and two for gambling.

On February 16, four of us were arraigned in Washington. It was my first visit to a criminzal court. Before we appeared at the dock, five other persons were arraigned: a white youth accused of manslaughter and another for not supporting his child; two white men were accused of gambling and one thin black girl of forgery

In the meanwhile ~~the work of~~ our bureau was closing its temporary role as various peace movements arose in hundreds of American centers and ~~began to unite into~~ affiliated national organizations. By October we had closed most of our activities and were only answering correspondence which continued to come asking and news of Connecticut new peace meetings. The office closed completely in January.

24-41-13

I was finger-prined, made to empty all my pockets, frisked for concealed weapons and hand-cuffed. Later bail was granted. This I stand tonight ~~on my birthday~~ facing ~~with~~ the possiblity of ~~fine of five thousand dollars and dying~~ in prison. The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I continue to maintain that advocacy of Peace is not treason; that I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been; and I ~~shall continue~~ have the right in the future as in the past to ~~keep the law and~~ fight for peace within the law.

One often wonders how far it ~~pays~~ is right to fight for unpopular causes and against the weight of public opinion. Yet as I look back I seem to see many victories and much satisfaction for my effort against race prejudice and its results. If we seem at present worsted in our effort to halt war, this may be in part due to our failure to see in war the vast evil it has recently become; and in part too because we do not yet know how much we have really accomplished. Victory may be nearer than we think. Let us dream with Shelley,

24-41-14

That I am the champion of no ideal alien to this nation; and that

The very speech and power of the world at any age makes any human being doubt his knowledge and judgment ~~at any particular time~~ and shrink before the hosts of Time

(A. 120)

W. E. B. DU BOIS February 23, 1951

BIRTHDAY DINNER

THE SUCCESSION OF BIRTHDAY DINNERS WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN ME IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS, HAVE BECOME I ASSURE YOU, AS EMBARASSING TO ME AS TO YOU. THE FIRST WAS GIVEN WHEN I WAS FIFTY YEARS OLD IN 1918. I WAS JUST ABOUT TO TO ON A MISSION OF INTERRACIAL PEACE IN EUROPE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES AND INDEED DESIGNED TO BE PART OF THAT FINISH OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. SINCE 1918, THIS WORLD HAS STAGGERED ALONG THE STRANGEST PATHS AND TO AND BY THE MOST FEARFUL GOALS, HUMANITY HAS EVER PICTURED. AND IN THIS FANTASTIC GENERATION, I HAVE ON FIVE ANNIVERSARIES BEEN PUT IN POSITION WHERE I MUST EXPLAIN AND INTERPRET IF NOT JUSTIFY MY CONTINUED EXISTENCE. TWO OR THREE TIMES I TRIED FAREWELL ADDRESSES, UNTIL THEY LOST MEANING: THEN I SOUGHT INTERPRETATION OF MY DAYS AND DEEDS, UNTIL I WAS NO LONGER QUITE SURE EITHER OF MY VISION NOR LOGIC. SO NOW AT LAST I DIVEST MYSELF OF THE PERSONAL

---2---

ASPECTS OF THIS DAY, AND SIMPLY SEEK TO FOLLOW ONE THEME WHICH NOW SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME CENTRAL IN MY LIFE UNDER VARIOUS NAMES AND ASPECTS. AND THAT IS PEACE.

THE WORLD SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS CHANGED IN APPROACH AND EMPHASIS BEFORE MY DAY AND DURING IT. BUT ALWAYS IN ESSENCE THE HUMAN CRY FOR PEACE HAS EVER BEEN TO ELIMINATE FORCE FROM HUMAN ACTION AND SUBSTITUTE MORE AND MORE THAT FREE EXERCISE AND UNBINDING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WHICH WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO REACH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST MANIFESTATION. WE LONG THOUGHT OF WAR AS THE BREAKING OF PEACE AND THE HALTING OF FREEDOM FOR CERTAIN CLEAR CAUSES AND WE SET OURSELVES FIRST TO RECOGNIZE AND CORRECT OR ELIMINATE THOSE CAUSES OF WAR AS THE FIRST AND ONLY WAY TO STOP WAR.

THIS IN OTHER TIMES MEANT SEVEN SORTS OF AGGRESSION: THE SUDDEN MARAUDER COMING "DOWN LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD,"--DRIVEN BY HUNGER AND BECKONED BY

FERTILE VALLEYS, LIKE THE MONGLOS ON CHINA. THEN PROTECTION OF FOOD AND HARVEST, IN THE MIDST OF DESERT AS WHEN THE NILE CALLED TO BLACK AFRICA. PEACE SOON RETREATED TO HIGH WALLED CITIES LIKE BABYLON, WHOSE STRENGTH STRETCHED OUT TO THE SURROUNDING FIELDS. THEN THE EXPLORERS WENT OUT TO THE INDIES AND AMERICAS TO FIND WHAT WAS SCARCE AND TAKE IT IF THEY COULD. AMID ALL THIS PRIMITIVE TURMOIL GREW BELIEF--RELIGIOUS FAITH AND CULTURAL PATTERN, THE FRIGHTFUL FIGHT FOR WHICH, TOOK ON ANCIENT AND ETERNAL SANCTIONS AND TRANSCENDED FEAR OF DEATH. ABOVE AND AROUND THIS GREW THE STATE, A VAST AND DEATHLESS IDEA, WHICH WAS NOT BORN AND COULD NOT DIE, AND BECAME PART OF MENS' THOUGHTS, EMOTIONS AND MEMORIES AND THEREFORE PART OF THEMSELVES. FINALLY, OVERSHADOWING ALL THIS BROAD AND TIMELESS BUILDING LOOMED THE IDEA OF RACE: OF A HIGH AND HOLY CONCEPT OF SUPER-HUMANITY WHOSE PRESERVATION WAS THE ONLY REAL END OF MAN.

35-5-364

IT WAS IN THE MIDST OF THIS CONCEPT OF RACE INTEGRITY, AND THE BELIEF IN

ITS DEFENSE TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD AND THE LAST CRINGE OF MISERY THAT I WAS BORN AND GREW TO MANHOOD. TO ME THEREFORE THE CAUSE OF WAR SEEMED RACE HATE AND THE FIRST ALL OF ALL ATTACK ON WAR, MUST BE ATTACK ON RACE PREJUDICE.

45-5-2

BEFORE MY TIME, WAR HAD SEEMED TO HAVE OTHER MAJOR CAUSES: FEAR OF STRANGERS, DESERT HORDES TOO VAST TO TAME; BARBARIANS WHO SPOKE STRANGE TONGUES AND DID STRANGE THINGS; FOREIGNERS OF EVERY SORT AND HATEFUL HERETICS. FINALLY AS THE WORLD GREW EUROPEAN IN SCHEME AND CULTURE, THE DARKER RACES APPEARED THE UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF STRIFE. THE GREAT AND MIGHTY PLEAS FOR PEACE, FROM BUDDHA TO JESUS, FROM DANTE TO KANT, FROM GROTIUS TO Gandhi WERE RAISED THEREFORE TO STRIKE AT THESE CAUSES OF WAR RATHER THAN AT WAR ITSELF: THAT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH A CAUSE IN ITSELF AS ALWAYS A RESULT OF EVIL FORCES; THAT THEREFORE ATTACK ON THESE FORCES WAS ATTACK ON WAR.

IT WAS THE 19TH CENTURY WHICH TAUGHT US A NEW CONCEPT OF THE CAUSES OF WAR: NAMELY, THAT WHATEVER WAR WAS AGAINST, IT WAS ALWAYS MAINLY FOUGHT FOR PERSONAL GAIN, FOR INCOME AND CONTROL OF THE LABOR OF MEN. THE 20TH CENTURY WENT FURTHER TO TELL US THAT IN ITS PRESENT AWFUL STATURE WAR, WORLD WAR, BECOMES NOT A MERE RESULT BUT A CAUSE: A LINK IN THE GREAT CHAIN OF EVENTS WHICH SO SWELLS AND LOOMS ABOVE ALL OTHERS, THAT EITHER WE ATTACK WAR AS WAR OR THE WORLD SINKS TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER:

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT;
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL,
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL;
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN THE ETERNAL NIGHT.

IN THE CENTURY THEN WHEN I WAS BORN, IT WAS NATURAL FOR ME TO SEIZE ON GAIN AS THE MAIN CAUSE OF WAR AND TO FIND ITS CHIEF EXAMPLE IN NEGRO SLAVERY AND IN THAT EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY, RACE HATE. BUT INSTEAD OF BEGINNING

45-5-3

WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR AS MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY DID, I BEGAN WITH BLACK SLAVERY AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLES AS THE CAUSE OF THE SUBJECTION OF WHITE LABOR AND CONSEQUENTLY THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA, I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949, TO ~~XXXX

SIR SIDNEY OLIVER, ISRAIL ZANGWILL, SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, AND WU TING FANG: WITH FELIX VON LUSCHAN AND LEON BOURGEOIS. IT WAS, WE ALL FELT, THE FIRST CONCERTED ATTACK OF CIVILIZATION UPON THAT DOCTRINE OF RACE WHICH WAS HELPING TO SPLIT THE EARTH INTO HATING, COMPETING, BITTER FOMENTORS OF UNIVERSAL WAR. I READ TO THAT MULTITUDE IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON:

"WE BE BLOOD-GUILTY! LO, OUR HANDS BE RED!
LET NO MAN BLAME THE OTHER IN THIS SIN!
BUT HERE--HERE IN THE WHITE SILENCE OF THE DAWN,
BEFORE THE WOMB OF TIME,
WITH BOWED HEARTS ALL FLAME AND SHAME,
WE FACE THE BIRTH-PANGS OF A WORLD:
WE HEAR THE STIFLED CRY OF NATIONS ALL BUT BORN--
THE WAIL OF WOMEN RAVISHED OF THEIR STUNTED BROOD!
WE SEE THE NAKEDNESS OF TOIL, THE POVERTY OF WEALTH,
WE KNOW THE ANARCHY OF EMPIRE, AND DOLEFUL DEATH OF LIFE!
AND HEARING, SEEING, KNOWING ALL, WE CRY:

"SAVE US, WORLD-SPIRIT, FROM OUR LESSER SELVES!
GRANT US THAT WAR AND HATRED CEASE,
REVEAL OUR SOULS IN EVERY RACE AND HUE!
HELP US, O HUMAN GOD, IN THIS THY TRUCE,
TO MAKE HUMANITY DIVINE! "

BUT IT WAS NO TRUCE. THIS WAS THE THRESHHOLD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: IT WAS WHEN THAT LITTLE GERMAN WARSHIP SLIPPED INTO NORTH AFRICA AND BEGAN A CONFLAGRATION WHOSE FLAMES ARE STILL BURNING, FED BY 30 MILLION CORPSES OF THE WORLDS' YOUTH. IT WAS THE BEGINNING OF A SERIES OF WAR, SO DESTRUCTIVE, SO MURDEROUS, SO BEASTIAL THAT WAR IN THIS CENTURY TAKES ON ANOTHER MEANING. IT IS A GREAT AND EVIL MONSTER SET TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION: AT FIRST SIGHT OUT OF SHEER MADNESS AND INBORN EVIL: BUT ON SECOND AND CLEARER SIGHT, WITH THE DETERMINATION TO PLACE CONTROL OF THE WORLD WEALTH IN THE HANDS OF THE ONE INTERNATIONAL CLIQUE OF UNSCRUPULOUS MEN.

THUS IT HAPPENED THAT WHEN IN 1918, WHEN FIRST YOU FELL INTO THIS BAD HABIT OF TENDERING ME DELIGHTFUL DINNERS, I FELL INTO WHAT IS NOW STIGMATISED AS THE EQUALLY BAD HABIT OF SEEING WAR AS A MAIN LINK OF THAT CHAIN OF EVILS WHICH TODAY THREATENS ALL WHICH WE COUNT AS WORTH PRESERVING AND LIVING FOR.

MY START IN 1918, SEEMED LOGICAL AND TIMELY AFTER THAT DAY OF WRATH. PEACE HAD COME. THE WAR TO END ALL WAR WAS DONE. THE ENDLESS WARS OF ALL THE WORLDS HAD CULMINATED IN ONE VAST HOLOCAUST OF BLOOD AND SHAME. GERMANY, THAT PEERLESS LEADER OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY WAS IN THE DUST. FRANCE WAS DECIMATED: I SAT IN THE HALLS OF THE TROCADERO AND HEARD THE VOICE OF A MAGNIFICENT FIGURE FROM THE COMEDIE FRANCAIS CRY "C'EST LA VICTOIRE! C'EST LA VICTOIRE!" THERE WERE TEARS IN THAT VOICE. IN VAIN FRANCE KISSED BLACK AFRICA AND YELLOW INDO-CHINA ON THE CHEEK AND WOUND THE CROX DE GUERRE ON THEIR BREASTS: IN VAIN: FOR BELOW WRITHED IN UTTER GRIEF AND ABANDON THE MOTHERS OF SIX MILLION FRENCH. I TRAMPED THROUGH THE MUD AND FILTH OF THE ARGONNE: I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN CRAWLING THROUGH THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW, I SAW THE UNENDING LINE OF YOUNG WHORES THRONGING THE FRIEDRICHSTRASSE OF BERLIN, AND IN LONDON, ENGLISHMEN TRIED TO LOOK STOLID, WHEN THEIR EMPIRE WAS TOTTERING AND THE GUTS HAD BEEN BEATEN OUT OF THEIR HEARTS. IT WAS A

HIDEOUS PRICE THE WORLD WAS PAYING FOR VICTORY, AND ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION, IF THERE WAS ANY JUSTIFICATION, WAS THAT WE HAD ENDED ALL WAR--NO MORE WAR!

ON THIS FOUNDATION I PROPOSED TO BUILD. SINCE WAR FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH RACISM THE CHILD OF EXPLOITATION, NOW THAT WAR HAD CEASED, A NEW RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS MUST ENSUE. I WAS BUT A LONE PYGMY GRASPING AT THUNDERBOLTS AND THE AMERICANS JEERED AT MY PLAN FOR A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND FOR GIVING THE NEGRO VOICE IN THE CONTROL OF THE MANDATED GERMAN COLONIES. BUT I WALKED PAST THE SOFT ADVICE OF COLONEL HOUSE, WHO TALKED FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, AND WITH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE AFRICAN WHO SAVED FRANCE WITH150,000 BLACK SENGALESE, I WENT STRAIGHT TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE, AS SECRETARY OF STATE POLK WAS REFUSING PASSPORTS TO NEGROES, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: AND WHILE BRITAIN WOULD NOT LET EVEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES ATTEND, CLEMENCEAU SAID "GO AHEAD"! AND WE WENT.

BUT OF COURSE WE DID NOT GO FAR: JUST A LITTLE STEP. WE HELP PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN PARIS, LONDON, BRUSSELS AND LISBON IN 1919, 1921, and 1923. WE AROUSED THE FURY OF THE IMPERIALISTS: WE WERE "FINANCED FROM MOSCOW" YELLED THE BELGIANS: WE WERE "GARVEY REVOLUTIONISTS" YELLED THE ENGLISH. BUT WE DID PLANT IDEAS WITH THE MANDATES COMMITTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

THERE CAME THE DECADE OF INDECISION FROM 1819 to 1929. I SAW RUSSIA AND GERMANY: AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, I SAW AFRICA: I CAME HOME TO THE GREAT DEPRESSION, TO LYNCHING AND RACE RIOT AND DISFRANCHISEMENT. THE ELECTION OF 1928 MARKED THE LOWEST MARK OF NEGRO POLITICAL RECOGNITION IN THIS LAND. TWENTY-FIVE NEGROES OF EVERY SHADE OF OPINION--ROBERT MOTON, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, JOHN HOPE, NATHANIEL DETT, FRED MOORE AND BISHOP CAREY, UNITED TO SAY:

"THAT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPIAGN OF 1928, MORE THAN IN PREVIOUS CAMPAIGNS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, THE AMERICAN NEGRO WAS TREATED IN A MANNER WHICH

IS UNFAIR AND DISCOURAGING.

"WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OF PERMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST, PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS ON THE PLATFORM, IN THE PRESS, AND BY WORD OF MOUTH, THAT COLOR AND RACE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

THERE FOLLOWED THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL. I SAW A NATION ON ITS KNEES STRUGGLING TO EXPAND INTO A BROADER SOCIALISM AND A NEW INTER-NATIONALISM. I BEGAN A NEW SEARCH FOR GUIDANCE AND TRUTH. IN BODY AND SPIRIT I WENT AR UND THE WORLD: I STAYED FIVE MONTHS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY: I TRAVERSED THE SOVIET UNION FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA: FOR THE FIRST TIME I SAW ASIA THROUGH CHINA AND JAPAN. I CAME BACK BY GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII WITH A NEW VISION OF PEACE AND INTERRACIAL COMITY. AND I CAME BACK TO NEW WORLD WAR.

THEN AT LAST IN MIND AND SPIRIT I GREW UP. I SAW WAR FOR WHAT IT WAS: A CAUSE, AND NOT MERELY A LINK IN A CHAIN: A VICIOUS HABIT OF SEMI-CIVILIZED MAN, USED TO CLOAK OBJECTS AND DESIGNS WHICH THEY DARE NOT OPENLY DECLARE.

I KNEW OF COURSE AS A SCIENTIST THAT EVEN A GREAT CAUSE MUST ITSELF BE CAUSED: BUT I ALSO SAW THAT IN THE CHAIN OF EVENTS SOME LINKS LOOM LARGE AND PURPOSEFUL FOR REASONS OF INNER WILL OR OUTER FORCE, FOR WHICH WE PERHAPS, MAY EVER SEARCH AND NEVER KNOW. CERTAINLY IN OUR DAY, WAR ITSELF IS THE EMBODIMENT OF EVIL WHICH MUST BE FOUGHT HEAD-ON, TO CLEAR THE WAY AND GIVE THE TIME AND SAVE THE LIFE TO RESCUE THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF MANKIND.

FOR THIS REASON, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, I HAVE GIVEN ALL THE THOUGHT AND ENERGY I COULD TO PEACE, WHENEVER AND WHEREEVER I FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY. I WAS SPONSOR AND SPEAKER AT THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE, HELD IN NEW YORK IN MARCH 1949. I ATTENDED GLADLY THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE HELD IN APRIL, WHICH WAS

THE GREATEST MEETING I HAVE EVER SEEN. I PROMISED TO ATTEND THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE IN MEXICO CITY, IN SEPTEMBER, BUT BEFORE THAT I WAS INVITED TO AN ALL RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW IN AUGUST. IN THE UNITED STATES I WAS ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES.

MEANTIME IN THE UNITED STATES PEACE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS WERE NOT NEWS. THE PRESS WAS ALMOST COMPLETELY SILENT ON THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD PEACE WHICH WERE SHAKING THE ENTIRE WORLD. TO COUNTERACT THIS IGNORANCE AND LET AMERICA REALIZE THAT MOST MEN DID NOT WANT WAR, FORTY-TWO PERSONS ON APRIL 5, 1950, FORMED THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU FOR THE PURPOSE OF LETTING AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ASIA, AND LETTING THE WORLD KNOW THAT A PEACE MOVEMENT WAS GROWING HERE. WE PRINTED AND CIRCULATED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE

ATOM BOMB: WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS PROTEST: WE SPREAD NEWS OF THE QUAKER STATEMENT AND OUR PEACE-PROGRAMS WENT TO THOUSANDS AND MILLIONS RESPONDED.

THEN THE COUNTER-ATTACK CAME. FIRST THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONDEMNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AS A CONSPIRACY: THEN FOUR MONTHS AFTER OUR ACTIVITIES BEGAN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DEMANDED THAT WE REGISTER AS "PUBLICITY AGENT" OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE PROTESTED AND WROTE:

35-5-370

"THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WAS CONCEIVED AND FORMED BY A GROUP OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, APPREHENSIVE LEST THE GROWING TENSIONS AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD BURST INTO A TERRIBLE CONFLAGRATION WHICH MIGHT WELL SNUFF OUT CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS FOR PEACE. THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE AVOIDANCE OF THE MASS DESTRUCTION AND HUMAN MISERY OF A THIRD WORLD WAR WAS DEPENDENT, IN A LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXPRESSION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE. THEY CONCEIVED THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WOULD SERVE THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE BY INFORMING THEM OF THE ISSUES OF PEACE; BY MAKING AVIALABLE TO THEM DATA CONCERNING THE GREAT STRUGGLES BEING CARRIED ON FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE; AND BY PROVIDING THE MEANS AND FORUM FOR EXPRESSING THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE."

45-5-8

THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED. I ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WAS DENIED. I THEN WROTE IN SPETEMBER:

"I CANNOT BUT FEAL THAT IN A MATTER OF SUCH SERIOUS CONCERN, MR. FOLEY'S DENIAL TO ME OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD MUST NECESSARILY REFLECT ADVERSELY UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. I SHOULD THINK THAT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNJUSTIFIED ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT , WOULD IMPEL THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO BEND EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE CERTAIN OF ITS CONCLUSIONS. THE DEPARTMENT'S ARBITRARY AND CAPRICIOUS REFUSAL TO CONFER WITH ME COMPELS ME TO INFER THAT EITHER THE DEPARTMENT IS UNAWARE OF THE IMPORT OF THE STATUTE WHICH IT SEEKS TO ENFORCE, OR THAT IT IS UNWISE ENOUGH TO DEAL CAVALIERLY WITH

THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS."

IN THE MEANWHILE OUR BUREAU WAS CLOSING ITS TEMPORARY ROLE AS VARIOUS PEACE MOVEMENTS AROSE IN HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN CENTERS AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS APPEARED. BY OCTOBER WE HAD CLOSED OUR ACTIVITIES AND WERE ONLY ANSWERING CORRESPONDENCE WHICH CONTINUED TO COME ASKING NEWS OF NEW PEACE MEETINGS. THE OFFICE CLOSED COMPLETELY IN JANUARY.

ON FEBRUARY 16, FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON. IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO A CRIMINAL COURT. BEFORE WE APPEARED AT THE DOCK, FIVE OTHER PERSONS WERE ARRAIGNED: A WHITE YOUTH ACCUSED OF MANSLAUGHTER AND ANOTHER FOR NOT SUPPORTING HIS CHILD: TWO WHITE MEN ACCUSED OF GAMBLING AND ONE THIN BLACK GIRL OF FORGERY. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED, MADE TO EMPTY ALL MY POCKETS: FRISKED FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HAND-CUFFED. LATER BAIL WAS GRANTED.

THUS I STAND TONIGHT FACING THE POSSIBILITY OF CELEBRATING MY FUTURE BIRTHDAYS IN PRISON. THE PROSPECT IS NOT PLEASANT. YET I CONTINUE TO

MAINTAIN THAT ADVOCACY OF PEACE IS NOT TREASON: THAT I AM THE AGENT OF NO FOREIGN PRINCIPAL AND NEVER HAVE BEEN: THAT I AM THE CHAMPION OF NO IDEA ALIEN TO THIS NATION: AND THAT I HAVE THE RIGHT WITHIN THE LAW IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST TO FIGHT FOR PEACE.

ONE OFTEN WONDERS HOW FAR IT IS RIGHT TO FIGHT FOR UNPOPULAR CAUSES AND AGAINST THE WEIGHT OF PUBLIC OPINION. THE VERY SWEEP AND POWER OF THE WORLD AT ANY AGE MAKES ANY HUMAN BEING DOUBT HIS KNOWLEDGE AND JUDGMENT AND SHRINK BEFORE THE HOSTS OF TIME. YET AS I LOOK BACK I SEEM TO SEE MANY VICTORIES AND MUCH SATISFACTION FOR MY EFFORTS AGAINST RACE PREJUDICE AND ITS RESULTS. IF WE SEEM AT PRESENT WORSTED IN OUR EFFORT TO HALT WAR, THIS MAY BE IN PART DUE TO OUR FAILURE TO SEE IN WAR THE VAST EVIL IT HAS RECENTLY BECOME: AND IN PART TOO BECAUSE WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW MUCH WE HAVE REALLY ACCOMPLISHED VICTORY MAY BE NEARER THAN WE THINK.

LET US DREAM WITH SHELLY:

"TO SUFFER WOES WHICH HOPE THINKS INFINITE:
TO FORGIVE WRONGS DARKER THAN DEATH OR NIGHT:
TO DEFY POWER, WHICH SEEMS OMNIPOTENT:
TO LOVE, AND BEAR: TO HOPE TILL HOPE CREATES
FROM ITS OWN WRECK THE THING IT CONTEMPLATES:
NEITHER TO CHANGE, NOR FALTER, NOR REPENT:
THIS, LIKE THE GLORY, TITAN! IS TO BE
GOOD, GREAT AND JOYOUS, BEAUTIFUL AND FREE:
THIS IS ALONE LIFE, JOY, EMPIRE AND VICTORY.

35-5-372

45-5-10

W. E. B. DU BOIS FEBRUARY 23, 1951

BIRTHDAY DINNER

THE SUCCESSION OF BIRTHDAY DINNERS WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN ME IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS, HAVE BECOME I ASSURE YOU, AS EMBARASSING TO ME AS TO YOU. THE FIRST WAS GIVEN WHEN I WAS FIFTY YEARS OLD IN 1918. I WAS JUST ABOUT TO GO ON A MISSION OF INTERRACIAL PEACE IN EUROPE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. SINCE THEN THIS WORLD HAS STAGGERED THROUGH THE MOST FANTASTIC PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY. CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX POURED OVER PARADOX AND CONTRADICTION. POSSIBLY IN PREVIOUS AGES MORE INTRICATE PATTERS OF LIFEHAVE BEEN WOVEN BUT THEY WERE ON MUCH SMALLER SCALE AND WROUGHT OF SLIGHTER THREADS ON MORE DELICATE FABRIC. PERHAPS TOO THE VERY QUANTITY AND SWEEP OF OUR KNOWING TODAY NOW OVERSHELMNS US AND ELUDES COMPREHENSION AS COMPARED WITH THE INFINITUDE OF THE MARKETPLACE OF ATHENS OR THE BO TREE OF GAUTAMA. AND IN THIS FANTASTIC GENERATION, I HAVE ON FIVE ANNIVERSARIES

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BEEN PUT IN POSITION WHERE I MUST EXPLAIN AND INTERPRET IF NOT JUSTIFY MY CONTINUED EXISTENCE. TWO OR THREE TIMES I TRIED FAREWELL ADDRESSES, UNTIL THEY LOST MEANING , FOR I WAS NOT BIDDING THE WORLD FAREWELL, I WAS STILL ALIVE. THEN I SOUGHT INTERPRETATION OF MY DAYS AND DEEDS, UNTIL I WAS NO LONGER QUITE SURE EITHER OF MY VISION NOR LOGIC.

WHATEVER IT ALL WAS AND IS, I WAS AKDED TO GIVE MEANING TO WHAT WAS TO ME TO OFTEN MEANINGLESS, OR IF SIGNIFICANT NOW IN THIS WAY, TOMORROW WITH SIGNIFICANCE CHANGED AND TAKING NEW HUES AND NUANCES; NEW CHORDS AND DISSOANCES THUS MADE INTERPRETATION FUNNY. I HELD DESPERATELY TO SIMPLE THEMES EVEN WHEN I SAW THEM CONTRADICTING THEMSELVES. THE WORLD WAS NOW THE NEGRO PROBLEM. THEN THE WORLD WAS AFRICA. THE WORLD WAS WEALTH, KNOWLEDGE WAS THE WORLD. YET NEVER WAS THE WORLD QUITE ALL OR ANY OF THESE THINGS. PERHAPS A SHORTER LIFE LIKE KEATS, WOULD HAVE REVEALED SOME ORDER AND MEANING, SOME PATTERN

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REASON. BUT 80 YEARS FROM GLADSTONE TO CHURCHILL, FROM GRANT TO ROOSEVELT HAS NO PATTERN AND DECREES NO GUIDING STAR. BUT TURNS WHIRLS AND ROARS IN UTTER CHAOS WHILE WE BLIND RIDERS OF DREAMS, HANG WILDLY ON AND TRY EACH DECADE TO FORMULATE WHAT THE LAST DENIED. HAD I DIED AT FIFTY MY LIFE WOULD HAVE HAD A CERTAIN UNITY AND MEANING WHICH IT CAN NOW NEVER ATTAIN. IT HAS BECOME NOW PART OF A VASTER ARC WHICH I SHALL NEVER MYSELF FINISH AND WHICH TODAY ELUDES RATIONALIZATION.

TONIGHT MY TASK IS SIMPLIFIED. I DO NOT HAVE TO CHOOSE A THEME--THE THEME OF PEACE ON EARTH, CHOOSES ME. IT HAS BEEN BUT ONE OF MANY THREADS OF MY LIFE'S EFFORTS AND YET IN A SENSE NEW EVEN TO MY THOUGHT IT BECOMES TODAY CENTRAL. THE SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS CHANGED IN APPROACH AND EMPHASIS BEFORE MY DAY AND DURING IT. IN 25 CENTURIES ONLY ONE YEAR IN EVERY 12 HAS BEEN A YEAR OF PEACE. BUT ALWAYS IN ESSENCE THE HUMAN CRY FORPEACE HAS EVER BEEN to ELIMINATE FORCE FROM HUMAN ACTION AND SUBSTITUTE MORE AND MORE THAT FREE EXERCISE AND UNBINDING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WHICH WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO

REACH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST MANIFESTATION.

WE LONG THOUGHT OF WAR AS THE BREAKING OF PEACE AND THE HALTING OF FREEDOM FOR CERTAIN CLEAR CAUSES AND WE SET OURSELVES FIRST TO RECOGNIZE AND CORRECT OR ELIMINATE THOSE CAUSES OF WAR AS THE FIRST AND ONLY WAY TO STOP WAR. THIS IN OTHER TIMES MEANT OPPOSITION TO SEVEN SORTS OF AGGRESSION; THE SUDDEN MARAUDER COMING "DOWN LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD," --DRIVEN BY HUNGER AND BECKONED BY

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FERTILE VALLEYS, LIKE THE MONGLOS ON CHINA. THEN PROTECTION OF FOOD AND HARVEST, IN THE MIDST OF DESERT AS WHEN THE NILE CALLED TO BLACK AFRICA. PEACE SOON RETREATED TO HIGH WALLED CITIES LIKE BABYLON, WHOSE STRENGTH STRETCHED OUT TO THE SURROUNDING FIELDS. THEN THE EXPLORERS WENT OUT TO THE INDIES AND AMERICAS TO FIND WHAT WAS SCARCE AND TAKE IT IF THEY COULD. AMID ALL THIS PRIMITIVE TURMOIL GREW BELIEF--RELIGIOUS FAITH AND CULTURAL PATTERN, THE FRIGHTFUL FIGHT FOR WHICH, TOOK ON ANCIENT AND ETERNAL SANCTIONS AND TRANSCENDED FEAR OF DEATH. ABOVE AND AROUND THIS GREW THE STATE, A VAST AND DEATHLESS IDEA, WHICH WAS NOT BORN AND COULD NOT DIE, AND BECAME PART OF MENS' THOUGHTS, EMOTIONS AND MEMORIES AND THEREFORE PART OF THEMSELVES. FINALLY, OVERSHADOWING ALL THIS BROAD AND TIMELESS BUILDING LOOMED THE IDEA OF RACE: OF A HIGH AND HOLY CONCEPT OF SUPER-HUMANITY WHOSE PRESERVATION WAS THE ONLY REAL END OF MAN.

IT WAS IN THE MIDST OF THIS CONCEPT OF RACE INTEGRITY, AND THE BELIEF IN

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ITS DEFENSE TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD AND THE LAST CRINGE OF MISERY THAT I WAS BORN AND GREW TO MANHOOD. TO ME THEREFORE THE CAUSE OF WAR SEEMED RACE HATE AND THE FIRST ALL OF ALL ATTACK ON WAR, MUST BE ATTACK ON RACE PREJUDICE.

BEFORE MY TIME, WAR HAD SEEMED TO HAVE OTHER MAJOR CAUSES: FEAR OF STRANGERS, DESERT HORDES TOO VAST TO TAME: BARBARIANS WHO SPOKE STRANGE TONGUES AND DID STRANGE THINGS: FOREIGNERS OF EVERY SORT AND HATEFUL HERETICS. FINALLY AS THE WORLD GREW EUROPEAN IN SCHEME AND CULTURE, THE DARKER RACES APPEARED THE UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF STRIFE. THE GREAT AND MIGHTY PLEAS FOR PEACE, FROM BUDDHA TO JESUS, FROM DANTE TO KANT, FROM GROTIUS TO Gandhi WERE RAISED THEREFORE TO STRIKE AT THESE CAUSES OF WAR RATHER THAN AT WAR ITSELF: THAT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH A CAUSE IN ITSELF AS ALWAYS A RESULT OF EVIL FORCES: THAT THEREFORE ATTACK ON THESE FORCES WAS ATTACK ON WAR.

IT WAS THE 19TH CENTURY WHICH TAUGHT US A NEW CONCEPT OF THE CAUSES OF WAR: NAMELY, THAT WHATEVER WAR WAS AGAINST, IT WAS ALWAYS MAINLY FOUGHT FOR PERSONAL GAIN, FOR INCOME AND CONTROL OF THE LABOR OF MEN. THE 20TH CENTURY WENT FURTHER TO TELL US THAT IN ITS PRESENT AWFUL STATURE WAR, WORLD WAR, BECOMES NOT A MERE RESULT BUT A CAUSE: A LINK IN THE GREAT CHAIN OF EVENTS WHICH SO SWELLS AND LOOMS ABOVE ALL OTHERS, THAT EITHER WE ATTACK WAR AS WAR OR THE WORLD SINKS TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER:

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT:
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL,
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL:
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN THE ETERNAL NIGHT.

IN THE CENTURY THEN WHEN I WAS BORN, IT WAS NATURAL FOR ME TO SEIZE ON GAIN AS THE MAIN CAUSE OF WAR AND TO FIND ITS CHIEF EXAMPLE IN NEGRO SLAVERY AND IN THAT EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY, RACE HATE. BUT INSTEAD OF BEGINNING

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WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR AS MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY DID, I BEGAN WITH BLACK SLAVERY AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLE AS THE CAUSE OF THE SUBJECTION OF WHITE LABOR AND CONSEQUENTLY THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA, I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949, TO [illegible] FIGHT FOR PEACE, BUT I BEGAN AT THE VERY THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY WHEN IN LONDON IN 1900, ON THE WAY FROM THE PARIS EXHIBITION, I SAT DOWN WITH A DOZEN PERSONS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A WEST INDIAN AND TRIED TO PLAN A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH SOMETIME WOULD TURN THE HUNDRED YEARS OF EUROPEAN PEACE INTO A WORLD PEACE FOR ALL NATIONS AND RACES. IN 1911, LED BY THE ETHICAL SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD, FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF BECAME AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RACES CONGRESS WHICH MET IN LONDON, WITH GUISEPPI SERGI, FRANZ BOAS, JOHN HOBSON,

SIR SIDNEY OLIVER, ISRAIL ZANGWILL, SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, AND WU TING FANG: WITH FELIX VON LUSCHAN AND LEON BOURGEOIS. IT WAS, WE ALL FELT, THE FIRST CONCERTED ATTACK OF CIVILIZATION UPON THAT DOCTRINE OF RACE WHICH WAS HELPING TO SPLIT THE EARTH INTO HATING, COMPETING, BITTER FOMENTORS OF UNIVERSAL WAR. I READ TO THAT MULTITUDE IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON:

"WE BE BLOOD-GUILTY! LO, OUR HANDS BE RED!
LET NO MAN BLAME THE OTHER IN THIS SIN!
BUT HERE--HERE IN THE WHITE SILENCE OF THE DAWN,
BEFORE THE WOMB OF TIME,
WITH BOWED HEARTS ALL FLAME AND SHAME,
WE FACE THE BIRTH-PANGS OF A WORLD:
WE HEAR THE STIFLED CRY OF NATIONS ALL BUT BORN--
THE WAIL OF WOMEN RAVISHED OF THEIR STUNTED BROOD!
WE SEE THE NAKEDNESS OF TOIL, THE POVERTY OF WEALTH,
WE KNOW THE ANARCHY OF EMPIRE, AND DOLEFUL DEATH OF LIFE!
AND HEARING, SEEING, KNOWING ALL, WE CRY:

"SAVE US, WORLD-SPIRIT, FROM OUR LESSER SELVES!
GRANT US THAT WAR AND HATRED CEASE,
REVEAL OUR SOULS IN EVERY RACE AND HUE!
HELP US, O HUMAN GOD, IN THIS THY TRUCE,
TO MAKE HUMANITY DIVINE! "

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BUT IT WAS NO TRUCE. THIS WAS THE THRESHHOLD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: IT WAS WHEN THAT LITTLE GERMAN WARSHIP SLIPPED INTO NORTH AFRICA AND BEGAN A CONFLAGRATION WHOSE FLAMES ARE STILL BURNING, FED BY 30 MILLION CORPSES OF THE WORLDS' YOUTH. IT WAS THE BEGINNING OF A SERIES OF WAR, SO DESTRUCTIVE, SO MURDEROUS, SO BEASTIAL THAT WAR IN THIS CENTURY TAKES ON ANOTHER MEANING. IT IS A GREAT AND EVIL MONSTER SET TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION: AT FIRST SIGHT OUT OF SHEER MADNESS AND INBORN EVIL: BUT ON SECOND AND CLEARER SIGHT, WITH THE DETERMINATION TO PLACE CONTROL OF THE WORLD WEALTH IN THE HANDS OF THE ONE INTERNATIONAL CLIQUE OF UNSCRUPULOUS MEN.

THUS IT HAPPENED THAT WHEN IN 1918, WHEN FIRST YOU FELL INTO THIS BAD HABIT OF TENDERING ME DELIGHTFUL DINNERS, I FELL INTO WHAT IS NOW STIGMATISED AS THE EQUALLY BAD HABIT OF SEEING WAR AS A MAIN LINK OF THAT CHAIN OF EVILS WHICH TODAY THREATENS ALL WHICH WE COUNT AS WORTH PRESERVING AND LIVING FOR.

MY START IN 1918, SEEMED LOGICAL AND TIMELY AFTER THAT DAY OF WRATH. PEACE HAD COME. THE WAR TO END ALL WAR WAS DONE. THE ENDLESS WARS OF ALL THE WORLDS HAD CULMINATED IN ONE VAST HOLOCAUST OF BLOOD AND SHAME. GERMANY, THAT PEERLESS LEADER OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY WAS IN THE DUST. FRANCE WAS DECIMATED: I SAT IN THE HALLS OF THE TROCADERO AND HEARD THE VOICE OF A MAGNIFICENT FIGURE FROM THE COMEDIE FRANCAIS CRY "C'EST LA VICTOIRE! C'EST LA VICTOIRE!" THERE WERE TEARS IN THAT VOICE. IN VAIN FRANCE KISSED BLACK AFRICA AND YELLOW INDO-CHINA ON THE CHEEK AND WOUND THE CROX DE GUERRE ON THEIR BREASTS: IN VAIN: FOR BELOW WRITHED IN UTTER GRIEF AND ABANDON THE MOTHERS OF SIX MILLION FRENCH. I TRAMPED THROUGH THE MUD AND FILTH OF THE ARGONNE: I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN CRAWLING THROUGH THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW, I SAW THE UNENDING LINE OF YOUNG WHORES THRONGING THE FRIEDRICHSTRASSE OF BERLIN, AND IN LONDON, ENGLISHMEN TRIED TO LOOK STOLID, WHEN THEIR EMPIRE WAS TOTTERING AND THE GUTS HAD BEEN BEATEN OUT OF THEIR HEARTS. IT WAS A

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HIDEOUS PRICE THE WORLD WAS PAYING FOR VICTORY, AND ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION, IF THERE WAS ANY JUSTIFICATION, WAS THAT WE HAD ENDED ALL WAR--NO MORE WAR!

ON THIS FOUNDATION I PROPOSED TO BUILD. SINCE WAR FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH RACISM THE CHILD OF EXPLOITATION, NOW THAT WAR HAD CEASED, A NEW RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS MUST ENSUE. I WAS BUT A LONE PIGMY GRASPING AT THUNDERBOLTS AND THE AMERICANS JEERED AT MY PLAN FOR A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND FOR GIVING THE NEGRO VOICE IN THE CONTROL OF THE MANDATED GERMAN COLONIES. BUT I WALKED PAST THE SOFT ADVICE OF COLONEL HOUSE, WHO TALKED FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, AND WITH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE AFRICAN WHO SAVED FRANCE WITH150,000 BLACK SENGALESE, I WENT STRAIGHT TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE, AS SECRETARY OF STATE POLK WAS REFUSING PASSPORTS TO NEGROES, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: AND WHILE BRITAIN WOULD NOT LET EVEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES ATTEND, CLEMENCEAU SAID "GO AHEAD"! AND WE WENT.

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BUT OF COURSE WE DID NOT GO FAR: JUST A LITTLE STEP. WE HELP PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN PARIS, LONDON, BRUSSELS AND LISBON IN 1919, 1921, and 1923. WE AROUSED THE FURY OF THE IMPERIALISTS: WE WERE "FINANCED FROM MOSCOW" YELLED THE BELGIANS: WE WERE "GARVEY REVOLUTIONISTS" YELLED THE ENGLISH. BUT WE DID PLANT IDEAS WITH THE MANDATES COMMITTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

THERE CAME THE DECADE OF INDECISION FROM 1819 to 1929. I SAW RUSSIA AND GERMANY: AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, I SAW AFRICA: I CAME HOME TO THE GREAT DEPRESSION, TO LYNCHING AND RACE RIOT AND DISFRANCHISEMENT. THE ELECTION OF 1928 MARKED THE LOWEST MARK OF NEGRO POLITICAL RECOGNITION IN THIS LAND. TWENTY-FIVE NEGROES OF EVERY SHADE OF OPINION--ROBERT MOTON, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, JOHN HOPE, NATHANIEL DETT, FRED MOORE AND BISHOP CAREY, UNITED TO SAY:

"THAT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPIAGN OF 1928, MORE THAN IN PREVIOUS CAMPAIGNS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, THE AMERICAN NEGRO WAS TREATED IN A MANNER WHICH

IS UNFAIR AND DISCOURAGING.

"WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OF PERMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST, PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS ON THE PLATFORM, IN THE PRESS, AND BY WORD OF MOUTH, THAT COLOR AND RACE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

THERE FOLLOWED THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL. I SAW A NATION ON ITS KNEES STRUGGLING TO EXPAND INTO A BROADER SOCIALISM AND A NEW INTERNATIONALISM. I BEGAN ANEW SEARCH FOR GUIDANCE AND GRUTH. IN BODY AND SPIRIT I WENT AROUND THE WORLD IN 1936: I STAYED FIVE MONTHS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY: I TRAVERSED THE SOVIET UNION FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA: FOR THE FIRST TIME I SAW ASIA THROU H CHINA AND JAPAN. I CAME BACK BY THE GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII WITH A NEW VISION OF PEACE AND INTERRACIAL COMITY. AND I CAME BACK TO NEW WORLD WAR. IT WAS AGAIN CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX. IT WAS SCIENTIFIC FRUSTRATION AND DENIAL OF KNOWLEDGE. MY SOCIOLOGY, MY SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION WHICH I WAS BEGINNING TO FORMULATE WAS ALL FOOLISHNESS.

24-41-42

BUT AT LAST IN MIND AND SPIRIT I GREW TO THAT MATURITY WHICH STILL LEARNS BUT IS NOT IGNORANT, DARES TO REACH DECISIONS AND YET TO CHANGE THEM. I SAW WAR NOT HISTORICALLY OR THEORETICALLY BUT ACTUALLY FOR WHAT IT WAS: A CAUSE, AND NOT MERELY A LINK IN A CHAIN: A VICIOUS HABIT OF SEMI-CIVILIZED MAN, USED TO CLOAK OBJECTS AND DESIGNS WHICH THEY DARE NOT OPENLY DECLARE.

I KNEW OF COURSE AS A SCIENTIST THAT EVEN A GREAT CAUSE MUST ITSELF BE CAUSED: BUT I ALSO SAW THAT IN THE CHAIN OF EVENTS ALL ARE NOT EQUAL NOR EQUALLY CAUSED. SOME LINKS LOOM LARGE AND PURPOSEFUL FOR OBSCURE REASONS OF INNER WILL OR OUTER FORCE, FOR WHICH PERHAPS WE MAY EVER SEARCH AND NEVER FIND. CERTAINLY IN OUR DAY, WAR ITSELF IS THE EMBODIMENT OF AN EVIL WHICH MUST BE FOUGHT HEAD-ON, TO CLEAR THE WAY AND GIVE THE TIME AND SAVE THE LIFE TO RESCUE THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF MANKIND. AND THE PURE HYPOTHESIS THAT THIS COUNTERACTING FORCE CAN BE APPLIED BY IS AS OLD AS TIME AND AS TRUE AS TRUTH.

FOR THIS REASON, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, I HAVE GIVEN ALL THE THOUGHT AND ENERGY I COULD TO PEACE, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER I FOUND

AN OPPORTUNITY. I WAS SPONSOR AND SPEAKER AT THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE, HELD IN NEW YORK IN MARCH 1949. I ATTENDED GLADLY THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE HELD IN APRIL, WHICH WAS

24-14-43

THE GREATEST MEETING I HAVE EVER SEEN. I PROMISED TO ATTEND THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE IN MEXICO CITY, IN SEPTEMBER, BUT BEFORE THAT I WAS INVITED TO AN ALL RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW IN AUGUST. IN THE UNITED STATES I WAS ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES.

MEANTIME IN THE UNITED STATES PEACE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS WERE NOT NEWS. THE PRESS WAS ALMOST COMPLETELY SILENT ON THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD PEACE WHICH WERE SHAKING THE ENTIRE WORLD. TO COUNTERACT THIS IGNORANCE AND LET AMERICA REALIZE THAT MOST MEN DID NOT WANT WAR, FORTY-TWO PERSONS ON APRIL 3, 1950, FORMED THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU FOR THE PURPOSE OF LETTING AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ASIA, AND LETTING THE WORLD KNOW THAT A PEACE MOVEMENT WAS GROWING HERE. WE PRINTED AND CIRCULATED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE

ATOM BOMB; WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS PROTEST; WE SPREAD NEWS OF THE QUAKER STATEMENT AND OUR PEACE-PROGRAMS WENT TO THOUSANDS AND MILLIONS RESPONDED.

THEN THE COUNTER-ATTACK CAME. FIRST THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONDEMNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AS A CONSPIRACY; THEN FOUR MONTHS AFTER OUR ACTIVITIES BEGAN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DEMANDED THAT WE REGISTER AS "PUBLICITY AGENT" OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE PROTESTED AND WROTE;

"THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WAS CONCEIVED AND FORMED BY A GROUP OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, APPREHENSIVE LEST THE GROWING TENSIONS AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD BURST INTO A TERRIBLE CONFLAGRATION WHICH MIGHT WELL SNUFF OUT CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS FOR PEACE. THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE AVOIDANCE OF THE MASS DESTRUCTION AND HUMAN MISERY OF A THIRD WORLD WAR WAS DEPENDENT, IN A LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXPRESSION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE. THEY CONCEIVED THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WOULD SERVE THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE BY INFORMING THEM OF THE ISSUES OF PEACE; BY MAKING AVIALABLE TO THEM DATA CONCERNING THE GREAT STRUGGLES BEING CARRIED ON FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE; AND BY PROVIDING THE MEANS AND FORUM FOR EXPRESSING THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE."

THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED. I ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WAS DENIED. I THEN WROTE IN SPETEMBER;

"I CANNOT BUT FEAL THAT IN A MATTER OF SUCH SERIOUS CONCERN, MR. FOLEY'S DENIAL TO ME OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD MUST NECESSARILY REFLECT ADVERSELY UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. I SHOULD THINK THAT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNJUSTIFIED ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT , WOULD IMPEL THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO BEND EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE CERTAIN OF ITS CONCLUSIONS. THE DEPARTMENT'S ARBITRARY AND CAPRICIOUS REFUSAL TO CONFER WITH ME COMPELS ME TO INFER THAT EITHER THE DEPARTMENT IS UNAWARE OF THE IMPORT OF THE STATUTE WHICH IT SEEKS TO ENFORCE, OR THAT IT IS UNWISE ENOUGH TO DEAL CAVALIERLY WITH

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THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS."

IN THE MEANWHILE OUR BUREAU WAS CLOSING ITS TEMPORARY ROLE AS VARIOUS PEACE MOVEMENTS AROSE IN HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN CENTERS AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SPPEARED. BY OCTOBER WE HAD CLOSED OUR ACTIVITIES AND WERE ONLY ANSWERING CORRESPONDENCE WHICH CONTINUED TO COME ASKING ESPECIALLY NEWS OF THE CONVENING NEW PEACE MEETINGS. THE OFFICE CLOSED COMPLETELY IN JANUARY.

ON FEBRUARY 16, FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON. IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO A CRIMINAL COURT. BEFORE WE APPEARED AT THE DOCK, FIVE OTHER PERSONS WERE ARRAIGNED: A WHITE YOUTH ACCUSED OF MANSLAUGHTER AND ANOTHER FOR NOT SUPPORTING HIS CHILD: TWO WHITE MEN ACCUSED OF GAMBLING AND ONE THIN BLACK GIRL OF FORGERY. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED, MADE TO EMPTY ALL MY POCKETS: "FRISKED" FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HAND-CUFFED. LATER BAIL WAS GRANTED.

THUS I STAND TONIGHT FACING THE POSSIBILITY OF CELEBRATING MY FUTURE BIRTHDAYS IN PRISON, AND THUS RELIEVING ALL "HOUSES OF ESSEX" FROM EMBARASSMENT THE PROSPECT IS NOT PLEASANT. YET I CONTINUE TO

94-14-42

MAINTAIN THAT ADVOCACY OF PEACE IS NOT TREASON: THAT I AM THE AGENT OF NO FOREIGN PRINCIPAL AND NEVER HAVE BEEN: THAT I AM THE CHAMPION OF NO IDEA ALIEN TO THIS NATION: AND THAT I HAVE THE RIGHT WITHIN THE LAW IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST TO FIGHT FOR PEACE.

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24-71-517

BIRTHDAY DINNER

THE SUCCESSION OF BIRTHDAY DINNERS WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN ME IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS, HAVE BECOME I ASSURE YOU, AS EMBARASSING TO ME AS TO YOU. THE FIRST WAS GIVEN WHEN I WAS FIFTY YEARS OLD IN 1918. I WAS JUST ABOUT TO GO ON A MISSION OF INTERRACIAL PEACE IN EUROPE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. SINCE THEN THIS WORLD HAS STAGGERED THROUGH THE MOST FANTASTIC PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY. CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX POURED OVER PARADOX AND CONTRADICTION. POSSIBLY IN PREVIOUS AGES MORE INTRICATE PATTERNS OF LIFE HAVE BEEN WOVEN BUT THEY WERE ON MUCH SMALLER SCALE AND WROUGHT OF SLIGHTER THREADS ON MORE DELICATE FABRIC. PERHAPS TOO THE VERY QUANTITY AND SWEEP OF OUR KNOWING TODAY NOW OVERWHELMS US AND ELUDES COMPREHENSION AS COMPARED WITH THE INFINITUDE OF THE MARKETPLACE OF ATHENS OR THE BO TREE OF GAUTAMA. AND IN THIS FANTASTIC GENERATION, I HAVE ON FIVE ANNIVERSARIES

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BEEN PUT IN POSITION WHERE I MUST EXPLAIN AND INTERPRET IF NOT JUSTIFY MY CONTINUED EXISTENCE. TWO OR THREE TIMES I TRIED FAREWELL ADDRESSES, UNTIL THEY LOST MEANING, FOR I WAS NOT BIDDING THE WORLD FAREWELL, I WAS STILL ALIVE. THEN I SOUGHT INTERPRETATION OF MY DAYS AND DEEDS, UNTIL I WAS NO LONGER QUITE SURE EITHER OF MY VISION NOR LOGIC.

WHATEVER IT ALL WAS AND IS, I WAS AIDED TO GIVE MEANING TO WHAT WAS TO ME TO OFTEN MEANINGLESS, OR IF SIGNIFICANT NOW IN THIS WAY, TOMORROW WITH SIGNIFICANCE CHANGED AND TAKING NEW HUES AND NUANCES: NEW CHORDS AND DISSONANCES. THIS MADE INTERPRETATION FUNNY. I HELD DESPERATELY TO SIMPLE THEMES EVEN WHEN I SAW THEM CONTRADICTING THEMSELVES. THE WORLD WAS NOW THE NEGRO PROBLEM; THEN THE WORLD WAS AFRICA. THE WORLD WAS WEALTH, KNOWLEDGE WAS THE WORLD. YET NEVER WAS THE WORLD QUITE ALL OR ANY OF THESE THINGS. PERHAPS A SHORTER LIFE LIKE KEATS, WOULD HAVE REVEALED SOME ORDER AND MEANING, SOME PATTERN

or
REASON. BUT 80 YEARS FROM GLADSTONE TO CHURCHILL, FROM GRANT TO ROOSEVELT HAS NO PATTERN AND ~~DECREES~~ Describes NO GUIDING STAR, BUT TURNS WHIRLS AND ROARS IN UTTER CHAOS WHILE WE BLIND RIDERS OF DREAMS, HANG WILDLY ON AND TRY EACH DECADE TO FORMULATE WHAT THE LAST DENIED. HAD I DIED AT FIFTY MY LIFE WOULD HAVE HAD A CERTAIN UNITY AND MEANING WHICH IT CAN NOW NEVER ATTAIN. IT HAS BECOME NOW PART OF A VASTER ARC WHICH I SHALL NEVER MYSELF FINISH AND WHICH TODAY ELUDES RATIONALIZATION.

TONIGHT MY TASK IS SIMPLIFIED. I DO NOT HAVE TO CHOOSE A THEME--THE THEME OF PEACE ON EARTH, CHOOSES ME. IT HAS BEEN BUT ONE OF MANY THREADS OF MY LIFE'S EFFORTS AND YET IN A SENSE NOW EVEN TO MY THOUGHT IT BECOMES TODAY CENTRAL. THE SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS CHANGED IN APPROACH AND EMPHASIS BEFORE MY DAY AND DURING IT. IN 25 CENTURIES ONLY ONE YEAR IN EVERY 12 HAS BEEN A YEAR OF PEACE. BUT ALWAYS IN ESSENCE THE HUMAN CRY FORPEACE HAS/EVER BEEN to ELIMINATE FORCE FROM HUMAN ACTION AND SUBSTITUTE MORE AND MORE THAT FREE EXERCISE AND UNBINDING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WHICH WOULD ENABLE MANKIND TO

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REACH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST MANIFESTATION.

WE LONG THOUGHT OF WAR AS THE BREAKING OF PEACE AND THE HALTING OF FREEDOM FOR CERTAIN CLEAR CAUSES AND WE SET OURSELVES FIRST TO RECOGNIZE AND CORRECT OR ELIMINATE THOSE CAUSES OF WAR AS THE FIRST AND ONLY WAY TO STOP WAR. THIS IN OTHER TIMES MEANT OPPOSITION TO SEVEN SORTS OF AGGRESSION; THE SUDDEN MARAUDER COMING "DOWN LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD," --DRIVEN BY HUNGER AND BECKONED BY

FERTILE VALLEYS, LIKE THE MONGOLS OF CHINA. THEN PROTECTION OF FOOD AND HARVEST, IN THE MIDST OF DESERT AS WHEN THE NILE CALLED TO BLACK AFRICA. PEACE SOON RETREATED TO HIGH WALLED CITIES LIKE BABYLON, WHOSE STRENGTH STRETCHED OUT OVER THE SURROUNDING FIELDS. THEN THE EXPLORERS WENT OUT TO THE INDIES AND AMERICAS TO FIND WHAT WAS SCARCE AND TAKE IT IF THEY COULD. AMID ALL THIS PRIMITIVE TURMOIL, GREW BELIEF--RELIGIOUS FAITH AND CULTURAL PATTERN, THE FRIGHTFUL FIGHT FOR WHICH, TOOK ON ANCIENT AND ETERNAL SANCTIONS AND TRANSCENDED FEAR OF DEATH. ABOVE AND AROUND THIS GREW THE STATE, A VAST AND DEATHLESS IDEA, WHICH WAS NOT BORN AND COULD NOT DIE, AND BECAME PART OF MENS' THOUGHTS, EMOTIONS AND MEMORIES AND THEREFORE PART OF THEMSELVES. FINALLY, OVERSHADOWING ALL THIS BROAD AND TIMELESS BUILDING, LOOMED THE IDEA OF RACE: OF A HIGH AND HOLY CONCEPT OF SUPER-HUMANITY WHOSE PRESERVATION WAS THE ONLY REAL END OF MAN.

IT WAS IN THE MIDST OF THIS CONCEPT OF RACE INTEGRITY, AND THE BELIEF IN

ITS DEFENSE TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD AND THE LAST CRINGE OF MISERY THAT I WAS BORN AND GREW TO MANHOOD. TO ME THEREFORE THE CAUSE OF WAR SEEMED RACE HATE, AND THE FIRST AID OF ALL ATTACK ON WAR, MUST BE ATTACK ON RACE PREJUDICE.

BEFORE MY TIME, WAR HAD SEEMED TO HAVE OTHER MAJOR CAUSES: FEAR OF STRANGERS, DESERT HORDES TOO VAST TO TAME; BARBARIANS WHO SPOKE STRANGE TONGUES AND DID STRANGE THINGS; FOREIGNERS OF EVERY SORT AND HATEFUL HERETICS. FINALLY AS THE WORLD GREW EUROPEAN IN SCHEME AND CULTURE, THE DARKER RACES APPEARED THE UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF STRIFE. THE GREAT AND MIGHTY PLEAS FOR PEACE, FROM BUDDHA TO JESUS, FROM DANTE TO KANT, FROM GROTIUS TO Gandhi WERE RAISED THEREFORE TO STRIKE AT THESE CAUSES OF WAR RATHER THAN AT WAR ITSELF: MEN FELT THAT WAR WAS NOT SO MUCH A CAUSE IN ITSELF AS A RESULT OF EVIL FORCES; THAT THEREFORE ATTACK ON THESE FORCES WAS ATTACK ON WAR.

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IT WAS THE 19TH CENTURY WHICH TAUGHT US A NEW CONCEPT OF THE CAUSES OF WAR: NAMELY, THAT WHATEVER WAR WAS AGAINST, IT WAS ALWAYS MAINLY FOUGHT FOR PERSONAL GAIN, FOR INCOME AND CONTROL OF THE LABOR OF MEN. THE 20TH CENTURY WENT FURTHER TO TELL US THAT IN ITS PRESENT AWFUL STATURE WAR, WORLD WAR, BECOMES NOT A MERE RESULT BUT A MAJOR CAUSE: A LINK IN THE GREAT CHAIN OF EVENTS WHICH SO SWELLS AND LOOMS ABOVE ALL OTHERS, THAT EITHER WE ATTACK WAR AS WAR OR THE WORLD SINKS TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER death lk.

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT:
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTER LEAVES NOR VERNAL,
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL:
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN THE ETERNAL NIGHT.

IN THE ~~CENTURY~~ DECADE THEN WHEN I ~~WAS BORN~~ BEGAN MY LIFE WORK, IT WAS NATURAL FOR ME TO SEIZE ON GAIN AS THE MAIN CAUSE OF WAR AND TO FIND ITS CHIEF EXAMPLE IN NEGRO SLAVERY AND IN THAT EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY, RACE HATE. BUT INSTEAD OF BEGINNING

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WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR AS MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY DID, I BEGAN WITH BLACK SLAVERY AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLE AS THE CAUSE OF THE SUBJECTION OF WHITE LABOR AND CONSEQUENTLY THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA, I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949, TO ~~REXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX

WITH THE EXPLOITATION OF WHITE LABOR AS DID MOST REFORMERS OF MY DAY. IT WAS THE TWIST OF MY PECULIAR SITUATION THAT MADE ME BEGIN WITH BLACK SLAVERY AND THE SUBJECTION OF THE DARKER PEOPLE AS THE CAUSE OF THE SUBJECTION OF WHITE LABOR AND CONSEQUENTLY THE CHIEF CAUSE OF WAR.

ONCE I GRASPED THIS IDEA, I DID NOT WAIT UNTIL 1949, TO FIGHT FOR PEACE, BUT I BEGAN AT THE VERY THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY WHEN IN LONDON IN 1900, ON THE WAY FROM THE PARIS EXHIBITION, I SAT DOWN WITH A DOZEN PERSONS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER AND TRIED TO PLAN A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH SOMETIME WOULD TURN THE HUNDRED YEARS OF EUROPEAN PEACE INTO A WORLD PEACE FOR ALL NATIONS AND RACES. IN 1911, LED BY THE ETHICAL SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD, FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF BECAME AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RACES CONGRESS WHICH MET IN LONDON, WITH THE INTELLECTUAL LEADERS OF THE DAY, GUISEPPI SERGI, FRANZ BOAS, JOHN HOBSON,

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Copy

SIR SIDNEY OLIVER, ISRAEL ZANGWILL, SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, AND WU TING FANG: WITH FELIX VON LUSCHAN AND LEON BOURGEOIS. IT WAS, WE ALL FELT, THE FIRST CONCERTED ATTACK OF CIVILIZATION UPON THAT DOCTRINE OF RACE WHICH WAS HELPING TO SPLIT THE EARTH INTO HATING, COMPETING, BITTER FOMENTORS OF UNIVERSAL WAR. I READ TO THAT MULTITUDE IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON:

"WE BE BLOOD-GUILTY! LO, OUR HANDS BE RED!
NOT NO MAN BLAME THE OTHER IN THIS SIN!
BUT HERE--HERE IN THE WHITE SILENCE OF THE DAWN,
BEFORE THE WOMB OF TIME,
WITH BOWED HEARTS ALL FLAME AND SHAME,
WE FACE THE BIRTH-PANGS OF A WORLD!
WE HEAR THE STIFLED CRY OF NATIONS ALL BUT BORN--
THE WAIL OF WOMEN RAVISHED OF THEIR STUNTED BROOD!
WE SEE THE NAKEDNESS OF TOIL, THE POVERTY OF WEALTH,
WE KNOW THE ANARCHY OF EMPIRE, AND DOLEFUL DEATH OF LIFE!
AND HEARING, SEEING, KNOWING ALL, WE CRY:

"SAVE US, WORLD-SPIRIT, FROM OUR LESSER SELVES!
GRANT US THAT WAR AND HATRED CEASE,
REVEAL OUR SOULS IN EVERY RACE AND HUE!
HELP US, O HUMAN GOD, IN THIS THY TRUCE,
TO MAKE HUMANITY DIVINE! "

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---8--- 10

This meeting

BUT IT WAS NO TRUCE. THIS WAS THE THRESHHOLD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: IT WAS WHEN THAT LITTLE GERMAN WARSHIP SLIPPED INTO NORTH AFRICA AND BEGAN A CONFLAGRATION WHOSE FLAMES ARE STILL BURNING, FED BY 30 MILLION CORPSES OF THE WORLDS' YOUTH. IT WAS THE BEGINNING OF A SERIES OF WARS SO DESTRUCTIVE, SO MURDEROUS, SO BESTIAL THAT WAR IN THIS CENTURY TAKES ON A NEW MEANING. IT IS A GREAT AND EVIL MONSTER SET TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION: AT FIRST SIGHT OUT OF SHEER MADNESS AND INBORN EVIL: BUT ON SECOND AND CLEARER SIGHT, WITH THE DETERMINATION TO PLACE CONTROL OF THE WORLD WEALTH IN THE HANDS OF THE ONE INTERNATIONAL CLIQUE OF UNSCRUPULOUS MEN.

THUS IT HAPPENED THAT [redacted] IN 1916, WHEN FIRST YOU FELL INTO THIS BAD HABIT OF TENDERING ME DELIGHTFUL DINNERS, I FELL INTO WHAT IS NOW STIGMATISED AS THE EQUALLY BAD HABIT OF SEEING WAR AS A MAIN LINK OF THAT CHAIN OF EVILS WHICH TODAY THREATENS ALL WHICH WE COUNT AS WORTH PRESERVING AND LIVING FOR.

new
MY START IN 1918, SEEMED LOGICAL AND TIMELY AFTER THAT DAY OF WRATH.
PEACE HAD COME. THE WAR TO END ALL WAR WAS DONE. THE ENDLESS WARS OF ALL
THE WORLDS HAD CULMINATED IN ONE VAST HOLOCAUST OF BLOOD AND SHAME. GERMANY,
THAT PEERLESS LEADER OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY WAS IN THE DUST. FRANCE WAS
DECIMATED: I SAT IN THE HALLS OF THE TROCADERO AND HEARD THE VOICE OF A
MAGNIFICENT FIGURE FROM THE COMEDIE FRANCAIS CRY "C'EST LA VICTOIRE! C'EST
LA VICTOIRE!" THERE WERE TEARS IN her VOICE. But IN VAIN FRANCE KISSED BLACK
AFRICA AND YELLOW INDO-CHINA ON THE CHEEK AND WOUND THE CROIX DE GUERRE ON
THEIR BREASTS: IN VAIN: FOR BELOW WRITHED IN UTTER GRIEF AND ABANDON THE
MOTHERS OF SIX MILLION FRENCH. boys I TRAMPED THROUGH THE MUD AND FILTH OF THE
ARGONNE: I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN CRAWLING THROUGH THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW, I
SAW THE UNENDING LINE OF YOUNG WHORES THRONGING THE FRIEDRICHSTRASSE OF
BERLIN, AND IN LONDON, ENGLISHMEN TRIED TO LOOK STOLID, WHEN THEIR EMPIRE
WAS TOTTERING AND THE GUTS HAD BEEN BEATEN OUT OF THEIR HEARTS. IT WAS A

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HIDEOUS PRICE THE WORLD WAS PAYING FOR VICTORY, AND ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION, IF THERE WAS ANY JUSTIFICATION, WAS THAT WE HAD ENDED ALL WAR--NO MORE WAR!

ON THIS FOUNDATION I PROPOSED TO BUILD. SINCE WAR FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH RACISM THE CHILD OF EXPLOITATION, NOW THAT WAR HAD CEASED, A NEW RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS MUST ENSUE. I WAS BUT A LONE PYGMY GRASPING AT THUNDERBOLTS AND THE AMERICANS JEERED AT MY PLAN FOR A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND FOR GIVING THE NEGRO VOICE IN THE CONTROL OF THE MANDATED GERMAN COLONIES. BUT I WALKED PAST THE SOFT ADVICE OF COLONEL HOUSE, WHO TALKED FOR PRESIDENT WILSON, AND WITH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE AFRICAN WHO SAVED FRANCE WITH150,000 BLACK SENGALESE, I WENT STRAIGHT TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE, AS SECRETARY OF STATE POLK WAS REFUSING PASSPORTS TO NEGROES, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS; AND WHILE BRITAIN WOULD NOT LET EVEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES ATTEND, CLEMENCEAU SAID "GO AHEAD"! AND WE WENT.

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and the double of Walter Lippmann

~~BUT OF COURSE~~ WE DID NOT GO FAR: JUST A LITTLE STEP. WE HELD PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN PARIS, LONDON, BRUSSELS AND LISBON IN 1919, 1921, and 1925. WE AROUSED (then as now) THE FURY OF THE IMPERIALISTS: WE WERE "FINANCED FROM MOSCOW" YELLED THE BELGIANS: WE WERE "GARVEY REVOLUTIONISTS" YELLED THE ENGLISH. BUT WE DID PLANT IDEAS WITH THE MANDATES COMMISSION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (SS)

THERE CAME THE DECADE OF INDECISION FROM 1819 to 1929. I SAW RUSSIA AND GERMANY: AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, I SAW AFRICA: I CAME HOME ~~TO THE SOUTH~~, ~~REPRESSION~~, TO LYNCHING AND RACE RIOT AND DISFRANCHISEMENT. THE ELECTION OF 1928 MARKED THE LOWEST MARK OF NEGRO POLITICAL RECOGNITION IN THIS LAND. TWENTY-FIVE NEGROES OF EVERY SHADE OF OPINION--ROBERT MOTON, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, JOHN HOPE, NATHANIEL DETT, FRED MOORE AND BISHOP CAREY, UNITED TO SAY:

"THAT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPIAGN OF 1928, MORE THAN IN PREVIOUS CAMPAIGNS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, THE AMERICAN NEGRO WAS TREATED IN A MANNER WHICH

24-41-65

R AND DISCOURAGING.

WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OF PERMITTING WITHOUT EST, PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS ON THE PLATFORM, IN THE PRESS, AND BY RD OF MOUTH, THAT COLOR AND RACE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

THERE FOLLOWED THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL. I SAW A NATION ON ITS KNEES STRUGGLING TO EXPAND INTO A BROADER SOCIALISM AND A NEW INTERNATIONALISM. I BEGAN ANEW SEARCH FOR GUIDANCE AND GRUTH. IN BODY AND SPIRIT I WENT AROUND THE WORLD IN 1936: I STAYED FIVE MONTHS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY: I TRAVERSED THE SOVIET UNION FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA: FOR THE FIRST TIME I SAW ASIA THROU H CHINA AND JAPAN. I CAME BACK BY THE GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII WITH A NEW VISION OF PEACE AND INTERRACIAL COMITY. AND I CAME BACK TO NEW WORLD WAR. IT WAS AGAIN CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX. IT WAS SCIENTIFIC FRUSTRATION AND DENIAL OF KNOWLEDGE. MY SOCIOLOGY, MY SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION WHICH I WAS BEGINNING TO FORMULATE WAS ALL FOOLISHNESS.

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[1951?]

IS UNFAIR AND DISCOURAGING.

"WE ACCUSE THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OF PERMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST, PUBLIC AND REPEATED ASSERTIONS ON THE PLATFORM, IN THE PRESS, AND BY WORD OF MOUTH, THAT COLOR AND RACE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES AN IMPUTATION OF GUILT AND CRIME."

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BUT AT LAST IN MIND AND SPIRIT I GREW TO THAT MATURITY WHICH STILL LEARNS BUT IS [redacted] IGNORANT, [redacted] REACH DECISIONS AND YET DARE TO CHANGE THEM. I SAW WAR NOT HISTORICALLY OR THEORETICALLY BUT ACTUALLY FOR WHAT IT WAS: A CAUSE, AND NOT MERELY A LINK IN A CHAIN: A VICIOUS HABIT OF SEMI-CIVILIZED MAN, USED TO CLOAK OBJECTS AND DESIGNS WHICH THEY DARE NOT OPENLY DECLARE.

I KNEW OF COURSE AS A SCIENTIST THAT EVEN A GREAT CAUSE MUST ITSELF BE CAUSED: BUT I ALSO SAW THAT IN THE CHAIN OF EVENTS ALL ARE NOT EQUAL NOR EQUALLY CAUSED. SOME LINKS LOOM LARGE AND PURPOSEFUL FOR OBSCURE REASONS OF INNER WILL OR OUTER FORCE, FOR WHICH PERHAPS WE MAY EVER SEARCH AND NEVER FIND. CERTAINLY IN OUR DAY, WAR ITSELF IS THE EMBODIMENT OF AN EVIL WHICH MUST BE FOUGHT HEAD-ON, TO CLEAR THE WAY AND GIVE THE TIME AND SAVE THE LIFE TO RESCUE THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF MANKIND. AND THE PURE HYPOTHESIS THAT THIS COUNTERACTING FORCE CAN BE APPLIED BY US OURSELVES IS AS OLD AS TIME AND AS TRUE AS TRUTH.

FOR THIS REASON, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, I HAVE GIVEN ALL THE THOUGHT AND ENERGY I COULD TO PEACE, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER I FOUND

24-41-67

AN OPPORTUNITY. I WAS SPONSOR AND SPEAKER AT THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE, HELD IN NEW YORK IN MARCH 1949. I ATTENDED GLADLY THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE HELD IN APRIL, WHICH WAS

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THE GREATEST MEETING I HAVE EVER SEEN. I PLANNED TO ATTEND THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE IN MEXICO CITY, IN SEPTEMBER, BUT BEFORE THAT I WAS INVITED TO AN ALL RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW IN AUGUST. IN THE UNITED STATES I WAS ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES.

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MEANTIME IN THE UNITED STATES PEACE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS WERE NOT NEWS. THE PRESS WAS ALMOST COMPLETELY SILENT ON THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD PEACE WHICH WERE SHAKING THE ENTIRE WORLD. TO COUNTERACT THIS IGNORANCE AND LET AMERICA REALIZE THAT MOST MEN DID NOT WANT WAR, FORTY-TWO PERSONS ON APRIL 8, 1950, FORMED THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU FOR THE PURPOSE OF LETTING AS MANY AMERICANS AS POSSIBLE KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ASIA, AND LETTING THE WORLD KNOW THAT A PEACE MOVEMENT WAS GROWING HERE. WE PRINTED AND CIRCULATED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE

24-41-68

ATOM BOMB: WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS PROTEST: WE SPREAD NEWS OF THE QUAKER STATEMENT AND OUR PEACE-[illegible]GRAMS WENT TO THOUSANDS, AND MILLIONS RESPONDED.

THEN THE COUNTER-ATTACK CAME. FIRST THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONDEMNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AS A CONSPIRACY: THEN FOUR MONTHS AFTER OUR ACTIVITIES BEGAN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DEMANDED THAT WE REGISTER AS "PUBLICITY AGENT" OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE PROTESTED AND WROTE:

"THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WAS CONCEIVED AND FORMED BY A GROUP OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, APPREHENSIVE LEST THE GROWING TENSIONS AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD BURST INTO A TERRIBLE CONFLAGRATION WHICH MIGHT WELL SNUFF OUT CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS FOR PEACE. THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE AVOIDANCE OF THE MASS DESTRUCTION AND HUMAN MISERY OF A THIRD WORLD WAR WAS DEPENDENT, IN A LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXPRESSION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE. THEY CONCEIVED THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WOULD SERVE THE

24-41-69

AMERICAN PEOPLE BY INFORMING THEM OF THE ISSUES OF PEACE; BY MAKING AVIALABLE TO THEM DATA CONCERNING THE GREAT STRUGGLES BEING CARRIED ON FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE; AND BY PROVIDING THE MEANS AND FORUM FOR EXPRESSING THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE."

THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED. I THEN ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WAS DENIED. I [illegible] WROTE IN SEPTEMBER:

"I CANNOT BUT FEEL THAT IN A MATTER OF SUCH SERIOUS CONCERN, MR. FOLEY'S DENIAL TO ME OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD MUST NECESSARILY REFLECT ADVERSELY UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. I SHOULD THINK THAT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF AN UNJUSTIFIED ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT, WOULD IMPEL THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO BEND EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE CERTAIN OF ITS CONCLUSIONS. THE DEPARTMENT'S ARBITRARY AND CAPRICIOUS REFUSAL TO CONFER WITH ME COMPELS ME TO INFER THAT EITHER THE DEPARTMENT IS UNAWARE OF THE IMPORT OF THE STATUTE WHICH IT SEEKS TO ENFORCE, OR THAT IT IS UNWISE ENOUGH TO DEAL CAVALIERLY WITH

THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS."

IN THE MEANWHILE OUR BUREAU WAS CLOSING ITS TEMPORARY ROLE AS VARIOUS PEACE MOVEMENTS AROSE IN HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN CENTERS AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SPPEARED. BY OCTOBER WE HAD CLOSED OUR ACTIVITIES AND WERE ONLY ANSWERING CORRESPONDENCE WHICH CONTINUED TO COME ASKING ESPECIALLY NEWS OF THE CONVENING NEW PEACE MEETINGS. THE OFFICE CLOSED COMPLETELY IN JANUARY.

ON FEBRUARY 16, FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON. IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO A CRIMINAL COURT. BEFORE WE APPEARED AT THE DOCK, FIVE OTHER PERSONS WERE AR AIGNED: A WHITE YOUTH ACCUSED OF MANSLAUGHTER AND ANOTHER FOR NOT SUPPORTING HIS CHILD: TWO WHITE MEN ACCUSED OF GAMBLING AND ONE THIN BLACK GIRL OF FORGERY. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED, MADE TO EMPTY ALL MY POCKETS: "FRISKED" FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HAND-CUFFED. ~~LATER DATE WAS CHANGED.~~

24-41-70

THUS I STAND TONIGHT FACING THE POSSIBILITY OF CELEBRATING MY FUTURE BIRTHDAYS IN PRISON, AND THUS RELIEVING ALL "HOUSES OF ESSEX" FROM EMBARASSMENT THE PROSPECT IS NOT PLEASANT. YET ~~I ACCEPTED TO~~ Cohy

MAINTAIN THAT ADVOCACY OF PEACE IS NOT TREASON; THAT I AM THE AGENT OF NO FOREIGN PRINCIPAL AND NEVER HAVE BEEN; THAT I AM THE CHAMPION OF NO IDEA ALIEN TO THIS NATION; AND THAT I HAVE THE RIGHT WITHIN THE LAW IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST TO FIGHT FOR PEACE.

ONE OFTEN WONDERS HOW FAR IT IS RIGHT TO FIGHT FOR UNPOPULAR CAUSES ~~AND~~ with AGAINST THE WEIGHT OF PUBLIC OPINION. THE VERY SWEEP AND POWER OF THE WORLD AT ANY AGE MAKES ANY HUMAN BEING DOUBT HIS KNOWLEDGE AND JUDGMENT AND SHRINK BEFORE THE HOSTS OF TIME. YET AS I LOOK BACK I SEEM TO SEE MANY VICTORIES AND MUCH SATISFACTION FOR Such EFFORTS ~~AGAINST HIGH PREJUDICE AND HIS MINIONS.~~ IF WE SEEM AT PRESENT WORSTED IN OUR EFFORT TO HALT WAR, THIS MAY BE IN PART DUE TO OUR FAILURE TO SEE IN WAR THE VAST EVIL IT HAS RECENTLY BECOME; AND IN PART TOO BECAUSE WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW MUCH WE HAVE REALLY ACCOMPLISHED. VICTORY MAY BE NEARER THAN WE THINK.

negligible force

24-41-41

Continue to

LET US DREAM WITH SHELLY:

"TO SUFFER WOES WHICH HOPE THINKS INFINITE:
TO FORGIVE WRONGS DARKER THAN DEATH OR NIGHT:
TO DEFY POWER, WHICH SEEMS OMNIPOTENT:
TO LOVE, AND BEAR: TO HOPE TILL HOPE CREATES
FROM ITS OWN WRECK THE THING IT CONTEMPLATES:
NEITHER TO CHANGE, NOR FALTER, NOR REPENT:
THIS, LIKE THE GLORY, TITAN! IS TO BE
GOOD, GREAT AND JOYOUS, BEAUTIFUL AND FREE:
THIS IS ALONE LIFE, JOY, EMPIRE AND VICTORY.

24-41-12

35-5-244

SPEECH BY DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

Birthday Dinner, February 23, 1951

The succession of birthday dinners which have been given me in the last thirty years have become, I assure you, as embarrassing to me as to you. The first was given when I was fifty years old in 1918. I was just about to go on a mission of interracial peace in Europe, in connection with the Congress of Versailles at the end of the first world war. Since then this world has staggered through the most fantastic period of its history. Contradiction and paradox poured over paradox and contradiction. Possibly in previous ages more intricate patterns of life have been woven but they were on much smaller scale and wrought of slighter threads on more delicate fabric. Perhaps too the very quantity and sweep of our knowing today now overwhelms us and eludes comprehension as compared with the infinitude of the marketplace of Athens or the Bo Tree of Gautama. And in this fantastic generation, I have on five anniversaries been put in position where I must explain and interpret if not justify my continued existence. Two or three times I tried farewell addresses, until they lost meaning, for I was not bidding the world farewell, I was still alive. Then I sought interpretation of my days and deeds, until I was no longer quite sure either of my vision or logic.

Whatever it all was and is, I was asked to give meaning to what was to me too often meaningless, or if significant now in this way, tomorrow with s ignificance changed was taking new hues and nuances: new chords and dissonances. This made interpretation funny. I held desperately to simple themes even when I saw them contradicting themselves. The world was now the Negro problem. Then the world was A frica. The world was wealth, knowledge was the world. Yet never was the world quite all or any of these things. Perhaps a shorter life like Keats would have revealed some order and meaning, some pattern or reason. But 80 years from Gladstone to Churchill, from Grant to Roosevelt has no pattern and describes no guiding star. But turns whirls and roars in utter chaos while we blind riders of dreams hang wildly on and try each decade to formulate what the last denied. Had I died at fifty my life would have had a certain unity and meaning which it can now never attain. It has become now part of a vaster arc which I shall never myself finish and which today eludes rationalization.

Tonight my task is simplified. I do not have to choose a theme -- the theme of peace on earth chooses me. It has been but one of many threads of my life's efforts and yet in a sense now even to my thought it becomes today central. The search for peace has changed in approach and emphasis before my day and during it. In 25 centuries only one year in every 12 has been a year of peace. But always in essence the human cry for peace has ever been to eliminate force from human action and substitute more and more that free exercise and unbinding of the human spirit, which would enable mankind to reach its highest and best manifestation

We long thought of war as the breaking of peace and the halting of freedom for certain clear causes and we set ourselves first to recognize and correct or eliminate those causes of war as the first and only way to stop war. This in other times meant opposition to seven sorts of aggression: the sudden marauder coming "down like a wolf on the fold," -- driven by hunger and beckoned by fertile valleys, like the Mongols in China. Then protection of food and harvest, in the midst of desert as when the Nile called to Black Africa. Peace soon re-treated to high walled cities like Babylon, whose strength stretched out over the surrounding fields. Then the explorers went out to the Indies and Americas to find what was scarce and take it if they could. Amid all this primitive turmoil, grew belief - religious faith and cultural pattern, the frightful fight for which took on ancient and eternal sanctions and transcended fear of death. Above and around this grew the state, a vast and deathless idea, which was not born and could not die, and became part of mens' thoughts, emotions and memories and therefore part of themselves. Finally, overshadowing all this broad and timeless building loomed the idea of race: of a high and holy concept of super-humanity whose preser-vation was the only real end of man.

It was in the midst of this concept of race integrity, and the belief in its defense to the last drop of blood and the last cringe of misery that I was born and grew to manhood. To me therefore the cause of war seemed race hate and the first of all attack on war must be attack on race prejudice.

Before my time, war had seemed to have other major causes, fear of strangers, desert hordes too vast to tame: barbarians who spoke strange tongues and did strange things: foreigners of every sort and hateful heretics. Finally as the world grew European in scheme and culture, the darker races appeared the universal cause of strife. The great and mighty pleas for peace, from Buddha to Jesus, from Dante to Kant, from Grotius to Gandhi were raised therefore to strike at these

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causes of war rather than at war itself. Men felt that war was not so much a cause in itself as a result of evil forces: that therefore attack on these forces was attack on war.

It was the 19th century which taught us a new concept of the causes of war; namely, that whatever war was against, it was always mainly fought for personal gain, for income and control of the labor of men. The 20th century went further to tell us that in its present awful stature war, world war, becomes not a mere result but a major cause, a link in the great chain of events which so swells and looms above all others that either we attack war as war or the world sinks to a day when neither:

Star nor sun shall waken
Nor any change of light;
Nor sound of waters shaken
Nor any sound or sight;
Nor wintry leaves nor vernal
Nor days nor things diurnal;
Only the sleep eternal
In the eternal night.

In the decade then when I began my life work it was natural for me to seize on gain as the main cause of war and to find its chief example in Negro slavery and in that excuse for slavery, race hate. But instead of beginning with the exploitation of white labor as did most reformers of my day, it was the twist of my peculiar situation that made me begin with black slavery and the subjection of the darker people as the cause of the subjection of white labor and consequently the chief cause of war.

Once I grasped this idea, I did not wait until 1949 to fight for peace, but I began at the very threshhold of the 20th century when in London in 1900, on the way from the Paris exhibition, I sat down with a dozen persons, under the leadership of a West Indian barrister and tried to plan a course of action which sometime would turn the hundred years of European peace into a world peace for all nations and races. In 1911, led by the Ethical Societies of the World, Felix Adler and myself became American secretaries of the International Races Congress which met in London, with the intellectual leaders of the day, Guiseppi Sergi, Franz Boas, John Hobson, Sir Sidney Oliver, Israel Zangwill, Sir Harry Johnston, and Wu Ting Fang, with Felix von Luschan and Leon Bourgeois. It was, we all felt, the first concerted attack of civilization upon that doctrine of race which was helping to split the earth into hating, competing, bitter fomentors of universal war. I read to that multitude in the great hall of the University of London:

"We be blood-guilty! Lo, our hands be red!
Let no man blame the other in this sin!
But here-here in the white silence of the dawn,
Before the womb of time,
With bowed hearts all flame and shame,
We face the birth-pangs of a world:
We hear the stifled cry of nations all but born --
The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!
We see the nakedness of toil, the poverty of wealth,
We know the anarchy of empire, and doleful death of life!
And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:

"Save us, world-spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O human God, in this Thy truce,
To make humanity divine!"

But it was no truce. This was instead the very thresshold of the first world war; it was when that little German warship slipped into North Africa and began a conflagration whose flames are still burning, fed by 30 million corpses of the worlds' youth. It was the beginning of a series of wars so destructive, so murderous, so bestial that war in this century takes on new meaning. It is a great and evil monster set to destroy civilization, at first sight out of sheer madness and inborn evil, but on second and clear sight with the determination to place control of the world wealth in the hands of the one international clicque of unscrupulous men.

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Thus it happened that in 1918, when first you fell into this bad habit of tendering me delightful dinners, I fell into what is now stigmatized as the equally bad habit of seeing war as a main link of that chain of evils which today threatens all which we count as worth preserving and living for.

My new start in 1918 seemed logical and timely after that day of wrath. Peace had come. The war to end all war was done. The endless wars of all the worlds had culminated in one vast holocaust of blood and shame. Germany, that peerless leader of science and philosophy was in the dust. France was decimated. I sat in the halls of the Trocadero and heard the voice of a magnificent figure from the Comedie Francais cry "C'est La Victoire! C'est La Victoire!" There were tears in that voice. In vain France kissed Black Africa and Yellow Indo-China on the cheek and wound the Croix de Guerre on their breasts. In vain. For below writhed in utter grief and bandon the mothers of six million French boys. I tramped through the mud and filth of the Argonne. I saw the wild children crawling through the sewers of Moscow. I saw the unending line of young whores thronging the Friedrichstrasse of Berlin, and in London, Englishmen tried to look stolid when their Empire was tottering and the guts had been beaten out of their hearts. It was a hideous price the world was paying for victory, and its only justification, if there was any justification, was that we had ended all war -- no more war!

On this foundation I proposed to build. Since war for centuries had been coupled with racism the child of exploitation, now that war had ceased, a new racial understanding and progress must ensue. I was but a lone pygmy grasping at thunderbolts and at a world conflagration of which I had no dream. Americans jeered at my plan for a Pan-African Congress and for giving the Negro voice in the control of the mandated German colonies. But I walked past the soft advice of Colonel House, who talked for President Wilson, and the doubts of Walter Lippman, and with the help of Blaise Diagne, the African who saved France with 150,000 Black Senegalese, I went straight to Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France. Just as Secretary of State Polk was refusing passports to American Negroes because there would be no Pan-A frican Congress, and while Britain would not let even representatives of the old anti-slavery societies attend, Clemenceau said "Go Ahead"! And we went.

But of course we did not go far - just a little step. We held Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921 and 1923. We aroused then, as now, the fury of the imperialists: we were "financed from Moscow" yelled the Belgians; we were "Garvey revolutionists" yelled the English. But we did plant ideas with the Mandates Commission and the International Labor Organization.

Then came the decade of indecision from 1819 to 1929. I saw Russia and Germany. And for the first time, I saw Africa. I came home to lynching and race riot and disfranchisement. The election of 1928 marked the lowest mark of Negro political recognition in this land. Twenty-five Negroes of every shade of opinion - Robert Moton, James Weldon Johnson, John Hope, Nathaniel Dett, Fred Moore and Bishop Carey, united to say:

> "That in the presidential campaign of 1928, more than in previous campaigns since the Civil War, the American Negro was treated in a manner which is unfair and discouraging.
>
> "We accuse the political leaders of this campaign of permitting without protest, public and repeated assertions on the platform, in the press, and by word of mouth, that color and race constitute in themselves an imputation of guilt and crime."

There followed the great depression and the New Deal. I saw a nation on its knees struggling to expand into a broader socialism and a new internationalism. I began anew search for guidance and truth. In body and spirit I went around the world in 1936. I stayed five months in England, France and Germany. I traversed the Soviet Union from Moscow to Manchuria. For the first time I saw A sia through China and Japan. I came back by the Golden Rain of Hawaii with a new vision of peace and interracial comity. And I came back to new world war. It was again contradiction and paradox. It was scientific frustration and denial of knowledge. My sociology, my science of human action which I was beginning to formulate was all foolishness.

But at last in mind and spirit I grew to that maturity which still learns but is not ignorant, dares to reach decisions and yet to change them. I saw war not historically or theoretically but actually for what it was - a cause, and not merely a link in a chain; a vicious habit of semi-civilized man, used to cloak objects and designs which they dare not openly declare.

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I knew of course as a scientist that even a great cause must itself be caused. But I also saw that in the chain of events all are not equal nor equally caused. Some links loom large and purposeful for obscure reasons of inner will or outer force, for which perhaps we may ever search and never find. Certainly in our day war itself is the embodiment of an evil which must be fought head-on, to clear the way and give the time and save the life to rescue the future progress of mankind. And the pure hypothesis that this counteracting force can be applied by is as old as time and as true as truth.

For this reason, since the beginning of the second world war, I have given all the thought and energy I could to peace, whenever and wherever I found an opportunity. I was sponsor and speaker at the cultural and scientific conference for world peace, held in New York in March 1949. I attended gladly the Paris World Congress for Peace held in April which was the greatest meeting I have ever seen. I planned to attend the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City in September, but before that I was invited to an all-Russian Peace Congress in Moscow in August. In the United States I was on the programme of the meeting of the Committee of Peaceful Alternatives.

Meantime, in the United States peace and peace movements were not news. The press was almost completely silent on the movements toward peace which were shaking the entire world. To counteract this ignorance and let America realize that most men did not want war, forty-two persons on April 3, 1950, formed the Peace Information Bureau for the purpose of letting as many Americans as possible know the facts about the peace movement in Europe and Asia, and letting the world know that a peace movement was growing here. We printed and circulated the Stockholm Appeal against the atom bomb; we distributed the Red Cross protest; we spread news of the Quaker statement and our Peace-Grams went to thousands, and millions responded.

Then the counter-attack came. First the Secretary of State condemned the Stockholm A ppeal as a conspiracy, then four months after our activities began the Department of Justice demanded that we register as "publicity agent" of a "foreign principal." We protested and wrote:

> "The Peace Information Center was conceived and formed by a group of American citizens, apprehensive lest the growing tensions among the governments of the world burst into a terrible conflagration which might well snuff out civilization as we know it. They believed that the overshelming desire of the American people was for peace. They also believed that the avoidance of the mass destruction and human misery of a third world war was dependent, in a large measure on the expression by the American people of their desire for peace. They conceived that the Peace Information Center would serve the American people by informing them of the issues of peace; by making available to them data concerning the great struggles being carried on for the maintenance of international peace; and by providing the means and forum for expressing their desire for peace."

The Department insisted that they were not satisifed. I then asked for a personal conference which was denied. I therefore wrote in September:

> "I cannot but feel that in a matter of such serious concern, (Mr. Foley's) denial to me of an opportunity to be heard must necessarily reflect adversely upon the Department of Justice. I should think that the possible consequences of an unjustified enforcement of the Act would impel the Justice Department to bend every effort to make certain of its conclusions. The Department's arbitrary and capricious refusal to confer with me compels me to infer that either the Department is unaware of the import of the statute which it seeks to enforce, or that it is unwise enough to deal cavalierly with the rights of American citizens."

In the meanwhile our Bureau was closing its temporary role as various peace movements arose in hundreds of American centers and national organizations appeared. By October we had closed our actitivites and were only answering correspondence which continued to come asking especially news of the convening new peace meetings. The office closed completely in January.

On February 16, four of us were arraigned in Washington. It was my first visit to a criminal court. Before we appeared at the dock, five other persons were arraigned, a white youth accused of manslaughter and another for not supporting his child, two white men accused of gambling, and one thin black girl of forgery. I was finger-printed, made to empty all my pockets, "frisked" for concealed weapons and hand-cuffed.

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Thus I stand tonight facing the possibility of celebrating my future birthdays in prison, and thus relieving all "Houses of Essex" from embarrassment. The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I continue to maintain that advocacy of peace is not treason; that I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been; that I am the champion of no idea alien to this nation; and that I have the right within the law in the future as in the past to fight for peace.

One often wonders how far it is right to fight for unpopular causes and against the weight of public opinion. The very sweep and power of the world at any age makes any human being doubt his knowledge and judgment and shrink before the hosts of time. Yet as I look back I seem to see many victories and much satisfaction for such efforts. If we seem at present worsted in our effort to halt war, this may be in part due to our failure to see in war the vast evil it has recently become, and in part too because we do not yet know how much we have really accomplished. Victory may be nearer than we think.

Let us continue to dream with Shelly:

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite,
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
To defy power, which seems omnipotent,
To love, and bear; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates,
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent.
This, like the glory, Titan! Is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free.
This is alone life, joy, empire and victory.

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dpowa

W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR DAY IS THE RISE OF SOCIALISM NOT ONLY EXTREME SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA, BUT THE MORE MODERATE SOCIALISM OF SCANDINAVIA, ENGLAND FRANCE AND ITALY: AND JUST AS CLEAR THE TREND TOWARD SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. IN OTHER WORDS THE IDEA OF FREEDOM WHICH WAS CONNECTED WITH PIONEER AMERICA IS GONE FOR EVER. SOME OF OLDER FOLK CAN REMEMBER THE DAY OF FREEDOM WHICH SEEMED THE CHARACTERICALLY AMERICAN: WHEN A MAN OWNED HIS BUSINESS AND RAN IT AS HE PLEASED: WHEN HE COULD DO WHAT HE WANTED WITH WHAT HE CALLED "HIS PROPERTY". WHEN MOVEMENT HERE AND THERE IS HIS COMMUNITY AND IN HIS NATION WAS UNHAMPERED. WE ALL KNOW THAT THIS IS NOT TRUE TODAY. NO PERSON OR PROPERTY IS FREE TO DO WITH IT AS HE PLEASES, NO MATTER WHETHER HE LIVES IN BOSTON OR MOSCOW. NO PERSON CAN RUN HIS BUSINESS AS HE PLEASES, AND THAT IS JUST AS TRUE IN NEW YORK AS IT IS IN LONDON.

35-5-165

BUT WHILE ALL THIS IS CLEAR. THE REASON FOR IT IS NOT DISCUSSED AS IT SHOULD BE. WE ARE AFRAID TO TEACH ECONOMICS PLAINLY TODAY IN OUR SCHOOLS,

IN OUR COLLEGES, IN THE PUBLIC PRESS: IT REMAINS A VAGUE AND SECRET MATTER. AND YET WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS NOT UNUSUAL OR UNEXPECTED. IN ORDER FOR THE WORLD TO SATISFY ITS WANTS MORE PEOPLE HAVE TO COOPERATE TODAY AND THEY HAVE TO COOPERATE ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF HUMAN ACTION. THERE ARE MORE WANTS TO BE SATISFIED AND THE WANTS OF MORE PEOPLE AND MORE WAYS OF SATISFYING HUMAN WANTS ARE POSSIBLE. WE ARE LIVING CLOSER TOGETHER AND THAT INCREASED WORLD UNITY IN ITSELF MAKES THAT ACTION HERE TOUCHES ACTION ELSEWHERE AND THAT THERE MUST BE COOPERATION OR CHAOS ENSUES.

MOREOVER, WE RECOGNIZE TODAY AS NO PREVIOUS CENTURY COULD, THE PREVALENCE OF LAW. NOT SIMPLY OF PHYSICAL LAW, LIKE THE LAW OF GRAVITATION: BUT OF THE BIOLOGICAL LAWS AND RYTHMS WHICH GOVERN LIFE AND HEREDITARY: AND BEYOND THAT OF CERTAIN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL LAWS OF THOUGHT AND ACTION. IT IS NOT THE QUESTION OF CHOICE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WE WILL OBEY THESE LAWS. THE LAW OF

GRAVITATION IS GOING TO ACT WHETHER YOU WANT IT TO OR NOT: AND JUST AS TRULY, THE LAWS OF SOCIAL ACTION ARE GOING TO BE EFFECTIVE, EVEN AGAINST YOUR WISHES AND YOUR PREJUDICES. IT IS THEREFORE CLEAR THAT THE REALM OF FREEDOM AS WE USED TO CONCEIVE IT: OF THE RIGHT OF A MAN TO DO AS HE PLEASED, HAS BEEN VASTLY LIMITED IN OUR DAY, AND IS GOING TO BE LIMITED EVEN MORE IN THE FUTURE.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THE ENTIRE DISAPPEARANCE OF FREEDOM. ON THE CONTRARY IN THE PROPHECY AND THE REASONING OF MANY PEOPLE, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT A WIDE REALM OF FREEDOM CAN BE PRESERVED AND PROTECTED ALL THE MORE CAREFULLY, IF WE SURRENDER TO NECESSARY REGIMENTATION IN OTHER REALMS.

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IF BECAUSE OF NATURAL LAW, THERE MUST BE RULES AS TO FOOD AND CLOTHING, AS TO DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS AND METHODS OF PRODUCTION, AS TO THE WAY IN WHICH MEN OF DIFFERENT STRENGTH AND DIFFERENT ABILITIES, AND DIFFERENT DISPOSITIONS CAN BE USED FOR THE MAIN OBJECTS OF INDUSTRY. IN JUST SUCH WAY ONCE THESE FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS ARE SETTLED, THERE STILL REMAINS A WIDE REALM OF FREEDOM: FREEDOM TO REASON, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND MEMORY: FREEDOM FOR THE

IMAGINATION, FREEDOM FOR THE CREATIVE ARTS: AND THIS IS SO WIDE A REALM AND SO FRUITFUL THAT ONCE MEN HAVE ESCAPED THE COMPULSION OF HUNGER AND HEALTH: WEATHER AND SHELTER THAT MANY OF US BELIEVE SUCH FREEDOM WHEN IT COMES WILL MORE THAN COMPENSATE FOR EVERYTHING WHICH MEN LOSE IN THE RIGOROUS COMPULSION OF PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE.

BUT IT IS JUST HERE IN THIS REALM OF THE SPIRIT UNFORTUNATELY THAT WE ARE SUFFERING THE GREATEST SETBACKS TODAY. WE NOT ONLY HAVE LOST OUR FREEDOM OF ACTION, TRAVEL, AND BUSINESS ENTERPRISE; BUT WE HAVE LOST FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND REASON, OF CREATIVE ART AND IMAGINATION. WE HAVE ENTERED INTO THE RIGORS OF A POLICE STATE, NOT ONLY WHERE SUCH RIGORS MAY BE NECESSARY, BUT WHERE THEY ARE CLEARLY AND UNDOUBTEDLY UNNECESSARY, SURPLUFLOUS AND EVIL. BECAUSE SOCIALISM IS INCREASING, THE REASON FOR THIS MUST BE CLEAR AND THE REASONS IN AN AVOWEDLY SOCIALISTIC STATE HAVE BEEN OFTEN DECLARED: THEY ARE

THE NEED FOR MORE AND BETTER FOOD, OF BETTER HOUSING AND CLOTHING, OF BETTER TRANSPORTATION, PROTECTION OF HEALTH AND PROVIDING RECREATION AND DIVERSON. SOME OF THESE THINGS HAVE BEEN REALIZED IN THE WORLD, SUCH AS BETTER HOUSING FOR THE MASS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT SCANDINAVIA. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION ABOUT THE RISE IN WAGES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND MOST OF THE BALKANS: THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT BUT WHAT THE NATIONALIZATION OF COAL AND THE SOCIAL HEALTH PLAN OF ENGLAND HAS BEEN OF TREMENDOUS ADVANTAGE TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE. THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT WHAT THE WIDE PLANNING OF CITIES AND TRANSPORTATION IN FRANCE HAVE MADE THAT LAND MORE LIVABLE. SO FAR THEN AS THE OBJECTS OF SOCIALISM ARE BETTERMENT OF THE PEOPLE IN INCOME AND LIFE: THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM MEANS THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

BUT TODAY SOCIALISM IS DIVIDED INTO TWO GREAT ANTOGONISTIC AREAS ACCORDING TO THE OBJECTS WHICH SOCIALISM HAS IN VIEW. THE OBJECT OS SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS NOT COMMON WELFARE SO MUCH AS IT IS MILITARY MIGHT. THAT SOCIALISM IS BEING USED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THIS END IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

WE ARE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF BIG BUSINESS AND MILITARY LEADERS IN ORDER TO CURB, DIRECT AND UNIFY OUR INDUSTRIES, IN ORDER TO LIMIT OUR THOUGHT AND ACTION IN ORDER TO EMPLOY OUR PEOPLE TO THE WIDEST EXTENT, SO THAT WE SHALL BECOME SO POWERFUL BY FORCE OF ARMS, SHIPS AND METHODS OF DESTRUCTION THAT WE CAN DICTATE THE THOUGHT AND ACTION OF THE WORLD.

THE OBJECT OF THAT DICTATION IS NOT SO CLEARLY EXPRESSED AND YET WE KNOW WHAT IT IS: IT IS THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS ENTERPRISE TO SPREAD AROUND THE WORLD AND TO CONTINUE THOSE METHODS OF PROFIT MAKING, WHICH WAS SO TREMENDOUSLY SUCCESSFUL UNDER THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE CONTROVERSY OVER OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONTROL OF LABOR IN ASIA, ESPECIALLY IN CHINA. THE CONTROVERSY OVER INDONESIA AND THE PHILLIPINES AND THE DIFFICULTIES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, ALL ARE RISING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BUSINESS AND THE DETERMINATION OF OUR BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

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TO PROFIT FROM CHEAP LABOR AND CHEAP RAW MATERIALS IN THE WORLD. IN OTHER WORDS, THE ATTEMPT TO RESTORE IN EFFECT THE COLONIALISM, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE 19th CENTURY WHICH MANY HAVE THOUGHT WAS DISAPPEARING IN A NEW ASIATIC AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM. THIS IS BEING OPPOSED TODAY BY THIS TREMENDOUS PREPARATION FOR WAR.

35-5-162

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THIS AND LOOK THE SITUATION CLEARLY IN THE FACE. WE MUST REALIZE WHAT WE ARE GETTING OUT OF THIS MILITARY SOCIALISM. IN THE FIRST PLACE, WE HAVE ALREADY LOST OUR RIGHT AND PRIVILEGE TO DISCUSS BOTH SIDES OF OUR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TODAY TO TALK AND TO GIVE THE ARGUMENTS FOR PEACE BEFORE ANY CONSIDERABLE AUDIENCE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE TIME IS RAPIDLY APPROACHING WHEN ADVOCACY OF PEACE IS GOING TO BE BRANDED AS TREASON. IT HAS ALREADY BEEN SO BRANDED IN THE CASE WHCICH I AM CONNECTED . AS OFFICIAL OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER, I TRIED TO SPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT THE PEACE MOVEMENTS WERE DOING ABOUT THE WORLD AND FOR THAT REASON WAS INDICTED AS A CRIMINAL, UNLESS I ADMITTED THAT MY IDEAS

WAS NOT MY OWN BUT WERE DICTATED BY A FOREIGN AGENT. CONSTRUCTIVELY THEREFORE MY ACTION WAS TREASON AND FOR THIS I MUST GO TO TRIAL, OCTOBER 2, AND IF ADJUDGED GUILTY BE LIABLE TO FIVE YEARS IN PRISON AND FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FINE.

T IS, WHICH IS BUT AN INDIVIDUAL CASE IS GOING TO SPREAD MORE AND MORE WIDELY UNLESS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES REALIZE JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING. THERE IS FOR INSTANCE NO QUESTION, BUT WHAT WE ARE GETTING SOME ADVANTAGES FROM OUR MILITARY SOCIAL CONTROL. WE ARE GETTING IN THE FIRST PLACE, FULL EMPLOYMENT: EMPLOYMENT TO A DEGREE WHICH PERHAPS NEVER HAS BEEN REALIZED BEFORE IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN ASMUCH AS IT MIGHT, BECAUSE WITH FULL EMPLOYMENT THERE COMES CONSISTENT LOWERING OF INCOME, DUE TO INFLATION AND HIGH PRICES AND INCREASING TAXATION: THERE COMES ALSO THOUGHT CONTROL AND THE RUIN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS SINCE PEOPLE ARE NOT ALLOWED TO KNOW THE FACTS.

I REMEMBER AS A BOY THAT THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN MY NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE WAS BURNED. WHEN IT WAS REBUILT THERE WAS A CARVING ON THE COMMUNION TABLE IN FRONT OF THE ALTAR WHICH SAID: "THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE." IT WAS MY FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH THIS OLD AND WELL-KNOWN PHRASE, AND IT ESPECIALLY INTERESTED ME BECAUSE IT WAS WRITTEN IN THE GREEK WHICH I WAS THEN BEGINNING TO STUDY IN HIGH SCHOOL. AND THEN WHEN THE NEW CHURCH WAS DEDICATED, THE SERMON GREATLY IMPRESSED ME AS A BOY OF FIFTEEN. IT WAS PREACHED FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT: "FOR THUS SAITH THE HIGH AND MIGHTY ONE WHO INHABITED ETERNITY, WHOSE NAME IS HOLY. I DWELL IN THE HIGH AND LOFTY PLACES WITH HIM ALSO THAT IS OF A CONTRITE AND HUMBLE SPIRIT; TO REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE HUMBLE, TO REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTRITE ONES."

36-8-18

I HAVE LIVED 68 YEARS SINCE THOSE DAYS: TO SEE THREE WARS BOTH OF INCREASING VIOLENCE, DEATH AND DESTRUCTION, AND TO FIND IN THIS COUNTRY NOT ONLY A TOTAL LOSS OF ALL PRETENSE OF HUMILITY AND BOASTFUL SELF-RIGHTEOUS ARROGANCE WHICH APPALS DECENT PEOPLE, BUT ALSO A DETERMINATION TO KEEP THE MASS OF PEOPLE FROM

SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND FROM DISCUSSION OF THE FACTS. IT IS A FRIGHTENING THING TO SEE THE UNITED STATES TODAY THE MOST HATED AND FEARED COUNTRY OF THE WORLD, AMONG ALL OF THE EARTH'S CHIEF NATIONS. AND TO SEE US DETERMINED TO ENTER UPON A THIRD WORLD WAR, WITHOUT FREE DISCUSSION AND WITHOUT ANY CHANCE TO REALIZE THE TRAGEDY TOWARD WHICH THE WORLD IS MOVING.

THE LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT REALIZED BY MOST PEOPLE. IT CAN BE SHOWN CHIEFLY BY THE PEACE MOVEMENT. WHEN IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY THIS MOVEMENT WAS CHIEFLY A PAST-TIME AND THEORY, IT HAD A CONSIDERABLE FOLLOWING IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT LITTLE ACTION BECAUSE THERE SEEMED NO CALL FOR ACTION. PEACE WAS GOING TO CHARACTERIZE THE NEW CENTURY. TODAY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MENTION THE WORD PEACE WITHOUT INCURRING THREAT. A FEW MONTHS AGO I WAS ASKED TO ATTEND A PEACE RALLY IN UNION SQUARE IN NEW YORK,

PLANNED BY THE TRADE UNIONS. I WAS GLAD TO CONSENT BUT ON THE DAY OF THE MEETING THE UNION LEADERS ASKED ME NOT TO APPEAR, AS THE MEETING WAS GOING TO BE BROKEN UP BY THE POLICE. IT WAS BROKEN UP WITH FORCE AND SOME BLOOD. WHEN CERTAIN GROUPS TRIED TO DISTRIBUTE PEACE LEAFLETS, DURING THE RECEPTION TO ~~DISTRICTX~~ GENERAL MACARTHUR, THEY WERE HUSTLED OFF THE STREETS OF NEW YORK BY THE POLICE. TODAY NO DEMONSTRATION FOR PEACE IS LIKELY TO BE PERMITTED BY THE AUTHORITIES. IT IS EVEN DIFFICULT FOR PEACE ORGANIZATIONS TO GET PERMISSION OF BANKS TO PLACE ACCOUNTS AND PERHAPS TO ME THE MOST AWAKENING THING HAS BEEN MY RECENT INDICTMENT AS "AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL," BECAUSE OF MY ACTIVITIES IN THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER.

LET ME EXPLAIN THAT SINCE MY TWO YEARS OF EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN IN 1892-94, I HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY MINDED. I HAVE TRIED TO KEEP UP WITH WHAT BOTH EUROPE AND ASIA WERE THINKING AND I HAVE VISITED THE CONTINENT THIRTEEN DIFFERENT TIMES. I HAVE TRAVELLED IN NEARLY ALL MODERNC COUNTRIES EXCEPT INDIA AND SOUTH AMERICA AND I HAVE BEEN IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS,

36-8-19

ESPECIALLY THOSE THAT HAD TO DO WITH RACE RELATIONS AND PEACE.

MY ACTIVITY THEREFORE FOR PEACE AND ALLIED SUBJECTS DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE PEACE CONGRESSES IN1949, BUT I EAGERLY TOOK PART IN THEM. I WAS SPONSOR FOR THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE AT THE WALDORF ASTORIA AND THOUGHT IT WAS A GREAT TRIUMPH WHEN WE GOT NOT ONLY THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA BUT THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE TO SIT DOWN AND TALK ABOUT PEACE.

THAT SAME YEAR I WAS INVITED TO THE PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS, WHICH WAS TO MY MIND THE GREATEST CONGRESS ON ANY SUBJECT WHICH I HAVE EVER ATTENDED. IT REMINDED ME OF A LESS KNOWN CONGRESS HELD IN LONDON IN 1911, CALLED THE RACE CONGRESS OF WHICH FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF WERE THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES. IT BROUGHT TOGETHER A LARGE NUMBER OF THE RACIAL G OUPS OF THE WORLD AND MIGHT HAVE STARTED A WORLD WIDE PEACE MOVEMENT HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE PARIS MEETING WAS THRILLING IN ITS INTENSITY AND EARNESTNESS. I WAS APPOINTED ON ITS WORLD COMMITTEE AND DID ALL I COULD TO TELL PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT THE MEETING AND ABOUT THE NEW PEACE MOVEMENT. LATER IN THAT SAME YEAR, 25 PROMINENT AMERICANS WERE INVITED TO ATTEND A RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS. I WAS THE ONLY ONE THAT ACCEPTED, AND WENT TO THAT INTERESTING MEETING. I WAS ALSO SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT PEACE MEETINGS IN MEXICO AND CUBA, BUT DID NOT HAVE TIME TO ATTEND THEM.

WHEN THOSE WHO HAD ATTENDED THESE VARIOUS CONGRESSES AND OTHER PEOPLE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN PEACE SAT DOWN TOGETHER AFTER THE WAR, WE ASKED OURSELVES WHAT COULD BE DONE TOWARD INSTITUTING A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. WE DID NOT TRY TO ORGANIZE BRANCHES OF THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS ALTHOUGH URGED TO AS WER WERE WARNED THAT THIS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED ILLEGAL.

36-8-20

BUT THERE WAS ONE THING WHICH SEEMED TO US COULD BE DONE AND THAT WAS TO TELL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES SYSTEMATICALLY AND WIDELY WHAT OTHER NATIONS

WERE DOING TOWARD PEACE AND HOW THEY WERE DOING IT. WE THEREFORE FORMED IN APRIL 1949, THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU. THIS WAS A TEMPORARY AND LIMITED ORGANIZATION WITH A SECRETARY AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND A GROUP OF PERSONS WHO MIGHT BE CONSIDERED GENERAL MEMBERS. THIS COMMITTEE WAS FINANCED BY AMERICANS. IT RECEIVED NO FUNDS FROM ABROAD AND WORKED SOLELY FOR PEACE.

WE PUBLISHED FOUR OR FIVE SO CALLED PEACE-GRAMS WITH NOTES CONCERNING WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS. WE RECEIVED COPIES OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB REPRINTED THEM AND DISTRIBUTED THEM WIDELY ASKING FOR SIGNATURES. WE RECEIVED OVER TWO MILLION SIGNATURES OF THESE PETITIONS. WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS APPEAL FROM GENEVA AND MADE PUBLIC THE PEACE WORK OF QUAKERS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAD BEEN AT WORK ONLY A SHORT TIME WHEN WE WERE ATTACKED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN A PUBLISHED ANNOUNCEMENT TO WHICH WE REPLIED. THAN LATER

WE WERE ASKED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO REGISTER AS "AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL". WE IMMEDIATELY SENT OUT ATTORNEY TO WASHINGTON WITH A CAREFUL STATEMENT OF FACTS AND THE DECLARED OPINION THAT WE DID NOT COME UNDER THIS STATUTE AS WE WERE NOT AGENT OF ANY FOREIGN PERSON, NATION OR GOVERNMENT.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE LATER REPEATED THEIR DEMAND, AND WE AGAIN REPLIED CAREFULLY. FINALLY I WROTE TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ASKING FOR AN INTERVIEW, SAYING THAT WE HAD NO DESIRE TO BREAK THE LAW, BUT WE DID WANT A CONFERENCE AND A CLARIFICATION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST US. SUCH A CONFERENCE WAS REFUSED. WE THEN CLOSED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU FOR TWO REASONS: FIRST BECAUSE OF THE PROSPECT OF DIFFICULTY WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND SECONDLY BECAUSE OUR MAIN WORK SEEMED ACCOMPLISHED AND A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES WAS IN MAKING.

100-8-21

NOT WITHSTANDING THIS, IN FEBURARY, AFTER OUR WORK WAS CLOSED, WE WERE INDICTED BY THE GRAND JURY IN WASHINGTON AND LATER ARRAIGNED. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED FRISKED FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HANDCUFFED. LATER I WAS RELEASED ON A THOUSAND

DOLLARS BAIL. THE PLEADING OF MOTIONS TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON YESTERDAY AND OUR TRIAL IS FOR MAY 14. THE PENALTY IF WE ARE FOUND GUILTY MAY BE FIVE YEARS IN PRISON AND FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FINE. REMEMBER THAT WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF NO CRIMINAL ACTION: WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OF TREASON OR CONSPIRACY: IT IS ADMITTED THAT ALL WE DID WAS LEGAL AND RIGHTFUL FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS: WE ARE ONLY ACCUSED OF REFUSING TO DECLARE THAT OUR ACTIONS WERE NOT OUR OWN BUT DICTATED BY A FOREIGN ORGANIZATION OF WHICH WE WERE AGENTS. THE ACCUSATION IS ABSURD AND CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED BY REJECTING THE ORDINARY AND COMMON LAW DEFINATION OF AGENT AND SUBSTITUTING A NEW CONCEPTION WHICH THIS EXTRACRDINARY STATUE CONTAINS. UNDER IT ANYONE WHO REPEATS THE THOUGHT OF ANY FOREIGNER IS LAIBLE TO ARREST UNLESS HE CONSENTS TO LIE.

WHETHER OR NOT MY FEW REMAINING YEARS ARE SPENT IN JAIL OR OUT IS OF LITTLE

IMPORTANCE BUT ON THE OTHER HAND THIS CASE IS OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE IF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF WHICH WE BOAST IS TO CONTINUE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IF THOUGHT AND OPINION ARE TO BE FREE AND CIRCULATE IN THE WORLD.

THE BASIC FACT ABOUT DEMOCRACY, IS FREEDOM TO SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND FREEDOM TO EXPRESS IT. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT EVERY PERSONS OPINIONS ARE RIGHT, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT WHEN THE MASS OF PEOPLE COME TO DECISION, THEY HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK AND KNOW. THIS PROCESS IS BEING STOPPED IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE VERY TIME WHEN WE NEED IT MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT IT, WE ARE BEING PUSHED RAPIDLY TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE RECALL OF GENERAL MACARTHUR INSTEAD OF MAKING PEACE MORE PROBABLE AS MANY OF US THOUGHT IT WOULD, IS MAKING WAR MORE IMMINENT. AND YET IN THE FACE OF THIS, NOT ONLY ARE PEOPLE SILENT BUT MASSES DO NOT KNOW THE FACTS OR HAVE A CHANCE TO HAVE THE TRUTH PUT BEFORE THEM.

36-8-22

THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE SPONSORED THIS DINNER HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT DISAPPOINTED

AT THE RESPONSE. YOU HAVE NOT REALIZED THE WAVE OF FEAR AND REPRESSION THAT IS CHOKING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. MOST PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO TAKE PART EVEN IN SO MILD A DEMONSTRATION AS THIS. THIS IS TRUE NOT SIMPLY OF WHITE PEOPLE BUT OF COLORED PEOPLE. THE MAJORITY OF WELL TO DO AND EDUCATED COLORED PEOPLE TODAY ARE AFRAID OF THEIR JOBS, AFRAID OF PERSECUTION BY THE GOVERNMENT, AFRAID OF DISCRIMINATION, BECAUSE OF THEIR OPINIONS. IT IS NOT SIMPLY THE RELAY GAMES THAT KEEPS THEM FROM AN OCCASION LIKE THIS, IT IS FEAR AND CAUTION.

I WROTE FOR THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER IN JUNE 1950, LONG BEFORE WE DREAMED OF PERSECUTION: "THE MOST ASTONISHING FACT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE, IS THAT IT ACTUALLY TAKES COURAGE TO OPPOSE WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR. ESPECIALLY IS IT DANGEROUS TO WANT PEACE WITH RUSSIA."

AND SO HERE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20thCENTURY, IN THE LAND OF THE FREE AND THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE: IN A STATE FOUNDED ON PEACE

MORE THAN ON ANY OTHER SINGLE PRINCIPLE: IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO MOBOLIZE A A DEMONSTRATION FOR PEACE AGAINST A THIRD WORLD WAR, OR AGAINST INJUSTICE. IT IS EVEN DIFFICULT FOR US TO SECURE LAWYERS WHO DARE DEFEND US. THIS IS A FRIGHTENING CONDITION AND IT MEANS THAT IN THE FUTURE, YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN KNOWING THE TRUTH AND IN USING YOUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO VOTE AGAINST WAR AND FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT. THAT Y U AND YOUR CHILDREN ARE GOING TO BE STAMPEDED INTO A DARK AGE WORSE AND LONGER THAN THAT WHICH FOLLOWED THE FALL OF ROME. THIS IS THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR CASE. IF WE LOSE IT, YOU L SE MORE THAN WE CAN POSSIBLY LOSE: IF WE WIN IT, PERHAPS WE CAN BEGIN TO TURN THE TIDE AGAINST THE ABOLITION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND AGAINST THE ORGANIZED MURDER OF MANKIND.

36-8-23

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1951

SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

TODAY THE ONE GREAT AND PRESSING QUESTION BEFORE THIS NATION AND BEFORE THE WORLD, IS THE QUESTION OF PEACE. THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER FOR A THIRD TIME WITHIN A GENERATION THE WORLD IS GOING TO WAR UPON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE WITH MURDER AND DESTRUCTION EXCEEDING ANYTHING WHICH PREVIOUS CENTURIES HAVE IMAGINED.

THIS GREAT AND FATAL QUESTION WE ARE NOT DISCUSSING TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT APPARENTLY HERE A QUESTION OF PEACE AND WAR, BUT SIMPLY OF WHAT KIND OF WAR AND UPON WHAT PEOPLE IT SHALL BE WAGED. THE COST OF SUCH A WAR IN HUMAN LIFE AND HEALTH, IN SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DESTRUCTION APPEARS TO BE IMMATERIAL TO US. WE CAN SPEND ANY AMOUNT OF MONEY IN ORDER TO WIN SUCH A WAR KNOWING AT THE SAME TIME, IF WE KNOW ANYTHING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO WIN ANY WAR UPON SUCH A SCALE.

IF WE DID REACH SOME SORT OF CONCLUSION WHICH WE CALLED VICTORY, WE WOULD BE IN WORSE CASE THAN WE WERE BEFORE THE WAR BEGAN. ALREADY WE ARE AT WAR IN KOREA AND HAVE BEEN FOR MONTHS. THE WAR FROM EVERY POINT OF VIEW IS SILLY AND TRAGIC. IT HAS NO OBJECT WHICH WE CAN STATE, NO GOALS TOWARD WHICH WE ARE MANIFESTLY STRIVING AND NO DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IS ENCOURAGED OR ALLOWED. ALREADY IN THIS 'LITTLE POLICE ACTION' 50,000 OF OUR YOUNG MEN HAVE BEEN WOUNDED, CRIPPLED AND DRIVEN INSANE AND 12,000 LIE DEAD. NO END OR VISION OF AN END IS IN SIGHT. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT WE ARE THREATENED TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE BY A NEW FASCISM, BY A CAREFULLY PLANNED AND RUTHLESSLY CARRIED OUT RULERSHIP OF THIS LAND BY BIG BUSINESS AND MILITARY LEADERS.

IT IS NOT ATTACK UPON EFFICIENT BUSINESS METHODS OR UPON THE MILITARY TRAINING OF THE LEADERS OF OUR FORCES TO SAY THAT NEITHER GROUP IS A GROUP

WHICH CAN BE TRUSTED TO ACHIEVE PEACE. MILITARY MEN ARE TRAINED TO MURDER PEOPLE SWIFTLY, BUSINESS WHEN IT GETS TO BE OF SUCH SIZE THAT NEITHER INDIVIDUALS NOR THE STATE CAN CONTROL IT, IS ORGANIZED FOR PROFIT AND FOR PROFIT ALONE. CONSEQUENTLY TO MAKE THESE PEOPLE THE ARBITRATORS OF PEACE, IS A TRAGIC BIT OF STUPIDITY. THIS IS WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES. MEN LIKE MACARTHUR AND MARSHALL, BORN AND TRAINED TO KILL, ARE BEING PUT IN POSITION TO SAY WHEN KILLING SHALL STOP. MEN WHOSE INCOME DEPENDS UPON WAR, PREPARATION FOR WAR AND THE RESULTS OF WAR, ARE APPOINTED TO SAY WHEN WAR SHALL STOP.

30-8-71

THERE HAVE BEEN EXAMPLES OF THIS KIND OF DICTATORSHIP BEFORE IN THE WORLD BUT THE PRESENT DICTATORSHIP IS DIFFERENT BECAUSE IT NOT ONLY HAS CHARGE OF WAR PLANS AND WAR METHODS, BUT IN ADDITION TO THAT THROUGH THE CONTROL OF OUR SOURCES AND CHANNELS OF INFORMATION, IT IS TODAY KEEPING THE MASS OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE FROM KNOWING WHAT IS HAPPENING. THIS TREMENDOUS ORGANIZATION

OF PROPAGANDA IS NOT REALIZED BY MANY PEOPLE. YOU DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD TODAY, BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT ALLOWED TO KNOW. GREAT AND COSTLY MAGAZINES TELL YOU STORIES WHICH THEY ARE PAID TO TELL. THE LIBERAL COMMENTATORS UPON THE RADIO WHO USED TO GUIDE YOU HAVE IN PRACTICALLY ALL CASES BEEN PUT OFF THE AIR.

THE MOVING PICTURE INDUSTRY IS BEING CONFINED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO ESCAPISM OR WAR PROPAGANDA. THE KIND OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IS STRICTLY LIMITED. THE PLATFORM AND THE PUBLIC HALLS OF THE NATION ARE CLOSED TO EVERYONE WHO DOES NOT REPEAT THE CURRENT DOGMA. THE THEATRE IS STILL PARTIALLY FREE AND THE COST OF THEATRE SEATS IS SUCH THAT MOST PEOPLE HAVE NO CHANCE TO GO.

ALL AROUND US IS THE GREAT CHRUS OF THE SILENT ONES, OF MEN AND WOMEN OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE WHO KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON AND WHO ARE KEEPING THEIR MOUTHS SHUT FROM FEAR OR THREAT. THIS ABSENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND DISCUSSION IS THE GREATEST TRAGEDY OF OUR TIME, AND IT WAS BECAUSE OF THAT,

THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER, OF WHICH I WAS CHAIRMAN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, WAS ESTABLISHED.

LET ME EXPLAIN THAT SINCE MY TWO YEARS OF EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN IN 1892-94, I HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY MINDED. I HAVE TRIED TO KEEP UP WITH WHAT BOTH EUROPE AND ASIA WERE THINKING AND I HAVE VISITED THE CONTINENT THIRTEEN DIFFERENT TIMES. I HAVE TRAVELLED IN NEARLY ALL MODERN COUNTRIES EXCEPT INDIA AND SOUTH AMERICA AND I HAVE BEEN IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE THAT HAD TO DO WITH RACE RELATIONS AND PEACE.

MY ACTIVITY THEREFORE FOR PEACE AND ALLIED SUBJECTS DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE PEACE CONGRESS IN IN 1949, BUT I EAGERLY TOOK PART IN THEM. I WAS SPONSOR FOR THE NEW YOUR CONFERENCE AT THE WOLDORF ASTORIA AND THOUGHT IT WAS A GREAT TRIUMPH WHEN WE GOT NOT ONLY THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA BUT THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE TO SIT DOWN AND TALK ABOUT PEACE.

36-8-72

THAT SAME YEAR I WAS INVITED TO THE PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS, WHICH WAS TO MY MIND THE GREATEST CONGRESS ON ANY SUBJECT WHICH I HAVE EVER ATTENDED. IT REMINDED ME OF A LESS KNOWN CONGRESS HELD IN LONDON IN 1911, CALLED THE RACE CONGRESS OF WHICH FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF WERE THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES. IT BROUGHT TOGETHER A LARGE NUMBER OF THE RACIAL GROUPS OF THE WORLD AND MIGHT HAVE STARTED A WORLD WIDE PEACE MOVEMENT HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE PARIS MEETING WAS THRILLING IN ITS INTENSITY AND EARNESTNESS. I WAS APPOINTED ON ITS WORLD COMMITTEE AND DID ALL I COULD TO TELL PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT THE MEETING AND ABOUT THE NEW PEACE MOVEMENT. LATER IN THAT SAME YEAR, 25 PROMINENT AMERICANS WERE INVITED TO ATTEND A RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS. I WAS THE ONLY ONE THAT ACCEPTED, AND WENT TO THAT INTERESTING MEETING. I WAS ALSO SCHEDULED TO SPEAT AT PEACE MEETINGS IN MEXICO AND CUBA, BUT DID NOT HAVE TIME TO ATTEND THEM.

WHEN THOSE WHO HAD ATTENDED THESE VARIOUS CONGRESSES AND OTHER PEOPLE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN PEACE SAT DOWN TOGETHER AFTER THE WAR, WE ASKED OURSELVES WHAT COULD BE DONE TOWARD INSTITUTING A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. WE DID NOT TRY TO ORGANIZE BRANCHES OF THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS ALTHOUGH URGED TO, AS WE WERE WARNED THAT THIS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED ILLEGAL.

BUT THERE WAS ONE THING WHICH SEEMED TO US COULD BE DONE AND THAT WAS TO TELL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES SYSTEMATICALLY AND WIDELY WHAT OTHER NATIONS WERE DOING TOWARD PEACE AND HOW THEY WERE DOING IT. WE THEREFORE FORMED IN APRIL1949, THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU. THIS WAS A TEMPORARY AND LIMITED ORGANIZATION WITH A SECRETARY AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND A GROUP OF PERSONS WHO MIGHT BE CONSIDERED GENERAL MEMBERS. THIS COMMITTEE WAS FINANCED BY AMERICANS. IT RECEIVED NO FUNDS FROM ABROAD AND WORKED SOLELY FOR PEACE.

36-8-73

WE PUBLISHED FOUR OR FIVE SO CALLED PEACE*GRAMS WITH NOTES CONCERNING WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS. WE RECEIVED COPIES OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB, REPRINTED THEM AND DISTRIBUTED THEM WIDELY ASKING FOR SIGNATURES. WE RECEIVED OVER TWO MILLION SIGNATURES OF THESE PETITIONS. WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS APPEAL FROM GENEVA AND MADE PUBLIC THE PEACE WORK OF QUAKERS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAD BEEN AT WORK ONLY A SHORT TIME WHEN WE WERE ATTACKED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN A PUBLISHED ANNOUNCEMENT TO WHICH WE REPLIED. THEN LATER WE WERE ASKED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO REGISTER AS "AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE IMMEDIATELY SENT OUR ATTORNEY TO WASHINGTON WITH A CAREFUL STATEMENT OF FACTS AND THE DECLARED OPINION THAT WE DID NOT COME UNDER THIS STATUTE AS WE WERE NOT AGENT OF ANY FOREIGN PERSON, NATION OR GOVERNMENT.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE LATER REPEATED THEIR DEMAND, AND WE AGAIN REPLIED CAREFULLY. FINALLY I WROTE TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ASKING FOR AN

INTERVIEW, SAYING THAT WE HAD NO DESIRE TO BREAK THE LAW, BUT WE DID WANT A CONFERENCE AND A CLARIFICATION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST US. SUCH A CONFERENCE WAS REFUSED. WE THEN CLOSED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU FOR TWO REASONS: FIRST BECAUSE OF THE PROSPECT OF DIFFICULTY WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND SECONDLY BECAUSE OUR MAIN WORK SEEMED ACCOMPLISHED AND A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES WAS IN MAKING.

36-8-74

NOT WITHSTANDING THIS, IN FEBRUARY, AFTER OUR WORK WAS CLOSED, WE WERE INDICTED BY THE GRAND JURY IN WASHINGTON AND LATER ARRAIGNED. I WAS FINGER-PRINTED, FRISKED FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HANDCUFFED. LATER I WAS RELEASED ON A THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL. THE PLEADING OF MOTIONS TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON YESTERDAY AND OUR TRIAL IS FOR OCTOBER 2. THE PENALTY IF WE ARE FOUND GUILTY MAY BE FIVE YEARS IN PRISON AND FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FINE. REMEMBER THAT WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF NO CRIMINAL ACTION: WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OR TREASON OR CONSPIRACY: IT IS ADMITTED THAT ALL WE DID WAS LEAGAL AND RIGHTFUL

FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS: WE ARE ONLY ACCUSED OF REFUSING TO DECLARE THAT OUR ACTIONS WERE NOT OUR OWN BUT DICTATED BY A FOREIGN ORGANIZATION OF WHICH WE WE WERE AGENTS. THE ACCUSATION IS ABSURD AND CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED BY REJECTING THE ORDINARY AND COMMON LAW DEFINITION OR AGENT AND SUBSTITUTING A NEW CONCEPTION WHICH THIS EXTRAORDINARY STATUTE CONTAINS. UNDER IT ANYONE WHO REPEATS THE THOUGHT OF ANY FOREIGNERS IS LIABLE TO ARREST UNLESS HE CONSENTS TO LIE.

WHETHER OR NOT MY FEW REMAINING YEARS ARE SPENT IN JAIL OR OUT IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS CASE IS OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE IF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF WHICH WE BOAST IS TO CONTINUE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IF THOUGHT AND OPINION ARE TO BE FREE AND CIRCULATE IN THE WORLD.

THE BASIC FACT ABOUT DEMOCRACY, IS FREEDOM TO SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND FREEDOM TO EXPRESS IT. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT EVERY PERSONS OPINIONS ARE

RIGHT, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT WHEN THE MASS OF PEOPLE COME TO DECISION, THEY HAVE HAD THE OPORTUNITY TO SEE WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK AND KNOW. THIS PROCESS IS BEING STOPPED IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE VERY TIME WHEN WE NEED IT MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT IT, WE ARE BEING PUSHED RAPIDLY TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE RECALL OF GENERAL MACARTHUR INSTEAD OF MAKING PEACE MORE PROBABLE AS MANY OF US THOUGHT IT WOULD, IS MAKING WAR MORE IMMINENT. AND YET IN THE FACE OF THIS, NOT ONLY ARE PEOPLE SILENT BUT MASSES DO NOT KNOW THE FACTS OR HAVE A CHANCE TO HAVE THE TRUTH PUT BEFORE THEM.

36-8-75

HAVE MEMBERS OF THE TRADE UNIONS ANY INTEREST IN THE CASE AGAINST THE FIVE OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER? THE CRIME FOR WHICH THESE LEADERS ARE BEING PERSECUTED IS TELLING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE DOING TO PROMOTE PEACE. IN THIS WORK THEY DISTRIBUTED VARIOUS STATEMENTS, FACTS AND APPEALS: AND ESPECIALLY THEY GAVE AMERICANS A CHANCE TO READ AND APPROVE IF THEY WISHED THE SO-CALLED

STOCKHOLM APPEAL. THIS APPEAL SAID:

> "WE DEMAND THE OUTLAWING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS AS INSTRUMENTS OF INTIMIDATION AND MASS MURDER OF PEOPLES. WE DEMAND STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL TO ENFORCE THIS MEASURE.
>
> "WE BELIEVE THAT ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH FIRST USES ATOMIC WEAPON AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY WHATSOEVER WILL BE COMMITTING A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY AND SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS A WAR CRIMINAL.
>
> "WE CALL ON ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO SIGN THIS APPEAL."

IMMEDIATELY THE SECRETARY OF STATE DECLARED PUBLICLY THAT THIS STOCKHOLM APPEAL ORIGINATED IN RUSSIA AND WAS FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF RUSSIA. THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER REPLIED THAT THEY DID NOT CARE WHERE THE APPEAL CAME FROM, THEY SIMPLY ASSERTED THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO KNOW WHAT THE APPEAL WAS AND TO SIGN IT OR REJECT IT AS THEY WISHED. THEY ALSO TOLD THEM THAT HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WERE SIGNING THE APPEAL.

THEREUPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE INTIMATED THAT TALK ADVOCATING PEACE IS TREASON AND DECLARED IN INDICTING THESE PERSONS THAT THEIR IDEAS WERE NOT THEIR OWN, BUT THAT THEY SPOKE AS AGENTS OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." THE DEFENDANTS REPLIED THAT THEY WERE NOT AGENTS OF ANYBODY: THAT THEY CIRCULATED IDEAS WHICH OTHER PEOPLE HAD STATED AND THAT BY SUCH CIRCULATION OF IDEAS CIVILIZATION HAD GROWN IN THE PAST AND WOULD GROW IN THE FUTURE: THAT TO DENY PEOPLE THE PRIVILEGE OF KNOWING WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK IS THOUGHT CONTROL, WHICH LEADS TO A POLICE STATE. FOR REFUSING PUBLICLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY WERE FOREIGN AGENTS, THOSE FIVE PERSONS WERE INDICTED AND ARRAIGNED.

36-8-76

THESE FIVE OFFICIALS GO TO TRIAL IN OCTOBER. IF THE GOVERNMENTS WINS IT CAN STOP THE CIRCULATION OF ANY IDEAS OF WHICH IT DOES NOT APPROVE: IT CAN STOP INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS: NOT ONLY OF PEACE AND WAR, BUT ALSO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LABOR PROBLEMS, ON CHURCH ACTIVITIES THAT ARE NOT PURELY RELIGIOUS: ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, ON COLONIALISM, ON

RACE PROBLEMS AND ON ANY MATTER WHICH IS NOT DISCUSSED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE WHO HAPPEN TO BE IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. IN OUR LAND, DISCUSSION WILL BE CONFINED TO THOSE MATTERS ABOUT WHICH THE CONTROLLED PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES LETS US KNOW THE TRUTH AND CONCERNING THE TRUTH AS OTHER PEOPLE AND OTHER NATIONS SEE IT, WE ARE NOT ALLOWED EITHER KNOWLEDGE OR ARGUMENT.

MANIFESTLY, PEACE IS LABOR'S GREATEST PROBLEM TODAY, NOT ONLY IN THIS LAND BUT IN THE WORLD. WAR SETTLES NOTHING AND LEADS SIMPLY TO MORE WAR. IT STYMIES THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND SETS GROUPS OF LABORERS MURDERING EACH OTHER INSTEAD OF STRIVING IN UNITED EFFORT TO RAISE STANDARDS OF WORK AND LIVING ALL OVER THE WORLD. IT STOPS DISCUSSION, ENCOURAGES INNER BICKERING AND DIRECTS ATTENTION AND STRENGTH AWAY FROM THE MAIN FIGHT OF WORKERS FOR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS. WAR KILLS THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO MAKE EVEN DISCUSSION OF PEACE A CRIME CALLS

FOR ALL TRADE UNIONS TO ENTER THE FIGHT FOR THE DEFENSE.

NOT ONLY DOES WAR KILL OUR SONS AND RUIN THEIR EDUCATION AND DRIVE THEM INTO INSANITY, BUT THE ONLY RESULT OF WAR IS MORE WAR. MEANTIME WE ARE WORKING TODAY TO MAKE MILLIONAIRES, TO RAISE PRICES AND RENTS, TO SURRENDER OUR LIBERTIES, AND ENCOURAGE SPIES, TRAITORS AND LIARS. THE VAST TAXES WHICH ARE RAISED FALL FAR MORE HEAVILY UPON THE POOR THAN UPON THE RICH AND THE PROCEEDS GO NOT TO EDUCATION, FLOOD CONTROL, OR SOCIAL UPLIFT, BUT MAINLY TO MORE WAR AND MURDER: THUS WE ARE FIGHTING IN THIS CASE FOR THE RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE AND THE PERSECUTED VICTIMS REPRESENT: A GRANDMOTHER, A NEGRO, A WAR-VETERAN, THE FATHER OF A FAMILY AND A CLERK STENOGRAPHER. THREE OF THESE ARE MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS.

36-8-77

THE NATION IS GOING INSANE WITH WAR HYSTERIA. WE ARE DISCUSSING NOT THE QUESTION OF PEACE BUT SIMPLY WHAT KIND OF WAR WE ARE GOING TO SPEND ALL OF OUR STRENGTH AND MONEY ON. WE ASK YOU TO HELP IN THIS CRUCIAL CASE AND TO JOIN US IN A CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE---NO MORE WAR, BY HELPING OUR DEFENSE.

IT IS NOT AN OVERSTATEMENT TO SAY THAT THE FUTURE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN THIS NATION DEPENDS LARGELY ON THE WINNING OF THIS CASE. IF WE CANNOT LEGALLY DISCUSS PEACE: IF WE CANNOT ASCERTAIN THE FACTS ABOUT WAR AND PUBLICIZE THEM WE CANNOT WIN ANY ELECTION. ONLY THE TRUTH CAN TODAY SET THIS NATION FREE AND UNLESS THIS CASE IS WON THERE IS GOING TO BE SMALL OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW OR TELL THE TRUTH.

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1951

35-5-101

SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

TODAY THE ONE GREAT AND PRESSING QUESTION BEFORE THIS NATION AND BEFORE THE WORLD IS THE QUESTION OF PEACE. THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER FOR A THIRD TIME WITHIN A GENERATION THE WORLD IS GOING TO WAR UPON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE WITH MURDER AND DESTRUCTION EXCEEDING ANYTHING WHICH PREVIOUS CENTURIES HAVE IMAGINED.

THIS GREAT AND FATAL QUESTION WE ARE NOT DISCUSSING TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT APPARENTLY HERE A QUESTION OF PEACE AND WAR, BUT SIMPLY OF WHAT KIND OF WAR AND UPON WHAT PEOPLE IT SHALL BE WAGED. THE COST OF SUCH A WAR IN HUMAN LIFE AND HEALTH, IN SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DESTRUCTION APPEARS TO BE IMMATERIAL TO US. WE CAN SPEND ANY AMOUNT OF MONEY IN ORDER TO WIN SUCH A WAR KNOWING AT THE SAME TIME, IF WE KNOW ANYTHING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO WIN ANY WAR UPON SUCH A SCALE.

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35-5-102

IF WE DID REACH SOME SORT OF CONCLUSION WHICH WE CALLED VICTORY, WE WOULD BE IN WORSE CASE THAN WE WERE BEFORE THE WAR BEGAN. ALREADY WE ARE AT WAR IN KOREA AND HAVE BEEN FOR MONTHS. THE WAR FROM EVERY POINT OF VIEW IS SILLY AND TRAGIC. IT HAS NO OBJECT WHICH WE CAN STATE, NO GOALS TOWARD WHICH WE ARE MANIFESTLY STRIVING AND NO DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IS ENCOURAGED OR ALLOWED. ALREADY IN THIS 'LITTLE POLICE ACTION' 50,000 OF OUR YOUNG MEN HAVE BEEN WOUNDED, CRIPPLED AND DRIVEN INSANE AND 12,000 LIE DEAD. NO END OR VISION OF AN END IS IN SIGHT. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT WE ARE THREATENED TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE BY A NEW FASCISM, BY A CAREFULLY PLANNED AND RUTHLESSLY CARRIED OUT RULERSHIP ~~OF THIS LAND~~ BY BIG BUSINESS AND MILITARY LEADERS.

DICTATORSHIP

IT IS NOT ATTACK UPON EFFICIENT BUSINESS METHODS OR UPON THE MILITARY TRAINING ~~OF THE LEADERS OF OUR FORCES~~ TO SAY THAT NEITHER GROUP IS A GROUP

35-5-103

WHICH CAN BE TRUSTED TO ACHIEVE PEACE./ MILITARY MEN ARE TRAINED TO MURDER PEOPLE SWIFTLY./ BUSINESS/WHEN IT GETS TO BE OF SUCH SIZE/THAT NEITHER INDIVIDUALS NOR THE STATE/CAN CONTROL IT,/ IS ORGANIZED FOR PROFIT/AND FOR PROFIT ALONE./ CONSEQUENTLY TO MAKE THESE PEOPLE/THE ARBITRATORS OF PEACE,/ IS A TRAGIC BIT OF STUPIDITY./ THIS IS WHAT IS HAPPENING/IN THE UNITED STATES./ MEN LIKE MACARTHUR AND MARSHALL/ BORN AND TRAINED TO KILL,/ ARE BEING PUT IN POSITION TO SAY/WHEN KILLING SHALL STOP./ MEN WHOSE INCOME/DEPENDS UPON WAR,/ PREPARATION FOR WAR/AND THE RESULTS OF WAR,/ ARE APPOINTED TO SAY WHEN WAR SHALL ~~STOP~~ CEASE

THERE HAVE BEEN EXAMPLES/OF THIS KIND OF DICTATORSHIP/ BEFORE IN THE WORLD/ BUT THE PRESENT DICTATORSHIP/ IS DIFFERENT/BECAUSE IT NOT ONLY/HAS CHARGE OF WAR PLANS AND WAR METHODS,/ BUT IN ADDITION TO THAT/THROUGH THE CONTROL OF OUR SOURCES AND CHANNELS OF INFORMATION,/ IT IS TODAY KEEPING THE MASS OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE/FROM KNOWING WHAT IS HAPPENING./ THIS TREMENDOUS ORGANIZATION

[p.4 missing]

35-4-275

THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER,/ OF WHICH I WAS CHAIRMAN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS,/ WAS ESTABLISHED.

LET ME EXPLAIN/THAT SINCE MY TWO YEARS OF EDUCATION/AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN IN 1892-94,/I HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY MINDED./ I HAVE TRIED TO KEEP UP/WITH WHAT BOTH EUROPE AND ASIA/WERE THINKING/AND I HAVE VISITED THE CONTINENT THIRTEEN DIFFERENT TIMES./ I HAVE TRAVELLED IN NEARLY ALL MODERN COUNTRIES/ ~~EXCEPT INDIA AND SOUTH AMERICA~~/AND I HAVE BEEN IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT/WITH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE THAT HAD TO DO/WITH RACE RELATIONS AND PEACE.

MY ACTIVITY THEREFORE FOR PEACE/AND ALLIED SUBJECTS/DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE PEACE CONGRESS IN IN 1949/ BUT I EAGERLY TOOK PART IN THEM./ I WAS SPONSOR FOR THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE/AT THE WOLDORF ASTORIA/AND THOUGHT IT WAS A GREAT TRIUMPH/WHEN WE GOT/NOT ONLY THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA/BUT THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE/ TO SIT DOWN AND TALK ABOUT PEACE.

35-4-276

THAT SAME YEAR/ I WAS INVITED TO THE PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS/ WHICH WAS TO MY MIND THE GREATEST CONGRESS/ ON ANY SUBJECT/ WHICH I HAVE EVER ATTENDED. IT REMINDED ME/ OF A LESS KNOWN CONGRESS/ HELD IN LONDON IN 1911/ CALLED THE RACE CONGRESS/ OF WHICH FELIX ADLER AND MYSELF/ WERE THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES. That meeting BROUGHT TOGETHER/ A LARGE NUMBER OF THE RACIAL GROUPS OF THE WORLD/ AND MIGHT HAVE STARTED A WORLD WIDE PEACE MOVEMENT/ HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR./ // THE PARIS MEETING WAS THRILLING/ IN ITS INTENSITY AND EARNESTNESS./ I WAS APPOINTED ON ITS WORLD COMMITTEE/ AND DID ALL I COULD TO TELL PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES/ ABOUT THE MEETING/ AND ABOUT THE NEW PEACE MOVEMENT. LATER IN THAT SAME YEAR/ 25 PROMINENT AMERICANS WERE INVITED TO ATTEND A RUSSIAN PEACE CONGRESS./ I WAS THE ONLY ONE THAT ACCEPTED/ AND WENT TO THAT INTERESTING MEETING./ I WAS ALSO SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT PEACE MEETINGS/ IN MEXICO AND CUBA,/ BUT DID NOT HAVE TIME TO ATTEND THEM.

35-4-277

WHEN THOSE WHO HAD ATTENDED/ THESE VARIOUS CONGRESSES/ AND OTHER PEOPLE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN PEACE/ SAT DOWN TOGETHER AFTER THE WAR/ WE ASKED OURSELVES WHAT COULD BE DONE/ TOWARD INSTITUTING A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT/ IN THE UNITED STATES./ // WE DID NOT TRY TO ORGANIZE BRANCHES/ OF THE PARIS WORLD CONGRESS/ ALTHOUGH URGED TO./ AS WE WERE WARNED THAT THIS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED ILLEGAL.

BUT THERE WAS ONE THING/ WHICH SEEMED TO US COULD BE DONE/ AND THAT WAS TO TELL THE PEOPLE/ OF THE UNITED STATES/ SYSTEMATICALLY AND WIDELY/ WHAT OTHER NATIONS/ WERE DOING TOWARD PEACE/ AND HOW THEY WERE DOING IT./ // WE THEREFORE FORMED/ IN APRIL 1949,/ THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU./ // THIS WAS A TEMPORARY AND LIMITED ORGANIZATION/ WITH A SECRETARY AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,/ AND A GROUP OF PERSONS WHO MIGHT BE CONSIDERED GENERAL MEMBERS./ THIS COMMITTEE WAS FINANCED BY AMERICANS./ IT RECEIVED NO FUNDS FROM ABROAD/ AND WORKED SOLELY FOR PEACE.

35-4-278

WE PUBLISHED FOUR OR FIVE SO CALLED PEACE-GRAMS WITH NOTES CONCERNING WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS. WE RECEIVED COPIES OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB. REPRINTED THEM AND DISTRIBUTED THEM WIDELY ASKING FOR SIGNATURES. WE RECEIVED OVER TWO MILLION SIGNATURES OF THESE PETITIONS. WE DISTRIBUTED THE RED CROSS APPEAL FROM GENEVA AND MADE PUBLIC THE PEACE WORK OF QUAKERS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAD BEEN AT WORK ONLY A SHORT TIME WHEN WE WERE ATTACKED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN A PUBLISHED ANNOUNCEMENT TO WHICH WE REPLIED. THEN LATER WE WERE ASKED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO REGISTER AS "AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE IMMEDIATELY SENT OUR ATTORNEY TO WASHINGTON WITH A CAREFUL STATEMENT OF FACTS AND THE DECLARED OPINION THAT WE DID NOT COME UNDER THIS STATUTE AS WE WERE NOT AGENT OF ANY FOREIGN PERSON, NATION OR GOVERNMENT.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE LATER REPEATED THEIR DEMAND, AND WE AGAIN REPLIED CAREFULLY. FINALLY I WROTE TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ASKING FOR AN

35-4-279

INTERVIEW, SAYING THAT WE HAD NO DESIRE TO BREAK THE LAW, BUT WE DID WANT A CONFERENCE AND A CLARIFICATION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST US. SUCH A CONFERENCE WAS REFUSED. WE THEN CLOSED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU FOR TWO REASONS: FIRST BECAUSE OF THE PROSPECT OF DIFFICULTY WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND SECONDLY BECAUSE OUR MAIN WORK SEEMED ACCOMPLISHED AND A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES WAS IN MAKING.

NOT WITHSTANDING THIS, IN FEBRUARY, AFTER OUR WORK WAS CLOSED, WE WERE INDICTED BY THE GRAND JURY IN WASHINGTON AND LATER ARRAIGNED. I WAS FINGERPRINTED, FRISKED FOR CONCEALED WEAPONS AND HANDCUFFED. LATER I WAS RELEASED ON A THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL. THE PLEADING OF MOTIONS TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON [redacted] AND OUR TRIAL IS FOR OCTOBER 2. THE PENALTY IF WE ARE FOUND GUILTY MAY BE FIVE YEARS IN PRISON AND FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FINE. REMEMBER THAT WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF NO CRIMINAL ACTION. WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OF TREASON OR CONSPIRACY. IT IS ADMITTED THAT ALL WE DID WAS LEGAL AND RIGHTFUL

35-4-280

FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS: WE ARE ONLY ACCUSED OF REFUSING TO DECLARE THAT OUR ACTIONS WERE NOT OUR OWN BUT DICTATED BY A FOREIGN ORGANIZATION OF WHICH WE WE WERE AGENTS. THE ACCUSATION IS ABSURD AND CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED BY REJECTING THE ORDINARY AND COMMON LAW DEFINITION OF AGENT AND SUBSTITUTING A NEW CONCEPTION WHICH THIS EXTRAORDINARY STATUTE CONTAINS. UNDER IT ANYONE WHO REPEATS THE THOUGHT OF ANY FOREIGNERS IS LIABLE TO ARREST UNLESS HE CONSENTS TO LIE.

WHETHER OR NOT MY FEW REMAINING YEARS ARE SPENT IN JAIL OR OUT IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS CASE IS OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE IF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF WHICH WE BOAST IS TO CONTINUE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IF THOUGHT AND OPINION ARE TO BE FREE AND CIRCULATE IN THE WORLD.

THE BASIC FACT ABOUT DEMOCRACY, IS FREEDOM TO SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND FREEDOM TO EXPRESS IT. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT EVERY PERSONS OPINIONS ARE

35-4-281

RIGHT, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT WHEN THE MASS OF PEOPLE COME TO DECISION THEY HAVE HAD THE OPORTUNITY TO SEE WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK AND KNOW. THIS PROCESS IS BEING STOPPED IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE VERY TIME WHEN WE NEED IT MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT IT, WE ARE BEING PUSHED RAPIDLY TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE RECALL OF GENERAL MACARTHUR INSTEAD OF MAKING PEACE MORE PROBABLE AS MANY OF US THOUGHT IT WOULD IS MAKING WAR MORE IMMINENT. AND YET IN THE FACE OF THIS NOT ONLY ARE PEOPLE SILENT BUT MASSES DO NOT KNOW THE FACTS OR HAVE no CHANCE TO HAVE THE TRUTH PUT BEFORE THEM.

HAVE MEMBERS OF THE TRADE UNIONS ANY INTEREST IN THE CASE AGAINST THE FIVE OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER? THE CRIME FOR WHICH THESE LEADERS ARE BEING PERSECUTED IS TELLING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE DOING TO PROMOTE PEACE. IN THIS WORK THEY DISTRIBUTED VARIOUS STATEMENTS, FACTS AND APPEALS: AND ESPECIALLY THEY GAVE AMERICANS A CHANCE TO READ AND APPROVE IF THEY WISHED THE SOVIET

35-4-282

STOCKHOLM APPEAL. THIS APPEAL SAID:

"WE DEMAND THE OUTLAWING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS AS INSTRUMENTS OF INTIMIDATION AND MASS MURDER OF PEOPLES. WE DEMAND STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL TO ENFORCE THIS MEASURE.

"WE BELIEVE THAT ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH FIRST USES ATOMIC WEAPON AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY WHATSOEVER WILL BE COMMITTING A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY AND SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS A WAR CRIMINAL.

"WE CALL ON ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO SIGN THIS APPEAL."

IMMEDIATELY THE SECRETARY OF STATE DECLARED PUBLICLY THAT THIS STOCKHOLM APPEAL ORIGINATED IN RUSSIA AND WAS FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF RUSSIA. THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER REPLIED THAT THEY DID NOT CARE WHERE THE APPEAL CAME FROM, THEY SIMPELY ASSERTED THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO KNOW WHAT THE APPEAL WAS AND TO SIGN IR OR REJECT IT AS THEY WISHED. THEY ALSO TOLD THEM THAT HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WERE SIGNING THE APPEAL.

35-4-283

THEREUPON THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE INTIMATED THAT TALK ADVOCATING PEACE IS TREASON AND DECLARED IN INDICTING THESE PERSONS THAT THEIR IDEAS WERE NOT THEIR OWN, BUT THAT THEY SPOKE AS AGENTS OF A "FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." THE DEFENDANTS REPLIED THAT THEY WERE NOT AGENTS OF ANYBODY; THAT THEY CIRCULATED IDEAS WHICH OTHER PEOPLE HAD STATED AND THAT BY SUCH CIRCULATION OF IDEAS CIVILIZATION HAD GROWN IN THE PAST AND WOULD GROW IN THE FUTURE; THAT TO DENY PEOPLE THE PRIVILEGE OF KNOWING WHAT OTHER PEOPLE THINK IS THOUGHT CONTROL WHICH LEADS TO A POLICE STATE. FOR REFUSING PUBLICLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY WERE FOREIGN AGENTS THESE FIVE PERSONS WERE INDICTED AND ARRAIGNED.

THESE FIVE OFFICIALS GO TO TRIAL IN OCTOBER. IF THE GOVERNMENTS WINS IT CAN STOP THE CIRCULATION OF ANY IDEAS OF WHICH IT DOES NOT APPROVE. IT CAN STOP INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS NOT ONLY OF PEACE AND WAR, BUT ALSO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LABOR PROBLEMS, ON CHURCH ACTIVITIES THAT ARE NOT PURELY RELIGIOUS, ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, ON COLONIALISM, ON

RACE PROBLEMS/AND ON ANY MATTER/WHICH IS NOT DISCUSSED/IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE WHO HAPPEN TO BE/IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES./ IN OUR LAND/ DISCUSSION WILL BE CONFINED TO THOSE MATTERS ABOUT WHICH/THE CONTROLLED PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES/LETS US KNOW THE TRUTH//AND CONCERNING THE TRUTH AS OTHER PEOPLE/AND OTHER NATIONS/SEE IT./ WE ARE NOT ALLOWED EITHER KNOWLEDGE OR ARGUMENT.

35-4-284

MANIFESTLY,/ PEACE IS LABOR'S GREATEST PROBLEM TODAY./ NOT ONLY IN THIS LAND BUT IN THE WORLD.// WAR SETTLES NOTHING AND LEADS SIMPLY TO MORE WAR./ IT STYMIES THE LABOR MOVEMENT/ AND SETS GROUPS OF LABORERS MURDERING EACH OTHER/INSTEAD OF STRIVING IN UNITED EFFORT/TO RAISE STANDARDS OF WORK AND LIVING/ALL OVER THE WORLD.// IT STOPS DISCUSSSION,/ ENCOURAGES INNER BICKERING AND DIRECTS ATTENTION AND STRENGTH/AWAY FROM THE MAIN FIGHT OF WORKERS/FOR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS.// WAR KILLS THE LABOR MOVEMENT,/ AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/TO MAKE EVEN DISCUSSION OF PEACE A CRIME/CALLS

FOR ALL TRADE UNIONS/TO ENTER THE FIGHT FOR THE DEFENSE.

35-4-285

NOT ONLY DOES WAR KILL OUR SONS/AND RUIN THEIR EDUCATION/AND DRIVE THEM INTO INSANITY,/ BUT THE ONLY RESULT OF WAR IS MORE WAR.// MEANTIME WE ARE WORKING TODAY/TO MAKE MILLIONAIRES,/ TO RAISE PRICES AND RENTS,/TO SURRENDER OUR LIBERTIES,/ AND ENCOURAGE SPIES,/TRAITORS AND LIARS.// THE VAST TAXES WHICH ARE RAISED/FALL FAR MORE HEAVILY UPON THE POOR/THAN UPON THE RICH AND THE PROCEEDS GO/NOT TO EDUCATION, FLOOD CONTROL, OR SOCIAL UPLIFT,/ BUT MAINLY TO MORE WAR AND MURDER.// THUS WE ARE FIGHTING IN THIS CASE/FOR THE RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE//AND THE PERSECUTED VICTIMS REPRESENT:/ A GRANDMOTHER,/ A NEGRO,/A WAR-VETERAN,/ THE FATHER OF A FAMILY/AND A CLERK STENOGRAPHER. THREE OF THESE/ARE MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS.

THE NATION IS GOING INSANE WITH WAR HYSTERIA./ WE ARE DISCUSSING NOT THE QUESTION OF PEACE/ BUT SIMPLY WHAT KIND OF WAR/WE ARE GOING TO SPEND ALL OF OUR STRENGTH AND MONEY ON./ WE ASK YOU TO HELP IN THIS CRUCIAL CASE AND TO JOIN US IN A CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE--NO MORE WAR,/ BY HELPING OUR DEFENSE(

IT IS NOT AN OVERSTATEMENT TO SAY/ THAT THE FUTURE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/ IN THIS NATION/ DEPENDS LARGELY ON THE WINNING OF THIS CASE. // IF WE CANNOT LEGALLY DISCUSS PEACE:/ IF WE CANNOT ASCERTAIN THE FACTS ABOUT WAR / AND PUBLICIZE THEM/ WE CANNOT WIN ANY ELECTION.// ONLY THE TRUTH CAN TODAY / SET THIS NATION FREE/ AND UNLESS THIS CASE IS WON/ THERE IS GOING TO BE SMALL OPPORTUNITY/ TO KNOW OR TELL THE TRUTH.

35-4-280

Original
(From which I copied Speech)

FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1951

SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY 34

TODAY THE ONE GREAT AND PRESSING QUESTION BEFORE THIS NATION AND BEFORE THE WORLD, IS THE QUESTION OF PEACE. THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER FOR A THIRD TIME WITHIN A GENERATION THE WORLD IS GOING TO WAR UPON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE WITH MURDER AND DESTRUCTION EXCEEDING ANYTHING WHICH PREVIOUS CENTURIES HAVE IMAGINED.

26-8-60

THIS GREAT AND FATAL QUESTION WE ARE NOT DISCUSSING TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT APPARENTLY HERE A QUESTION OF PEACE AND WAR, BUT SIMPLY OF WHAT KIND OF WAR AND UPON WHAT PEOPLE IT SHALL BE WAGED . THE COST OF SUCH A WAR IN HUMAN LIFE AND HEALTH , IN SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DESTRUCTION APPEARS TO BE IMMATERIAL TO US. WE CAN SPEND ANYAMOUNT OF MONEY IN ORDER TO WIN SUCH A WAR KNOWING AT THE SAME TIME, IF WE KNOW ANYTHING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO WIN ANY WAR UPON SUCH A SCALE.

--2--

IF WE DID REACH SOMESORT OF CONSLUSION WHICH WE CALLED VICTORY, WE WOULD BE IN WORSE CASE THAN WE WERE BEFORE THE WAR BEGAN . ALREADY WE ARE AT WAR IN KOREA AND HAVE BEEN FOR MONTHS . THE WAR FROM EVERY POINT OF VIEW IS SILLY AND TRAGIC. IT HAS NO OBJECT WHICH WE CAN STATE, NO GOALS TOWARD WHICH WE ARE MANIFESTLY STRIVING AND NO DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION IS ENOURAGED OR ALLOWED . ALREADY IN THIS 'LITTLE POLICE ACTION' 50,000 OF OUR YOUNG MEN HAVE BEEN WOUNDED ~~MAIMED~~ Crippled AND DRIVEN INSANE AND 12,000 LIE DEAD. NO END OR VISION OF AN END IS IN SIGHT. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT WE ARE THREATENED TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE BY A NEW FASCISM, BY A CAREFULLY PLANNED AND RUTHLESSLY CARRIED OUT RULERSHIP OF THIS LAND ~~IS~~ by BIG BUSINESS AND MILITARY LEADERS.

IT IS NO ATTACK UPON EFFICIENT BUSINESS METHODS ~~OR INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS~~, OR UPON THE MILITARY TRAINING ~~AND ABILITY~~ OF THE LEADERS OF OUR FORCES TO SAY THAT NEITHER GROUP IS A GROUP WHICH CAN BE TRUSTED TO ACHIEVE PEACE. MILITARY MEN ARE TRAINED TO MURDER PEOPLE SWIFTLY, BUSINESS WHEN IT GETS TO BE OF SUCH SIZE THAT NEITHER INDIVIDUALS NOR THE STATE CAN ~~FIGHT~~ control IT, IS ORGANIZED FOR PROFIT AND FOR PROFIT ALONE, CONSEQUENTLY TO MAKE THESE PEOPEE THE ARBITRATORS OF PEACE , IS

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

A TRAGIC BIT OF ~~stupidity~~ . THIS IS WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES. MEN LIKE MACARTHUR AND MARSHALL, BORN AND TRAINED TO KILL, ARE BEING PUT IN POSITION TO SAY WHEN KILLING SHALL STOP. MEN WHOSE INCOME DEPENDS UPON WAR, PREPARATION FOR WAR AND THE RESULTS OF WAR, ARE APPOINTED TO SAY WHEN WAR SHALL STOP.

THERE HAVE BEEN EXAMPLES OF THIS KIND OF DICTATORSHIP BEFORE IN THE WORLD BUT THE PRESENT DICTATORSHIP IS DIFFERENT BECAUSE IT NOT ONLY HAS CHARGE OF WAR PLANS AND WAR METHODS, BUT IN ADDITION TO THAT THROUGH THE CONTROL OF OUR SOURCES AND CHANNELS OF INFORMATION, IT IS TODAY KEEPING THE MASS OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE FROM KNOWING WHAT IS HAPPENING. THIS TREMENDOUS ORGANIZATION OF PROPAGANDA IS NOT REALIZED BY many PEOPLE. YOU DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD TODAY, BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT ALLOWED TO KNOW. GREAT AND COSTLY MAGAZINES TELL YOU STORIES WHICH THEY ARE PAID TO TELL. THE liberal COMMENTATORS UPON THE RADIO WHO USED TO GUIDE YOU HAVE ~~BEEN~~ IN PRACTICALLY ALL CASES ~~, STOPPED FROM SPEAKING.~~ been put off the air

19-8-36

THE MOVING PICTURE INDUSTRY IS many CONFINED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO ESCAPISM OR WAR PROPAGANDA. THE KIND OF BOOKS ~~WHICH ARE~~ PUBLISHED ~~ARE~~ IS STRICTLY LIMITED. THE PLATFORM AND THE PUBLIC HALLS OF THE NATION ARE CLOSED TO EVERYONE WHO DOES NOT REPEAT THE CURRENT DOGMA. ~~ONLY~~ THE THEATRE IS STILL PARTIALLY FREE ~~AND~~ but THE COST OF THEATRE SEATS ~~ARE~~ IS SUCH THAT MOST PEOPLE HAVE NO CHANCE TO ~~SEE EVEN THAT.~~ go

ALL AROUND US IS THE GREAT ~~COURSE~~ chorus OF THE SILENT ONES , OF MEN AND WOMEN OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE WHO KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON AND WHO ARE KEEPING THEIR MOUTHS SHUT. THIS ABSENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND DISCUSSION IS THE GREATEST TRAGEDY OF OUR TIME, AND IT WAS BECAUSE OF THAT , THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER , OF WHICH I WAS CHAIRMAN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, WAS ESTABLISHED. (insert A)

from fear or threat

It is not an overstatement to say that the future of the Progressive Party in this nation depends largely on the winning of this case. If we cannot legally discuss Peace; if we cannot ascertain the facts about ~~present conditions~~ War and publicize them we cannot win any election. Only the Truth can set this nation free Today and unless this case is won there is going to be small opportunity to know or tell the truth

36-8-69

CHICAGO, JUNE 29, 1951

by W. E. B. Du BOIS

35-5-134

LET US TONIGHT/SPEAK FRANKLY/AS MEN AND WOMEN/WHO FACE THE GREATEST CRISIS OF MODERN CULTURE/AND STAND BEFORE THE JUDGMENT/OF OUR CHILDREN/AND AT THE BAR OF IMPARTIAL HISTORY.// WE ARE HERE TO DECLARE/THAT PEACE ON EARTH/IS THE ONLY WAY/TO THE SOLUTION/OF THE PRESSING PROBLEMS OF OUR WORLD.

THESE PROBLEMS ARE/THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK,/ DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

VIEWING OUR PLIGHT AS A WHOLE,/ IT IS CLEAR/THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM WHICH UNDERLIES ALL OTHERS/IS THAT OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY.// THERE ARE MANY OF US WHO WOULD PREFER/NOT TO DISCUSS AMERICAN BUSINESS,/ FEELING THAT ALL SUCH CRITICISM/IS BASED ON ENVY/OF WEALTH AND SUCCESS.

OUR CRITICISM, HOWEVER,/ DOES NOT STEM FROM JEALOUSY OF THE RICH/BUT FROM SYMPATHY/FOR THE POOR;// FROM THE FIRM BELIEF/THAT POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE/ARE NOT INEVITABLE/ BUT PREVENTABLE,// AND THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRY IS THIS PREVENTION AND CURE.

35-5-135

~~ON THE OTHER HAND~~/WE ARE CONVINCED/THAT BIG BUSINESS/IN THE UNITED STATES/ IS FORCING/THIS NATION INTO WAR,// TRANSFORMING OUR ADMINISTRATION/INTO A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP,/ PARALYZING ALL DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS/AND DEPRIVING US OF KNOWLEDGE WE NEED.

THE UNITED STATES/IS RULED TODAY/ BY GREAT INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS/ CONTROLLING VAST AGGREGATIONS/OF CAPITAL AND WEALTH.// THE ACTS AND AIMS/OF THIS UNPRECEDENTED INTEGRATION/ OF POWER,/ EMPLOYING SOME OF THE BEST BRAIN AND ABILITY/OF THE LAND,/ ARE NOT AND NEVER HAVE BEEN/UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL.// ITS DICTATORSHIP HAS VARIED/FROM ABSOLUTE MONARCHY TO OLIGARCHY,/ LIMITED BY

35-5-136

ORGANIZED LABOR/AND BY OFTEN INEFFECTIVE/PUBLIC OPINION,/TRYING REPEATEDLY AND DESPERATELY/TO EXPRESS ITSELF/THROUGH FREE ELECTIONS.

TODAY/THIS INDUSTRIAL OLIGARCHY/CONTROLS OUR GOVERNMENT./ ITS OFFICIALS DOMINATE OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS/AND OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.// SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR,/ THE MOST POWERFUL OFFICES/OF THE NATION HAVE BEEN HELD/LARGELY BY OFFICIALS,/ OR FORMER OFFICIALS/OF THE 100 GREAT CORPORATIONS/WHOSE TOTAL PROFIT/IN THE LAST DECADE/WAS 145 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS.

THESE CORPORATIONS,/ WITH 70% OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS,/ ARE PUSHING SHOPS AND SMALL BUSINESSES/ TO THE WALL,/ STIFLING COMPETITION, and DISCOURAGING FREE ENTERPRISE/AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE,/ SO COMPLETELY/ THAT OFTEN THESE VERY PHRASES ARE MOCKERY.// THIS IS THE REASON/THAT IN THE THREE YEARS/ SINCE WORLD WAR II,/ AMERICAN BUSINESS,/ HELPED BY THE MARSHALL PLAN,/ HAS INVESTED $3 BILLIONS OF CAPITAL ABROAD.

4

TODAY WE DOMINATE/THE ECONOMY/OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA -- THE WORST MODERN SLAVE STATE;/ WE HOLD INCREASING DOMINATION IN EAST, WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA;/ IN THE ECONOMY OF MOST OF LATIN AMERICA;/ OF WEST GERMANY, JAPAN/AND MUCH OF THE NEAR EAST.// AMERICA HAS BECOME/THE GREATEST POWER ON EARTH/FOR RESTORING COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

35-5-137

BACK OF THIS CONCENTRATED/INDUSTRIAL CONTROL/OF OUR GOVERNMENT/ARE RANGED/FOUR ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY:// MILITARISM;/ THE LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS;/ SECRET POLICE/AND A HUGE EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA/WHICH DENIES KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH/TO THE AVERAGE CITIZEN.

THROUGHOUT THE LAND,/ INCREASING UNREST/AND OPPOSITION/TO THIS PROGRAM OF WAR,/ HAS BEEN MET BY AN UNPRECEDENTED/DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS/OF AMERICAN CITIZENS/ AS EMBODIED/IN THE BILL OF RIGHTS:/ FREE SPEECH,/ THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLY,/ THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION,/ THE RIGHT TO ~~WORK~~ SECURITY,/ HAVE BEEN CURTAILED SLOWLY/ BY JUDICIAL EDICT,/ FEDERAL AND STATE LAW/AND CITY ORDINANCE,/ HELPED BY POLICE

ACTION. // OUR PRESENT SUPREME COURT / CONDONES DECISIONS / WHICH IT ADMITS / TRANSGRESS THE CLEAR WORDS / OF THE CONSTITUTION. // PUBLIC PROTEST / AGAINST THE COURSE OF GOVERNMENT / EVEN IN ELECTIONS / HAS BEEN MADE DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS, / AS THE CAMPAIGN OF 1948 SHOWED.

35-5-128

EVIDENCE TO SUPPLY EXCUSE / FOR SUCH DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS / AND DEMOCRATIC ACTION, / IS SUPPLIED BY THE LARGEST BODY / OF SECRET POLICE / THE MODERN WORLD HAS KNOWN / [redacted] WHOSE ANNUAL COST / IN THE LAST DECADE / HAS RISEN FROM 2 MILLION to 53 MILLION DOLLARS.

FINALLY, / AND THIS IS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE / FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT: // TRUTH AND SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE / ARE BEING SYSTEMATICALLY KEPT / FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE / BY ORGANIZED INDUSTRY, / THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF NEWS GATHERING / AND NEWS DISTRIBUTING AGENCIES.

THERE ARE ON THIS PLATFORM TONIGHT, / FIVE PERSONS / WHO STAND INDICTED BY

THE FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE / AS AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL / BECAUSE THROUGH THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER / THEY DISTRIBUTED NEWS / OF PEACE MOVEMENTS / THROUGH OUT THE WORLD, / WHICH THE PRESS IGNORED. // INCLUDING DISTRIBUTION / OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL / AGAINST THE ATOMIC BOMB. // THEY ARE

35-5-129

ELIZABETH MOOS, A TEACHER

KYLE ELKIN, A BUSINESS MAN

SYLVIA SOLOFF, A CLERK AND STENOGRAPHER

ABBOT SIMON, A VETERAN AND ORGANIZER OF THIS CONGRESS

AND MYSELF

35-5-140

THE BASIC HOPE OF DEMOCRACY IS THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE EVENTUALLY TO DECIDE GREAT ISSUES OF STATE BY FAIR ELECTIONS. BUT THE EFFECTIVE USE OF THIS POWER DEPENDS ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF CONDITIONS WHICH THIS ELECTORATE POSSESSES. IF THEY CANNOT KNOW THE TRUTH; IF THEY CANNOT ASCERTAIN THE REAL FACTS; THEN THE WHOLE MEANING AND EFFICIENCY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FALL TO THE GROUND.

TODAY IT IS CLEAR TO ALL WHO KNOW THE FACTS THAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY HAS LAUNCHED IN THIS COUNTRY, THE GREATEST EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA THE WORLD HAS EVER WITNESSED. IN COMPARISON, HITLER AND MUSSOLINI FADE TO INSIGNIFICANCE. OUR DAILY PRESS WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS IS CONTROLLED IN PRESENTATION OF FACT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION BY THE ORGANIZED INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. THESE INTERESTS WANT WAR. THEY WANT WAR BECAUSE ONLY BY WAR CAN CHINA, AFRICA, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST BE KEPT IN THEIR CONTROL, AS THE SOURCE OF THE GREATEST PROFIT FOR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE.

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35-5-141

BUT EVEN AN INDUSTRIAL DICTATORSHIP COULD NOT ADMIT PROFIT AS THE SOLE END OF WORK AND INCREASE OF PROFIT AS THE CAUSE OF WORLD WAR. SO IN THE UNITED STATES WE ARE TOLD OVER RADIO, IN CINEMA, ON THE PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE AND BOOK, THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE IS IN GRAVE AND IMMINENT DANGER. THAT NO MATTER IF DEMOCRACY DIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS DISAPPEAR; NO MATTER HOW THE COST OF LIVING SOARS, AND TAXES INCREASE; NO MATTER HOW HOUSING LAGS, AND SCHOOLS DISINTEGRATE; NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE NEED MEDICAL CARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY; WE ARE SAID TO BE THREATENED BY AN ENEMY SO GREAT AND RUTHLESS THAT WE MUST DROP ALL AND THROW OUR TOTAL ENERGY INTO A WAR EFFORT WHICH SURPASSES ANYTHING THE WORLD HAS EVER ATTEMPTED.

THIS IS A TERRIBLE PROSPECT. IF IT BE TRUE THAT THE SOVIET UNION, THE CHINESE REPUBLIC; THE NEW POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS STATES;

TOGETHER WITH, / IN A LESSER DEGREE, / THE SOCIALISTS OF BRITAIN, / SCANDINAVIA, ITALY AND FRANCE, / ARE THREATENING THE VERY EXISTENCE / OF THE UNITED STATES, / EVEN THEN WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE.

35-5-142

CONFERENCE AND UNDERSTANDING, / PATIENCE AND NOT THREAT, / ARE WAYS TO PEACE, / AND PEACE ALONE / CAN SAVE CIVILIZATION.

BUT IS IT TRUE / THAT THESE NATIONS / AND THEIR ECONOMIES / THREATEN US? WHAT ARE THE REAL FACTS? // IT IS HERE / THAT THE METHODS / OF OUR PRESENT INDUSTRIAL DICTATORSHIP / SHOW ITS HAND MOST CLEARLY. // IT REFUSES TO PERMIT / A REAL AND HONEST APPRAISAL / OF THE WORLD SITUATION. // IT OVERWHELMS US / BY A CONTINUOUS BARRAGE / OF PROPAGANDA ON ONLY ONE SIDE, / FROM ONLY ONE POINT OF VIEW; / AND WITH BUT ONE OBJECT: / THAT THE MASS OF HONEST CITIZENS / UNCONSCIOUSLY ASSUME / THAT IMMINENT ATTACK ON THIS NATION / CALLS FOR HIDING OUR SCHOOL CHILD-

REN UNDER DESKS, / AND BLARING FALSE ALARMS.

JUST AS IN THE DARK AGES, / WE ARE LETTING OURSELVES / BE STAMPEDED BY WITCH-WORDS. // IN THAT DAY, / A VEILED AND AWESOME FIGURE / COULD REAR ITSELF IN THE SHADOWS / AND BY YELLING "ABACADABRA," / TURN STRONG MEN / INTO GIBBERING IDOTS. // TODAY BY YELLING / "COMMUNIST," / WE CAN SHUT THE MOUTHS / OF NEARLY ALL WHO WANT PEACE, / NOT WAR; // OF SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS / WHO WANT FREEDOM / TO SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND BEAUTY; // OF ANXIOUS MOTHERS / WHO WANT HEALTHY SONS / AND NOT CRIPPLES NOR CORPSES; // OF HONEST FATHERS / WHO WANT JOBS AND HOMES; / OF YOUTH WHO WANT EDUCATION; / OF CITIZENS WHO WANT FLOOD CONTROL, / SOCIAL MEDICINE, and OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES; // OF NEGROES / WHO WANT TO BE FREE, / AND OF JEWS / WHO WANT ESCAPE / FROM CENTURIES OF CALUMNY.

35-5-143

35-5-144

MEN HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT/ TO DISAGREE WITH COMMUNISM,// WITH ITS OBJECTS AND METHODS;/ MEN MAY HONESTLY BELIEVE/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/ HAS A BETTER METHOD/ OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/ THAN THE SOVIET UNION;// BUT MEN HAVE NO RIGHT TO ASSERT/ IN THE FACE OF OVERWHELMING TESTIMONY/ THAT NO HONESTY AND SINCERITY OF EFFORT,/ NO HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE;/ NO INTELLIGENT LEADERSHIP,/ HAS OCCURRED/ IN THE SOVIET UNION;// AND THAT DISAGREEMENT WITH IT/ MUST INVOLVE PAINTING 200 MILLION PEOPLE/ AS INHUMAN DEVILS,// AND ASSUMING/ THAT WE ARE GOD'S OWN ANGELS.// IN THAT DIRECTION/ LIES UNENDING HATE AND WAR;/ WHILE CIVILIZATION NEEDS SYMPATHY,/ UNDERSTANDING/ AND WORLD PEACE,/ WITH THE RIGHT OF MEN TO DIFFER/ AND OF NATIONS/ TO WORK/ AS EACH WILL.

WE CANNOT THRIVE/ ON HATRED OF A NATION/ OR OF A SYSTEM OF ECONOMY.// WE MUST BE WILLING/ TO FACE FACTS AND EXAMINE THEM.// WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT,

MOST OF THE PEOPLE/ OF THE WORLD TODAY/ LIVE UNDER SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM.// WE CANNOT STOP THIS BY FORCE/ AND SHOULD NOT IF WE COULD.// WE CAN SO IMPROVE OUR OWN SYSTEM OF ECONOMY/ THAT THE WORLD WILL SEE/ THE ADVANTAGE OF IT/ OVER ALL OTHERS/ IF THIS PROVE TRUE.// THE WAY TO START THIS, HOWEVER, IS NOT BY WAR NOR SLANDER. IT IS STUPID/ TO ABOLISH DEMOCRACY AMONG OURSELVES/ IN ORDER TO PROVE THE BLESSINGS OF DEMOCRACY/ TO OTHERS.// WE CANNOT CALL OURSELVES FREE,/ WHEN WE ARE ENSLAVING THE THOUGHT/ AND ACTION/ OF OUR OWN CITIZENS.

35-5-145

// YOU KNOW THE REASONS/ FOR YOUR COMING TO THIS CONGRESS;// YOU KNOW WHAT THE COMMUNITIES THINK/ WHICH SENT YOU.// YOU ALSO KNOW,/ OR SOON WILL LEARN,/ THAT THE TRUTH ABOUT THIS MEETING,/ WHAT IT WANTS AND WHAT IT SAYS,/ WILL NOT APPEAR IN MOST NEWSPAPERS/ IN THIS CITY,/ NOR IN THE VAST MAJORITY/ OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE NATION.// THAT ON THE CONTRARY,/ ON RADIO, IN MAGAZINE/ AND IN THE DAILY AND WEEKLY PRESS,/ YOU WILL BE CARICATURED/ AS TRAITORS AND CRACKPOTS/ AND NOT AS

AMERICANS/ WHO WANT PEACE; /AND WHO BELIEVE /THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF ALL OTHER NATIONS/ALSO WANT PEACE/ SO DESPERATELY,/ THAT FEAR OF AGGRESSION/ IS PRACTICALLY GROUNDLESS.

35-5-146

MORE THAN THIS,/ NEARLY ALL SOCIAL QUESTIONS AND REFORMS/WHICH WE MUST DISCUSS AND ANSWER/ARE MATTERS/WHICH SCIENCE HAS ALREADY DISCUSSED,/ EXPERIMENTED WITH/AND OFFERED SOLUTIONS,/ YEARS BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION WAS BORN. // YET/WHEN WE DARE TOUCH THESE MATTERS,/ WE ARE DENIED FREEDOM OF SPEECH.// SUBJECTS LIKE WEALTH PRODUCTION/AND DISTRIBUTION;// THE ROLE OF THE STATE/IN INDUSTRY/AND THE CAUSES OF POVERTY,/ ARE BEING THROWN OUT/OF OUR SCHOOL CURRICULA /AND WE ARE ACCUSED/OF RADICALISM/IF WE DARE MENTION THESE MATTERS.// YET WE MUST DISCUSS THEM.//WE MUST ASK/WHY IS IT/THAT THIS RICH WORLD/IS POOR?/ WHY IS IT/ THAT WITH ALL THE WEALTH/NATURE FURNISHES FREE,/AND ALL THE POWER LYING

AT OUR FINGERTIPS,/THE MEN WHO WORK HARDEST/GET THE LOWEST INCOME?// WHY IS IT/THAT THE MEN WHO THINK MOST CLEARLY/AND CONSTRUCTIVELY/HAVE OFTEN THE HARDEST TIME/MAKING A DECENT LIVING?// WHILE THOUSANDS/ WHO LIE AND CHEAT/AND STEAL/GET POWER AND WEALTH?// WHY IS IT THOSE WHO OWN THE LAND AND CROPS;/ THE MACHINES AND CAPITAL;/ THE BUILDINGS AND CLOTHING/AND FOOD,/ ARE NOT ALWAYS THOSE WHO WORK/AND SAVE AND SACRIFICE,// BUT TOO OFTEN THOSE /WHO SCHEME AND CONTRIVE/AND RIG THE MARKET,// OR SIT AT EASE SPENDING WHAT SOMEBODY ELSE EARNED?

35-5-147

NONE WILL DENY/THAT MANY OF THE RICH/HAVE EARNED THEIR INCOME /OR THAT SOME OF THE POOR/DESERVE THEIR POVERTY;// BUT ALL WILL ADMIT /THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/ IN THIS WORLD/HAS NO EARTHLY RELATION/TO REASON NOR RIGHT.// AND THAT THE HISTORY/OF THE ACCUMULATION OF MANY GREAT FORTUNES/ARE STORIES OF

THEFT, CHEATING, GAMBLING AND MURDER.

35-5-148

// THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AS TO WORK AND WEALTH WHICH ALL MEN MUST FACE; ALL SCHOOLS TEACH AND ALL HONEST PULPITS DISCUSS // DOES A MAN'S INCOME CONSIST OF WHAT HE MAKES? // NO. // NOT EVEN IN PRIMITIVE TIMES WAS THIS TRUE. // AND TODAY THE SIMPLEST WORK OF PRODUCTION FROM CATCHING A FISH TO BUILDING BOULDER DAM IS A COMPLICATED SOCIAL EFFORT INVOLVING FROM 10 TO 10,000 WORKERS, PLANNERS, MANAGERS AND THINKERS, AND USING EVEN SO-CALLED "UNEMPLOYED" HOUSEWIVES AND MOTHERS. // IT LASTS SO LONG IN TIME AND IS SO INTRICATE AND COMPLICATED // IN TECHNIQUES THAT NO MATHEMATICAL FORMULA CAN POSSIBLY SHOW EXACTLY WHAT EACH WORKER CONTRIBUTES TO THE FINAL VALUE. // BY WHAT YARDSTICK THEN IS INDIVIDUAL INCOME MEASURED? NO MAN TAKES WHAT HE

MAKES; HE SHARES IN WHAT ALL MEN MAKE; AND THE SIZE OF THAT SHARE CANNOT IN ANY CIVILIZED STATE BE LEFT TO CHANCE, MONOPOLY OR TO THOSE WHO HAPPEN AT ANY TIME TO CONTROL CAPITAL AND POWER.

35-5-149

ONLY REASON AND JUSTICE CAN IN THE END DETERMINE INCOME; // TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEED AND FROM EACH WHAT HE BEST CAN DO, // IS THE HIGH IDEAL, ENUNCIATED BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WAS THOUGHT OF. // THIS IDEAL THE SOVIET UNION ADMITS IT HAS NOT YET ATTAINED, BUT DECLARES ITS FIRM PURPOSE TO REACH IT. // WHILE THE UNITED STATES NOT ONLY DENIES THE JUSTICE OF THIS AIM BUT BLUNTLY ORDERS THAT IT MUST NOT EVEN BE ATTEMPTED.

WE HAVE GOT OUR ECONOMY UPSIDE DOWN, OUR REWARD FOR WORK BACKSIDE FOREMOST AND OUR BRAINS SO ADDLED THAT IF ANYONE DARES QUESTION THIS INSANITY OF OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION WE YELL "SUBVERSIVE" AND SCARE ALL FOOLS OUT OF THEIR FEW WITS.

35-5-150

IF SINCERE DISLIKE OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS COMMUNISM, THEN BY THE LIVING GOD, NO FORCE OF ARMS, NOR POWER OF WEALTH, NOR SMARTNESS OF INTELLECT WILL EVER STOP IT. // DENIAL OF THIS RIGHT TO THINK WILL MANUFACTURE COMMUNISTS FASTER THAN YOU CAN JAIL OR KILL THEM. // NOTHING WILL STOP SUCH COMMUNISM BUT SOMETHING BETTER THAN COMMUNISM. // IF OUR PRESENT POLICIES ARE EXAMPLES OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE, THEY ~~INITIATE~~ FREE CRIME AND INITIATE SUFFERING AS WELL AS WEALTH. // IF THIS IS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, GOD SAVE AMERICA.

THERE IS NO WAY IN THE WORLD FOR US TO PRESERVE THE IDEALS OF A DEMOCRATIC AMERICA, SAVE BY DRASTICALLY CURBING THE PRESENT POWER OF CONCENTRATED WEALTH; // BY ASSUMING OWNERSHIP OF SOME NATURAL RESOURCES, BY ADMINISTERING MANY OF OUR KEY INDUSTRIES AND BY SOCIALIZING OUR SERVICES FOR PUBLIC WELFARE. // THIS NEED NOT MEAN THE ADOPTION OF THE COMMUNISM OF THE SOVIET UNION, NOR THE SOCIALISM OF BRITAIN, // NOR EVEN OF THE NEAR-SOCIALISM OF FRANCE, ITALY OR SCANDINAVIA. // BUT EITHER IN SOME WAY OR TO SOME DEGREE, WE SOCIALIZE OUR ECONOMY RESTORE THE NEW DEAL AND INAUGURATE THE WELFARE STATE, OR WE DESCEND INTO A MILITARY FASCISM

35-5-151

WHICH WILL KILL ALL DREAMS OF DEMOCRACY, OF THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY ~~AND~~ DISEASE AND IGNORANCE, // OR OF PEACE INSTEAD OF WAR.

THERE MUST COME VAST SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES; // A CHANGE NOT VIOLENT, BUT BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE CERTAIN AND INEXORABLE; // CARRIED OUT "WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE BUT CHARITY FOR ALL", WITH METICULOUS JUSTICE TO THE RICH AND THRIFTY AND COMPLETE SYMPATHY FOR THE POOR, THE SICK AND THE IGNORANT; // WITH FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY FOR AMERICA. // AND ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

SPEECH

BY DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS

AT THE PUBLIC RALLY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S

CONGRESS AND EXPOSITION FOR PEACE

JUNE 29, 1951, CHICAGO COLISEUM

Let us tonight speak frankly as men and women who face the greatest crisis of modern culture and stand before the judgment of our children and at the bar of impartial history. We are here to declare that peace on earth is the only way to the solution of the pressing problems of our world.

These problems are the organization of work, democratic government and human rights.

36-8-153

Viewing our plight as a whole, it is clear that the fundamental problem which underlies all others is that of organized industry. There are many of us who would prefer not to discuss American Business, feeling that all such criticism is based on envy of wealth and success.

Our criticism, however, does not stem from jealousy of the rich but from sympathy for the poor; from the firm belief that poverty, disease and ignorance are not inevitable but preventable, and that the object of industry is this prevention and cure.

On the other hand we are convinced that Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, paralyzing all democratic controls and depriving us of knowledge we need.

The United States is ruled today by great industrial corporations controlling vast aggregations of capital and wealth. The acts and aims of this unprecedented integration of power, employing some of the best brain and ability of the land, are not and never have been under democratic control. Its dictatorship has varied from absolute monarchy to oligarchy, limited by

organized labor and by often ineffective public opinion, trying repeatedly and desperately to express itself through free elections.

Today this industrial oligarchy controls our government. The officials dominate our foreign relations and our internal affairs. Since the end of the second World War, the most powerful offices of the nation have been held largely by officials, or former officials of the 100 great corporations whose total profit in the last decade was 145 thousand million dollars.

36-8-154

These corporations, with 70% of government contracts, are pushing shops and small businesses to the wall, stifling competition, discouraging free enterprise and individual initiative, so completely that often these very phrases are mockery. This is the reason that in the three years since World War II, American Business, helped by the Marshall Plan, has invested 3 billions of capital abroad.

Today we dominate the economy of the Union of South Africa -- the worst modern Slave State; we hold increasing domination in East, West and Central Africa; in the economy of most of Latin America; of West Germany, Japan and much of the Near East. America has become the greatest power on earth for restoring colonial imperialism.

Back of this concentrated industrial control of our government are ranged ranged four enemies of democracy: militarism; the loss of civil rights; secret police and a huge effort at propaganda which denies knowledge of the truth to the average citizen.

Throughout the land, increasing unrest and opposition to this program of war, has been met by an unprecedented denial of the rights of American citizens as embodied in the Bill of Rights: free speech, the right of public assembly, the right of association, the right to work, have been curtailed slowly by judicial edict, federal and state law and city ordinance, helped by police

action. Our present Supreme Court condones decisions which it admits transgress the clear words of the Constitution. Public protest against the course of government even in elections has been made difficult and dangerous, as the campaign of 1948 showed.

Evidence to supply excuse for such denial of human rights and democratic action, is supplied by the largest body of secret police the modern world has known and whose annual cost in the last decade has risen from 2 million to 53 million dollars.

30-8-155

Finally, and this is of greatest importance for the Peace Movement: truth and sources of knowledge are being systematically kept from the American People by organized industry, through its control of news gathering and news distributing agencies.

There are on this platform tonight, five persons who stand indicted by the Federal Department of Justice as agents of a foreign principal because through the Peace Information Center they distributed news of peace movements through the world, which the press ignored, including distribution of the Stockholm Appeal against the atomic bomb. They are

Elizabeth Moos, a teacher

Kyle Elkin, a business man

Sylvia Soloff, a clerk and stenographer

Abbot Simon, a verteran and organizer of this Congress

and Myself

The basic hope of democracy is the power of the people eventually to decide great issues of state by fair elections. But the effective use of this power depends on the knowledge of conditions which this electorate possesses. If they cannot know the truth; if they cannot ascertain the real facts, then the whole meaning and efficiency of the democratic process fall to the ground.

Today it is clear to all who know the facts that American industry has launched in this country, the greatest effort at propaganda the world has ever witnessed. In comparison, Hitler and Mussolini fade to insignificance. Our daily press with few exceptions is controlled in presentation of fact and expression of opinion by the organized industrial interests of the United States. These interests want war. They want war because only by war can China, Africa, Southeast Asia and the Middle East be kept in their contrd, as the source of the greatest profit for industrial enterprise.

36-8-156

But even an industrial dictatorship could not admit profit as the sole end of work, and increase of profit as the cause of world war. So in the United States we are told over radio, in cinema, on the platform and in newspaper, magazine and book, that our way of life is in grave and imminent danger. That no matter if democracy dies and human rights disappear; no matter how the cost of living soars, and taxes increase; no matter how housing lags, and schools disintegrate; no matter how much we need medical care and social security; we are said to be threatened by an enemy so great and ruthless that we must drop all and throw our total energy into a war effort which surpasses anything the world has ever attempted.

This is a terrible prospect. If it be true that the Soviet Union, the Chinese Republic; the new Poland and Czechoslovakia and the Balkans States;

together with, in a lesser degree, the socialists of Britain, Scandanavia, Italy and France, are threatening the very existence of the United States, even then war is not inevitable.

Conference and understanding; patience and not threat, are ways to peace, and peace alone can save civilization.

But is it true that these nations and their economics threaten us? What are the real facts? It is here that the methods of our present industrial dictatorship show its hand most clearly. It refuses to permit a real and honest appraisal of the world situation. It overwhelms us by a continuous barrage of propaganda on only one side, from only one point of view; and with but one object: that the mass of honest citizens unconsciously assume that imminent attack on this nation calls for hiding our school children under desks, and blaring false alarms.

30-8-157

Just as in the dark ages, we are letting ourselves be stampeded by witch-words. In that day, a veiled and awesome figure could rear itself in the shadows and by yelling "Abacadabra," turn strong men into gibbering idiots. Today by yelling "Communist," we can shut the mouths of nearly all who want peace, not war; of scientists and artists who want freedom to search for truth and beauty; of anxious mothers who want healthy sons and not cripples nor corpses; of honest fathers who want jobs and homes; of youth who want education; of citizens who want flood control, social medicine, ownership of public utilities; of Negroes who want to be free, and of Jews who want escape from centuries of calumny.

Men have a perfect right to disagree with communism, with its objects and methods; menmay honestly believe that the United States has a better method of industrial organization than the Soviet Union; but men have no right to assert in the face of overwhelming testimony that no honesty and sincerity of effort; no hard work and sacrifice; no intelligent leadership, has occurred in the Soviet Union; and that disagreement with it must involve painting 200 million people as inhuman devils, and assuming that we are God's own angels. In that direction lies unending hate and war; while civilization needs sympathy, understanding and world peace, with the right of men to differ and of nations to work as each will.

36-8-158

We cannot thrive on hatred of a nation or of a system of economy. We must be willing to face facts and examine them. Whether we like it or not, most of the people of the world today live under socialism or communism.

We cannot stop this by force and should not if we could. We can so improve our own system of economy that the world will see the advantage of it over all others if this prove true. The way to start this, is not by war nor slander. It is stupid to abolish democracy among ourselves in order to prove the blessings of democracy to others. We cannot call ourselves free, when we are enslaving the thought and action of our own citizens.

You know the reasons for your coming to this Congress; you know what the communities think which sent you. You also know, or soon will learn, that the truth about this meeting, what it wants and what it says, will not appear in most newspapers in this city, nor in the vast majority of newspapers in the nation. That on the contrary, on radio, in magazine and in the daily and weekly press, you will be caricatured as traitors and crackpots and not as

Americans who want peace; and who believe that the vast majority of all other nations also want peace so desperately, that fear of aggression is practically groundless.

More than this, nearly all social questions and reforms which we must discuss and answer are matters which science has already discussed, experimented with and offered solutions, years before the Soviet Union was born. Yet when we dare touch these matters, we are denied freedom of speech. Subjects like wealth production and distribution; the role of the state in industry and the causes of poverty, are being thrown out of our school curricula and we are accused of radicalism if we dare mention these matters. Yet we must discuss them. We must ask why is it that this rich world is poor? Why is it, that with all the wealth nature furnishes free, and all the power lying at our fingertips, the men who work hardest get the lowest income? Why is it that the men who think most clearly and constructively have often the hardest time making a decent living, while thousands who lie and cheat and steal get power and wealth? Why is it those who own the land and crops; the machines and capital; the buildings and clothing and food, are not always those who work and save and sacrifice, but too often those who scheme and contrive and rig the market; or sit at ease spending what somebody else earned?

None will deny that many of the rich have earned their income or that some of the poor deserve their poverty; but all will admit that the distribution of wealth in this world has no earthly relation to reason nor right, and that the history of the accumulation of many great fortunes and stories of

36-8-159

theft, cheating, gambling and murder.

There are fundamental questions as to work and wealth which all men must face; all schools teach and all honest pulpits discuss. Does a man's income consist of what he makes? No. Not even in primitive times was this true. And today the simplest work of production from catching a fish to building Boulder Dam is a complicated social effort involving from 10 to 10,000 workers, planners, managers and thinkers, and using even so-called "unemployed" housewives and mothers; it lasts so long in time and is so intricate and complicated in techniques that no mathematical formula can possibly show exactly what each worker contributes to the final value. By what yardstick then is individual income measured? No man takes what he makes; he shares in what all men make; and the size of that share cannot in any civilized state be left to chance, monopoly or to those who happen at any time to control capital and power.

36-8-160

Only reason and justice can in the end determine income; to each according to his need and from each what he best can do, is the high ideal, enunciated before the Russian Revolution was thought of. This ideal the Soviet Union admits it has not yet attained, but declares its firm purpose to reach it. While the United States not only denies the justice of this aim but bluntly orders that it must not even be attempted.

We have got our economy upside down, our reward for work backside foremost and our brains so addled that if anyone dares question this insanity of our modern civilization we yell "subversive" and scare all fools out of their few wits.

If sincere dislike of this state of affairs is Communism, then by the living God, no force of arms, nor power of wealth, nor smartness of intellect will ever stop it. Denial of this right to think will manufacture communists faster than you can jail or kill them. Nothing will stop such communism but something better than communism. If our present policies are examples of free enterprise and individual initiative, they initiate crime and suffering as well as wealth; if this is the American way of life, God save America!

36-8-161

There is no way in the world for us to preserve the ideals of a democratic America, save by drastically curbing the present power of concentrated wealth; by assuming ownership of some natural resources, by administering many of our key industries and by socializing our services for public welfare. This need not mean the adoption of the communism of the Soviet Union; nor the socialism of Britain; nor even of the near-socialism of France, Italy or Scandinavia; but either in some way or to some degree, we socialize our economy, restore the New Deal and inaugurate the welfare state, or we descend into a military fascism which will kill all dreams of Democracy, or the abolition of poverty and ignorance; or of peace instead of war.

There must come vast social change in the United States; a change not violent, but by the will of the people certain and inexorable; carried out "with malice toward none but charity for all"; with meticulous justice to the rich and thrifty and complete sympathy for the poor, the sick and the ignorant; with freedom and democracy for America, and on earth peace, good will toward men.

CHICAGO, JUNE 29, 1951

BY W. E. B. Du BOIS

35-5-1

Let us tonight speak frankly as men and women who face the greatest crisis of modern culture and stand before the judgment of our children and at the bar of impartial history. We are here to declare that peace on earth is the only way to the solution of the pressing problems of our world.

These problems are the organization of work; democratic government and human rights.

Viewing our plight as a whole, it is clear that the fundamental problem which underlies all others is that of organized industry. There are many of us who would prefer not to discuss American business, feeling that all such criticism is based on envy of wealth and success. Our criticism, however, does not stem from jealousy of the rich but from sympathy for the poor; from the firm belief that poverty, disease and ignorance are not inevitable but preventable, and that the object of industry is this prevention and cure.

On the other hand we are convinced that Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, paralyzing all democratic controls and depriving us of knowledge we need.

The United States is ruled today by great industrial corporations controlling vast aggregations of capital and wealth. The acts and aims of this unprecedented integration of power, employing some of the best brain and ability of the land, are not and never have been under democratic control. Its dictatorship has varied from absolute monarchy to oligarchy, limited by organized labor and by often ineffective public

opinion, trying repeatedly and desperately to express itself through free elections, ~~but failing utterly since the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.~~

Today this industrial oligarchy controls our government. Its officials dominate our foreign relations and our internal affairs. Since the end of the Second World War, the most powerful offices of the nation have been held largely by officials, ~~officials on leave,~~ or former officials of the 100 great corporations whose annual net profit, after paying all costs of production, including materials, high salaries and low wages; and paying all taxation, and after laying aside huge reserves, have risen from 3 1/2 billions in 1936-9 to 18.5 in 1946-50, and 22 1/2 billions last year; and whose total profit in the last decade was 145 thousand million dollars. If these corporations speak through their officials and former officials, as few doubt but they do, then the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is our ambassador to Britain; the Steel Trust and Dillon, Reade have recently been our secretaries of State; the New York Stock Exchange heads the Federal Reserve Board; our huge war effort, which is spending a billion dollars a week on weapons alone, is controlled by General Electric, International Telephone and Telegraph, General Foods, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Westinghouse Electric, the Columbia Broadcasting System, the Trans World Airlines, the Georgia Power Company, the Steel Trust, and a score of other corporations; while the National Association of Manufacturers unifies and guides the whole policy of this centralized power. The avowed object of these corporations is private profit; and public welfare, only after profit is assured.

These corporations, with 70% of the fat government contracts,

are pushing shops and small businesses to the wall, stifling competition, discouraging free enterprise and individual initiative, so completely that often these very phrases are mockery.

The profits of ten banks which have $35 billion dollars in assets, combined with the nine great corporate concentrations of wealth and the property of the 60 families who own America, have billions to invest abroad where they can earn, from cheap labor and monopoly of raw materials, twice the rate of profit they earn here. This is the reason that in the three years since World War II, American business, helped by the Marshall Plan, has invested $3 billions of capital abroad. It is also the reason we fear control of that capital by plans for social control in Europe; and finally it is the reason we are fighting in Asia, because of the prospect of greater profit there, from serf labor and land monopoly. Today we dominate the economy of the Union of South Africa -- the worst modern slave state; we hold increasing domination in East, West and Central Africa; in the economy of most of Latin America; of West Germany, Japan and much of the Near East. America has become the greatest power on earth for restoring colonial imperialism.

Back of this concentrated industrial control of our government are ranged four enemies of democracy: militarism; the loss of civil rights; secret police and a huge effort at propaganda which denies knowledge of the truth to the average citizen.

Our military establishment is the largest which the world has ever seen; it is on every continent and in every sea and dominates the airways of the world. A Third World War was not simply threatening, but was actually begun; with no authority from the voters of the nation, no formal consent by Congress and no real appeal to public opinion. Despite this, our nation and the world is filling with

armed forces and our national industrial effort is concentrating our industrial potential on articles of destruction instead of the goods and needs of a peaceful nation.

Universal military service has been planned to compel the entire youth of the land to fight, whether or not they want to fight or understand why they are fighting. Army discipline may have certain values for youth, and it is glorious to die for one's country, when that is necessary. When it is unnecessary, war is a crime, and always subjects youth to a cramping tyrrany, absence of initiative and loss of self-respect, calculated to ruin and debauch whole generations of men and women. This is why in every civilized nation compulsory military service has always been regarded as the last resort from inescapable evil.

35-5-4

Our system of education is facing chaos; imagine narrowly educated military men, with absolutely no background of broad culture, standing in the shoes of Mark Hopkins and Charles William Eliot? Conceive immature mediocrity heading institutions where once William James and Weir Mitchel taught manhood to men! Was it wise in the last generation, for a rich democracy like the United States, to entrust to Standard Oil and the Steel Trust, the chief role in high educational policy; and for the next generation to hand it over to the Ford Motor Company, while the Army and Navy subsidize scientific research for subservient presidents of our universities? May not this be the reason why the chief advances in popular education, have come recently from the Eastern world and not from the West; and why bookstores flourish in Prague and languish in New York? And why we cannot have in this nation a single successful literary magazine which is not owned or subsidized by Big Business?

The plight of science today, especially in physics and chemistry and in the social sciences, resembles the age of Galileo. Knowledge due the world must be kept secret; genius must be geared to murder and the highest scientific ideal is immeasurable destruction. The situation is driving our scientists mad.

35-5-5

We have tried desperately in this nation to preserve respect for our courts; but today increasing numbers do not believe in their integrity or justice where the poor, the black, or the unpopular are concerned. They fear that justice is not only blind, but becoming also deaf and dumb.

must to hear

Meantime, throughout the land, increasing unrest and opposition to this program of war, has been met by an unprecedented denial of the rights of American citizens as embodied in the Bill of Rights: free speech, the right of public assembly, the right of association, the right to work, have been curtailed slowly by judicial edict, federal and state law and city ordinance helped by police action. Our present Supreme Court condones decisions which it admits transgress the clear words of the Constitution. Public protest against the course of government even in elections has been made difficult and dangerous, as the campaign of 1948 showed.

Evidence ~~and intimidation~~ to supply cause for such denial of human rights and democratic action, is supplied by the largest body of secret police the modern world has known and whose annual cost in the last decade has risen from two to 85 million dollars. Every rule of common law and justice has at one time or another been violated by this bureau until the intimidation of citizens is almost complete; no lawyer seems safe from contempt of court, and few unpopular victims can hope for an unbiased trial.

Our concept of freedom has become curiously confused. Of course

complete freedom is inconceivable and complete slavery is death. Yet we demand for so-called free peoples, the right of business enterprise to carry on efforts which are little less than force and gambling; to make private profit out of public wealth; to seize unearned increase of value from land and natural resources; to regard as private property the savings from technical improvements in industrial processes; and especially the right to hold as private property the results of hired labor, no matter what the final value of those results are.

35-5-6

omit to here

Finally, and this is of greatest importance for the peace movement: the truth and sources of knowledge are being systematically kept from the American people by organized industry, through its control of news gathering and news distributing agencies.

insert 5 members

The basic hope of democracy is the power of the people eventually to decide great issues of state by fair elections. But the efficiency of this power depends on the knowledge of conditions which this electorate possesses. If they cannot know the truth; if they cannot ascertain the real facts, then the whole meaning and efficiency of the democratic process fall to the ground.

Today it is clear to all who know the facts that American industry has launched in this country, the greatest effort at propaganda the world has ever witnessed. In comparison, Hitler and Mussolini fade to insignificance. Our daily press with few exceptions is controlled in presentation of fact and expression of opinion by the organized industrial interests of the United States. These interests want war. They want war because only by war can China, Africa, Southeast Asia and the Middle East be kept in their control, as the source of the greatest profit for industrial enterprise; (through their cheap, half-slave labor; their invaluable raw material - like rice, mineral and

omit (

vegetable oil, coffee, cocoa, tea, silk, spice, cotton, leather, wood, metals, fruits and a thousand other necessities, whose prices the commercial powers force down to starvation depths; if these lands can be kept in semi-bondage, colonial imperialism will survive without actual political control.

35-5-7

To drive any nation to war, there must be hate and fear. Therefore hate and fear are the objects of this propaganda which embraces the press, most magazines, the platform and too often even the pulpit. We use the radio, that miracle of man, not only for propaganda but half the time for money-making advertisements, even of patent medicines and games of chance; while a movement like this cannot get in a whisper. This is the clear and practically undisputed situation in our land.

But even an industrial dictatorship could not admit profit as the sole end of work and increase of profit as the cause of world war. So in the United States we are told over radio, in cinema, on the platform and in newspaper, magazine and book, that our way of life is in grave and imminent danger. That no matter if democracy dies and human rights disappear; no matter how the cost of living soars, and taxes increase; no matter how housing lags, and schools disintegrate; no matter how much we need medical care and social security; we are said to be threatened by an enemy so great and ruthless that we must drop all and throw our total energy into a war effort which surpasses anything the world has ever attempted.

This is a terrible prospect. If it be true that the Soviet Union, the Chinese Republic; the new Poland and Czechoslovakia and the Balkans States; together with, in a lesser degree, the socialists of Britain, Scandinavia, Italy and France, are threatening the very existence of the United States, even then war is not inevitable.

Conference and understanding; patience and not threat, are ways to peace, and peace alone can save civilization.

But is it true that these nations and their economies threaten us? What are the real facts? It is here that the methods of our present industrial dictatorship show its hand most clearly. It refuses to permit a real and honest appraisal of the world situation. It overwhelms us by a continuous barrage of propaganda on only one side, from only one point of view; and with but one object: that the mass of honest citizens unconsciously assume that imminent attack on this nation calls for hiding our school children under desks, and blaring false alarms of imminent deadly attack.

35-5-8

The course of Fascism in the United States is following in the exact footsteps of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, except we so far lack the colorful personal leadership which perhaps MacArthur will supply. Otherwise we have curtailment of civil rights; the single party system, even though using two names; the secret informer and the paid spy; the freedom of known criminals and jailing of thinkers and writers; the mass compulsion to one opinion and one set of conclusions, and a huge propaganda to obscure the truth and make all believe what is not proven.

Just as in the dark ages, we are letting ourselves be stampeded by witch-words. In that day, a veiled and awesome figure could rear itself in the shadows and by yelling "Abacadabra," turn strong men into gibbering idiots. Today by yelling "Communist," we can shut the mouths of nearly all who want peace, not war; of scientists and artists who want freedom to search for truth and beauty; of anxious mothers who want healthy sons and not cripples nor corpses; of honest fathers who want jobs and homes; of youth who want education; of citizens who want

flood control, social medicine, ownership of public utilities; of Negroes who want to be free, and of Jews who want escape from centuries of calumny.

Instead, we live in a world where travel can be limited; where Paul Robeson's glorious voice can be stilled; where Hollywood can be deprived of genius; where political opinion can be denied expression and its leaders jailed, after the fashion of all tyrannical governments; and where the nation can be made the hysterical and cruel leader of war and hate all around the world.

The danger of our present war hysteria is not only that it stops us from reasoning, but it is impairing our ability to reason. For instance: our excuse for war preparation is fear of soviet aggression; if then we are to discuss war we must discuss the Soviet Union. But we are stopped from this by the assertion that study of Russia is dangerous; that the Russians are too untrustworthy for any discussion or agreement; therefore we must neither discuss nor visit Russia and must make war without discussion or knowledge. We want peace with Russia; yet when anyone starts to talk peace with Russia, he is called a traitor.

Men have a perfect right to disagree with Communism, with its objects and methods; men may honestly believe that the United States has a better method of industrial organization than the Soviet Union; but men have no right to deny in the face of overwhelming testimony that no honesty and sincerity of effort; no hard work and sacrifice; no intelligent leadership, has occurred in the Soviet Union; and that disagreement with it must involve painting 200 million people as inhuman devils, and assuming that we are God's own angels. In that direction lies unending hate and war; while civilization needs sympathy,

understanding and world peace, with the right of men to differ and of nations to work as each will.

If Communism is spreading by force and violence, with slavery and deceit, then a crusade of extermination is unnecessary, for such a system carries the seed of its own death. But this picture of Russia is painted mainly by witnesses, whom no honest student of history or sociology believes; and is proven by no evidence which science can for a moment admit. But if on the other hand Communism is, as many contend, a way of life and work which is spreading because it seeks to abolish poverty, educate the masses and give the worker a real sense of dignity, then it has a right to exist even if it makes mistakes; and if it succeeds or in so far as it succeeds, not all the wars of all the worlds will ultimately contain nor destroy it. Light, more light is then our slogan: investigate, enquire, look, learn; thither lies peace and freedom. Yonder is hell.

Conceive our utter frustration if time should prove that Russia really wants peace; that Communism, if not completely succeeding, is certainly not failing; that all Soviet workers are not slaves, that in 1952 as in 1939, the whole mass of Soviet people are ready to defend their country to the last Stalingrad!

We cannot thrive on hatred of a nation or of a system of economy. We must be willing to face facts and examine them. Whether we like it or not, most of the people of the world today live under Socialism or Communism. We cannot stop this by force and should not if we could. We can so improve our own system of economy that the world will see the advantage of it over all others if this prove true. The way to start this, is not by war nor slander. It is stupid to abolish democracy among ourselves in order to prove the blessings of democracy to others. We cannot call ourselves free, when we are enslaving the

thought and action of our own citizens.

We who are met here today know we are neither revolutionists nor traitors; we are not secret conspirators nor spies. We are American citizens and represent thousands of other citizens. We do not want America destroyed. We want it to become what once we dreamed it was, a free and democratic land. But we are neither children nor idiots and we demand to know for ourselves the state of peoples of this earth and not have fairy tales fed to us by hired propagandists and confessed liars. You know the reasons for your coming to this congress; you know what the communities think which sent you. You also know, or soon will learn, that the truth about this meeting, what it wants and what it says, will not appear in most newspapers in this city, nor in the vast majority of newspapers in the nation. That on the contrary, on radio, in magazine and in the daily and weekly press, you will be caricatured as Communists, traitors and crackpots and not as Americans who want Peace; and who believe that the vast majority of all other nations also want Peace so desperately, that fear of aggression is practically groundless. This earnest and honest opinion of this body, America may never hear and may go on being stampeded into war, unless democracy is restored in this land; propaganda scientifically and carefully answered; and the dictatorship of Big Business over this government and over our thinking stopped.

During the disgraceful Palmer raids of 1920, when the Department of Justice made its first attack on civil rights, the newspapers mostly were with the people, to disclose and criticize; today the newspapers have deserted the people and I predict that in the future the people will desert the newspapers and find more trustworthy sources of information.

More than this, nearly all social questions and reforms which we must discuss and answer are matters which science has already discussed, experimented with and offered solutions, years before the Soviet Union was born. Yet when we dare touch these matters, we are denied freedom of speech. Subjects like wealth production and distribution; the role of the state in industry and the causes of poverty, are being thrown out of our school curricula and we are accused of radicalism if we dare mention these matters. Yet we must discuss them. We must ask why is it that this rich world is poor? Why is it, that with all the wealth nature furnishes free, and all the power lying at our fingertips, the men who work hardest get the lowest income? Why is it that the men who think most clearly and constructively have often the hardest time making a decent (honest) living, while thousands who lie and cheat and steal get power and wealth? Why is it those who own the land and crops; the machines and capital; the buildings and clothing and food, are not always those who work and save and sacrifice, but too often those who scheme and contrive and rig the market; or sit at ease spending what somebody else earned?

35-5-12

Why does the man who raises the crop get little, the man who carries it to market gets more and the man who sells it to the consumer gets most if not all? Why is this, save because we have got our economy upside down, our reward for work backside foremost and our brains so addled that if anyone dares question this insanity of our modern civilization we yell "subversive" and scare all fools out of their few wits?

must

If sincere dislike of this state of affairs is Communism, then by the living God, no force of arms, nor power of wealth, nor smartness of intellect will ever stop it. Denial of this right to think will manufacture Communists faster than you can jail or kill them. Nothing

will stop such Communism but something better than Communism. If our present policies are examples of free enterprise or individual initiative, they initiate crime and suffering as well as wealth; if this is the American way of life, God save America.

None will deny that many of the rich have earned their income or that some of the poor deserve their poverty; but all will admit that the distribution of wealth in this world has no earthly relation to reason nor right, and that the history of the accumulation of many great fortunes are stories of theft, cheating, gambling and murder.

There are fundamental questions as to work and wealth which all men must face; all schools teach and all honest pulpits discuss. Does a man's income consist of what he makes? No. Not even in primitive times was this true. And today the simplest work of production from catching a fish to building Boulder Dam is a complicated social effort involving from 10 to a million workers, planners, managers and thinkers, and using even so-called "unemployed" housewives and mothers; it lasts so long in time and is so intricate and complicated in techniques that no mathematical formula can possibly show exactly what each worker contributes to the final value. By what yardstick then is individual income measured? No man takes what he makes; he shares in what all men make; and the size of that share cannot in any civilized state be left to chance, monopoly or to those who happen at any time to control capital and power.

Only reason and justice can in the end determine income; to each according to his need and from each what he best can do, is the high ideal, enunciated before the Russian revolution was thought of. This ideal the Soviet Union admits it has not yet attained, but declares its firm purpose to reach it. While the United States not only denies the justice of this aim but bluntly orders that it must not even be

attempted.

We have only to utter the witch word and the whole nation is stampeded not only from such basic queries, but even from its quest of education, health, housing, and social security and hurled into a wild waste of wealth and work on a fantastic plan of world conquest and thought control, utterly impossible of accomplishment any time or anywhere. What in God's name would we do with the earth if we conquered it but what we did in Germany and Japan, which was to turn these nations back to the very forces which once ruined them?

Insert
To God save America

There is no way in the world for us to preserve the ideals of a democratic America, save by drastically curbing the present power of concentrated wealth; by assuming ownership of some natural resources, by administering many of our key industries and by socializing our services for public welfare. This need not mean the adoption of the Communism of the Soviet Union; nor the Socialism of Britain; nor even of the near-socialism of France, Italy or Scandinavia; but either in some way or to some degree, we socialize our economy and inaugurate the welfare state, or we descend into a military Fascism which will kill all dreams of democracy, of the abolition of poverty and ignorance; or of peace instead of war.

35-5-11

There must come

The concept of property as a right and not as a public service; of industry, business and commerce as undertaken primarily for private profit and not mainly for public welfare; of wages as a concession from an employer and not as the legal share of what labor creates; -- such concepts are pre-historic in social science, and yet they are still honestly believed by thousands of American businessmen.

Unless and until this attitude is changed, the vision of my schoolmate, William Vaughn Moody, will continue true. He saw the

human beast chained to the machine:

But the beast said in his breast:
Till the mills I grind have ceased,
Their rights shall be dust of dust,
Dry ashes be the feast.
On the strong and cunning few
Cynic pleasures I will strew.
I will fill their maw with overplus
Until their spirit dies.
From the faithful and the low,
I will take the joys they know
They shall hunger after vanities
And still an-hungered go.
Madness shall be on the people,
Ghastly jealousies arise;
Brothers blood shall call on brothers
Up the dead and empty skies!

35-5-15

This must not, it cannot always be; there must come vast social change in the United States; a change not violent, but by the will of the people certain and inexorable; carried out "with malice toward none but charity for all"; with meticulous justice to the rich and complete sympathy for the poor, the sick and the ignorant; with freedom and democracy for America, and on earth Peace, Good Will toward men.

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR

W. E. B. Du Bois at Town Hall, New York, September 28, 1951

35-5-49

THERE ARE TODAY/SEVEN CAUSES OF WORLD WAR/WHICH WE SELDOM DISCUSS./ THESE ARE THE GROUPS/OF ESSENTIAL RAW MATERIAL/ AND THE LAND AND LABOR/NECESSARY FOR THEIR PRODUCTION.//WHICH THE LEADING NATIONS/OF THE WORLD/NEED FOR THEIR INDUSTRY/AND FOR THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING.//THESE PRODUCTS ARE ILLUSTRATED/BY THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS/ FROM SOUTH AFRICA;/COPPER, TIN AND URANIUM TOGETHER WITH MINERAL OIL/FROM RHODESIA, THE CONGO/AND THE MIDDLE EAST;//BEVERAGES LIKE TEA FROM CHINA/AND COFFEE FROM BRAZIL;/ DRUGS LIKE OPIUM AND QUININE/FROM INDIA;// FOODS LIKE SUGAR, CACAO,/ COCONUTS, FRUITS AND SPICES/FROM THE WHOLE TROPICAL WORLD;//FIBRES LIKE COTTON, SILK AND HEMP/FROM OUR OWN SOUTH, CHINA AND INDIA.//AND DOZENS OF OTHER DRUGS,/ DYESTUFFS AND FOODS.

IP THESE MATERIALS/WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS/ARE PRODUCED IN TROPICAL LANDS,/ INHABITED BY COLORED RACES,/ WHOSE POVERTY AND IGNORANCE HAVE BEEN USED TO INCREASE AND MAKE PERMANENT/THE WORLD DOMINANCE/OF THE ~~WHITE RACE~~ EUROPE.// FOR 200 YEARS COLONIAL

35-5-50

WARS/TO SEIZE TERRITORY/AND REDUCE COLORED LABOR TO SLAVERY/HAVE BEEN CARRIED ON.//BUT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/THE EFFORT TO CONFINE THE VAST INCOME/FROM THESE PRODUCTS/TO CERTAIN NATIONS/HAS LED TO THREE WORLD WARS.

THE COLONIAL AREAS/SUITED TO THIS CONTROL/~~HAVE~~ WERE LONG ~~BEEN~~ DOMINATED/CHIEFLY BY SPAIN, BRITAIN AND FRANCE.// BY SLAVERY AND SERFDOM,/LAND MONOPOLY,/PRICE FIXING AND POLITICAL CONTROL,//EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA/BUILT UP A CULTURE OF LEARNING,/ WEALTH AND LUXURY/BASED LARGELY/ON THE POVERTY AND IGNORANCE/OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.// NATURALLY WESTERN EUROPE/WANTED TO PROTECT THIS FAVORED POSITION/BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE/AND FOUND MORAL JUSTIFICATION/FOR THIS/IN ASSUMING THAT WHITE FOLK/WERE SUPERMEN/AND COLORED PEOPLE ETERNAL INFERIORS.// THROUGH TECHNICAL INVENTION,/SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND INDIVIDUAL FREE INITIATIVE,/ THE ESSENTIAL CONTROL/OF WORLD INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE/BECAME IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY/SO CONCENTRATED/IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH EMPIRES,/ THAT BOTH GERMANY/AND NORTH AMERICA,/AND JAPAN IN ASIA,/DEMANDED A REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

35-5-51

THE ENSUING WORLD WAR BEGAN SUCH A REDISTRIBUTION, BUT IT ALSO WEAKENED THE INTRICATE SYSTEM OF COMMERCIAL CONTROL WHICH HAD PLACED THE REAL POWER OF GREAT MODERN STATES IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO OWNED THE WEALTH + NOT SIMPLY THE NATIONAL WEALTH BUT THE MOST VALUABLE MATERIALS OF THE WHOLE EARTH. // THE POWER OF THE RICH WAS IN THE LATE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES CURTAILED BY DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN THE HANDS OF THE MASS OF THE INHABITANTS; // BUT THIS CONTROL WAS LIMITED AT HOME AND OF NO AVAIL IN THOSE PARTS OF ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA WHICH THE ORGANIZED INDUSTRY OF THE IMPERIAL STATES DOMINATED. // BOTH THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE WAS NOT ONLY UNDEMOCRATIC BUT USUALLY OLIGARCHICAL IF NOT APPROACHING ABSOLUTE MONARCHY. // THE SYSTEM PLACED SO GREAT POWER IN THE HANDS OF THOSE CONTROLING HOME INDUSTRY THAT THEY COULD AND DID REDUCE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY TO THE RULE OF WEALTH; // OR AT MOST MADE HOME LABOR A MINOR PARTNER WITH INDUSTRY IN THE IMPOVERISHMENT, DISEASE AND COMPULSORY IGNORANCE OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH.

35-5-52

THE FIRST WORLD WAR SHOOK THIS SYSTEM TO ITS FOUNDATIONS NOT ONLY BY ITS COST, BUT BECAUSE IT FILLED MANY OF THE COLORED PEOPLES WITH A FIERCE DESIRE TO ESCAPE FROM THE COERCION OF EUROPE; // AND IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH UNDER WESTERN EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP HAD SUNK TO QUASI-COLONIAL STATUS, THE RESULT WAS A REVOLUTION WHICH PUT SOCIALISTS IN CONTROL OF RUSSIA.

SOCIALISM WAS AN OLD, BUT INDEFINITE AND UNSYSTEMATIZED THEORY OF EASING THE MONOPOLY OF WEALTH AND THE OLIGARCHICAL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BY SUBSTITUTING PUBLIC WELFARE FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT. // THE GREAT BUT IMPRACTICAL THEORISTS WHO HAD ADVOCATED SUCH CHANGE FROM THE FIRST RISE OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN THE 15th CENTURY HAD SELDOM BEEN ABLE TO AGREE ON A DEFINITE PROGRAM AND THE FEW ATTEMPTS AT SOCIALISM HAD USUALLY FAILED OR BEEN EASILY SUPPRESSED.

IN THE CASE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917, // HOWEVER, A SET OF EDUCATED AND DEVOTED LEADERS APPEARED, DETERMINED TO CARRY OUT THE THEORIES OF KARL MARX.

MARX, BY LONG AND THOROUGH STUDY OF THE HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND OF ACTUAL WORKING CONDITIONS, HAD TRIED TO FIND A SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION FOR THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. // LENIN AND HIS OTHER RUSSIAN FOLLOWERS WERE NOT ABSOLUTELY DOGMATIC, DOUBTED IF THE TIME WAS RIPE OR THE RUSSIANS READY TO FOUND A SOCIALIST STATE // AND TRIED TO MAKE SOME COMPROMISE AND ALLIANCE WITH THE ECONOMY OF WESTERN EUROPE. // BUT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES MADE THE MISTAKE OF TRYING SUMMARILY AND BY FORCE TO SUPPRESS THIS REVOLUTION, USING THE ARMIES OF 16 NATIONS, TOGETHER WITH SPIES, TRAITORS AND THE WORST TYPE OF HIRED MERCENARIES.

35-5-53

WITHOUT DOUBT THIS WIDE EFFORT TO STOP THE REVOLUTION OF 1917 WOULD HAVE SUCCEEDED, // HAD NOT THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF EUROPEAN ECONOMY TOTTERED SO CRAZILY IN 1929 AND AFTER. // EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN NEEDED ALL THEIR ENERGIES TO RESTORE THEIR OWN SOLVENCY AND REBUILD INTERNATIONAL TRADE. // BUT BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE STILL DETERMINED TO DOMINATE WORLD INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE AS THEY HAD BEFORE THE FIRST

WORLD WAR, // WHILE ADMITTING THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY TO JUNIOR PARTNERSHIP. // BUT IGNORING ITALY AND FIRMLY EXCLUDING JAPAN.

THIS SHORT-SIGHTED EFFORT LED TO THREE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH CHANGED THE COURSE OF MODERN HISTORY: // IT GAVE THE SOVIET UNION TIME TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST STATE; // IT ENCOURAGED JAPAN TO UNDERTAKE HER OWN COLONIAL EMPIRE IN ASIA; // AND ITALY AND GERMANY, JOINED LATER BY JAPAN, ATTEMPTED TO RESTORE THE SAME EUROPEAN DOMINATION OF LABOR, LAND AND PRODUCTS IN THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD. // BUT WITH THE EXCLUSION OR ONLY MINOR PARTNERSHIP OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. //

35-5-54

P

THERE ENSUED LONG ATTEMPTS AT COMPROMISE -- NOT TOUCHING THE CONTROL OF THE WORLD BY EUROPE, BUT ONLY CONCERNING THE DIVISION OF POWER BETWEEN THE OLDER EMPIRES AND THE NEWER INTERLOPERS. // BOTH SIDES TACITLY ~~AGREED~~ determined THAT THE DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIA AND SOCIALISM MUST FOLLOW THEIR AGREEMENT.

P WESTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL EUROPE DID NOT ~~AGREE~~ (Come to agreement) AND A SECOND WORLD WAR

FOLLOWED // WHICH WAS AT BOTTOM / CAUSED BY THE RIVALRY / FOR THE CONTROL OF THE SEVEN GROUPS / OF PRODUCTS OF COLONIES / WHICH I HAVE NAMED. // THIS WAR NOT ONLY / FURTHER WRACKED THE WORLD INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM, / BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, / COMPELLED BRITAIN AND AMERICA / TO MAKE ALLIANCE / WITH THE SOVIETS / AS THE ONLY METHOD / TO CONQUER AN ALMOST INVINCIBLE / GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN. // THEY HESITATED LONG / AND HOPED / UNTIL THE LAST / THAT GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION / WOULD ANNIHILATE EACH OTHER. // WHILE WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA WITHHELD THEIR SUPPORT / OF THE HARD-PRESSED / RUSSIAN ARMIES.

35-5-55

GERMANY AND JAPAN / WERE COMPLETELY CONQUERED AT LAST, / BUT WHAT REMAINED / WAS THE SAME SEVEN CAUSES OF WORLD WAR / WHICH ANTI-DATED 1914! /// NAMELY, THOSE VALUABLE AND INDISPENSABLE MATERIALS / FROM COLONIAL REGIONS / TOGETHER WITH THE CHEAP LABOR / NECESSARY TO PRODUCE THEM / WHICH MUST BE SEIZED / AND USED FOR DOMESTIC INDUSTRY / AND CONSUMPTION / IF THE PRE-WORLD WAR / ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY / AND CONTROL OF WEALTH CONTINUED. // THAT IT MUST CONTINUE / NO BRITISHER NOR AMERICAN / FOR A MOMENT DOUBTED.

HERE HOWEVER / THE UNREST AND REVOLT / OF COLONIAL PEOPLES / INTERFERED. BRITAIN HAD TO EMANCIPATE INDIA, / BUT SHE ENCOURAGED / BEFORE LEAVING / THE IRRITANT OF RELIGIOUS HATE. // THE UNITED STATES ENTERED CHINA / BUT WAS MORE INTERESTED IN TEA, SILK, FIBRES, / TUNGSTEN, OILS AND COTTON / THAN IN PEOPLE. // SO THE CHINESE DROVE THE AMERICANS / AND THEIR STOOGES INTO THE SEA. // INDONESIA BROKE THE BONDS OF DUTCH AND BRITISH CONTROL. // SOUTHEAST ASIA REVOLTED / AGAINST THEIR BRITISH AND FRENCH MASTERS. / THERE WERE SIGNS OF REVOLT IN OTHER COLONIAL REGIONS; / IN AFRICA, THE SOUTH SEAS, / THE PHILLIPINES, / THE CARRIBEAN AND SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

35-5-56

IT WAS AT THIS POINT / THAT WORLD-WIDE PROPAGANDA / LED BY THE UNITED STATES, / ON A SCALE / THAT PUT HITLER TO SHAME / WAS STARTED / TO MAKE MEN BELIEVE / THAT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM / WAS STARTING A THIRD WORLD WAR / AND NOT THE DESPERATE ATTEMPT / TO REVIVE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM / WITH THE UNITED STATES / IN THE SADDLE / INSTEAD OF BRITAIN. // THIS PROPAGANDA IS FALSE AND ILLOGICAL. // THE SOVIETS WANT PEACE. / THEY NEED PEACE. / IN NO WAY / SAVE BY A LONG ERA OF PEACE / CAN COMMUNISM PROVE ITS RIGHT TO EXIST. if it has such right.

P NOONE EVEN PARTIALLY FAMILIAR WITH THE CONDITION AND AIMS OF RUSSIA CAN FOR A MOMENT DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THE RUSSIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE. // BUT WHAT THE MASTERS OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE KNOW IS THAT IF RUSSIA HAD NEVER EXISTED AND COMMUNISM NEVER BEEN THOUGHT OF, THEY WOULD HAVE TO HAVE BEEN INVENTED TO JUSTIFY WORLD WAR.

THE UNITED STATES THEREFORE ADDED TO ITS PROPAGANDA OF DISBELIEF IN COMMUNISM AS A WORKABLE SYSTEM, A BITTER ATTACK ON THE DECENCY AND ORDINARY HUMANITY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERS. /// EVERY CHARGE AGAINST THE SOVIETS, NO MATTER HOW UNSUPPORTED AND QUESTIONABLE, WAS GIVEN THE WIDEST PUBLICITY // AND THE GOVERNMENT OPENLY SUPPORTED SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THIS NATION FORMED BY FOES OF RUSSIA. /// THE RESULT IS A HYSTERIA AND HATE OF THE SOVIETS WHICH ALMOST PRECLUDES REASON.

35-5-52

THE REAL CAUSES OF WORLD WAR WILL PERSIST AND THREATEN SO LONG AS EUROPE AND AMERICA ARE DETERMINED BY MEANS OF CHEAP LABOR TO CONTROL THE WEALTH OF MOST OF THE WORLD. // THIS RESURGENCE OF THE REVOLT OF THE POOR WILL ~~WOULD~~ RAISE A NEW RUSSIA FROM THE DEAD AND BIRTH A NEW THEORY OF COMMUNISM SO LONG AS AFRICA, ASIA AND

SOUTH AMERICA SEE THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF OTHERWISE ESCAPING POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. / THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM HAS IN NO CASE BEEN BY FORCE BUT IN SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST THE ARMIES OF WESTERN EUROPE; OR IN THE REVOLT OF THE WORKERS OF POLAND AND THE BALKANS AFTER CENTURY-LONG BETRAYAL BY THE WEST. /// IN THE CASE OF ASIA, RUSSIA DID NOT INVADE CHINA, BUT HELD MANCHURIA FOR A YEAR UNTIL THE CHINESE OVERTHREW CHIANG KAI CHEK. // THEN AMERICAN EXPLOITERS AND OVERLORDS DROVE THE CHINESE PEASANTS STRAIGHT INTO THE ARMS OF COMMUNISM. // THE SAME THING WILL HAPPEN IN AFRICA, THE WEST INDIES, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICA, UNLESS THIS VAST RESERVOIR OF WORLD WEALTH BECOMES A SOURCE OF PEACE AND PLENTY INSTEAD OF PERPETUAL INCENTIVE FOR GREED TO WAGE WAR.

35-5-52

WHO ARE WE TO LEAD THE WORLD TO PEACE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS? // WE WHOSE NATION IS SHOT THROUGH WITH CRIME, GRAFT AND MOB VIOLENCE; WHO ARE DRIVING DECENT AMERICANS TO JAIL, POVERTY AND SUICIDE; // WE WHOSE "UN-AMERICAN" INQUISITION AGAINST FREE SPEECH AND THOUGHT WAS HEADED BY A THIEF AND IS NOW PRESIDED OVER BY A GEORGIA STATESMAN WHO HOLDS OFFICE BY 30,000 VOTES ~~WHEN~~ AND 150,000 NEGRO ~~VOTERS~~ DISFRANCHISED VOTERS IN HIS Congressional District.

WE NOT ONLY ABROGATE/OUR OWN BILL OF RIGHTS/ ON THE STREET AND ON THE BENCH,/ BUT SEND OUR ARMS AND ARMIES/ TO HELP OVERTHROW ANY PEOPLE ON EARTH/WHO TODAY FIGHT TO BE FREE,//AND CALL TO OUR AID/THE REACTIONARY TYRRANIES/IN SPAIN, TURKEY AND GREECE. OUR EFFORT TO CONTROL THE WORLD/ BY FORCE OF ARMS/ IS AS FANTASTIC /AS IT IS EVIL. OUR LAST DESPERATE PLAN /TO RESTORE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/WITH THE HELP OF GERMANY AND JAPAN /IS THE CRAZIEST DREAM/OF A CRAZY AGE.

35-5-59

WE WHO HAVE KNOWN /A BETTER AMERICA /FIND THE PRESENT SCENE/ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE.//A GREAT SILENCE/HAS FALLEN/ON THE REAL SOUL OF THE NATION.// WE ARE SMEARING DECENT CITIZENS/ON THE PAID TESTIMONY/ OF SELF-CONFESSED LIARS,/ TRAITORS AND SPIES.//WE ARE REFUSING PASSPORTS AND VISAS/TO DISTINGUISHED PERSONS /LEST THEY TELL THE TRUTH.//WE ARE MAKING THE VOICE OF AMERICA THE BABBLE OF COWARDS PAID TO TRAVEL.

DO NOT ASSUME THAT MY WORDS ARE A COUNSEL OF DESPAIR. RATHER THEY AIM AT NEW COURAGE AND DETERMINATION TO FACE THE TRUTH. FOUR TIMES THIS NATION HAS TOTTERED ON THE BRINK OF FATal DISASTER: WHEN IN THE 18th CENTURY WE

From: National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions,
47 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y. MU 7-2161

September 28, 1951

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ADDRESS BY DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, SCHOLAR, AUTHOR AND HISTORIAN, AT THE "RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE" MEETING, TOWN HALL, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28th, 1951, NEW YORK CITY

35-5-216

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR

There are today seven causes of world war which we seldom discuss. These are the groups of essential raw material, and the land and labor necessary for their production, which the leading nations of the world need for their industry and for their standard of living. These products are illustrated by the gold and diamonds from South Africa; copper, tin and uranium together with mineral oil from Rhodesia, the Congo and the Middle East; beverages like tea from China and coffee from Brazil; drugs like opium and quinine from India; foods like sugar, cacao, coconuts, fruits and spices from the whole tropical world; fibres like cotton, silk and hemp from our own South, China and India, and dozens of other drugs, dyestuffs and foods.

These materials with few exceptions are produced in tropical lands, inhabited by colored races, whose poverty and ignorance have been used to increase and make permanent the world dominance of the white race. For 200 years colonial wars to seize territory and reduce colored labor to slavery have been carried on. But in the twentieth century the effort to confine the vast income from these products to certain nations has led to three world wars.

The colonial areas suited to this control have long been dominated chiefly by Spain, Britain and France. By slavery and serfdom, land monopoly, price fixing and political control, Europe and North America built up a culture of learning, wealth and luxury based largely on the poverty and ignorance of the rest of the world. Naturally Western Europe wanted to protect this favored position by force and violence and found moral justification for this in assuming that white folk

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were supermen and colored people eternal inferiors. Through technical invention, scientific knowledge and individual free initiative, the essential control of world industry and commerce became in the early 20th century so concentrated in the hands of the British and French empires, that both Germany and North America, and Japan in Asia, demanded a redistribution of power.

The ensuing World War effected such a redistribution, but it also weakened the intricate system of commercial control which had placed the real power of great modern states in the hands of those who owned the wealth — not simply the national wealth but the most valuable materials of the whole earth. The power of the rich was in the late 18th and early 19th centuries curtailed by democratic control in the hands of the mass of the inhabitants; but this control was limited at home and of no avail in those parts of Asia, Africa and America which the organized industry of the Imperial States dominated. Both the national and international organization of industry and commerce was not only undemocratic, but usually oligarchical if not approaching absolute monarchy. The system placed so great power in the hands of those controlling home industry that they could and did reduce national democracy to the rule of wealth; or at most made home labor a minor partner with industry in the impoverishment, disease and compulsory ignorance of the majority of the peoples of the earth.

The first World War shook this system to its foundations not only by its cost, but because it filled many of the colored peoples with a fierce desire to escape from the coercion of Europe; and in Eastern Europe, which under Western Europe leadership had sunk to quasi-colonial status, the result was a revolution which put socialists in control of Russia.

Socialism was an old, but indefinite and unsystematized theory of easing the monopoly of wealth and the oligarchical control of industry by substituting public welfare for individual profit. The great but impractical theorists who had advocated such change from the first rise of modern industry in the 15th century had

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seldom been able to agree on a definite program and the few attempts at socialism had usually failed or been easily suppressed.

In the case of the Russian revolution of 1917, however, a set of educated and devoted leaders appeared, determined to carry out the theories of Karl Marx.

Marx, by long and thorough study of the Hegelian philosophy of science and of actual working conditions, had tried to find a scientific foundation for the production and distribution of wealth. Lenin and his other Russian followers were not dogmatic, doubted if the time was ripe or the Russians ready to found a socialist state and tried to make some compromise and alliance with the economy of Western Europe. But Britain, France and the United States made the mistake of trying summarily and by force to suppress this revolution, using the armies of 16 nations, together with spies, traitors and the worst type of hired mercenaries.

Without doubt this wide effort to stop the revolution of 1917 would have succeeded, had not the whole system of European economy tottered so crazily in 1929 and after. Europe, the United States and Japan needed all their energies to restore their own solvency and rebuild international trade. But Britain and France were determined to dominate world industry and commerce as they had before the first world war, while admitting the United States and Germany to junior partnership, but ignoring Italy and firmly excluding Japan.

This short-sighted effort led to three developments which changed the course of modern history: it gave the Soviet Union time to build an independent socialist state; it encouraged Japan to undertake her own colonial empire in Asia; and Italy and Germany, joined later by Japan, attempted to restore the same European domination of labor, land and products in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, but with the exclusion or only minor partnership of Britain, France and the United States. There ensued long attempts at compromise — not touching the control of the world by Europe, but only concerning the division of power between the older empires and the newer interlopers. Both sides tacitly agreed that the destruction of Russia and socialism must follow their agreement.

Western Europe and Central Europe did not agree and a second World War followed which was at bottom caused by the rivalry in the control of the seven groups of products of colonies which I have named. This war not only further wracked the world industrial system, but curiously enough, compelled Britain and America to make alliance with the Soviets as the only method to conquer an almost invincible Germany, Italy and Japan. They hesitated long and hoped until the last that Germany and the Soviet Union would annihilate each other, while Western Europe and America withheld their support of the hard-pressed Russian armies.

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Germany and Japan were completely conquered at last, but what remained was the same seven causes of world war which anti-dated 1914; namely, those valuable and indispensable materials from colonial regions together with the cheap labor necessary to produce them which must be seized and used for domestic industry and consumption if the pre-world war organization of industry and control of wealth continued. That it must continue no Britisher nor American for a moment doubted.

Here however the unrest and revolt of colonial peoples interfered. Britain had to emancipate India, but she encouraged before leaving the irritant of religious hate. The United States entered China but was more interested in tea, silk, fibres, tungsten, oils and cotton, than in people; so the Chinese drove the Americans and their stooges into the sea. Indonesia broke the bonds of Dutch and British control. Southeast Asia revolted against their British and French masters. There were signs of revolt in colonial regions; in Africa, the South Seas, the Phillipines, the Carribean and South and Central America.

It was at this point that world-wide propaganda, led by the United States, on a scale that put Hitler to shame, was started to make men believe that Russian Imperialism was starting a third world war and not the desperate attempt to revive colonial imperialism with the United States in the saddle instead of Britain. This propaganda is false and illogical. The Soviets want peace. They need peace. In no way save by a long era of peace can Communism prove its right to exist. No one even partially familiar with the condition and aims of Russia can for a moment

doubt the sincerity of the Russian Peace offensive. But what the masters of American and British industry and commerce know is that if Russia had never existed and Communism never thought of, they would have to have been invented to justify world war.

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The United States therefore added to its propaganda of disbelief in communism as a workable system, a bitter attack on the decency and ordinary humanity of the Russian people and their leaders. Every charge against the Soviets, no matter how unsupported and questionable, was given the widest publicity and the government openly supported subversive organizations in this nation formed by foes of Russia. The result is a hysteria and hate of the Soviets which almost precludes reason.

The real causes of world war will persist and threaten so long as Europe and America are determined by means of cheap labor to control the wealth of most of the world. This resurgence of the revolt of the poor would raise a new Russia from the dead and birth a new theory of communism so long as Africa, Asia and South America see the impossibility of otherwise escaping poverty, ignorance and disease. The spread of Communism has in no case been by force but in self-defense against the armies of Western Europe; or in the revolt of the workers of Poland and the Balkans after century-long betrayal by the West. In the case of Asia, Russia did not invade China, but held Manchuria for a year until the Chinese overthrew Chiang Kai Chek. Then American exploiters and overlords drove the Chinese peasants straight into the arms of Communism. The same thing will happen in Africa, the West Indies, Southeast Asia and South America, unless this vast reservoir of world wealth becomes a source of peace and plenty instead of perpetual incentive for greed to wage war.

Who are we to lead the world to Peace and Righteousness? We whose nation is shot through with crime, graft and mob violence; who are driving decent Americans to jail, poverty and suicide; we whose "Un-American" inquisition against free speech and thought was headed by a thief and is now presided over by a Georgia

35-5-221

statesman who holds office by 30,000 votes with 150,000 Negro workers disfranchised. We not only abrogate our own Bill of Rights on the street and on the Bench, but send our arms and armies to help overthrow any people on earth who today fight to be free, and call to our aid the reactionary tyrranies in Spain, Turkey and Greece. Our effort to control the world by force of arms is as fantastic as it is evil. Our last desperate plan to restore colonial imperialism with the help of Germany and Japan is the craziest dream of a crazy age.

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36-8-162

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The colonial areas suited to this control have long been dominated chiefly by Spain, Britain and France. By slavery and serfdom, land monopoly, price fixing and political control, Europe and North America built up a culture of learning, wealth and luxury based largely on the poverty and ignorance of the rest of the world. Naturally Western Europe wanted to protect this favored position by force and violence and found moral justification for this in assuming that white folk

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36-8-163

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36-8-164

Without doubt this wide effort to stop the revolution of 1917 would have succeeded, had not the whole system of European economy tottered so crazily in 1929 and after. Europe, the United States and Japan needed all their energies to restore their own solvency and rebuild international trade. But Britain and France were determined to dominate world industry and commerce as they had before the first world war, while admitting the United States and Germany to junior partnership, but ignoring Italy and firmly excluding Japan.

This short-sighted effort led to three developments which changed the course of modern history: it gave the Soviet Union time to build an independent socialist state; it encouraged Japan to undertake her own colonial empire in Asia; and Italy and Germany, joined later by Japan, attempted to restore the same European domination of labor, land and products in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, but with the exclusion or only minor partnership of Britain, France and the United States. There ensued long attempts at compromise -- not touching the control of the world by Europe, but only concerning the division of power between the older empires and the newer interlopers. Both sides tacitly agreed that the destruction of Russia and socialism must follow their agreement.

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36-8-165

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36-8-166

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My words are not a counsel of despair, rather a call to new courage and determination to know the truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: once at the end of the eighteenth century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a federated State; again when in the Age of Jackson, the democratic West overbore the oligarchical East; once more in the nineteenth century when human slavery cut the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood and hate. Finally, when in 1929 our industries fell in vast ruin which Roosevelt rescued and started to rebuild. What we have done, we can do. But not by silence -- not be refusing to face the ugly facts.

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doubt the sincerity of the Russian Peace offensive. But what the masters of American and British industry and commerce know is that if Russia had never existed and Communism never thought of, they would have to have been invented to justify world war.

The United States ~~therefore~~ added to its propaganda of disbelief in communism as a workable system, a bitter attack on the decency and ordinary humanity of the Russian people and their leaders. Every charge against the Soviets, no matter how unsupported and questionable, was given the widest publicity and the government openly supported subversive organizations in this nation formed by foes of Russia. The result is a hysteria and hate of the Soviets which almost precludes reason.

The real causes of world war will persist and threaten so long as Europe and America are determined by means of cheap labor to control the wealth of most of the world. This resurgence of the revolt of the poor would raise a new Russia from the dead and birth a new theory of comminism so long as Africa, Asia and South America see the impossibility of otherwise escaping poverty, ignorance and disease. The spread of Communism has in no case been by force but in self-defense against the armies of Western Europe; or in the revolt of the workers of Poland and the Balkans after century-long betrayal by the West. In the case of Asia, Russia did not invade China, but held Manchuria for a year until the Chinese overthrew Chiang Kai Chek. Then American exploiters and overlords drove the Chinese peasants straight into the arms of Communism. The same thing will happen in Africa, the West Indies, Southeast Asia and South America, unless this vast reservoir of world wealth becomes a source of peace and plenty instead of perpetual incentive for greed to wage war.

Who are we to lead the world to Peace and Righteousness? We whose nation is shot through with crime, graft and mob violence; who are driving decent Americans to jail, poverty and suicide; we whose "Un-American" inquisition against free speech and thought was headed by a thief and is now presided over by a Georgia

statesman who holds office by 30,000 votes in his congressional district with 150,000 of his neighbors Negro ~~workers~~ disfranchised. We not only abrogate our own Bill of Rights on the street and on the Bench, but send our arms and armies to help overthrow any people on earth who today fight to be free, and call to our aid the reactionary tyrranies in Spain, Turkey and Greece. Our effort to control the world by force of arms is as fantastic as it is evil. Our last desperate plan to restore colonial imperialism with the help of Germany and Japan is the craziest dream of a crazy age.

35-5-182

We who have known a better America find the present scene almost unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are smearing decent citizens on the paid testimony of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are refusing passports and visas to distinguished persons lest they tell the truth. We are making the voice of America the babble of cowards paid to travel.

45-5-54

+1

Meantime our nation writhes in nameless fear, our workers groan under increasing prices and mounting taxes, our education lags, our crime grows, gambling, liquor and drugs spread, our democracy dies while our police, unable to apprehend murderers and thieves, arrest, handcuff and jail men and women whose crime is to demand Peace, no more War.

My words are not a couns el of despair, rather a call to new courage and determination to know the truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: once at the end of the eighteenth century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a federated State; again when in the Age of Jackson the democratic West overbore the oligarchical East; once more in the nineteenth century when human slavery cut the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood and hate. Finally, when in 1929 our industries fell in vast ruin which Roosevelt rescued and started to rebuild. What we have done, we can do. But not by silence-- not by refusing to face the ugly facts.

I want to thank the people of Durham for their interest in my case. I have been visiting Durham pretty regularly for the last 25 years and have addressed the citizens and especially the students at North Carolina College where my friend, Dr. James E. Shepard, was president so long.

Durham has long had peculiar and effective leadership in the development of the Negro race, and I am glad that today war hysteria and witchhunting have not turned this community from its struggle for Negro rights and world peace.

NV.S.BD
Sept. 51

46-11-22

Ch K

MY CASE

by W.E.B. Du BOIS atROCKLAND PALAC E, NOVEMBER I, I95I

35-5-208

I had expected to be arraigned today in Washington as "Agent of a Foreign Principal WHO HAD FAILED TO REGISTER AS SUCH" I WAS GOING TO SEND THIS MEETING A MESSAGE TO BE READ. BUT SINCE MY TRIAL HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL NOVEMBER SEVEN" I AM BRINGING THE MESSAGE IN PERSON" THAT MESSAGE IS AN EXPLANATION AS TO JUST WHAT THIS CASE IS AND WHAT IT MEANS NOT SO MUCH TO ME AS TO YOU AND THE NATION" I HAVE MADE THIS EXPLANATION SEVERAL TIMES BUT I FIND STILL MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING AND CONFUSION ABOUT IT" THIS IS NOT ENTIRELY THE FAULT OF THE PUBLIC" IT ARISES FROM THE PECULIARITY OF THE CASE ITSELF.

THE IMPRESSION IS WIDESPREAD THAT I AND MY FOUR COLLEAGUES STAND ACCUSED OF IN SOME WAY BETRAYING THIS NATION TO RUSSIA [redacted]" THIS IS NOT TRUE. THERE IS NO SUCH ACCUSATION AND NEVER HAS BEEN" NEITHER RUSSIA NOR ANY OTHER NATION NOR ANY POLITICAL BE LIEF IS MENTIONED IN THE INDICTMENT" WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OF ANY ILLEGAL ACT" IT IS FREELY ADMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE THAT THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER OF WHICH WE WERE OFFICERS HAD A RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE TO DISTRIBUTE PETITIONS AND PRINT PAMPHLETS" THE INDICTMENT ALLEGES ONLY THAT WHEN WE (AND I QUOTE) SPREAD INFORMATION AS TO WAR AND THE

35-5-209

RESULTS "
~~CAUSES~~ OF WAR AND ADVOCATED PEACE WE WERE SPEAKING AT THE REQUEST OF AND UNDER ORDERS FROM A PEACE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAD ITS HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS" AND WHICH HAS HELD TWO WORLD PEACE CONGRESSES IN I849 AND I95I" The government does not allege that any contraCT OF AGENCY EVER EXISTED" BUT INSISTS THAT THE FACT THAT WE ADVOCATED PEACE AS DID THESE CONGRESSES" THAT THIS IS PROOF OF AGENCY AND OBLIGED US TO REGISTER AS FOREIGN AGENTS UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT" OUR REPLY IS THAT WE NEVER REGARDED OURSELVES AS AGENTS AND WERE NEVER SO REGARDED BY THE PARIS ORGANIZATION" THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAD TO BE SURE ITS CHIEF OFFICES ABROAD BUT IT WAS AN INTERNATIONAL BODY WITH AMERICANS ENGLISHMEN AND ITALIANS AS WELL AS RUSSIANS REPRESENTED" AND THAT WHEN WE TALKED ABOUT PEACE WE DID NOT ACT AS PUBLICITY AGENT FOR ANY PARTICULAR ORGANIZATION OR NATION" WE GATHERED NEWS OF THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS FROM EVERY POSSIBLE SOURCE AND ESPECIALLY W WELCOMED NEWS OF PEACE ACTIVITIES FROM THE PARIS ORGANIZATION BUT NOT SIMPLY FROM THIS ORGANIZATION NOR WAS ITS NEWS GIVEN ONLY TO US BUT WAS PUBLISHED TO THE WORLD.

THE HISTORY OF OUR ORGANIZATION IS SIMPLE AND CLEAR" PERSONALLY I HAVE BEEN AN ADVOCATE OF WORLD PEACE FOR FIFTY YEARS" I CONNECTED ~~PEACE~~ WAR WITH THE DEGRADATION OF THE

COLORED PEOPLES/OF THE WORLD/ESPECIALLY IN COLONIES// I SPOKE FOR PEACE IN LONDON/IN 1900/ AND 1911/ IN PARIS IN 1919, 1921 and 1923/ I WROTE IN THE CRISIS IN 1913:/" PEACE TODAY IF IT MEANS ANYTHING/ MEANS THE STOPPING/ OF THE SLAUGHTER OF THE WEAKER/ BY THE STRONGER/ IN THE NAME OF CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE "// I WROTE IN 1919/" WE OF AMERICA/FIGHT THE GREAT FIGHT OF PEACE"/ I WROTE IN 1922/ " WAR HAS DESTROYED FAITH AND WEALTH/AND HUMAN BEINGS/ I GLADLY (OVER) ATTENDED PEACE CONGRESSES/IN NEW YORK IN 1949/ in Paris IN ~~1949~~ 1949/ IN MOSCOW IN 1949 // and TRIED TO ATTEND/ OTHER CONGRESSES IN MEXICO/ AND CUBA/AND IN CHICAGO/IN 1949 AND 1950// My ADVOCACY OF PEACE/DID NOT BEGIN/WITH THE PARIS CONGRESS/AND HAS NOT ENDED YET.

35-5-210

BUT THE ~~CONGRESS CONGRESS~~ PARIS CONGRESS/WAS THE GREATEST MEETING/OF HUMAN BEINGS/UNITED IN A GREAT CAUSE/WHICH I HAVE EVER SEEN// ON ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON/ I SAW A HALF MILLION HUMAN BEINGS/SHOUT " NO MORE WAR"// THE SIXTY OR MORE AMERICANS/WHO ATTENDED THIS MEETING/ WERE THRILLED BY IT/AND WANTED IN SOME WAY/ TO HELP ON THE CAUSE OF PEACE/IN FACE OF THE RISING THREAT/OF A THIRD WORLD WAR// FOR NEARLY A YEAR/WE DID NOTHING/ AND THE NEWSPAPERS SUPPRESSED THE NEWS/OF WHAT OTHER LANDS/ WERE DOING FOR PEACE// FINALLY ON APRIL THIRD, 1950// a year after the Paris Congress ABOUT FORTY PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT/MET IN A PRIVATE HOME/ AND ORGANIZED/THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER// IT WAS AN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION/ SUPPORTED/ BY AMERICAN MONEY/ WITH NO CONNECTION

WITH ANY FOREIGN ORGANIZATION// OUR OBJECT WAS TO TELL AMERICA/WHAT THE REST OF THE WORLD/ WAS DOING FOR PEACE// WE WORKED UNDISTURBED/ FOR ~~XXXXX~~OVER FOUR MONTHS// WE ISSUED PEACEGRAMS AND DISTRIBUTED PAMPHLETS// WE PUBLISHED THE RED CROSS APPEAL/AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB/AND WHEN THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL/WAS ADOPTED/ WE TRANSLATED IT/AND PRINTED IT/AND ASKED AMERICA TO SIGN IT// OVER TWO MILLION 500,000 AMERICANS SIGNED// THEN TROUBLE BEGAN/ THE SECRETARY OF STATE ATTACKED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL/AS A RUSSIAN TRICK// I REPLIED THAT/NO MATTER WHAT MOTIVE/ WAS BEHIND RUSSIAN OR OTHER SUPPORT/OF THIS APPEAL/IT WAS A GREAT EFFORT TO COMBAT EVIL (INTOLERABLE)/AND WAS BEING SIGNED/BY SOME OF THE GREATEST MEN/OF THE WORLD/IN ALL LANDS/AND AMONG ALL RELIGIONS.

35-5-211

FINALLY/ON AUGUST 11,/ FOUR MONTHS/AFTER OUR ACTIVITY HAD BEGUN/ WE RECEIVED/A LETTER/ FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/ NOTIFYING US/THAT WE SHOULD REGISTER/AS AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL// UP TO THIS TIME I HAD HAD/NO DREAM THAT ANY OF OUR ACTS/WERE ILLEGAL OR THAT WE CAME/UNDER TIHS ACT/WHICH HAD SELDOM BEFORE BEEN EVOKED// OUR REACTION WAS/THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/HAD BEEN MISINFORMED/AND THAT ONCE IT WAS SHOWN/ WHAT WE HAD DONE/ THE DEMAND WOULD BE WITHDRAWN// FROM AUGUST UNTIL FEBRUARY, WE TRIED TO GET OUR ~~CASE BE~~

35-5-212

CASE BEFORE THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/ WE SENT A LAWYER TO WASHINGTON/TO STATE OUR CASE/AND PRESENT DOCUMENTS//IF WE HAD TRANSGRESSED LAW/ WE DID NOGT PROPOSE TO CONTINUE//WE HAD NO DESIRE TO DEFY THE GOVERNMENT//WE DISSOLVED THE ORGANIZATION/ON OCTOBER 12,/ CONTINUINIG ONLY THE NECESSARY ACTS/TO ANSWER LETTERS/AND PAY OUR DEBTS// THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED/ THAT EVEN AFTER CLOSING/WE MUST REGISTER/AND ACKNOWLEDGE THAT OUR ACTIVITIES/FROM THE BEGINNING/WERE THOSE OF AN AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL// THIS WE COULD NOT DO/WITHOUT LYING/AND WE REFUSED TO REGISTER// ON FEBRUARY 21/ WE WERE INDICTED.

ALMOST EVERYONE/WHO HEARS THIS STORY/SAYS CONFIDENTLY/" THEY CANNOT DO ANYTHING TO YOU"/THE ANSWER IS/THEY ARE GOING TO TRY// THEY ARE GOING TO MAKE US SPEND/BETWEEN FIFTY AND ONE HUNDERED THOUSAND DOLLARS// THEY ARE GOING TO SMEAR US/ BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND BLACKEN OUR REPUTATIONS// THEY ARE GOING TO TAKE OUR TIME/AND STRENGTH/FOR MANY MONTHS/FOR ACTIONS WHICH WERE UNSELFISH/ UNPAID FOR/AND DONE WITH THE HIGHEST MOTIVES//

WHY IS THIS BEING DONE/AND WHO ARE DOING IT?//THOSE POWERFUL PERSONS IN AMERICA/WHO WANT WAR/AND WHO EXPECT TO GAIN from WAR/AND WHO ARE AFRAID PEACE/MAY BREAK OUT/ IF THE TRUTH/EVEN ON A SMALL SCALE/BECOMES KNOWN// BEYOND THIS/AMERICA FEARS/THE BLACK PEOPLE

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/and do not want/them to realize/that their future/lies in peace/and not world war// That HOWEVER MUCH/WE MAY GAIN INCIDENTLY/BY WAR HYSTERIA/ WE WILL LOSE THE WORLD ~~WE~~ T COMMITS S SUICIDE.

which is ours
which we helped build
and time to share, 4
Thes world

(INCOMPLETE)

36-8-140

PEACE IS DANGEROUS

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

Community Church, Boston, November 11, 1951

PEACE IS DANGEROUS; NOT TO ALL FOLK, BUT CERTAINLY TO THOSE WHOSE POWER AND STANDARD OF LIVING DEPEND ON WAR. THIS GROUP FORMS A SMALL PORTION OF MANKIND, BUT A PORTION OF SO GREAT INFLUENCE THAT IT CAN OFTEN OVERRIDE THE WISH OF THE REST AND BEGIN AND CONTINUE WAR. ON THE OTHER HAND THE DANGER OF WAR TO THE MAJORITY OF MEN IS ALL TOO OBVIOUS: THE KILLING AND MAIMING OF THE YOUNG; THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AND WASTE OF NATURAL RESOURCES; THE UPROOTING OF FAMILY LIFE AND INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL REPRODUCTION; THE DISTORTION OF CULTURE PATTERNSAAND DISCOURAGEMENT OF CREATIVE EFFORT. WHEN WE REALIZE THAT AT LEAST 30 MILLION OF THE BEST SPECIMENS OF THE WORLD'S YOUTH HAVE BEEN KILLED IN WARS SINCE 1914 AND MANY MORE MILLIONS CRIPPLED IN BODY AND SOUL, WE CAN GET SOME PARTIAL IDEA OF THE LOSS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION THROUGH WAR.

36-8-141

WHY THEN DOES WAR PERSIST? WHAT DECISIVE INTERESTS PROMOTE AND CONTINUE IT AGAINST ALMOST IRRETRIEVABLE LOSS ON THE PART OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN? THOSE WHO GAIN FROM WAR AND SUFFER FROM PEACE ARE EASILY DISCERNABLE AT CURSORY GLANCE: THE MUNITION-MAKERS; AND THOSE WHO FURNISH WAR MATERIALS AND MACHINES. NOT SO READILY SEEN, ARE THOSE WHO PROFIT BY THE FINANCIAL CHANGES WHICH WAR INEVITABLY BRINGS ABOUT. STILL FURTHER IN THE BACKGROUND ARE INVESTORS AND WORKERS WHOSE INCOME IS RAISED BY WAR INDUSTRIES.

EVEN THESE LARGE AND IMPORTANT GROUPS DO NOT EXPLAIN THE POPULARITY OF WAR OR AT LEAST THE WEAK RESISTANCE TO WAR HYSTERIA. FOR EXPLANATION OF THIS PHENOMENON WE MUST LOOK FURTHER TO THAT VAST NUMBER OF AMERICANS, TO WHOM PRESENT CONDITIONS BRING COMFORT AND SATISFACTION. THIS MASS OF INTELLIGENT PERSONS EITHER KNOW OR FEAR THAT IF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION PREVALENT IN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA UNDERGOES ANY ESSENTIAL

(pp 3-17 missing)

36-8-142

ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICA SEE THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF OTHERWISE ESCAPING POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE.

THIS BRINGS THE QUESTION OF WAR STRAIGHT BACK HOME. IF THE UNITED STATES STOPS TRYING TO ~~CONTROL~~ own CHEAP COLORED LABOR; TO ~~OWN~~ control LAND AND RAW MATERIALS OVER THE WORLD; so TO ~~FIX~~ regulate EXCHANGE ~~SO~~ of goods & services THAT WHILE COCOA AND SUGAR CALL FOR THE HIGHEST PRICES in our market ~~WHEN WE BUY THEM,~~ THE PEONS who ~~THAT~~ RAISE THEM DO NOT GET ENOUGH TO EAT: IF WE STOP our WAR policy TO CONTINUE THIS ~~POLICY~~ system, WILL resultant World PEACE BE DANGEROUS TO THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE? OR LET US PUT IT EVEN MORE BLUNTLY: SUPPOSE IT PROVED TRUE THAT IF WE HAD FEWER AUTOMOBILES, FEWER NIGHT CLUBS, AND FEWER MINK COATS; IF THIS SELF-DENIAL ON THE PART OF CERTAIN AMERICANS WOULD PREVENT Word WAR AND GIVE CHINESE CHILDREN ENOUGH TO EAT, WOULD WE BE WILLING TO MAKE THE SACRIFICE?

(and make American millionaires)

I USED TO SAY, AS A TEACHER OF YOUTH, ~~SAID AGAIN A FEW NIGHTS AGO AT A POLITICAL MEETING:~~ "YOU ARE TOLD, DO RIGHT AND YOU WILL BE HAPPY; HAVE COURAGE AND YOU WILL WIN; SACRIFICE AND YOU WILL BE RICH. NOW IT IS GLORIOUSLY TRUE THAT MANY

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MEN HAVE DONE the RIGHT AND ARE HAPPY; MANY COURAGEOUS HEROES HAVE WON THE GOOD ~~LIFE~~ Fight; AND MANY WHO HAVE SACRIFICED themselves HAVE GAINED MORE THAN A FORTUNE." "BUT" (I would add) LET US ALSO FACE THE BITTER TRUTH THAT MANY WHO HAVE STOOD FOR THE RIGHT HAVE BEEN RUINED; MANY WHO HAVE BATTLED BRAVELY HAVE GONE DOWN IN DEFEAT; AND MANY WHO HAVE SACRIFICED ~~TO THE~~ them LAST PENNY HAVE DIED IN POVERTY. WHAT WE HAVE GOT TO LEARN IS TO DO RIGHT EVEN IF WE DO NOT ACHIEVE HAPPINESS; TO BE BRAVE IN THE FACE OF DEFEAT; AND to SACRIFICE EVEN IF ~~YOU NEVER GAIN~~ we reap no REWARD." MY STUDENTS USED TO LOOK A BIT DOUBTFUL AT THIS DOCTRINE AND MANY OF YOU MAY WANT EITHER TO DENY OR IGNORE WHAT YOU ~~MUST ADMIT~~ know IS TRUE.

NOW LET US APPLY THIS REASONING TO WHAT WE CALL THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. MOST AMERICANS DO NOT ENJOY THIS WAY OF LIFE. (Remember, a 9 have said, that) PROBABLY TWO-THIRDS OF AMERICAN FAMILIES ARE BELOW THIS STANDARD OF COMFORT; AND NINE-TENTHS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WOULDBE HAPPY WITH A TENTH OF OUR STANDARDS. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO: FIGHT TO ~~CONTROL~~ preserve THE PRESENT METHODS OF WORLD INDUSTRY OR MAKE PEACE IN ORDER TO CONSIDER WHAT IS RIGHT AND BEST FOR HUMANITY?

Let us be humble, not arrogant + boastful in this awful crisis

WHO ARE WE TO LEAD THIS WORLD TO PEACE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS? WE WHOSE NATION IS SHOT THROUGH WITH CRIME, GRAFT AND ~~HER~~ VIOLENCE; WHO ARE DRIVING DECENT AMERICANS TO JAIL, POVERTY AND SUICIDE; WE WHOSE "UN-AMERICAN" INQUISITION AGAINST FREE SPEECH AND THOUGHT WAS lately HEADED BY A convicted THIEF AND IS NOW PRESIDED OVER BY A GEORGIA STATESMAN WHO HOLDS OFFICE BY the 30,000 cast VOTES IN HIS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, WITH 150,000 OF HIS NEGRO NEIGHBORS DISFRANCHISED! WE NOT ONLY ABROGATE OUR OWN BILL OF RIGHTS ON THE STREET AND ON THE BENCH, BUT SEND OUR ARMS AND ARMIES TO HELP OVERTHROW ANY PEOPLE ON EARTH WHO TODAY FIGHT TO BE FREE, AND CALL TO OUR AID THE REACTIONARY TYRANNIES IN SPAIN, TURKEY AND GREECE. OUR EFFORT TO CONTROL THE WORLD BY FORCE OF ARMS IS AS FANTASTIC AS IT IS EVIL. OUR LAST DESPERATE PLAN TO RESTORE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WITH THE HELP OF GERMANY AND JAPAN IS THE CRAZIEST DREAM OF A CRAZY AGE.

WE WHO HAVE KNOWN A BETTER AMERICA, FIND THE PRESENT SCENE ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. A GREAT SILENCE HAS FALLEN ON THE REAL SOUL OF THE NATION. WE ARE

SMEARING DECENT CITIZENS ON THE PAID TESTIMONY OF SELF-CONFESSED LIARS, TRAITORS AND SPIES. WE ARE REFUSING PASSPORTS AND VISAS TO DISTINGUISHED PERSONS LEST THEY TELL THE TRUTH. WE ARE MAKING THE VOICE OF AMERICA THE BABBLE OF COWARDS PAID TO TRAVEL.

MEANTIME OUR NATION WRITHES IN NAMELESS FEAR, OUR WORKERS GROAN UNDER INCREASING PRICES AND MOUNTING TAXES, OUR EDUCATION LAGS; OUR CRIME GROWS; GAMBLING, LIQUOR AND DRUGS SPREAD; OUR DEMOCRACY DIES WHILE OUR POLICE, UNABLE TO APPREHEND MURDERS or AND THIEVES, ARREST, HANDCUFF AND JAIL MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE only CRIME IS TO DEMAND PEACE. ~~NO MORE WAR.~~

MY WORDS ARE NOT A COUNSEL OF DESPAIR; RATHER A CALL TO NEW COURAGE AND DETERMINATION TO KNOW THE TRUTH. FOUR TIMES THIS NATION HAS FACED DISASTER AND RECOVERED: ONCE AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WHEN WE HESITATED BETWEEN

We call disciplined labor, slavery, and yell ~~for~~ "Freedom" for undisciplined anarchists;

30-8-146

SEPARATE INDEPENDENT COLONIES AND A disciplined FEDERATED STATE; AGAIN WHEN IN THE AGE OF JACKSON THE uncouth DEMOCRATIC WEST OVERBORE THE OLIGARCHICAL well-mannered EAST; ONCE MORE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHEN HUMAN SLAVERY CUT THE heart of the NATION IN TWO AND WE HAD TO CEMENT IT WITH BLOOD ~~AND HATE~~; FINALLY, WHEN IN 1929 OUR located INDUSTRIES FELL IN VAST RUIN ~~WHICH~~ ROOSEVELT RESCUED (then with socialist plans) AND ~~STARTED TO REBUILD~~. WHAT WE HAVE DONE, WE CAN DO, BUT NOT BY SILENCE -- NOT BY REFUSING TO FACE THE UGLY FACTS.

and begged on their knees government aid until again.

gave his life to rebuilding our economy

PEACE IS DANGEROUS

by ~~WXEEX~~ W.E.B. Du BOIS, Community Church, Boston

November ~~10~~ II, 1951

Peace is dangerous; not to all folk, but certainly to those whose power and standard of living depend on war. This group forms ~~the force~~ a smaller portion of mankind, but a portion of so great influence that it can ~~usually~~ often override the wish of the rest and begin and continue war. On the other hand the danger of war to the majority of men is all too obvious: the killing and maiming of the young; the destruction of property and waste of natural resourses; the uprooting of family life and interference with normal reproduction; the distortion of culture patterns and ~~loss~~ discouragement ~~destruction~~ of creative effort. When we realize that at least 30 million of the best specimens of ~~the~~ world's youth have been killed in wars since 1914 and many more millions crippled in body and soul, we can get some partial idea of the loss of modern civilization through war.

Why then does War persist ? What decisive interests promote and continue it against almost irretrievable loss on the part of the majority of men? Those who gain from war and suffer from peace are easily discernable at cursory glance: the munition makers; ~~the manufacturers of~~ and those who furnish war materials and machines; Not so readily seen are those who profit by the financial changes which war inevitably brings about. Still further in the background are investors and workers whose income is raised by war industries. Even these large and important groups do not explain the popularity of war or at least the weak resistnce to war hysteria. For ~~the~~ explanation of this phenomena we must look further to that vast number of Americans, to whom ~~the~~ present ~~Way of Life~~ Condition brings comfort and satisfaction. This mass of intelligent persons either know or fear that if the present system of social and industrial organization prevalent in Western Europe and North America undergoes any essential change, they may not be able to enjoy what they consider the "American Way of Life." This standard of living does not necessarily call for luxury or conspicuous expenditure. It asks for a comfortable ~~house with reasonable space;~~ home with heat and refrigeration; enough suitable ~~but plain~~ clothing and sufficient nourishing food; ~~in some variety;~~ not necessarily an autobile, but convenient transportation facilities and a telephone; medical care, ~~hospitalization~~ and vacations; ~~some vacation~~ in time education for children and provision ~~for~~ for a decent old age. This is what the average American of intelligence expects from the American Way of life, or wants to be able to expect. It is not to be sure what the average American gets

35-5-180

Probably two-thirds of American families do not get this and a third do not dare hope for it, although it remains their ideal. But a large and influential part of the American middle class do get these things; they believe they deserve them and they are willing to fight to keep them

The basic question now is Must this way of life -- actual or believed possible, for a large minority or even a majority of Americans, be defended by war or seriously endangered by Peace. Our fear today undoubtedly is that Peace is dangerous for this way of life for a large number of Americans and for the hope of it by the majority of our citizens. This furnishes the reason behind the huge majority of the nation now rushing toward a third and final World War.

35-5-181

This then is the time of all times to examine this thesis and disclose its truth or falsity. First of all some Americans are convinced that our industrial system is so good that the mere existence of any other system is a threat. Most intelligent persons do not go this far. They acknowledge the shortcomings of our economy, but think it still the best. They however are quite willing for others to try other ways, but they fear to have other, and, to our opinion, worse or impractical ways, tried on peoples who do not want them. This alleged involuntary expansion of Communism is what is today scaring most Americans into war. But is it true that expanding communism is threatening our way of life, or on the contrary that expansion of our industrial methods is threatening to keep the mass of the world's people not only below our own standard of living but even below the line of ordinary decency and sheer survival? It is this aspect of world war which America is today refusing to discuss. (Most of us by education & lack of information) We firmly believe that the poverty and distress of the majority of human beings is primarily their own fault and that in all probability it can never be entirely alleviated. We are willing to do something in some vague "Point Four" (or by Missions to help the backward Heathen, but we say) even our wealth is not able to suport the world. When two answers are made to this, we do not try to refute answer. The first answer is that a few centuries ago the aristocracy of the world believed that a standard of life such as American workers (Mass Europe) could not be achieved without the ruin of civilization. I was taughght in high school at the close of last century, that labor unions were wrong futile, and strikes wrong. The second answer to inevitable poverty for most men, is that the colonial system helped cause poverty and that this system is now disappearing; that the remaining poverty and distress is not our fault and are falsely made & seen so by Russia & China and Eastern Europe

9 indent is not permitted to discuss

Here emerges the kernal of the falsehood which is scaring America into war. Colonialism has not disappeared, even though its back is broken in India and China. But American business is desperately trying to restore the essentials of colonialism under the name of free enterprise and western democracy; and are plunging the world into destruction for false ideals and misleading fears.

This is a grave charge and needs I am quite aware, circumstantial proof. Let me furnish proof in this way: there are today seven main causes of world war and noone of them is Russia. On the contrary they are the great groups of essential raw material

(copy A)

are not natural nor indigenous, but increased and made greater during the last three centuries by the determination of Europe and North America to rule the world for its own comfort, luxury and power. Armed by scientific discovery, and a new industrial technique, the white world since the I7th century has set itself to reduce colored labor to slavery; to seize the land and natural resourses of colonial and quasi-colonial countries, and so far as possible to rule these peoples by absolute, military dictatorship, Spain, followed by France and Holland, and succeeded by Great Britain built up a domination of the world which became the foundation of modern civilization. Wealth, luxury art and learning was thus ~~built up~~ acclaimed in the Western World, until its cultural accomplishment came to be regarded as the highest ideal in the ~~world~~ universe:

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle in Cathay."

Logic would have taught us that the revolt of the miserable victims of this world tyrrany would eventually cause its extinction; and revolt came and still continues. But long before ~~its~~ divided and ignorant colonial might could or strom the bastions of the West sucessfully, those bastions themselves fell of their own presumption and overweight. The thieves fell out over the division of the fabulous spoils of Asia, Africa and South America, Europe and approached suicide in three World Wars, each of increased cost, destruction and human murder.

The rift in imperialism began when Germany and Italy; later Japan, and finally the United States, demanded a larger share of the spoils of imperial control of the colored world. They insisted on a redistribution of wealth and power (copy B & C, D)

Consider for a moment our own country and its interest in colonial products or products of semi-colonial areas. In I930 we imported nearly 2 billion ~~and a half~~ dollars worth of diamonds, silk, coffee, mineral oil

allows them neither education, land nor health nor even subsistence for decency

rubber, paper, copper, fibres sugar, spices, vegetable oils and cocoa. They are all materials upon which our present standards of living are based. We could scarcely be satisfied a day without abundant supply of them. Moreover we buy them cheap. We pay practically nothing for the land on which they are grown; we pay the colored labor from ~~nothing~~ 25 cents to a dollar a day. On the other hand the goods which we export to pay for these colonial goods are priced at our own valuation ~~but~~ because we control the monopoly of the only markets where colonials can buy machinery, wheat and tobacco and chemicals. This trade is a source of vast profit to private enterprise, because even when capital investment is called for in colonial lands, this capital comes from taxes on citizens in the home country, while private firms reap the profits: thus British taxpayers built the great West African harbor of Takoradi, while private shippers used it. The United States Navy built the harbor at Monovia, Liberia from our tax money, while the Firestone company uses it for sizable dividends

35-5-183

Moreover this foreign trade with colonial countries is far more profitable than domestic industry. There are in colonies few if any labor unions; there is a minimum of taxation on foreign corporations; there are no wage floors, a prohibition of child labor; freight charges are set by the foreign firms (who manufacture, transport) and can make or break a local industry. Capital rushes for such investment unless of course native presumption tries to control foreign capital. This is just what began to happen after the second world war. Not only was Russia whose industries often paid 50% on investment to Germans, French and British, lost to western business, but also Poland, Czechoslovakia and much of the Balkan area

(copy E ~~&~~ F)

This brings the question of war straight back home. If the United States stops trying to control cheap colored labor; to own land and raw materials over the world; to fix ~~prices~~ exchange so that while cocoa and sugar call for the highest prices when we buy them, ~~while~~ the peons that raise do not get enough to eat: if we stop this policy will peace be dangerous to the American Way of life? Or let us put it even more bluntly: suppose it proved true that if we had fewer automobiles, fewer night clubs, and fewer mink coats; if this self-denial on the part of certain Americans would prevent war and give Chinese children enough to eat, would we be willing to make the sacrifice?

War to continue

~~(copy G, H)~~

PEACE, 1951

WITHOUT REGARD TO WHAT MEN BELIEVE OR FEAR; WHAT THEIR NATIONALITY OR RACE IS; OR WHAT THEIR SOCIAL STATUS MAY BE, // THERE ARE THREE FACTS WHICH FACE US TODAY AND MAKE OUR LIFE AND THOUGHT CONTRADICTORY AND CONFUSED // THESE FACTS ARE EPITOMIZED BY (1) THE WAR IN KOREA; (2) THE FLOOD IN THE MISSOURI VALLEY; AND (3) THE DIFFICULTY OF SEPARATING TRUTH FROM PROPAGANDA, ILLUSTRATED IN THE JAPANESE TREATY

35-5-22

THE INDECISIVE EFFORT OF A GREAT AND POWERFUL NATION LIKE OURS, WITH 150,000,000 PEOPLE, TO CONTROL KOREA, WITH 25 MILLION PEOPLE, BRINGING TO BEAR ALL OUR VAST WEALTH AND MILITARY MIGHT, IS NOTHING LESS THAN FANTASTIC // WHY ARE WE FIGHTING THIS POOR, [redacted] AND UNHAPPY PEOPLE? WHAT SENSE IS BACK OF OUR EFFORT AND WHAT FUTURE IDEAL [redacted]? WHY DO WE NOT STOP FIGHTING NOW IMMEDIATELY AND SIT DOWN TO THINK, PLAN AND KNOW?

AGAIN WE HAVE JUST HAD A FLOOD IN THE MIDDLE WEST. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT DISASTER HAS OVERTAKEN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSOURI-MISSISSIPPI. FROM

THE TIME OF THE FIRST LEVEES 234 YEARS AGO, YEAR AFTER YEAR, LIVES, PROPERTY, STOCK AND SOIL HAVE ANNUALLY BEEN DESTROYED BY THIS INLAND OCEAN OF WATERS // AND SO FAR AS WE CAN SEE, THIS SAGA OF DEATH AND POVERTY WILL CONTINUE, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT WE CAN STOP IT WHENEVER WE WILL.

35-5-23

THIRDLY, TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE IN THIS INTELLIGENT NATION, WITH ITS UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS, ITS SCIENTISTS, WRITERS AND THINKERS, ITS POETS AND PROPHETS; IT IS DIFFICULT, IF NOT, FOR THE ORDINARY MAN, IMPOSSIBLE TO LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESENT CONDITION OF MANKIND OR THE REMEDIES FOR OUR SEEMINGLY UNCONQUERABLE ILLS. TO ASCERTAIN THE BASIC TRUTH, WE CANNOT TODAY LOOK WITH CONFIDENCE TO SCIENCE, RELIGION, THE DAILY PRESS, THE RADIO, OR THE PUBLIC PLATFORM // WITH INCREASING TERROR WE ARE REFUSING TO LET MEN SAY WHAT THEY BELIEVE OR BELIEVE WHAT THOSE WHO CONTROL EXPRESSION DO NOT PERMIT THEM [redacted].

WE ALL KNOW THAT THIS SITUATION IN THE WORLD AROUND US, IS, IF ANYTHING, GROWING IN PARADOX AND DANGER AND THAT WITHOUT QUICK CHANGE AND BETTERMENT WE

FACE DISASTER// NO MATTER WHAT THE REAL TRUTH IS,/ THE FIRST STEP TOWARD CURE/ OBVIOUSLY IS PEACE./ AND BY PEACE/ I DO NOT MEAN MERE SENTIMENTAL INACTIVITY/ AND GENERAL GOOD WILL,// BUT SERIOUS AND DETERMINED IMPLEMENTATION/ OF A TRUTH,/ WHICH THREE WORLD WARS HAVE TAUGHT ALL SANE THINKERS:// THAT IS, THAT ORGANIZED FORCE,/ WIELDED BY GREAT AND POWERFUL NATIONS,/ IN ACCORD WITH THE LATEST INVENTIONS OF SCIENCE,/ CAN NEVER ACHIEVE VICTORY/ FOR ANY ONE NATION/ NOR ANY ONE IDEA.

35-5-24

IN SIMPLER TIMES/ AND MORE PRIMITIVE ERAS,/ WHEN PHYSICAL DISTANCE MORE COMPLETELY SEPARATED GROUPS OF MEN;/ AND WHEN NATURAL FORCES WERE LESS TAMED;/ IT WAS OFTEN POSSIBLE/ FOR A GROUP OR NATION/ OR EVEN A BAND OF NATIONS/ TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL/ UPON CONSIDERABLE PORTIONS OF MANKIND.// HOW FAR/ OR HOW OFTEN/ SUCH CONQUEST WAS REALLY EFFECTIVE,// OR WHAT IT FINALLY ACCOMPLISHED,/ IT IS NOT EASY NOW TO SAY.// BUT MOST MEN TODAY/ HAVE BEEN EDUCATED/ TO BELIEVE/ IN THE EFFICIENCY OF WAR/ IN THE PAST/ AS A MODE OF HUMAN PROGRESS.// BUT TODAY,/ IN THE FACE OF INESCAPABLE TESTIMONY,/ FURNISHED BY

CONFLICTS/ WHICH HAVE NEARLY FILLED/ THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY,/ ALL REASONABLE FOLK/ MUST BE CONVINCED/ THAT NO ORGANIZED FORCE OF ARMED MIGHT,/ CAN PREVAIL/ OVER FIRMLY HELD BELIEF AND CONVICTION;// THAT NEITHER THE BELIEF/ OF THE UNITED STATES IN CAPITALISM,// NOR THE BELIEF OF THE SOVIET UNION IN SOCIALISM,// CAN BY FORCE OF ARMS BE VICTORIOUS OVER THE WORLD;// THAT IDEAS CAN ONLY BE MET SUCCESSFULLY/ BY BETTER IDEAS, AND FALSEHOOD BY TRUTH;// THAT NO "SITUATIONS OF STRENGTH",/ NOR EXPENDITURE OF 60 THOUSAND MILLION MILLION/ OF DOLLARS A YEAR/ OR A HUNDRED THOUSAND,/ IS GOING TO IMPOSE SOCIALISM ON AMERICA/ AGAINST OUR WILL,// NOR FORCE OUR "WAY OF LIFE"/ ON THE WORLD.

35-5-25

℔ THE TRUTH OF THIS SELF-EVIDENT LESSON,/ MADE CLEAR revealed TO THE WORLD/ BY HISTORY IN THE YEARS 1914 to 1951,/ IS SO CLEAR,/ THAT DESPITE ALL PROPAGANDA,/ THE PEACE MOVEMENT TODAY BELTS THE WORLD,// EVEN AS WE PREPARE/ FOR MORE CONTINUOUS/ AND GREATER WARS.

℟ THIS IS A CURIOUS CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX,/ WHICH EVEN THOSE/ WHO WANT TO BELIEVE THESE FACTS/ DARE NOT FACE.

℔ IN THE SPRING OF 1950,/ I SAT IN A GREAT ARENA IN PARIS,/ FRANCE,/ WHICH HOLDS

100,000 PERSONS AT ONE TIME.// DURING THAT MAY AFTERNOON,/ I SAW THAT VAST SPACE/FILLED FIVE TIMES,/ WITH A HALF MILLION PEOPLE/FROM EVERY CORNER OF FRANCE,/ CRYING IN FERVOR, EXALTATION AND TEARS,/ "PEACE, NO MORE WAR!"

35-5-26

IN AUGUST/OF THAT SAME YEAR/I LOOKED INTO THE FACES/OF A THOUSAND DELEGATES FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE SOVIET UNION.// REPRESENTING 200 MILLION PEOPLE/FROM ALL THE 150 RACE AND CULTURE GROUPS OF RUSSIA.// I TOLD THEM/THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/DID NOT WANT WAR/AND THEY ASSURED ME/REPEATEDLY/OVER THE LONG SESSIONS/OF THREE FULL DAYS/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/WAS DETERMINED ON PEACE.

I SAW THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/IN ITS MIGHT/AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY;// AND I SAW IT AGAIN/LAST YEAR;//AND FROM WARSAW AND PRAGUE/ TO VIENNA AND BUDA-PESTH,/ THERE AROSE/ONE UNITED CRY FOR PEACE/ ~~RAISING TO HEAVEN HER GREAT ARMS~~.// I SAW MANCHURIA AND CHINA/ SUFFER IN 1936,// WHEN THE LONG AGONY/OF THE JAPANESE DRIVE/FOR EXPANSION OVER ASIA,/ WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF ITS BLOODY SWING.// I KNOW WHY TODAY BOTH JAPAN AND CHINA/PRAY FOR PEACE./ ~~BUT IS IT PEACE/WHICH IS BEING PLANNED/IN SAN FRANCISCO/TONIGHT?~~ USA

IN HERE IN THE UNITED STATES/ I HAVE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS/TRAVELLED AND SPOKEN IN ~~NEARLY~~ OVER HALF/OF THE 48 STATES// TO AUDIENCES, ~~MOSTLY SMALL TO BE SURE, BUT~~ varying from 200 to 2000 and COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVE PEOPLE/OF INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE.// I HAVE FOUND EVERY INDICATION THAT THOSE AMERICANS/WHO DARE SAY WHAT THEY THINK/WANT PEACE/AND ARE APPALLED/AT THE PRESENT WAR HYSTERIA.// PARTICULARLY ~~DO~~/ THEY WANT TO SPEND/THE FABULOUS SUMS/WHICH WE ARE NOW DEVOTING/TO MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/ ~~TO FEEDING THE HUNGRY, HEALING THE~~ for FLOOD CONTROL/HOUSING. ~~SICK, AND TEACHING THE YOUNG~~ HOSPITALS and Schools/ for; TO METHODS OF PREVENTING/ FUTURE POVERTY,/ DISEASE AND IGNORANCE.// NO ONE/WHO SAW THE FIVE THOUSAND PILGRIMS/WHO CAME FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE LAND/ FOR THE LATE PEACE CONGRESS/ AT CHICAGO/ COULD FOR A MOMENT DOUBT THIS.

35-5-27

IF NOW/THE WORLD DESPERATELY WANTS PEACE,/ AND KNOWS WITH NO SHADOW OF DOUBT/ THAT THE MONEY NEEDED/ FOR FOOD AND CLOTHES,/ EDUCATION,/ HOUSING AND FLOOD-CONTROL, CANNOT LONG BE USED/FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/WITHOUT OVERTHROWING OUR PRESENT CIVILIZATION,// WHY IS IT THAT THE WORLD/ STILL HEADS TOWARD INEVITABLE DISASTER?

35-5-28

LET US TURN BACK TO THE WAR IN KOREA. THIS IS MORE THAN THE CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN GREAT AND ESSENTIALLY EQUAL POWERS, FOUGHT FOR CLEARLY CONCEIVED AIMS AND RESTRAINED BY THE HUMANE CONSIDERATIONS OF THE RULES OF CIVILIZED WARFARE. NO. THIS IS A WAR OF CONQUEST, ACROSS LINES OF RACE, RELIGION AND COLOR. IT IS SHOT THROUGH WITH HATE AND CONTEMPT HELD BY RICH AND ~~SUPERIOR~~ powerful WHITE PEOPLE AGAINST POOR, ~~WEAK AND INFERIOR~~ and COLORED PEOPLE. WE SNEER AT THESE DESPISED FOLK, CALL THEM NAMES AND OUR OFFICIALS OPENLY BRAND THEM AS LIARS, COWARDS AND CHEATS. IT IS NOT THE STRIFE OF EQUALLY ARMED FIGHTER AGAINST FIGHTER, BUT OF SUPER-ARMED, WELL-PAID AND PROTECTED SOLDIERS AGAINST PARTIALLY UNARMED, NAKED AND SHELTERLESS WOMEN, CHILDREN AND AGED MEN. TWENTY-ONE WOMEN FROM 17 NATIONS SAID OF THIS WAR AFTER STUDYING IT ON THE SPOT 12 DAYS LAST SPRING:

"THE PEOPLE OF KOREA ARE BEING SUBJECTED BY THE AMERICAN OCCUPANTS TO A MERCILESS AND METHODICAL CAMPAIGN OF EXTERMINATION WHICH IS IN CONTRADICTION NOT ONLY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY, BUT ALSO TO THE RULES OF WARFARE (laid down at the Hague + Geneva) IN (INCLUDING CANADA, BELGIUM, HOLLAND + FRANCE) RUSSIA - ITALY + 9 Britain

35-5-29

THE DISTRICTS TEMPORARILY OCCUPIED BY AMERICAN AND SYNGMAN RHEE FORCES, ~~IN THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION~~, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS, ENTIRE FAMILIES, FROM OLD MEN TO LITTLE CHILDREN, HAVE BEEN TORTURED, BEATEN TO DEATH, BURNED AND BURIED ALIVE. THOUSANDS OF OTHERS HAVE PERISHED FROM HUNGER AND COLD IN OVERCROWDED PRISONS IN WHICH THEY WERE THROWN WITHOUT CHARGES BEING LEVELLED AGAINST THEM, WITHOUT INVESTIGATION, TRIAL OR SENTENCE.

"THESE MASS TORTURES AND MASS MURDERS SURPASS THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY HITLER NAZIS IN TEMPORARILY-OCCUPIED EUROPE.

"THE COMMISSION CALLS ON ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, IN THE NAME OF COMMON HUMANITY, TO URGE BY EVERY MEANS IN THEIR POWER THAT THE WAR IN KOREA BE BROUGHT TO AN END WITHOUT DELAY AND THAT THE INVADING FOREIGN TROOPS BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN [redacted] KOREA."

IN ORDER TO MAKE CLEAR IN OUR MINDS WHY THIS INSANE HORROR IS GOING ON, LET

US TURN TO A SERIES OF PHENOMENA/ WHICH MAY AT FIRST SIGHT/ SEEM FAR REMOVED FROM KOREA.// ON JULY 19, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORTED:

"NORTHERN AND CENTRAL KANSAS TONIGHT/ FOUGHT THE WORST FLOOD/ SINCE THE DISASTROUS OVERFLOW OF 1903/ WHICH PARALYZED ALL OF THE CITIES/ ALONG THE KANSAS RIVER FROM ITS SOURCE TO KANSAS CITY."

"TRANSPORTATION/ WAS VIRTUALLY AT A STANDSTILL/ IN NORTH CENTRAL KANSAS. HIGHWAYS WERE REPORTED/ CUT BY WATER IN MORE THAN 100 PLACES/ TRAINS WERE STALLED -- A DOZEN SANTA FE TRAINS/ BEING TIED UP AT EMPORIA/ AND NEWTON, ALONE."

MY WIFE AND I/ WERE ON ONE OF THE SANTA FÉ TRAINS/ HELD FOR HOURS AT MIDNIGHT BECAUSE OF THIS FLOOD.// I REMEMBERED,/ AS WE WAITED IN THE DARK,/ THAT I WAS TAUGHT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL/ THAT THE CHINESE WERE VERY UNPROGRESSIVE/ SINCE THEY REFUSED TO BUILD A BRIDGE/ OVER A CERTAIN RIVER/ BECAUSE THEIR ANCESTORS/ HAD NEVER BUILT ONE.// I WONDERED WHAT PRESENT-DAY CHINA/ WOULD SAY OF PROGRESSIVE AMERICA/ ON THE FLOOD SITUATION.// EVERY YEAR FOR TWO CENTURIES,/ THIS MISSOURI-MISSISSIPPI RIVER

35-5-30

HAS FLOODED, DROWNED AND DESTROYED.// CULMINATING IN THE DESTRUCTION OF DAYTON/ IN 1913.// AND THEN IN 1927,/ FOR SIX WEEKS/ THIS RIVER INUNDATED THE HOMES/ OF THREE-QUARTERS OF A MILLION OF PEOPLE/ AND DESTROYED 355 MILLION DOLLARS OF PROPERTY. WHAT WAS DONE ABOUT IT?/ WE PASSED THE HAT/ AND RAISED [redacted] MILLIONS FOR THE 600,000 PEOPLE ON RELIEF.// WE MADE PLANS/ BUT PLANS TOO NARROW AND TOO LATE.// SO THAT AGAIN THIS YEAR/ OUR PRESIDENT INFORMS US/ THAT THE FLOOD LOSS/ IS OVER 2000 MILLION DOLLARS/ IN PROPERTY, AND DAMAGE TO FIVE MILLION ACRES/ OF FARM LANDS.// AND IN ADDITION,/ GOD KNOWS WHAT LOSS/ IN PAIN, DISCOURAGEMENT AND DEATH OF HOPE.

35-5-31

THE REASON/ FOR THIS RECURRING SERIES OF DISASTERS/ WHICH WILL COME AGAIN AND AGAIN IN THE FUTURE,/ IS CLEAR:/ THIS RIVER AND ITS BRANCHES/ DRAIN 31 STATES; ITS CONTROL/ CALLS FOR NATIONAL LONG SCALE ACTION:// FOR REFORESTATION; FOR HUGE DAMS;/ FOR SOIL AND CROP MANAGEMENT/ TO PREVENT EROSION.// FOR RESERVOIRS AND SPILLWAYS:// FOR RESTORATION AND CONTROL OF SWAMPS:// FOR SEIZURE OF LAND/ AND RE-

STRAINT OF ANTI-SOCIAL ACTS FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE CANNOT UNDERTAKE ANY SUCH VAST PROGRAM; FREE ENTERPRISE CANNOT EXPECT TO MAKE PROFIT OUT OF SUCH AN IMMENSE SOCIAL venture ENTERPRISE; AND YET THE PARADOX IS, THAT UNLESS THE NATION AS A WHOLE, ATTACKS THIS PROBLEM OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY THE FUTURE FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WILL CONTINUE TO BE FRUSTRATED AND DESTROYED.

35-5-32

BUT THE PRESIDENT FEARS THAT SUCH NATIONAL CONTROL OF THE MISSOURI-MISSISSIPPI WILL BE SOCIALISM. THERE IS NO USE DENYING THIS FACT OR HIDING BEHIND DOUBLE-TALK. THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, THE FUTURE MISSISSIPPI-MISSOURI AUTHORITY, JUST LIKE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS, OUR MAIL AND PARCEL POST SERVICE, OUR CITY SUBWAYS, OUR CITY, STATE AND NATIONAL PARKS, OUR FOREST PRESERVES ARE ALL EXAMPLES OF THAT NATIONAL CONTROL FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE WHICH IS CHARACTERISTIC OF CIVILIZATION IN EVERY MODERN LAND. THE DILEMMA BEFORE US, THEN, IS COMPLETE: WE CANNOT HAVE PERIODIC DESTRUCTION; WE FEAR SOCIALISM; YET ONLY BY SOME DEGREE OF

SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING CAN WE AVOID DISASTER. THEREFORE IN FUTURE AS IN THE PAST SOME DEGREE OF SOCIALISM WE ARE COMPELLED TO ADOPT.

I HAVE VISITED FRANCE 13 TIMES SINCE 1894. ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS WHICH I NOTICED IN MY LAST VISITS TO FRANCE WAS THAT THE RAILROADS OF FRANCE NO LONGER BELONG TO PRIVATE COMPANIES, BUT TO THE STATE. I KNEW THAT FRANCE ALREADY OWNED HER RADIO TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES; I KNEW FRENCH CITIES OWNED THEIR UNDERGROUND LINES, STREETCARS AND BUSES; ALL OF THE MAIN PUBLIC SERVICES WERE IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE. MINES AND FORESTS BELONGED TO THE STATE. THE STATE WAS ENTERING PRIVATE INDUSTRY IN MANY LINES, AND WHEN DIRECT OWNERSHIP DID NOT RESULT, SEVERE REGULATION WAS INCREASING. FOREIGN TRADE, PRICES AND WAGES, WERE CONTROLLED; STEAMSHIPS AND AIRPLANES HAD STATE SUPERVISION AND PARTIAL OWNERSHIP. IN OTHER WORDS, FRANCE IS TODAY TO A LARGE EXTENT A SOCIALISTIC STATE, AND THIS SOCIALIZATION IS GROWING.

35-5-33

BUT IS FRANCE IN THIS RESPECT, EXCEPTIONAL IN EUROPE? IT IS NOT. NEITHER

IN EUOPE NOR IN THE WORLD.// THERE IS TODAY IN THE WORLD/ NOT A SINGLE CIVILIZED LAND/ IN WHICH SOCIALISM/ IS NOT WIDESPREAD AND GROWING.// EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY OWNS ITS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS/ AND SYSTEMS OF COMMUNICATION;/ EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY/ HAS NATIONALIZED/ MANY OF ITS MAIN BUSINESSES/ FROM BANKING TO MINING; FROM HOUSING TO MANUFACTURING;// FROM FOREIGN TRADE/ TO RETAIL DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS;// FROM PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP TO STATE OWNERSHIP OF ALL PUBLIC UTILITIES.

35-5-34

ON THE WALL/ BEHIND MY OFFICE DESK,/ IS A GREAT MAP OF THE SOVIET UNION, COVERED WITH BROAD STREAKS OF GREEN.// THIS SHOWS THE PLAN/ OF THE SOVIET UNION TO PLANT/ TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MILES/ OF FORESTS/ IN ORDER TO HELP FORESTALL/ JUST SUCH FLOOD AND DESTRUCTION/ AS HAS OVERWHELMED THE MISSISSIPPI Missouri VALLEY/ THIS SUMMER. IT WILL TAKE A GENERATION/ TO ACCOMPLISH THIS/ AND MILLIONS IN MONEY.// TODAY, THE PLAN IS HARDLY BEGUN.// BUT IT IS CLEARLY OUTLINED, and SOME DAY,/ IF PEACE PREVAILS, IT WILL BE REALIZED!// IT IS PLANS LIKE THESE/ WHICH MAKE THE SOVIET UNION PREFER ~~PEACE~~ Peace To War

IN ADDITION/ NEARLY ALL CHINA/ HAS ADOPTED SOCIALISM/ AND THIS MONTH/ INDIA IS CONSIDERING ~~PEACE TO WAR.~~ A BILL/ TO NATIONIZE/ MUCH OF ITS INDUSTRY/ AND CONTROL PRIVATE ENTERPRIZE.

35-5-35

BUT HERE/ MANY AMERICANS CALL A HALT.// THEY ADMIT THAT SOME SOCIALIST PLANS/ MUST BE ADOPTED.// BUT THEY DECLARE/ THEY WILL NOT ADOPT/ THAT COMPLETE AND COMPULSORY SOCIALISM/ CALLED COMMUNISM/ WHICH EASTERN EUROPE/ FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE AND AID/ OF THE SOVIET UNION/ HAS ADOPTED.// THE ANSWER TO THIS DETERMINATION/ IS CLEAR:// NOBODY IS GOING TO COMPEL AMERICA/ TO ADOPT COMMUNISM.// THE ONLY COMPULSION/ TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES/ MUST BOW/ IS ABILITY TO DO FOR ITS CITIZENS/ UNDER OUR WAY OF LIFE/ AS MUCH AS COMMUNIST NATIONS/ DO FOR THEIRS.// IF IN ADDITION TO THIS/ WE CAN DO MORE/ BY FREE ENTERPRISE THAN BY SOCIALISM,/ FREE ENTERPRISE WILL SPREAD.// IF NOT, SOCIALISM WILL SPREAD.

ONE THING WE CANNOT DO/ EVEN BY WAR AND THE ATOM BOMB!// AND THAT IS TO MAKE PEOPLE/ GIVE UP SOCIALISM/ IF THEY WANT IT.// ANOTHER THING WE CANNOT DO/ AND THAT IS TO MAKE THE WORLD BELIEVE/ THAT CAPITALISM IS ALWAYS COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL.// IT HAS HAD GREAT SUCCESS/ BUT WE BOUGHT IT/ BY HUMAN SLAVERY/ HERE AND IN AFRICA/ AND ASIA. IN PART By POVERTY + CRIME AT HOME AND, AMERICAN WORKERS + WORKERS IN WE CANNOT CONTINUE THIS SUCCESS.// FOR AFRICA AND ASIA SAY NO!/ AND THEY MEAN WHAT

S. AMERICA AND MEXICO, MANY OF WHOSE CITIZENS ARE SEEKING TO ESCAPE FROM SHE'S INDUSTRY

THEY SAY.

MOST AMERICANS ON THE CONTRARY BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM IS SPREADING BECAUSE OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM. THEY BELIEVE THE SOVIET UNION IS SET TO CONQUER THE WORLD FOR COMMUNISM AND THAT THEREFORE WE MUST CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION. THAT IS WHAT WE FEAR. THAT IS WHY WE FIGHT AND PREPARE FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR. HERE THEN IS THE PLACE TO ASK. IS THIS NECESSARY? IS THIS TRUE?

BUT THIS WE CANNOT ASK. RIGHT HERE WE ARE STOPPED SHORT.

WE FIND IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TODAY FOR THE ORDINARY CITIZEN TO LEARN THE TRUTH. WE ARE NOT FREE TO HEAR THE TESTIMONY. TO SEARCH INTELLIGENTLY FOR THE TRUTH, DAY AFTER DAY, YEAR AFTER YEAR, ON RADIO AND PLATFORM, IN NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE, FROM PULPIT AND ~~IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION~~ SCREEN, WE HEAR BUT ONE SIDE OF THIS GREAT CONTROVERSY. WE ARE TOLD BUT ONE SIDE OF THE STORY. AND IF WE PRESUME EVEN TO LISTEN TO THE OTHER SIDE, OR READ AN UNORTHODOX BOOK OR PAPER, OR ATTEND A MEETING LIKE THIS, WE ARE THREATENED BY LOSS OF SOCIAL STATUS, OR THE RIGHT TO

35-5-36 THAT IS WHAT NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO DIN IN OUR EARS MOVIES

EARN A LIVING, OR, AS I AM THREATENED THIS MOMENT, WITH A 5 years in JAIL SENTENCE. & $10000 fine!

THIS IS NOT DEMOCRACY. IT IS NOT THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IS BASED. I REMEMBER HOW I LEARNED THE THEORY OF DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE WHERE I WAS BORN. I WAS A BOY OF TWELVE AND HAD JUST ENTERED OUR SMALL AND INADEQUATELY SUPPORTED PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL. I ATTENDED OUR ANNUAL TOWN MEETING AND HEARD AN OLD, RAGGED AND INCREDIBLY DIRTY CITIZEN ARISE AND FOR AN HOUR HARANGUE AGAINST PUBLIC SUPPORT OF HIGH SCHOOLS. I WAS TERRIBLY INDIGNANT. I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE INTELLIGENT PROSPEROUS PEOPLE OF THE TOWN ALLOWED THIS MAN TO TALK. BUT THEY DID. THEY HEARD HIM MAKE THE SAME SPEECH YEAR AFTER YEAR. WHEN HE HAD FINISHED THEY CALMLY PROCEEDED TO VOTE THE HIGH SCHOOL APPROPRIATION AND FROM TIME TO TIME TO INCREASE IT. THIS WAS MY FIRST LESSON IN DEMOCRACY. I HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN IT. I NEVER WILL.

35-5-37

BUT I HAVE LIVED TO SEE THE DAY SEVENTY YEARS LATER, WHEN THE RIGHT FREELY

TO EXPRESS HONEST OPINIONS AND TO MAKE ONE'S OWN SEARCH FOR TRUTH, HAS BEEN ALL BUT ABOLISHED IN THIS COUNTRY IN DEFIANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

35-5-38

HOW HAS THIS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED? BY THE USE OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS OF PROPAGANDA, ON A SCALE WHICH NEITHER AMERICA NOR THE WORLD EVER BEFORE SAW. THE PRINCIPLE BEHIND PROPAGANDA IS AS OLD AS HUMAN INTERCOURSE -- THE EFFORT TO MAKE YOUR NEIGHBORS THINK AND BELIEVE AS YOU DO. BUT IN AMERICA AT LEAST UNTIL RECENTLY, IT WAS USUALLY POSSIBLE FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL TO TEST BELIEF BY HIS OWN INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS. EVEN YESTERDAY IN ONE GREAT QUESTION, EACH AMERICAN COULD SAY THAT IF THIS NEWSPAPER DISTORTED THE FACTS OR OMITTED THEM OR DELIBERATELY LIED, ANOTHER PAPER COULD BE COUNTED UPON TO SUPPLY THE TRUTH AND CORRECT THE ERROR. IF THIS BOOK IS A PREJUDICED [illegible], ANOTHER BOOK WILL SOON REFUTE IT. IF THIS LECTURER OR RADIO COMMENTATOR MISREPRESENTED THE FACTS, ANOTHER WOULD REVEAL THEM.

35-5-39

GRADUALLY THIS HAS CEASED TO BE TRUE. BEGINNING WITH MUSSOLINI IN ITALY AND INCREASING WITH HITLER IN GERMANY, THE PRESS, THE RADIO AND THE PLATFORM HAVE BEEN BROUGHT UNDER THE CONTROL OF POWERFUL INTERESTS SO THAT ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE GREAT QUESTIONS BEFORE THE PUBLIC COULD BE HEARD OR EXPRESSED. AND SOON TRUTH BECAME A CRIME.

THIS SITUATION CAME LATER IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN EUROPE. BUT WHEN AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, SOCIALISM BEGAN TO SPREAD IN EUROPE AND REVOLUTION BURST INTO A NEW SOVIET UNION, MANY AMERICANS HONESTLY BELIEVED THAT THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM MUST BE STOPPED EVEN AT THE COST OF WAR. THEY SAID SOCIALISM WAS IMPOSSIBLE; OR IF POSSIBLE NOT PERMISSIBLE. WHEN IN THE THIRTIES, HOWEVER, THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CAPITALIST SYSTEM COLLAPSED AND WAS ONLY SAVED BY SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENTS SUCH AS [illegible]. ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL, THERE AROSE A DETERMINED AND ORGANIZED EFFORT by Big Business TO LAUNCH A SYSTEM OF PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA WHICH WOULD STOP SOCIALISM IN ITS TRACKS AND KEEP EASTERN EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICA OPEN TO AMERICAN

INVESTMENT AND PRIVATE PROFIT, LED BY AMERICAN MERCHANTS AS SUCCESSORS OF THE DYING BRITISH EMPIRE.

THEREUPON, PRIVATE WEALTH BOUGHT UP OUR NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES, OUR GREAT NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO CHAINS, AND MOST OF OUR PUBLIC PLATFORMS. BOOK PUBLISHERS YIELDED TO THE DICTATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT. INSTEAD OF MANY POINTS OF VIEW AND DIFFERING OPINIONS, THERE APPEARED INCREASINGLY BUT ONE LINE OF THOUGHT: THAT RUSSIA WAS NOT ONLY WRONG BUT CRUEL AND VICIOUS; THAT WAR WITH HER WAS INEVITABLE; THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE WAS IN GRAVE DANGER; AND THAT THE EXPRESSION OF ANY CONTRARY OPINION MUST BE MADE SOCIALLY DANGEROUS AND SO FAR AS POSSIBLE LEGALLY CRIMINAL.

35-5-40

I REMEMBER VIVIDLY WHEN THE ONE-SIDEDNESS AND DISTORTION OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION, ON WHICH ALL MY LIFE I HAD DEPENDED FOR TRUTH, WAS CURIOUSLY THRUST UPON MY ATTENTION. WITH MOST OTHER LIBERAL AMERICANS, I HAD APPLAUDED THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. THEN CAME THE TROTSKY CONTROVERSY AND THE TERRIBLE AND REPEATED

ACCUSATIONS OF MURDER, SLAVERY, STARVATION, AND PUBLIC PROSTITUTION OF WOMEN. FRANKLY I DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO THINK. THEN UNEXPECTEDLY I FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT RUSSIA. AND I WENT.

35-5-41

IN THE FALL OF 1928 I WAS SITTING IN A MOSCOW HOTEL READING A RECENTLY ARRIVED COPY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. IT SAID: "REVOLUTION HAS BROKEN OUT IN KRONSTADT AND THE STREETS ARE RUNNING WITH BLOOD." I READ IT, AND THEN READ IT AGAIN. OH, NO, NO! I SAID. THAT IS NOT TRUE; IT CANNOT BE TRUE; FOR ON THE VERY MORNING THIS DESPATCH WAS DATED I HAD LANDED IN KRONSTADT FROM A GERMAN SHIP. AND IF EVER THERE WAS A PEACEFUL, ORDERLY, HALF-DEAD DELAPIDATED TOWN, IT WAS KRONSTADT! the chief port of Russia

OF COURSE THIS DID NOT PROVE THAT ALL AMERICAN PAPERS LIED ALL THE TIME. BUT IT DID MAKE ME ASK, HOW FAR CAN I HEREAFTER DEPEND ON THE AMERICAN PRESS FOR THE WHOLE TRUTH? I HAD TO REMEMBER THAT IN MY LONG FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS,

NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AND SOUTH HAD SYSTEMATICALLY DISTORTED THE TRUTH ABOUT NEGRO LIFE AND CRIME. I REALIZED HOW ANY UNPOPULAR CAUSE CAN BE CRUCIFIED BY A MONOPOLIZED PRESS. I THINK THAT NOTHING ILLUSTRATES THIS BETTER THAN THE JAPANESE TREATY. UNANIMOUSLY THE PRESS AND RADIO HAVE MADE RUSSIA THE VILLAIN. THE SOVIET AMBASSADORS WERE RIDICULED AND SNEERED AT AND BARELY ESCAPED WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT AT ASSASSINATION. YET THE FACTS ON THIS TREATY ARE CLEAR TO ANYONE WHO IGNORING HEADLINES READS THE RECORD.

35-5-42

IP IN THE 19th CENTURY, GT. BRITAIN DOMINATED ASIA IN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND POLITICS. MILLIONS OF PROFIT FROM CHEAP LABOR AND VALUABLE RAW MATERIALS MADE BRITAIN THE MOST POWERFUL NATION ON EARTH. AFTER THE IstWORLD WAR WHEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE SHOWED SIGNS OF COLLAPSE, AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS PLANNED TO TAKE HER PLACE. ALSO JAPAN WANTED A SHARE OF THE LOOT BUT WE REPULSED HER BRUSQELY. THEREUPON JAPAN SUDDENLY WENT TO WAR AND CONQUERED IN A FEW MONTHS AN AREA IN ASIA AS LARGE AS THE UNITED STATES. FOR A TIME, CHINA ALONE OPPOSED HER. THEN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE UNITED AGAINST

HER AND BEGGED RUSSIA TO JOIN THEM AND TO REPLACE JAPAN IN MANCHURIA. JAPAN FELL AND AMERICA WAS SUPREME IN CHINA AND LOOKED ON BY CHINESE AS THEIR SAVIOR. BUT AMERICAN INDUSTRY WAS INTERESTED IN PROFIT AND EXPLOITATION IN CHINA AND NOT IN DESPERATELY NEEDED SOCIAL REFORM. WE BACKED AND ARMED CHIANG KAI Check AND HIS GANG OF ROBBERS UNTIL THE CHINESE IN DISPAIR DROVE THEM INTO THE SEA USING THE VERY ARMS WE HAD GIVEN CHIANG THEM. THUS ~~WE DROVE CHINA INTO THE HANDS OF RUSSIA INSTEAD OF RUSSIA EXPANDING INTO ASIA~~ (RUSSIA DID NOT EXPAND INTO CHINA BUT AMERICA DROVE CHINA INTO RUSSIA)

35-5-43

WHEN CIVIL WAR BROKE OUT IN KOREA OVER LAND MONOPOLY, WE RUSHED IN FOR A LITTLE POLICE ACTION WITHOUT DECLARING WAR AND NOT CONTENT WITH DEFEATING NORTH KOREANS, (WE DELIBERATELY STARTED TO ATTACK CHINA) BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS SAW A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO SECURE CONTROL OF ASIA. CHINA COUNTER-ATTACKED SO FIERCELY THAT WE WERE NEARLY DRIVEN OUT OF KOREA. WE MANY AMERICANS WERE TIRED OF THIS UNJUST WAR AND RUSSIA SUGGESTED PEACE. WE DECLARED THIS REQUEST DISHONEST, RAGED ABOUT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM (not about American;) AND ASKED UNIVERSAL DRAFT AND THE GREATEST PREPARATION FOR WAR WHICH THE WORLD EVER SAW. ALSO, BY THE DIPLOMACY OF DULLES, FORMER COLLABORATOR WITH THE GERMAN NAZIS, WE PROPOSED

WHAT WE CALLED PEACE WITH JAPAN BUT WHAT REALLY WAS AN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE UNDER WHICH A REARMED JAPAN, SUPORTED BY AN AMERICAN ARMY, NAVY AND AIRFORCE WOULD GIVE THE UNITED STATES THAT INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTROL OVER ASIA WHICH BIG BUSINESS ~~WILDLY~~ DE SIRES SO MUCH ~~so~~ THAT IF RUSSIA DID NOT EXIST AND COMMUNISM HAD NEVER BEEN THOUGHT OF WE WOULD HAVE INVENTED BOTH TO JUSTIFY OUR IRRATIONAL AND UNETHICAL ACTION // FOR IF ~~THE UNITED STATES~~ we DREAM ~~dream~~ THAT JAPAN IS EVER GOING TO HELP ~~HER~~ us CONQUER ASIA, WE ARE CRAZY.

35-5-44

THIS IS WHAT I BELIEVE ABOUT THE JAPANESE TREATY. ~~IT IS BASED ON~~ ~~OF COURSE~~ ~~TRAVEL AND STUDY~~, 9 MAY BE partially WRONG, BUT ~~IT~~ my opinion IS BASED ON TRAVEL AND STUDY // PERHAPS YOU KNOW FACTS WHICH CONTRADICT MY CONCLUSIONS; BUT IF YOU DO YOU DID NOT GET THEM FROM THE NEWSPAPERS.

10a

I AM NOT BLAMING REPORTERS OR OFTEN EVEN EDITORS FOR THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PRESS // I BLAME THAT CLIQUE OF RICH CORPORATIONS // WHCH DOMINATES THE DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS IN THIS LAND AND DICTATES OPINION AND STOPS FREE SPEECH OR INDEPENDENT THOUGHT. ~~in order to~~

~~ensure Labor on Asia + Africa get~~

Denver 2, Colorado Hotel

~~27 21A 24~~ 21A-24

IT IS NOT MY TASK TO DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION OR TO CONVERT THOSE WHO HATE AND FEAR IT // BUT IT IS MY DUTY TO MAINTAIN MY OWN RIGHT TO MY OWN OPINIONS (based on travel + study), AND TO INSIST THAT THE HORRIBLE WAR IN KOREA IS ABSOLUTELY WRONG; // THAT A THIRD WORLD WAR IS SUICIDE; // THAT THE SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES ~~IS UN-JUSTIFIED IN THE UNITED STATES~~ Just as IS UNJUSTIFIED IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIET UNION ~~JUST~~ AS IT IS, ~~AND HAS BEEN~~ IN THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES ~~IN THE SOUTH~~ AND IN THE COLOR CASTE ~~STILL PRACTISED THROUGHOUT THE NATION~~. // I MAINTAIN THAT THE SOCIALISM GROWING AND SPREADING IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY AND SCANDINAVIA IS JUSTIFIED BY ITS RESULTS; // AND THAT COMMUNISM HAS DONE MORE FOR THE RUSSIAN PEASANTS AND THE CHINESE COOLIES THAN CAPITALISM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS EVER

35-5-45

DID/OR TRIED TO DO/ I DO NOT BELIEVE/THAT RUSSIA WANTS WAR/OR THREATENS WAR, BUT I DO KNOW/THAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY/WOULD WELCOME WORLD WAR/TO SAVE THE HUGE PROFITS/ DRAGGED OUT OF CHEAP COLORED LABOR/AND MONOPOLY OF RICH RAW MATERIALS/ LIKE TIN, GOLD, COPPER, COFFEE, TEA, COCOA, Africa AND RUBBER.

I PARTICULARLY APPEAL/TO AMERICAN NEGROES/NOT TO ALLOW THEIR MASSES/TO BE BETRAYED/BY THE PRESENT AMERICAN HYSTERIA/AND WILL TO WAR./ IN THE BEGINNING OF MY FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS,/AMERICAN NEGROES WERE MAINLY FARMERS AND LABORERS, WITH SMALL DIFFERENCES/IN INCOME AND PROPERTY./ THEIR DESIRE WAS FREEDOM TO WORK AT DECENT WAGES,/WITH THE NECESSARY CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS./ THE MAIN INTERNAL DISSENSION/AT THAT TIME/WAS AS TO THE IMMEDIATE NEED OF THE VOTE/AND OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE GIFTED.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED./ WE NEGROES DO NOT YET HAVE ANY SUCH POPULAR EDUCATION AS SOVIET CHILDREN GET,/BUT WE DO HAVE AN EDUCATED LEADERSHIP;/ LARGE NUMBERS OF NEGROES ARE STILL DISFRANCHISED, BUT ALSO MILLIONS CAN AND DO VOTE.

35-5-46

BUT ANOTHER CRISIS IS NOW UPON THIS GROUP./ BEFORE THE OLDER PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY SOLVED,/WE HAVE BECOME DIVIDED INTO RICH AND POOR;/ INTO EXPLOITER AND EXPLOITED;/ INTO WELL-TO-DO/AND CONTENTED PROPERTY HOLDERS/AND HALF-STARVED LABORERS./ WE ARE FACED, WITH A NEW AND STRONG TEMPTATION,/ AND THAT IS/OF GAINING SOME CIVIL AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGE/AS A BRIBE/FOR JOINING OUR INTERESTS/WITH THOSE OF THE PROPERTIED CLASSES/IN EXPLOITING BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS./ AND BY EXPLOITING/I MEAN PAYING TO LABOR OF HANDY MIND THE LABORER LESS THAN the WORK IS WORTH,/AND POCKETING THE DIFFERENCE/AS PROFIT./ THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF MODERN INDUSTRY/AND IT IS WRONG./ AMERICAN NEGROES MUST NOT BE BRIBED TO JOIN IN THIS SYSTEM,/EVEN BY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PREFERMENT./ TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE,/WE NEGROES ARE FACING THE TEMPTATION/OF JOINING OUR VOTE AND WEALTH/IN, TO THE INTERESTS/OF BIG BUSINESS/IN WORLD WAR/ON THE COLORED PEOPLES/WITH THE SILLY NOTION, THAT OUR INTERESTS AS NEGROES/LIE WITH THE MONOPOLISTS OF CAPITAL/ RATHER THAN WITH THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD, IN AMERICA AS WELL AS BEHIND THE IRON

35-5-47

Read

~~CURTAIN, IN CHINA, INDIA AND AFRICA.~~

BLACK AMERICANS, AS WELL AS WHITE, FACE THESE PROBLEMS OF WORK AND WEALTH; OF INCOME AND DISTRIBUTION; OF THE PART TO BE PLAYED BY THE ORGANIZED STATE AND THE FREE WORKER. I HAVE BUT MENTIONED THEM AND MADE NO ATTEMPT TO SETTLE HERE WITHIN A HALF HOUR, ALL THESE INTRICATE PROBLEMS.

35-5-48

BUT ONE PROBLEM, I DO EMPHASIZE, AND THAT IS THE PRESENT PROBLEM OF PROBLEMS: PEACE. BECAUSE IN WAR AND THE FEAR OF WAR, IN UNLIMITED TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE ON A FABULOUS SCALE FOR DESTRUCTION AND MURDER, - IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE, COMMON SENSE AND COMMON DECENCY DIE, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS AS WELL AS CIVIL RIGHTS DISAPPEAR.

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PEACE, 1951

Without regard to what men believe or fear; what their nationality or race is; or what their social status may be; there are three facts which face us today and make our life and thought contradiction and confusion. These facts ~~may be~~ are epitomized by (1) the war in Korea; (2) the flood in the Missouri Valley; and (3) the difficulty ~~today in the United States~~ of separating fact from propaganda.

35-5-169

The indecisive effort of a great and powerful nation like ours, ~~with~~ 150,000,000 people, ~~trying in vain for more than a year~~ to conquer Korea, with 25 million people, ~~and~~ bringing to bear all our vast wealth and military might, is nothing ~~else~~ less than fantastic. Why are we fighting this poor, ignorant and unhappy people? What sense is back of our effort ~~?~~ and what excuse or plan? Why do we not stop fighting now immediately and sit down ~~and~~ to think, ~~and~~ plan and know?

Again we have just had a flood in the Middle West. This is not the first time ~~this~~ that disaster has overtaken the valley of the Missouri-Mississippi. From the time of the first levees 234 years ago, year after year, lives, property, stock and soil have annually been destroyed by this inland ocean of waters, and so far as we can see, this saga of death and poverty will continue, in spite of the fact that we can stop it whenever we will.

Thirdly, today as never before in this intelligent nation, with its universities and schools, its scientists, writers and thinkers; its poets and prophets; it is difficult if not, for the ordinary man, impossible to learn the truth about the present condition of mankind or the remedies for our ~~mounting and~~ seemingly unconquerable ills. To ascertain the basic truth, we cannot today look with confidence to science, religion, the daily press, the radio, or the public platform. With increasing terror we are refusing to let men say what they believe or believe what those who control expression do not permit them to ~~believe~~ know.

We all know that this situation in the world around us, is, if anything, growing in paradox and danger and that without quick change and betterment we face disaster. No matter what the real truth is, the first step toward cure ~~is~~ obviously is Peace. And by Peace I do not mean mere sentimental inactivity and general Good

Will; but serious and determined implementation of the truth, which three world wars have taught all sane thinkers; ~~that~~ that is, that organized force wielded by great and powerful nations, in accord with the latest inventions of science, can never achieve victory for any one nation nor any one idea.

In simpler times and more primitive eras, when physical distance more completely separated groups of men; and when natural forces were less tamed; ~~untamed,~~ it was often possible, for a group or nation or even a band of nations to impose their will upon considerable portions of mankind. How far or how often such conquest was really effective, or what it finally accomplished it is not easy now to say. But most men today have been educated to believe in the efficiency of War as a mode of human progress in the past. But today, in the face of inescapable testimony, furnished by conflicts which have nearly filled the first half of the 20th century, all ~~same and~~ reasonable folk must be convinced that no organized force of armed might can prevail over firmly held belief and conviction; that neither the belief of the United States in capitalism, nor the belief of the Soviet Union in Socialism, can be victorious over the world by force of arms; that Ideas can only be met successfully by better Ideas, and Falsehood by Truth; that no "situations of strength" nor expenditure of 60 thousand million million of dollars or a Hundred Thousand a year is going to force our "Way of Life" on the world, ~~nor~~ impose Socialism on America against our will. Nor

35-5-120

The truth of this self-evident lesson, made clear to the world by history in the years 1914 to 1951, is so clear, that despite all propaganda, the Peace Movement today belts the world, even as we prepare for more continuous and greater ~~and unending~~ wars. This is a curious contradiction and paradox, which even those who want to believe, dare not face these facts. ~~the facts~~. In the Spring of 1950, I sat in a great ~~vast~~ arena in Paris, France, which holds 100,000 persons at one time. During that May afternoon, I saw that ~~great~~ vast space filled five times, with a half million people from every corner of France, crying in fervor, exaltation and tears, "Peace, No More War!" In August of that same year I looked in to the faces of a thousand delegates from every corner of the Soviet Union, representing 200 million people from all the ~~200 nationalities nations~~ 150 race and culture groups of Russia. I told them that the people of the United States did not want war and they assured me ~~told me~~ repeatedly over the long sessions of three full days that

the Soviet Union was determined on Peace.

I saw the Austro-Hungarian empire in its might at the end of the 19th century; and I saw it again last year; and from Warsaw and Prague, to Vienna and Budapesth, there arose one united cry for peace. I saw Manchuria and China suffer in 1936, when the long agony of the Japanese drive for expansion over Asia, was at the beginning of its bloody swing. I know why today both Japan and China pray for Peace.

And here in the United States, I have in the last five years travelled and spoken in nearly half of the 48 states; to audiences, mostly small to be sure, but composed of people of intelligence and courage. I have found every indication that the American people who dare say what they think those attacked as representatives want Peace and are against the present war hysteria; and particularly do they want to spend the fabulous sums which we are now devoting to murder and destruction, to feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and teaching the young; to methods of preventing future poverty, disease and ignorance. No one who saw the five thousand pilgrims who came from every corner of the land for the late Peace Congress at Chicago could for a moment doubt this.

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If now the World desperately wants Peace, and knows with no shadow of doubt that the money needed for food and clothes, education, housing and flood-control, cannot long be used for murder and destruction without the overthrow of our present civilization, why is it that the world still heads toward inevitable disaster?

Let us turn back to the war in Korea. This is more than the conventional war between great and essentially equal powers, fought for clearly conceived aims and restrained by the humane considerations of the rules of civilized warfare. No. This is a war of conquest across lines of race, religion and color; it is shot through with hate and contempt held by the rich, powerful and superior white people against the poor, weak and inferior colored people. We sneer at these despised folk; call them names and our officials openly call them as cowards liars and cheats. It is not the strife of armed fighter against fighter but equally of super-armed, well-paid and protected soldiers against partially unarmed, naked and

shelterless women, children and aged men. Twenty one ~~I quote to quote what 21~~ women from 17 ~~xxxxxx~~ nations ~~including~~ Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, ~~Holland~~, Italy as well as peoples of Western Europe, Asia and South America, said of this war after studying it on the spot 12 days last Spring:

"The people of Korea are being subjected by the American occupants to a merciless and methodical campaign of extermination, which is in contradiction not only to the principles of humanity, but also to the rules of warfare as laid down, ~~for instance,~~ in The Hague and the Geneva Conventions; ~~This is being done in the following ways:~~

35-5-172

~~By (a) by the~~ systematic destruction of food, food stores and food factories. Forests and ripe harvests are being systematically burned by incendiary bombs, fruit trees are being destroyed, and peasants working in their fields with their animals are being killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes. By these means the whole people of Korea is doomed to starvation.

"b) By the systematic destruction of town after town, of village after village, many of which by no stretch of the imagination could be considered to be military objectives or even industrial centres.

"~~x~~) The aim of this systematic destruction ~~if~~ is clearly, in the first place, to break the morale of the Korean population and, secondly, to wear them out physically. In these never-ceasing raids, dwellings, hospitals, schools, etc., are deliberately destroyed. Even towns which have already been turned into heaps of ashes, and in which the surviving inhabitants are reduced to living in dugouts, continue to be bombed.

"c) By systematically employing against the peaceful inhabitants weapons banned by international convention, i.e., incendiaries, petrol bombs, napalm bombs, time-bombs, ~~and by constantly machine-gunning civilians from low-flying planes.~~

"d) By atrociously exterminating the Korean population. In the districts temporarily occupied by American and Syngman Rhee forces, in the period of occupation, hundreds of thousands of civilians, entire ~~families~~ families from old men to little children, have been tortured, beaten to death, burned and buried alive. Thousands of others have perished from hunger and cold in overcrowded prisons in which they were

thrown without charges being levelled against them, without investigation, trial or sentence.

"These mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by Hitler Nazis in temporarily-occupied Europe.

"The Commission calls on all the peoples of the world, in the name of common humanity, to urge by every means in their power that the war in Korea be brought to an end without delay and that the invading foreign troops be immediately withdrawn from Korea."

35-5-173

In order to make clear in our minds why this insane horror is going on, let us turn to a series of phenomena which may at first sight seem far removed from Korea. On July 19, the Associated Press reported:

"Northern and central Kansas tonight fought the worst flood since the disastrous overflow of 1903 which paralyzed all of the cities along the Kansas River from its source to Kansas City."

"Both the Missouri and Mississippi were rising in the St. Louis area, where 60,000 acres of bottom-land already were under water.

"Hundreds, even thousands, of persons in Kansas were stranded by the new flood waters...These were the areas in Topeka that bore the brunt of the 1903 flood, in which thirty-eight persons died.

"The city was unprotected by dikes at that time, but the river is expected to reach 33 feet tomorrow night, six-tenths of a foot higher than in 1903 and about a foot higher than the present levees.

"The Red Cross at St. Louis predicted that 19,000 persons at Topeka and upstream along the Kansas would be homeless in the morning.

"Transportation was virtually at a standstill in north-central Kansas. Highways were reported cut by water in more than 100 places. Trains were stalled -- a dozen Santa Fe trains being tied up at Emporia and Newton, alone."

My wife and I were on one of the Santa Fe trains, held for hours at midnight because of this flood. I remembered, as we waited in the dark, that I was taught in elementary school that the Chinese were very unprogressive since they refused to build a bridge over a certain river because their ancestors had never built one. I wondered what present-day China would say of progressive America on the flood

situation. Every year for two centuries, this ~~the~~ Missouri-Mississippi River, has flooded, drowned, and destroyed, culminating in the destruction of Dayton in 1913, and then in 1927, for 6 weeks this river inundated ~~[illegible] square miles of land~~ the homes of three-quarters of a million of people and destroyed 355 millions dollars of property. What was done about it? We passed the hat and raised $19 millions for the 600,000 people on relief. We made plans but plans too narrow and too late. So that again this year our President informs us that the flood loss is over 2000 million dollars in property, damage to and ~~60,000 homes and~~ 5 million acres of farm lands; and in addition, death of God knows what loss in pain, discouragement and hope.

35-5-174

The reason for this recurring series of disasters, which will come again and again in the future is clear: this river and branches drains 31 states; its control calls for national long scale action: for reforestation; for huge dams; for soil and crop management to prevent erosion; for reservoirs and spillways; for restoration and control of swamps; for seizure of land and restraint of anti-social acts for private profit. P Individual initiative cannot undertake any such vast program; free enterprise cannot expect to make profit out of such an immense social enterprise; and yet the paradox is, that unless the nation as a ~~Social~~ whole, attacks this problem of the Mississippi Valley, the future freedom and initiative of millions of Americans will continue to be frustrated and destroyed. But PP the President fears such national control of the Mississippi ~~is~~ will be Socialism. There is no use denying this fact or hiding behind double-talk: the TennesseeValley Authority, the future Mississippi-Missouri Authority, just like our public schools, our mail parcel service, our city subways, our city slate and national parks, our forest preserves, are all examples of that national control for the public welfare which is characteristic of civilization in every modern land. The dilemma before us Then is complete: we cannot have periodic destruction; we ~~must~~ fear socialism; ~~but~~ yet only by some degree of social legislation and social planning can we avoid disaster; therefore some degree socialism we are compelled to adopt in future as in the past.

PP I have visited France 13 times since 1894

One of the first things which I noticed in my last visits to France was that the railroads of France no longer belong to private companies, but to the state. I knew that France already owned her telegraphs and telephones; I knew French

cities owned their underground lines, streetcars and buses; all of the main public services were in the hands of the state; mines and forests belonged to the State; the state was entering private industry in many and when direct ownership did not result, severe regulation was increasing. Foreign trade, steamships and airplanes had state supervision and partial ownership. In other words, France is today a socialistic state to a large extent, and this socialization is growing.

lines, prices and wages were controlled;

But is France in this respect, exceptional in Europe? It is not. Neither in Europe nor in the world. There is not today in the world a single ~~individua~~ civilized land in which socialism is not wide-spread and growing. Every European country owns its transportation systems and systems of communication; every European country has nationalized many of its main businesses from banking to mining; from housing to manufacturing; from foreign trade to retail distribution of goods; from private land ownership to state ownership of all public utilities.

B21-S-33

On the wall behind my office desk is a great map of ~~Russia~~ the Soviet Union covered with broad streaks of green. ~~It~~ This shows the plan of the Soviet Union to plant tens of thousands ~~millions~~ of miles of forests in order to help forestall just such flood and destruction as has overwhelmed the Mississippi valley this Summer. It will take a generation to accomplish this and millions in money. Today, the plan is hardly begun. But it is clearly outlined ~~planned. It is begun.~~ Some day, if peace prevails, it will be realized. It is plans like these,

which makes the Soviet Union prefer peace to war

~~Thereupon some say, but we will not have that complete and compulsory socialism~~ over which is Communism. The answer is: Does anyone compel you to go that far? The usual answer is: yes, Russia. That is what we fear; that is why we fight and prepare for a Third World War. Here then is the place to ask: Is this necessary? Is this true?

But right here we are stopped short. this we cannot ask;

We find it almost impossible today for the ordinary citizen to learn the truth. We are not free to hear the testimony, to search intelligently for the truth. Day after day, year after year, on radio and platform; in newspaper and magazine; from pulpit and in private conversation, we hear but one side of this great controversy; we are told but one side of the story; and if we presume even to listen to the other side, or read an unorthodox book or paper; or attend a meeting like this, we are threatened by loss of social status; or the right to earn a living;

or, as I am threatened this moment, with a jail sentence.

This is not democracy. It is not the foundation upon which the theory of democratic government is based. I remember how I learned the theory of democracy in the New England village where I was born. I was a boy of twelve and had just entered our small and inadequately supported public high school. I attended our annual town meeting and heard an old, ragged and incredibly dirty citizen arise and for an hour harangue against public support of high schools. I was terribly indignant. I could not understand why the prosperous people of the town allowed this man to talk. But they did. They heard him make the same speech year after year. When he had finished they calmly proceeded to vote the high school appropriation and from time to time to increase it. This was my first lesson in democracy. I have never forgotten it. I never will.

But I have lived to see the day seventy years later, when the right freely to express honest opinions and to make one's own search for truth, has been all but abolished in this country in defiance of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

How has this been accomplished? By the use of the new psychological methods of propaganda, on a scale which neither America nor the World ever before saw. The principle behind propaganda is as old as human intercourse -- the effort to make your neighbors think and believe as you do. But, until recently, it was usually possible for each individual to test belief by his own investigation of the facts. Even yesterday in our own nation, each American could say that if this newspaper distorted the facts or omitted them or deliberately lied, another paper could be relied upon to supply the truth and correct the error; if this lecturer or radio commentator misrepresented the facts, another would reveal them.

Gradually this has ceased to be true. Beginning with Mussolini in Italy and increasing with Hitler in Germany, the press, the radio and the platform have been brought under the control of powerful interests so that only one side of the great questions before the public could be heard or expressed; and soon Truth became a crime.

This situation came later in the United States than in Europe. But when after

the First World War, socialism began to spread in Europe and Revolution burst into a new Soviet Union, many Americans honestly believed that the spread of socialism must be stopped even at the cost of war. When in the thirties, however, the American and European capitalist system collapsed and was only saved by socialistic experiments under F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal, there arose a determined and organized effort to launch a system of propaganda in America which would stop socialism in its tracks and keep Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and South America, open to American investment and private profit, led by American merchants as successors of the dying British Empire.

They said socialism was unfeasible, evil, impossible and dangerous.

Thereupon, private wealth bought up our newsgathering agencies, our great newspapers and radio chains and most of our public platforms. Instead of many points of view and differing opinions, there appeared increasingly but one line of thought: that Russia was not only wrong but cruel and vicious; that war with her was inevitable; that our way of life was in grave danger; and that the expression of any contrary opinion must be made socially dangerous and so far as possibly legally criminal ~~a crime~~.

Book publishers yielded to the dictators' demands.

I remember vividly when the one-sidedness and distortion of the sources on which all my life I had depended for information, was curiously thrust upon my attention. ~~It was in 1928.~~ With most other liberal Americans I had applauded the Russian Revolution. Then came the Trotsky controversy and the terrible and repeated accusations of murder, slavery, starvation, and public prostitution of women -- frankly I did not know what to think. Unexpectedly I found an opportunity to visit Russia, and I went.

1921-22

In the fall of 1928, I was sitting in a Moscow hotel reading a recently arrived copy of the New York Times. It said: "Revolution has broken out in Kronstadt and the streets are running with blood." I read it and then read it again. Oh, no, no! I said. That is not true; it cannot be true; for on the very morning this despatch was dated I had landed in Kronstadt from a German ship, and if ever there was a peaceful, orderly, half-dead delapidated town, it was Kronstadt! Of course this did not prove that all American papers lied all the time. But it did make me ask, How far can I hereafter depend on the American press for the whole truth? I had to remember that as in my long fight for Negro rights, I knew the Southern newspapers systematically

distorted and lied about Negro crime, I realized that any unpopular cause can be distorted by a monopolized press.

It is not my task to defend the Soviet Union or to convert those who hate and fear it; but it is my duty to maintain my own right to my own opinions and to insist that the horrible war in Korea is absolutely wrong; that a Third World War is suicide; that the suppression of democracy in the United States is unjustified in the case of the Soviet Union as it just is and has been, in the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South and the color caste still practised throughout the nation. I maintain that the socialism growing and spreading in Great Britain, France, Italy, and Scandinavia is justified by its results; and that Communism has done more for the Russian peasants and the Chinese coolies than Capitalism and Christian missions ever did or tried to do. I do not believe that Russia wants war or threatens war, but I do know that American industry would welcome world war to save the profits dragged out of cheap colored labor and monopoly of rich raw materials, like coffee, tea, cocoa and rubber.

I particularly appeal to American Negroes not to allow their masses to be betrayed by the present American hysteria and will to war. In the beginning of my fight for Negro rights, American Negroes were mainly farmers and laborers, with small differences in income and property. Their desire was freedom to work at decent wages, with the necessary civil and political rights. The main internal dissension at that time was as to the immediate need of the vote and of higher education for the gifted. Times have changed. We Negroes do not yet have any such popular education as Soviet children get, but we do have a large educated leadership; large numbers of Negroes are still disfranchised, but millions also can and do vote. But another crisis is now upon this group, before the old problems have been entirely solved. We have become divided into rich and poor; into exploiter and exploited; into well-to-do and contented property holders and half-starved laborers. And today as never before, we Negroes are facing the temptation of joining our vote and wealth to the interests of Big Business and world war on the colored peoples with the silly notion that our interests as Negroes lie with the monopolists of capital rather than with the workers of the world, in America as well as behind the Iron

over

35-5-128

We are often faced therefor with a new and strong temptation, and that is gaining some civil and political advantage as a bribe for joining our interests with those of the investing and propertied classes in exploiting both Negro and white workers. And by exploiting I mean paying to the laborer less than his work is worth and pocketing the difference as profit. This is the essence of modern industry and it is wrong. American Negroes must not be bribed to join in this system even by social and political preferment

Curtain; in China, India and Africa.

Before Black Americans as well as before white, face these problems of work and wealth; of income and distribution; of the part to be played by the organized state and the free workers. I have but mentioned them, and made no attempt to settle here within a half hour, all these intricate problems. But one problem, I do emphasize and that is the present problem of problems: Peace, becomes in war and the fear of war; in unlimited taxation and expenditure on a fabulous scale for destruction and murder. In such an atmosphere, common sense and common decency die, and social progress as well as civil rights disappear.

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35-5-129

SO TODAY/WHEN WE ATTEMPT/TO FIND OUT/WHAT TRUTH THERE IS/IN THE REPORTED CONDITION/AND OBJECT OF COMMUNIST NATIONS/WE ARE PRESENTED/ONE SET OF FACTS IN OUR NEWSPAPERS/ OUR NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES/ IN OUR TOWN HALL DISCUSSIONS.// EVERY PERSON/IN ORDER TO BE RESPECTABLE/AND BE SURE OF HIS JOB/ MUST START WITH THE STATEMENT/LAID DOWN RECENTLY/BY THE LIBERAL NEW REPUBLIC/ "EVERYBODY DESPISES COMMUNISTS"./ BUT IS THIS REALISTIC ?/IS THIS THE WAY/TO FIND THE TRUTH/OR INITIATE UNDERSTANDING?// SUPPOSE OUR OFFICIAL VIEW IS WRONG?/ WE HAVE BEEN WRONG/BEFORE.

35-5-64

COMMUNISM IS A FACT./ RUSSIA/WILL FIGHT/AND THEIR CONQUEST/WILL DISRUPT CIVILIZATION./ WE CAN PUBLICLY/AND REPEATEDLY INSULT THEM.// OUR SECRETARY OF STATE/CAN OPENLY ENCOURAGE REBELLION/WITHIN THEIR BORDERS// WHAT DOES THIS PROVE? ARE WE ABSOLTUELY/SURE OF OUR FACTS?// HAVE WE COME TO FINAL/CALM AND BALANCED JUDGMENT/AS TO THIS ALLEGED THREAT OF COMMUNISM?// OR ARE WE BEING RUSHED UNTHINKING/INTO WORLD DISASTER/BECAUSE SOME POWERFUL FORCES/AMONG US THINK

THAT WORLD WAR/IS FOR THEIR ADVANTAGE/AND DO NOT CARE/WHO PAYS THE FINAL BILL?

IS THIS NOT A TIME/AT LEAST/TO PAUSE AND REFLECT?// WHO WANTS WAR?/ WHO GAINS BY WAR?/ WHO TODAY/CONTROLS PRESS AND PLATFORM,/ JOBS AND REPUTATION, IN ONE VAST/AND INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED UNIT? //UNITED STATES INDUSTRY/IS FIRMLY UNITED FOR PRIVATE PROFIT// MOST OF US DO NOT OPPOSE INDUSTRY/BUT WE DO OPPOSE PRIVATE PROFIT/AS ITS ONLY OBJECT/AND WE DENY/THAT THE HIGHEST PRIVATE PROFIT/ INDICATES/THE GREATEST PUBLIC GOOD.// WE MAINTAIN/THAT THE FIRST OBJECT OF BUSINESS/IS THE MAINTENANCE OF OUR HEALTH/ THE BUILDING AND PROTECTION OF OUR HOMES;/ THE EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH/NOT FOR USING OR ESCAPING ATOM BOMBS/BUT FOR BUILDING/A DECENT WORLD;//ALL THIS/IS THE REAL OBJECT OF HUMAN INDUSTRY/ AND NATIONAL BUSINESS/AND NOBODY HAS ARIGHT/TO FORGET THIS/A SINGLE MINUTE.

35-5-65

BEFORE THEN/WE SURRENDER/TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, OUR RIGHT TO KNOW/AND DISCUSS, SHOULD WE NOT PAUSE/AND BE SURE:

(1) THAT THE EXISTENCE/OF COMMUNISM/IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA/ IS REALLY A THREAT/TO OUR EXISTENCE/AND OUR WAY OF LIFE?

(2) IF IT IS/ SHOULD THIS THREAT/ BE MET BY A "LITTLE POLICE ACTION"/WHICH SO FAR/HAS COST THE LIVES and health OF 60 TEN THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS/ AND GOD KNOWS/HOW MANY UNIMPORTANT KOREANS/AND CHINESE// AND YET SETTLED NOTHING.

(3) WHETHER THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM/ BE REAL OR IMAGINARY,/ SHALL WE TRY TO SETTLE ~~X~~ IT/BY REASON OR SUICIDE?

35-5-66

Feb 27/52 VIUSA

36-9-257

IN THE VIRGIN ISLES

ALL MY LIFE / THE WEST INDIES / HAVE FACINATED MY IMAGINATION // FIRST BE CAUSE ON THEM / MY FATHERS FATHER / WAS BORN // AND LATER / BECAUSE IN THE LAST 35 YEARS / I HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME / TRAVELLED ALONG / THE FLOWERING PEAKS / OF THIS FAMOUS CHAIN OF SUBMERGED MOUNTAINS / WHOSE HEIGHTS FORM / CUBA / JAMAICA / HAITI / PORTO RICO / AND THE VIR GIN ISLANDS / DISAPPEARING SOUTHWARD TO THE WINDS of the WINDWARD SEAS // WITH THE WORLD / I HAVE FELT INCREASINGLY / THE INHERENT PARODOX / OF THIS CENTER OF THE WORK AND PLAY / OF ~~THE~~ MODERN ~~WERL~~ HUMAN CULTURE / BEAUTY AND POVERTY // THIS COMBINATION IS NOT PECULIAR / TO THE WEST INDIES / BUT ~~HERE~~ IN OUR DAYS / HERE LIES / IN MICROCOSM / THE PROBLEM OF OUR TIME // HOW SHALL THE WORK OF MAN / BE CARRIED ON / SO AS TO MAKE MANKIND / HAPPY AND NOT FOR THE MOST PART / MISERABLE / AS HAS ~~FOR THE MOST PART~~ BEEN TRUE / IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

OF THIS STRUGGLE / THE WEST INDIES / HAVE FOR FIVE CENTURIES / BEEN A DELIBERAT LABORATORY / WHERE EUROPE EXPERIMENTED / IN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY // FIRST IMPOTING ~~WORKERS~~ and impounding Workers as tools or seizing materials

~~AS TOOLS~~ (to raise crops which others wanted) THEN / IN THE 19th CENTURY / USING THEM AS WAGE EARNERS / AND FINALLY / IN THE 20TH / BEGINNING TO WONDER / IF IN THIS AREA OF THE WORLD / THERE COULD ARISE / A COMMON WEALTH OF FREE MEN / SKILLED IN MODERN TECHNIQUE / AND INTELLIGENT ENOUGH / TO CARRY ON GOVERNMENT / (By and for themselves) BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS // NOT THAT THIS / IS YET WIDELY ADMITTED / ONLY ITS POSSIBILITY IS SURVEYED. // AND IT MUST BE ~~CONTEMPLATED~~ CONTEMPLATED / BECAUSE OF OF THE SHEER LOGIC / OF THE SITUATION / THE EQUITABLE CLIMATE / THE NATURAL RESOURSES THE ABUNDANCE OF FLOWER AND FRUIT / WHICH FROM THE FIRST / STAMPED THESE / AS THE LONG SOUGHT / FORTUNATE ISLES / OF EVERLASTING LIFE.

36-9-258

YET TRY AS WE WILL (to FORGET) AND WE DO TRY- / WHAT HAS HAPPENED / TO THIS PARADISE? EVERY SORT / OF CRUELTY AND PAIN / WAR / MURDER AND SLAVERY / AND SUCH LONG DRAWNOUT / HUNGER DISEASE AND IGNORANCE / THAT THE CHILDREN OF THE WEST INDIES / HAVE RUN AWAY AND SOUGHT REFUGE / IN EVERY CORNER OF THE UNIVERSE / ROBBING THIS LAND / OF ITS MOST VALUABLE PRODUCT / ITS OWN BRAIN AND BLOOD / WHICH ~~WAS~~ (WERE) ~~AND~~ ARE MORE VALUABLE THAN SUGAR FRUIT ~~bananas~~ mahogany AND FIBRE.

36-9-25 9

THIS EVEN NOW WE DO NOT QUITE BELIEVE// WE STILL LOOK UPON THE WEST INDIES/ AS SOURCES OF GOODS AND NOT of MEN /MUCH LESS OF THE THOUGHTS/AND FEELINGS OF MEN// THIS IS DIRECT HERITAGE/FROM THE PAST/WHEN THESE ISLANDS/BECAME/FOR THE FIRST/THE GREAT SOURCE OF EUROPEAN CAPITAL// THAT IS OF GOODS/RAISED IN ORDER TO OBTAIN MORE AND OTHER GOODS/AND NOT FOR DIRECT CONSUMPTION/ BY THE WORKER OR OWNER// THUS OUT OF THE WEST INDIES/AROSE THAT GREATEST DISCOVERY/OF MODERN TIMES /THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM/ ON WHICH MODERN CIVILIZATION/HAS BEEN BUILT// THIS SYSTEM ~~ENCOURAGED FREE INITIATIVE INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE SAVING AND INDUSTRIAL PLANNING. BUT IT~~ WAS NOT PERFECT AS NO HUMAN INVENTION/ IS/ OR CAN BE// SO TODAY IN MID TWENTIETH CENTURY /WE FIND OURSELVES STRIVING/ IN BLOOD AND SWEAT/TO RESCUE THE ~~VAST~~ ADVANTAGES OF CAPITALISM/IN ORDER TO USE/ITS MIRACULOUSLY INCREASED POWER OF PRODUCTION/ TO ABOLISH/AND NOT PROLONG POVERTY DISEASE AND IGNORANCE.

THIS WORLD PROBLEM/OF ALL MEN AND NATIONS/IS NOT A FOREIGN PROBLEM/OR A PROBLEM SOLELY/ OF VAST NATIONS// IT IS/ ON THE CONTRARY/ESPECIALLY THE PROBLEM OF SUCH A COMMUNITY AS THIS/AND REDUCES ITSELF /TO A PLAIN PRESSING QUESTION:

36-9-26 D

FOR WHAT DO THE VIRGIN ISLANDS EXIST?/ FOR THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF THEIR PEOPLE RIGHT/HERE AND NOW // WORKERS AND HOUSEWIVES / MERCHANTS AND T EACHERS/AND ~~CLERKS~~ CIVIL SERVANTS OR ARE THEY /AND MUST THEY BE/AREAS WHERE AMERICANS AND BRITISH/CAN MAKE THE LARGEST RETURNS/BY ANY METHODS THEY PLEASE TO USE?// IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE/TO ARGUE/THAT WHAT MAKES THE LARGEST PROFIT/ FOR THE FOREIGN BUSINESS MAN/IS NECESSAR ILY THE BEST POLICY/FOR THE VIRGIN ISLANDER// JUST AS IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR/THAT UNLESS/THE WORK OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDER ~~PROFITS THE FOREIGNER~~ SATISFIES HIS OWN NEEDS HE WILL HAVE NO INTEREST IN IT// MANIFESTLY THEN/WHAT MUST TAKE PLACE IN WEST INDIAN INDUSTRY/ IS THAT/IN THIS INDUS TRY / IN WHAT IT DOES/WHOSE WANTS IT FILLS/AND HOW ITS INCOME/IS DISTRIBUTED// THE PEO PLE OF THESE ISLANDS/MUST HAVE VOICE /AND CONSIDERATION// IF THEY DO HAVE SUCH VOICE/ THERE WILL EVENTUALLY LIVE/ON THESE ISLANDS/ A CLASS OF EFFICIENT WORKERS/ SKILLED IN MODERN TECHNIQUE /AND INTELLIGENT ENOUGH/TO KNOW THEIR REAL NEEDS/AND SEEK THEM/NOT IN OPPOSITION/BUT IN COOPERATION/WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH.

THIS IS OF COURSE AXIOMATIC/BUT MANY OF YOU WILL SEE DIFFICULTIES//SOME WILL ~~SAY~~ CAN/ CAN YOU DEVELOPE SUCH WORKERS/ IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS?/THIS IS BUT ECHO/OF THAT PAST/WHICH FIRMLY BELIEVED/THAT WEST INDIANS/COULD NEVER BECOME A FREE WORKING CLASS// OTHERS WILL ASK/ BUT CAN WORKERS/EFFECTIVELY EXERCISE/ANY REAL VOICE IN INDUSTRY? DETERMINING WHAT GOODS SHALL BE MADE/ WHAT WAGE SHALL BE PAID/AND WHAT PRICES SHALL BE CHARGED? THE GENERAL ANSWER/WILL BE NO/AND THAT ANSWER WILL BE GIVEN/NOT ONLY HERE/BUT (BY SOME VOICES IN) ALMOST EVERY MODERN LAND//BUT THIS ANSWER CONTRADICTS DEMOCRACY IN WHICH/MOST INTELLIGENT MEN/HAVE LONG PROFESSED/TO FIRMLY TO BELIEVE// FOR DEMOCR RACY/IS VOICE IN ONE'S OWN GOVERNMENT//AND GOVERNMENT IS THAT/WHICH RULES YOUR ACT- IONS//AND WHAT RULES THE ACTION OF HUMAN BEINGS/ MORE COMPLETELY THAN HIS WORK/AND HIS EARNING OF A LIVING?//IF A WORKER/IS TO HAVE NO VOICE IN INDUSTRY/BY WHICH HE EARNS HIS LIVING/ THEN HE CAN NEVER BE A FREE CITIZEN/OF A DEMOCRACY// MANY PERSONS FIRMLY AND HONESTLY/BELIEVE JUST THIS// THEY SAY YES PERSONS MAY VOTE/ THEY MAY HOLD OFFICE/ THEY MAY HELP MAKE LAWS/ BUT MOST MEN/ARE NOT CAPABLE/OF HELPING PLAN/AND DIRECT INDUS TRY/AND EVEN IF THEY WERE/ THEY SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DO SO//IF THIS IS TRUE

36-9-261

(AND I AM NOT PAUSING TO ARGUE THIS I AM SIMPLY SAYING THAT) IF IT IS TRUE/THEN LET US STOP TALKING ABOUT DEMOCRACY/BECAUSE DEMOCRACY/IS IMPOSSIBLE/AND WE MUST CONTINUE/TO BE RULED BY SMALL GROUPS/OF MEN/CHOSEN BY CHANCE OR WEALTH// ON THE ASSUMPTION/THAT MOST MEN CAN WORK/BUT CANNOT DETERMINE THE WORK/WHICH THEY MUST DO/ OR THE SHARE OF THE RESULT/ WHICH IS RIGHTLY THEIRS//BUT IF A COMMU NITY LIKE THIS/ COMES TO THIS CONCLUSION/ THEY MUST REMEMBER / AND TIHS IS IMPORTANT THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD/DOES NOT AGREE WITH IT//THAT THE MEANING OF THE 20TH CENTURY/IS THE RISE OF THE WORKING CLASS/NOT SIMPLY TO A VOTE/IN POLITICAL LIFE/ BUT TO VOICE AND POWER IN INDUSTRY//THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE/IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN/AND MORE AND MORE TRUE/IN EASTERN/NORTHERN ANSD WESTERN EUROPE/AND SLOWLY STARTING/TO BE TRUE/IN ASIA AND AFRICA// IT IS THE MEANING/ OF WHAT WE CALL THE MODERN LABOR MOVEMENT/ THE RISE OF TRADE UNIONS/THE LEGISLATION FOR SOCIAL UP LIFT/IN HOUSING / SOCIAL SECURITY/AND Wage-floors AND PARTICULARLY (IN) UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY

36-9-262

EDUCATION//SOCIAL UPLIFT IN THE 20TH CENTURY/IS NOT THE PHILANTHROPY/OF THE 19th BUT THE SOCIAL POWER/OF THE FREE WORKER.//

AT WHAT THEN/DOES THE VIRGIN ISLANDER/TODAY AIM? DOES HE ENVISAGE/A GREAT PEOPLE/PART OF AN ~~ISLAND~~ (occupied by millions on a hundred islands) EMPIRE/SEPARATED BY GREEN AND SHINING WATERS (spacing many Empires) YET UNITED (BY THE BLOOD of AFRICA) IN CULTURE AND HISTORY/WORKING TOGETHER/TO SATISFY THEIR NEEDS/UNDER THE SEVERE DISCIPLINE/OF MODERN TECHNIQUE//AND INTELLIGENT ENOUGH/TO RECOGNIZE/NOT ONLY THEIR ESSENTIAL NEEDS/BUT THE WAYS OF PLANNING THEIR SATISFACTION/IN ACCORD WITH THE BEST INTERESTS/OF THE HUMAN RACE//THIS WILL NOT BE complete FREEDOM/IT WILL BE DISCIPLINE/ IT WILL NOT LEAVE/THE KIND OF PRODUCT/AND ITS PRICE TO BE DETERMINED/IN LONDON AND NEW YORK EXCLUSIVELY/BUT (they will be) DETERMINED WITH DUE ~~LISTENING~~ regard TO THE WISH OF ST.THOMAS

36-9-263

THIS RESULT/WILL BE HARD ~~OF~~ To PLAN/AND HARDER TO ACHIEVE// THAT I GRANT YOU BUT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE/I DENY//IN THE FACE OF ALL/THAT THE WORLD HAS SAID/AND BELIEVED IN THE PAST/AND STILL WIDELY AND STUBBORNLY/CLINGS TO//MEN HERE AND ELSEWHERE/WILL ATTEMPT/THIS ~~RESULT~~ IDEAL IN DIFFERENT WAYS/AND WITH FAILURES/SETBACKS AND

WIDELY DIFFERING RESULTS//BUT THE END IS WRITTEN IN THE STARS//HUMAN WORK IS GOING/INCREASINGLY IN THE FUTURE/TO BE ~~GARRRRXED~~X GUIDED/BY THOSE WHO PERFORM IT/ AND ITS RESULTS/ARE GOING TO BE DISTRIBUTED/JUSTLY/AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS//IN a DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.//WE WILL PRESERVE CAPITAL/IN ORDER THAT LABOR/MAY WORK EFFICIENTLY/BUT CAPITAL WILL NOT RULE/BECAUSE CAPITAL IS THINGS/WHILE WORKERS ARE MEN./ MEN WILL RULE/BECAUSE THEY FULFILL/THE WANTS OF MEN/AND HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE/TO KNOW THE VALUE/OF THESE WANTS/AND HOW TO MEET THEM.

36-9-264

SUCH MASTERS OF INDUSTRY/WILL NOT BE MISLED/~~TO~~ by THE IDEAL OF CONCEIVENG THE WEST INDIES/MERELY AS THE PLAYGROUND OF THE IDLE RICH// BUT RATHER GUIDE these islands TOWARD A PLACE/WHRE THE MAN OF MODERATE MEANS/AND THE SICK OF NO MEANS/MAY ENJOY FOR REASONABLE SUMS/TIHS PARADISE OF SUN AND SEA// ABOVE ALL A LAND/WHERE THE WORKERS ~~OF THIS LAND~~ GAIN BY DISCIPLNE/BY a FREE ENTERPRISE THAT IS LIMITED BY PUBLIC WELFARE/AND INDIVIDUAL

and the West Indians themselves

36-9-265

INITIATIVE/THAT NEVER LETS YOUR EFFORT/~~TO~~ STOP OR DISCOURAGE/MINE/~~AND~~ THUS LEAVING FOR THE WORLD/THAT ~~END~~ AIM OF ALL LIFE/[ART]// THAT CRE ATIVE EFFORT /FOR FULLNESS OF SENTIMENT AND EMOTION / FOR MUSIC AND DANCING/ FOR HISTORY AND FANCY/FOR THE HIGHER AND SIMPLER LIFE/IN WHICH THE HUMAN SPIRIT/BLOOMS AND UNFOLDS.// WHERE ELSE BUT RIGHT HERE / MY MASTERS/ ~~CAN~~ CAN MAN IMAGINE/A FINER SETTING/FOR THOSE FINER ARTS/ WHICH TODAY/STAGGER IN WAR/AND DROWN IN BLOOD// HERE IT CAN BEGIN//HERE IT CAN FLOWER! HERE AND NOW!

Mch 15, 52

Brooklyn Community Church

36-9-171

IT IS DOUBTFUL IF IN MODERN TIMES, CERTAINLY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY, THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING CHILDREN HAS PRESENTED SUCH DIFFICULTIES AS TODAY. // PARTLY THIS IS DUE TO THE VERY PROGRESS OF MANKIND -- EASE OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, WORLD-WIDE EXCHANGE OF GOODS AND NEW USE OF NATURAL FORCES. // WITH ALL THE CONFUSION AND MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH THESE RELATIVELY SUDDEN CHANGES HAVE BROUGHT TO PERSONS NOT SUFFICIENTLY PREPARED INTELLECTUALLY OR EMOTIONALLY TO USE THEM REASONABLY AND PROFITABLY.

BUT EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THIS, WE ARE LIVING AND HAVE FOR A GENERATION BEEN LIVING IN A PERIOD OF WAR ON AN UTTERLY UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. // AND IF LAWS ARE SILENT IN WARTIME, WE ARE FINDING THAT IN ADDITION, RELIGION, MORALS, THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AND DEEP-SEATED CUSTOMS ARE EXPERIENCING TODAY NOT ONLY SILENCE IN EXPRESSION, BUT WIDESPREAD PARALYSIS OF ACTION.

IF THIS SITUATION IS DIFFICULT AND BAFFLING FOR OUR OWN ADULT THOUGHT AND EVEN SANITY, HOW MUCH MORE PARADOXICAL IS IT WHEN WE ARE ASKED TO EXPLAIN TO OUR CHILDREN WHAT THE WORLD IS, HOW IT IS PROGRESSING, AND HOW IT MIGHT AND OUGHT TO PROGRESS. // AND TO EXPLAIN WHAT PART IN A FUTURE WORLD YOUTH CAN AND OUGHT TO PLAY. // ~~THIS~~

36-9-172

THIS

IS DEMANDED OF US AT A TIME WHEN THE MOST HONEST AND COURAGEOUS AMONG US SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW COMPLETELY JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING TO MANKIND OR WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT AND HOW WE CAN SET TO WORK. // YET OUR IGNORANCE AND UNPREPAREDNESS DOES NOT RELEASE US FROM THE NECESSITY OF INSTRUCTING AND GUIDING OUR CHILDREN -- RATHER IT MAKES THE TASK ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE.

I THINK THAT FIRST WE CAN ASSERT THE NECESSITY OF IMPARTING AS THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF TRUTH -- OF EXPLANATION OF JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING AS WE CAN GIVE. // IN ANY FAILURE HERE, LIES DISASTER.

I HAD MYSELF, IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY, AS GOOD A SCHOOL TRAINING AS WAS AVAILABLE TO THE MORE FORTUNATE PART OF AMERICA. // I LIVED IN A QUIET, NORMAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN, // WITH DIFFERENCES OF INCOME, BUT NO NOTABLE EXTREMES OF WEALTH. // FROM SIX TO SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE I ATTENDED SCHOOL ON ONE CAMPUS, SIX HOURS A DAY, FIVE DAYS A WEEK, TEN MONTHS IN THE YEAR. // THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS WERE NOT ELABORATE, BUT

WEATHER-PROOF AND COMFORTABLE. / THERE WAS AMPLE PLAY SPACE. / THE CLASSES WERE SMALL, AND THE TEACHERS ABLE TO READ AND WRITE, / AND SECURE IN THEIR POSITIONS. // THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL / WAS COLLEGE-BRED, / WITH A FAIRLY BROAD VIEW OF LIFE; // FEW OF THE OTHER TEACHERS / HAD HIGHER TRAINING, / BUT THEY CAME OF GOOD FAMILIES / AND WERE WELL-BRED / ACCORDING TO CURRENT STANDARDS. // THERE WAS A GOOD BUT SMALL PUBLIC LIBRARY / WHERE I REGULARLY BORROWED BOOKS.

DESPITE THIS RELATIVELY FORTUNATE SCHOOLING / THERE WERE, / WHEN I WAS GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL / AT THE AGE OF SIXTEEN, / MANY SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES IN MY TRAINING. I KNEW SOMETHING OF HYGIENE / BUT NOTHING OF SEX, / SAVE THE GOSSIP OF SCHOOLMATES. // MY KNOWLEDGE / OF ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS / WAS SMALL: // WEALTH I THOUGHT / WAS A MATTER OF INDIVIDUAL SAVING; / WAGES AND HOURS OF WORK / WERE FIXED BY SOCIAL LAW / AND COULD NOT BE CHANGED WITHOUT DANGER; / TRADE UNIONS WERE FUTILE, / AND STRIKES WRONG; / POVERTY WAS PUNISHMENT FOR LAZINESS / AND SLUMS WERE THE FAULT OF THE SLUM-DWELLERS. // I WAS AT LEAST 25 YEARS OLD / BEFORE I BEGAN SERIOUSLY / TO QUESTION THESE ECONOMIC BELIEFS.

IN POLITICAL LIFE, / I HAD GIVEN ME / A SPLENDID EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERN-

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MENT / IN THE LOCAL TOWN-MEETING / WHICH I ATTENDED ANNUALLY; / BUT OF THE COUNTY, STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, / I KNEW ALMOST NOTHING. // I WAS TAUGHT TO THINK / THAT THE BRITISH EMPIRE / HAD THE BEST GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD, / AND ENGLISH HISTORY WAS THE ONLY FOREIGN HISTORY TAUGHT. // I KNEW NOTHING OF ASIA AND AFRICA, / AND LITTLE OF THE WEST INDIES / OR SOUTH AMERICA.

ABOVE ALL, / AND THIS WAS SINGULARLY MISLEADING, / I WAS TAUGHT THAT THE WORLD HAD ENTERED / AN ERA OF PEACE, / AND THAT WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PROGRESS / WAS DEFINITELY PAST. // IT WAS NOT UNTIL AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR / THAT I REALIZED / THAT FROM 1868 UNTIL TODAY, / I HAVE LIVED THROUGH SEVEN MAJOR WARS, / THIRTY MINOR WARS, / AND 146 SERIOUS REVOLTS AND UPRISINGS. // IN OTHER WORDS, / FROM THE DAY OF MY BIRTH / UNTIL MY 84th BIRTHDAY, / THERE HAS NOT BEEN A SINGLE HOUR WITHOUT WAR, / MURDER AND DESTRUCTION ON A LARGE SCALE / SOMEWHERE IN THE WORLD; // AND TODAY THE CHANCES OF EVEN GREATER, / MORE DESTRUCTIVE AND WIDER WAR EFFORT / ARE THREATENING AND CLEAR.

THUS MY EDUCATION / WHILE ABOVE THE AVERAGE OF MY DAY, / DID NOT EQUIP ME

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WITH SUCH KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH/AS WAS CALCULATED TO GUIDE MY OWN EFFORTS,/ OR TO TEACH CHILDREN AND YOUTH.//FORTUNATELY MY FORMAL EDUCATION CONTINUED/FROM 16 TO 26,/ IN COLLEGE AND GRADUATE SCHOOL/IN AMERICA AND EUROPE.//THIS WAS UNUSUAL AND ENJOYED BY FEW PERSONS.//THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TODAY/MUST THEREFORE ENTER HIS LIFE WORK/WITH THE DUTY OF HELPING EDUCATE HIS CHILDREN/IN THE TRUTH ABOUT ACTUAL CONDITIONS,/ BUT WITH THE SERIOUS HANDICAP/OF NOT KNOWING/NOR BEING ABLE EASILY TO ASCERTAIN/JUST WHAT THE TRUTH IS/ABOUT THIS PRESENT WORLD.

36-9-175

IN OTHER WORDS/ THIS GENERATION OF ADULTS/IS FACED BY A DELIBERATE/AND WIDESPREAD POISONING/AND DISTORTION OF THE USUAL SOURCES OF TRUTH,/ AND IS LIVING IN A WORLD/WHERE MURDER, LYING AND THEFT EXIST,/ NOT PERHAPS MORE WIDELY/THAN EVER BEFORE,/ BUT CERTAINLY TO A DEGREE/NEVER SO OPENLY RECOGNIZED AND EXCUSED/BY LEADING CLASSES AND INDIVIDUALS,/ AS INEVITABLE.//UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES/IT WOULD BE/AND IS/NATURAL FOR MANY PEOPLE/TO TURN AWAY FROM SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE/TO RELIANCE ON OLD CUSTOMARY FAITHS:/ ON THE GOODNESS AND OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD;/ ON THE POWER OF PRAYER AND WITCHCRAFT;/ ON DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM/ ON THE HONESTY OF THE PRESS:/ AND ON PATRIOTIC SUPPORT OF AMERICA/ NO MATTER WHAT OUR COUNTRY DOES.

BUT REASON AND EXPERIENCE WARN US/AGAINST ANY SUCH RELIANCE/ON MERE DESIRE AND DOGMATIC BELIEF,/ UNBOLSTERED BY KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION;//FOR HOWEVER SUCH FAITH/MAY LULL US TO SLEEP,/ WE INCUR GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY/ IF WE EQUIP OUR CHILDREN/WHO MUST LIVE IN A WORLD OF THE FUTURE/ WITH SUCH A PARTIAL AND UNPROVEN PICTURE/OF THE PRESENT WORLD.

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FIRST THEN/ FOR THE CORRECT TEACHING OF OUR CHILDREN,/ THERE MUST BE AS FAIR A PICTURE/OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF MANKIND/AS IS POSSIBLE.//IN MY YOUNG MANHOOD,/THIS PICTURE COULD BE OBTAINED IN PART/BY READING NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND SELECTED BOOKS// TODAY THIS IS LESS TRUE./ THE NEWS-GATHERING AGENCIES TODAY,/ THE DAILY PRESS,/ AND MOST OF THE PERIODICALS,/ARE OWNED AND DOMINATED/BY SMALL GROUPS OF PERSONS,/WHO BELIEVE IT IS/FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC/NOT TO KNOW COMPLETELY WHAT IS TRANSPIRING IN THE WORLD.//THE ORDINARY READER TODAY THEREFORE/ IS PRESENTED WITH AN INCOMPLETE,/ IF NOT COMPLETELY DISTORTED PICTURE/OF WORLD AFFAIRS.// IF HE ASSUMES/DESPITE THIS,/ THAT HE KNOWS THE WHOLE STORY,/ AND IF HE TRANSMITS THIS TO HIS

CHILDREN AS TRUTH, HE COMMITS A GRAVE CRIME.

WHAT THEN, MUST THE TEACHER AND PARENT DO? HE MUST MAKE UNUSUAL EFFORT TO KNOW AND TELL THE TRUTH. THERE IS NO ROYAL ROAD TO SUCH KNOWLEDGE; THIS PATH DIFFERS FOR DIFFERENT PERSONS AND IN DIFFERENT PLACES. BUT THIS DOES NOT EXEMPT ANY OF US. IT MERELY MAKES THE TASK OF EDUCATION HARDER TODAY THAN IN OTHER ERAS. THIS IS UNFORTUNATE, BUT IT IS INESCAPABLE. LESS THAN EVER BEFORE, THE CHILD TODAY CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO RECEIVE HIS EDUCATION EXCLUSIVELY FROM HIS SCHOOL MATES, FROM THE DAILY PRESS, FROM READING "BEST-SELLERS", OR FROM MOVIE, RADIO OR TELEVISION. NONE OF THESE SOURCES OF INFORMATION OR MISINFORMATION CAN, OF COURSE, BE AVOIDED; NO CHILD TODAY CAN BE ISOLATED FROM THEM; BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, INCREASED INTERPRETATION AND GUIDANCE FROM TEACHER, PARENT AND GROUP ORGANIZATIONS MUST SUPPLEMENT AND CORRECT FOR CHILDREN THE INFLUENCE OF PROPAGANDA AND DELIBERATE DISTORTION. THIS IS SIMPLY TO SAY THAT CHILDREN TODAY MUST RECEIVE MORE TEACHING FROM MORE AGENCIES THAN SUFFICED IN YOUR CHILDHOOD OR MINE, OR AT LEAST MORE THAN WE THOUGHT SUFFICED.

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THIS WORLD PICTURE MUST TAKE NOTE OF THE NEW INFLUENCES WHICH TODAY BEAR UPON OUR LIVES AND THOSE OF OUR CHILDREN, AND WHICH DIFFER ABSOLUTELY OR RELATIVELY FROM THE IMMEDIATE PAST; WE FACE A BELIEF IN THE NECESSITY OF WAR WHICH IS NEW AND FRIGHTENING; WE FACE A PROBLEM OF EARNING A LIVING, WHICH INCLUDES NEW STANDARDS OF COMFORT, NEW KINDS OF CLOTHING, NEW SORTS OF HOMES, NEW AMUSEMENTS AND RECREATIONS -- ALL OF WHICH DEMAND LARGE AND INCREASING INCOME. THIS DEMAND FOR INCOME MEANS MORE WORKERS IN THE FAMILY, HIGHER WAGES, CONSPICUOUS AND SHOWY EXPENDITURE; AND IT DISTINCTLY DRIVES US TOWARD A CONCEPTION OF WORK FOR PAY AND NOT WORK FOR PROGRESS; ABOVE ALL IT ENCOURAGES CHEATING, SHARP PRACTICES, AND DELIBERATE CRIME. THIS BITTER ECONOMIC STRUGGLE TRANSFORMS LIFE INTO A BATTLE FOR MONEY RATHER THAN FOR THOSE HIGHER VALUES OF LIVING WHICH 2000 YEARS OF HISTORY SHOULD TEACH MANKIND ARE BEST.

NOTWITHSTANDING OUR MUDDLED AND DISTORTED PICTURE OF THE WORLD THERE ARE CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE TRUTH WHICH ARE CLEAR, AND WHICH CHILDREN MUST BE TAUGHT:

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FIRST,/ IT IS THE CONSENSUS OF THE WORLD'S BEST THOUGHT/ THAT THERE IS ON EARTH TODAY NO PROBLEM/WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL METHODS/BETTER THAN BY WAR.// SECONDLY, NATIONS, RACES, GROUPS AND FAMILIES/CANNOT THRIVE ON HATE OR FEAR.// LOVING YOUR NEIGHBOR/IS JUST AS NECESSARY FOR YOUR OWN HAPPINESS/AS FOR HIS.// THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BUILD A SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY/ON HATE FOR 200 MILLION RUSSIANS/AND 500 MILLION CHINESE.

36-9-179

THIRDLY, OUR FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC IDEAS/MUST BE TAUGHT AND CLARIFIED.// THEY ARE CLEAR/AND ACCEPTED BY SCIENCE AND MORALS/ AND YET, tho, ARE NOT OFTEN TAUGHT IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS,/ AND OFTEN OMITTED IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS.// THEY HAVE TO DO WITH WEALTH,/ PROPERTY,/ PRIVATE PROFIT,/ FREE ENTERPRISE AND MONEY.// REAL WEALTH IS THE RESULT OF WORK/OR THE GIFT OF NATURE.// SO FAR AS IT IS A GIFT/IT SHOULD BELONG TO ALL PEOPLE.// SO FAR AS IT IS THE RESULT OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT/IT SHOULD BELONG TO THOSE WHO MAKE THAT EFFORT.// BUT THAT IS DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN/IN MODERN CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION/BECAUSE PRODUCTION IS TODAY A SOCIAL/AND NOT AN ISOLATED INDIVIDUAL

EFFORT.// WE DO NOT OWN WHAT WE MAKE/BECAUSE THE WEALTH MADE/IS MADE, usually, BY AN INTRICATE SYSTEM OF UNITED EFFORTS/OVER LONG PERIODS OF TIME,/ INVOLVING MASSES OF WORKERS OF ALL SORTS,/ LIVING AND DEAD.// THE DISTRIBUTION/OF THE RESULTS OF SUCH UNITED EFFORT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT,/ AND MOST THINKERS AGREE/THAT ONLY ON A BASIS OF CONSIDERATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE/CAN THIS PRODUCT BE JUSTLY ALLOTED.

36-9-180

PROPERTY, THEREFORE,/ IS NOT A SACRED RIGHT/BUT A SOCIAL DECISION/BASED ON PUBLIC WELFARE.// THAT IS WHY THE STATE/HAS A RIGHT TO TAX,/ TO SEIZE AND TO TRANSFER PRIVATE PROPERTY/FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.// THIS IS NOT MERE THEORY;/ IT IS THE UNIVERSAL PRACTICE/OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD,/ INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES/AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION.// PRIVATE PROFIT AND FREE ENTERPRISE THEREFORE/ARE ONLY ALLOWABLE/WHEN AND INSOFAR/AS THEY PROMOTE THE PUBLIC WELFARE.// HOW THEY MAY BEST BE REGULATED/IS A MATTER OF ARGUMENT/ON WHICH THERE IS AS YET/NO COMPLETE AGREEMENT.// BUT OF THE NECESSITY AND RIGHT/OF SOME DEGREE OF SOCIAL CONTROL/OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AND WEALTH,

THERE IS NO QUESTION IN ANY CIVILIZED LAND./ /MONEY IS NOT ALWAYS WEALTH, AND THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF WEALTH/IS NOT IN THE FORM OF MONEY./ CHILDREN FROM EARLIEST YEARS MUST LEARN THIS./ MONEY IS A TOOL AND TOKEN./ WEALTH IS FOOD, CLOTHES, SHELTER, MACHINES,/ AND ALL THE MYRIAD THINGS WE NEED AND USE.//

THESE UNIVERSAL TRUTHS ABOUT ECONOMICS/ARE NOT TODAY TAUGHT IN MOST SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES/BECAUSE THEIR DISCUSSION IN OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA/WOULD SUBJECT TO TEACHERS LOSS OF JOBS,/ IF NOT WORSE PENALTIES.//THIS TEACHING, THEREFORE FALLS ON INTELLIGENT PARENTS.

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BEYOND THIS,/ON THE PARENTS/FALLS THE BURDEN OF TEACHING/THE GREAT MORAL TRUTHS/WHICH ARE ETERNAL, AND OUTLIVE TIME.//IT IS, PERHAPS, JUST HERE/THAT IN THESE PUZZLING TIMES/PARENTS CAN SEIZE ON KERNALS OF ETERNAL TRUTH/TO IMPART TO CHILDREN.// THE GREATEST THINGS OF LIFE/ARE RELATIVELY UNCHANGEABLE.//FOR INSTANCE, HAPPINESS NEED NOT BE SCARCE./ ONE MAN'S JOY/IS NOT TAKEN FROM A LIMITED POOL OF HAPPINESS./ YET TODAY/AND IN THIS RICH LAND/THERE IS CURRENT TO AN ASTONISHING DEGREE/THAT WHICH THE GERMANS CALL "SCHADEN FREUDE"/+- JOY IN ILL + SATISFACTION AT THE SUFFERING AND

MISFORTUNE OF OTHERS./ /AS THOUGH WHEN OTHERS SUFFER/OR ARE DISAPPOINTED/THAT LEAVES MORE CONTENT FOR US/TO GLOAT OVER AND LAUGH AT.//I REMEMBER ~~CHRE~~ HEARING AN ASTONISHING BRITISH SONG/IN 1945/ WHERE AN EAST END LAD/SHOUTS IN A PAROXYSM OF JOY://"NEVER LAUGHED SO MUCH/SINCE FATHER BROKE HIS LEG".

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IN AMERICA THE COMICS GRIN AT DISASTER,/ AND IN SO MANY OF OUR HOMES/THE GREATEST SATISFACTION/FOR BABIES, CHILDREN AND GROWN-UPS/COMES FROM JUICY CONVERSATION/ABOUT THE MISFORTUNES OF NEIGHBORS.//WE MAY NOT KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA/AND CHINA,/ BUT WE DO KNOW,/AND MUST MAKE CHILDREN REALIZE/THAT SMILING NEIGHBORS AND LAUGHING CHILDREN/AND A HAPPY WORLD/IS THE ONLY PLACE WHERE WE OURSELVES/CAN BE HAPPY.//AND THAT THE SORROW OF A STRANGER IS,/ IN THE END,/ OUR OWN SORROW.//WE KNOW THIS,/AND YET WE TOO OFTEN FAIL TO TEACH IT.

I MIND ME OF AN EXAMPLE/OF WHICH I OFTEN THINK THESE DAYS.// ONE OF THE GREATEST CURRENT TRAGEDIES/IS THE PLIGHT OF THE NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE WORKERS.// I HAVE KNOWN SUCH MILLS AND WORKERS FOR 75 YEARS.//EVEN IN MY BIRTHPLACE NO NEGROES

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COULD WORK IN THE LOCAL WOOLEN MILL. // THE AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY today IS SET TO KILL THE TEXTILE UNION. // TOWNS IN MASSACHUSETTS ARE CENTERS OF IDLENESS AND FEAR BECAUSE THEY MUST ACCEPT LOW WAGES AND DEGRADATION OR SEE THE WOOLEN MILLS GO SOUTH. // BUT THE DEEPER TRAGEDY IS THAT THESE NORTHERN MILL WORKERS THEMSELVES BUILT UP THIS COMPETITION WITH LOW WAGES IN THE SOUTH! // THEY WOULD NOT ADMIT NEGROES TO THEIR UNIONS. THEY INFLUENCED SOUTHERN WHITES NOT TO ADMIT THEM. // THUS THE SOUTHERN WHITE WORKERS ACCEPTED LOW WAGES SO AS TO KEEP THEIR NEGRO NEIGHBORS IN POVERTY. // NOW THESE LOW WAGE WORKERS ARE TAKING BREAD FROM THE VERY MOUTHS OF THE WELLPAID NORTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS. // HOW MUCH BETTER WOULD IT HAVE BEEN IF 50 YEARS AGO NORTHERN WORKERS HAD RECOGNIZED THE BLACK WORKERS AS BROTHERS IN WAGE IF NOT IN FLESH, // AND BUILT UP IN THE SOUTH STRONG TEXTILE UNIONS OF WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS!

NO HAPPY, PROSPEROUS WORLD CAN BE BUILT IF MOST MEN ARE POOR, IGNORANT AND UNHAPPY. // THIS MEN HAVE KNOWN MANY THOUSAND YEARS. YET TODAY, AFTER PROPHET AND PARENT, SAGE AND TEACHER HAVE SAID THIS, YOU STILL LET YOUR CHILDREN THINK THAT

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THEIR SUCCESS MUST BE BUILT ON THE FAILURE OF OTHERS, WHOM THEY FOR THAT VERY REASON DESPISE. // THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE FOR OTHERS IS BUILT UP AND CAN ONLY BE BUILT IN THE HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD, AND IT MUST BE TAUGHT AS DUE MANKIND, AND NOT SIMPLY THE FAMILY CIRCLE. // THIS CAN BE DONE. BUT IT MUST BE REALIZED AND TAUGHT, AND NOT ASSUMED AS EASILY DISCOVERABLE BY INEXPERIENCED CHILDREN.

THE IDEA OF THE SIMPLE LIFE, THE TRANQUIL MIND, // THE FORGETTING OF ENVY AND JEALOUSY IN FAVOR OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS; AND JOY IN THE HAPPINESS OF OTHERS INSTEAD OF A BATTLE FOR SELFISH ENDS 4 THIS MUST BE IMPRESSED, CONTINUOUSLY, QUIETLY AND PERSISTENTLY ON THE MINDS OF CHILDREN, IF THEY ARE TO GROW INTO NORMAL HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT NEUROTICS, TORN BY NEW TENSIONS IN THIS WORLD OF FORCE, SELFISHNESS AND HATE.

WHEN A FAIR PICTURE OF THE WORLD TODAY IS THUS SHOWN TO CHILDREN BY THE COOPERATION OF TEACHER, PARENT, NEIGHBORHOOD AND ORGANIZED SURROUNDING WORLD, THEN COMES THE QUESTION OF THE RELATION OF THE CHILD TO THIS WORLD. YOUR OWN RELATION

TO THE WORLD/YOU MAY NEGLECT:/ DISGUSTED AT THE MORNING PAPER,/ YOU MAY FIND RELIEF IN A NOVEL,/ THE THEATER OR THE CINEMA/ THERE ARE STILL IVORY TOWERS/TO BE FOUND AT LOW RENT.//IN OTHER WORDS, FOR ADULTS,/TRUTH MAY NOT ALWAYS IMPLY ACTION./ OR AT ANY RATE,/YOU MAY THUS PERSUADE YOURSELF /+/ BUT IN THE CASE OF YOUR CHILD /+/ IN THE CASE OF ALL CHILDREN,/ IN TRUTH LIES BEGINNING, NOT END:/ HERE IS ETERNAL LIFE,/ WITH ALL POSSIBLE PUNISHMENT AND REWARD.

36-9-185

WHAT HE LEARNS OF THE WORLD FROM YOU/CAN ONLY LEAD TO WHAT HE WANTS TO DO ABOUT IT,/ /AND WHAT UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE WORLD/HE CAN DO./ \A DESPERATE AND PERSISTENT SEARCH/FOR THE CAPABILITIES AND DESIRES OF THE CHILD/MUST LEAD TO A SEARCH/FOR HIS POSSIBLE PLACE IN THE PRESENT WORLD//NOT SIMPLY TO EARN A LIVING,/ BUT SUCH A LIVING AS WILL PROVE WORTHWHILE/TO HIM AND THOSE WHO TODAY RULE THE WORLD/ \\ THAT THIS RULE AND THESE RULERS/MAY SOME DAY BE BETTERED/MUST NEVER BE FORGOT./ BUT YOUR CHILD/MUST EARN A LIVING TODAY/AND NOT MERELY TOMORROW./ /HERE COMES THE GREAT COMPROMISE WHICH EVERY PARENT MUST FACE,// WE SEEK TO AVOID IT. \IF THE CHILD SEEMS

UNFITTED TO THE WORLD AS IT IS/ WE ARE TEMPTED TO TRY TO CHANGE THE WORLD/BY MISREPRESENTING IT TO HIM/OR TO OURSELVES/ /WE ASSUME OUR CHILDREN ARE EITHER COMPLETELY MALLEABLE/OR ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGEABLE.

ALL THIS IS SIMPLY TO SAY/THAT AFTER TRANSMITTING TRUTH TO CHILDREN,/ COMES THE MORE DIFFICULT TASK/OF OURSELVES LEARNING HOW A PARTICULAR CHILD/ CAN BE ADAPTED TO THAT TRUTH /-/TO THE WORLD IN WHICH HE MUST LIVE./ /THIS DIFFICULT TASK \ DIVIDES ITSELF INTO TWO PARTS:/ WHAT THE CHILD REALLY IS/IN DISPOSITION AND TALENT,/ AND HOW,/WITH HIS GIFTS/HE CAN EARN A LIVING AND YET REALIZE HIS OWN BEST SELF./ / IT MAY PROVE/THAT WHAT WILL MAKE HIM/THE MOST VALUABLE INDIVIDUAL TO THE WORLD/WILL NOT GIVE HIM PERSONALLY/AS RICH A LIFE/AS A CAREER OF LESS USEFULNESS;/ OR THAT WHAT HE CAN BE TRAINED TO DO/WILL NOT NECESSARILY MAKE THAT WORK WORTH DOING.

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HERE COMES THE INEVITABLE COMPROMISE OF LIFE:/ THE TWO INTERACTING VARIABLES,/ THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE WORLD;/ MAN AND LIFE./ /I HAVE SEEN, /AS YOU HAVE,

TRAGIC MISTAKES.// I ONCE KNEW A WOMAN/WHOM THE GREAT CHARLES FROHMAN/WANTED TO MAKE/ AND COULD HAVE MADE/A LEADING STAR ON THE AMERICAN STAGE.// SHE GAVE UP THE OPPORTUNITY BECAUSE OF THE COLOR-LINE/WHICH WAS NOT VISIBLE,/ AND DEVOTED HERSELF TO HER SON./ SHE TRAINED THE BOY AS A SENSITIVE ARTIST/IN COLOR AND SOUND// THEN SHE DIED. P THE FATHER WAS SET/ON HAVING HIS SON SUCCEED TO HIS BUSINESS/OF INSURANCE AND REAL ESTATE,/ WHICH THE BOY HATED.// THAT BOY TODAY IS A MILLIONAIRE/AND A USELESS DRUNKARD.

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WE HAVE KNOWN TOO OFTEN/YOUTH TRAINED/FIRST TO EARN A FORTUNE,/ WITH THE IDEA THAT AFTERWARD/HE WILL ENJOY LIFE.// BUT WHEN THE FORTUNE IS MADE/THERE WAS NO WILL, TASTE, NOR MANHOOD/LEFT/WORTH ENJOYMENT.// THERE HAVE BEEN PERSONS/LEFT TO FOLLOW THEIR BENT/WHO DIED ~~IN POVERTY~~ AFTER A WASTED LIFE,/ BECAUSE THE BENT WAS NOT WORTH FOLLOWING.

ALL OF WHICH MEANS/THAT THERE IS NOT/AND CANNOT LOGICALLY BE/ANY RULE OF THUMB FOR EDUCATION./ EVERY CHILD IS LARGELY A UNIQUE PROBLEM/REQUIRING STUDY AND THOUGHT/FOR PLACING HIM IN A WORLD/OF BEWILDERING VARIETY AND INTRICACY.// HERE

IS A CALL/FOR WIDER UNDERSTANDING AND MORE TEACHING;/ A LARGE INCREASE OF THE EXPENSE OF EDUCATION +/ AT THE VERY TIME/WHEN A DECREASING PROPORTION/OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME GOES TO SCHOOLS,/AND MOST OF OUR TAXES/ARE EARMARKED FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION.

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MOREOVER/ THERE ARE CURRENT TODAY,/ AS ALWAYS,/ CERTAIN SLOGANS AND GUIDING APHORISMS/WHICH CAN EASILY BE MISTAKEN/FOR NUGGETS OF VAST WISDOM/ AND HANDED ON TO OUR CHILDREN AS SUCH:// FOR INSTANCE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.// WHILE THE MIND OF MAN WANTS TO SAY/WHAT IT THINKS/AND DO WHAT IT WILLS,/ YET NO MAN IS wholly FREE OR EVER CAN BE,/ AND THIS PARADOX MUST BE IMPRESSED ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH.// IF SISTER EATS THIS APPLE,/ BROTHER CANNOT!/ IF BROTHER LEANS TOO FAR OUT OF THE WINDOW,/HE MAY BREAK HIS NECK!// AND NO MISREPRESENTATION OF THIS BASIC RULE/OF THE UNIVERSE/IS GOING TO CHANGE IT./ // IF A NATION PRODUCES THIS YEAR/ONE BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF GOODS AND SERVICES,/ IT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLD/HOW THIS WEALTH IS DISTRIBUTED./ IF ONE PERCENT OF THE POPULATION/GETS NINETY-NINE PERCENT OF THE PRODUCTION,/ THIS SPELLS POVERTY AND DISEASE/FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE INHABITANTS/ FREEDOM FOR THE ONE

PERCENT TO TAKE WHAT IT WILL DOES NOT MAKE A FREE STATE. // NO MAN IS FREE, NOR HAS ANY RIGHT TO BE FREE, IN A WORLD OF OTHER MEN. // WHEN, THEREFORE, WE YELL VOCIFEROUSLY ABOUT THE "FREE NATIONS" OF THE WEST, WE HAVE MORE EXPLAINING TO DO THAN WE ARE USUALLY WILLING TO UNDERTAKE. // MEN ARE NOT FREE BECAUSE OF THE LAW OF GRAVITATION, AND BECAUSE OF A THOUSAND OTHER LAWS OF THE PHYSICAL, BIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ~~LAWS OF THE~~ WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. // SOME OF THESE LAWS ARE INEXORABLE, LIKE THOSE OF PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY. SOME OF THE BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL LAWS CAN BE INFLUENCED BUT NOT ANNULLED. // MANY OF THE SOCIAL LAWS CAN BE GREATLY MODIFIED, BUT THEY ARE NOT AS COMPLETELY UNDER OUR CONTROL AS WE USED TO IMAGINE.

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THE DISCIPLINE OF WORK, THE DISCIPLINE OF MATERIAL THINGS, THE DISCIPLINE OF TECHNICAL POWER, IS UPON US ALL. // WHAT WE SHOULD MEAN BY "FREEDOM" IS THE GREATEST DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH CAN BE PRESERVED FOR HUMAN WELFARE AFTER THE LAWS OF LIFE ARE FOLLOWED. // THERE MAY BE GRAVE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO JUST WHAT LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED SO AS TO LEAVE TO HUMAN BEINGS THE

MAXIMUM OF FREEDOM. // BUT IT IS SILLY TO TELL OURSELVES OR TEACH OUR CHILDREN THAT THIS WORLD CONSISTS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE FREE AND THOSE WHO ARE SLAVES. ALL MEN ARE SLAVES, YET ALL MEN MAY ENJOY SOME DEGREE OF FREEDOM.

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AGAIN, DEMOCRACY IS NOT PECULIAR TO AMERICA. IN FACT, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT A DEMOCRACY AND NEVER HAS BEEN. // DURING MOST OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE WE HAVE BY LAW DEPRIVED THE MAJORITY OF OUR CITIZENS OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE BECAUSE OF PROPERTY, RELIGION, RACE, SEX, RESIDENCE, PAYMENT OF TAXES, OR OTHER DISCRIMINATIONS. // OUTSIDE ACTUAL LAW, WE HAVE KEPT AND NOW KEEP FROM A THIRD TO A HALF OF OUR VOTERS FROM GOING TO THE POLLS BECAUSE OF FEAR OF LOSING THEIR JOBS OR OF SOCIAL OR CRIMINAL PERSECUTION. // OUR VOTING, EVEN AFTER CASTING OUR BALLOTS, IS RENDERED FALSE IN EFFECT BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCE IN THE VALUE OF THE BALLOTS: // THE AUTHOR OF THE MCCARRAN BILL WAS ELECTED BY 50,000 VOTES, WHILE HIS ILLINOIS COLLEAGUE WITH THE SAME POWER AND PRIVILEGE REQUIRED 2 MILLION VOTES FOR ELECTION. // THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UN-AMERICAN

COMMITTEE HOLDS OFFICE BY 25,000 VOTES, WHILE THE COLORED MAN WHO IS CONGRESSMAN FROM HARLEM MUST RECEIVE 100,000 VOTES AND even then CANNOT SIT ON THIS COMMITTEE.

DESPITE OUR PRETENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY, MOST AMERICAN VOTERS NEVER GET A CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS ON THE MOST PRESSING AND IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE DAY. // THE PEOPLE NEVER VOTED FOR WAR IN KOREA, NEVER WANTED SUCH A WAR, AND WOULD END IT TOMORROW IF THEY HAD A CHANCE. // THEY NEVER HAD SUCH A CHANCE, AND WILL NOT HAVE IT IN THE NEXT ELECTION. // CLERKS AND STENOGRAPHERS AMONG US ARE OFTEN TAXED TWO OR THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR ON THEIR MEAGER SALARIES, WHILE MANY A RICH BUSINESS MAN CAN ARRANGE TO PAY Small a NO TAXES AT ALL. // YET THE NATION GETS NO OPPORTUNITY TO CAST A CLEAR VOTE ON THE TAX STRUCTURE. // IN FACT, ON SUCH MATTERS AS CAR-FARE, STREET-CLEANING, POLICE SERVICE AND A THOUSAND SITUATIONS AFFECTING DAILY LIFE, CITIZENS GET NO CHANCE TO VOTE. // WHAT WE MEAN THEN BY AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IS THAT WE HOLD TO THIS IDEAL, BUT WE HAVE ACHIEVED BUT A SMALL APPROACH TO IT IN THE PAST. AND BECAUSE OF IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, BECAUSE OF MANIPULATION OF OUR ELECTORAL PROCEDURE BY POLITICIANS WHO MAKE FORTUNES OUT OF THEIR CAREERS, WE ARE TODAY NOT A

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TRULY DEMOCRATIC NATION.

WHAT WE NEED, THEN, IN GUIDING OUR OWN LIVES, AND IN TEACHING OUR CHILDREN, SO THAT THEY MAY SOME DAY MAKE A BETTER WORLD, IS KNOWING THE TRUTH AND FACING IT; GETTING TO KNOW OUR CHILDREN AND GIVING THEM, THROUGH SCHOOL, HOME AND COMMUNITY, A PLACE IN THIS PRESENT WORLD TO THINK AND WORK. // AND ABOVE ALL, ~~TO~~ IMPRESS ING UPON THESE CHILDREN A SET OF VALUES BY WHICH THEY MAY MEASURE LIFE NOT AS PERSONAL INCOME AND PROFIT, BUT AS HAPPINESS FOR THEMSELVES AND ALL MEN. // AND, PERHAPS, SOMETIMES AND IN ~~RARE~~ SOME CASES, INDUCE ING A RARER SOUL TO BE WILLING TO SACRIFICE HIS OWN HAPPINESS FOR THE HAPPINESS OF OTHERS; TO REALIZE JUST WHAT THE HEBREW PROPHET MEANT WHEN HE SAID 2662 YEARS AGO:

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"HE IS DESPISED AND REJECTED OF MEN;/ A MAN OF SORROWS, AND ACQUAINTED WITH GRIEF:/AND WE HID/AS IT WERE/ OUR FACES FROM HIM;/ HE WAS DESPISED, AND WE ESTEEMED HIM NOT.//SURELY HE HATH BORNE OUR GRIEFS,/ AND CARRIED OUR SORROWS:/ YET WE DID ESTEEM HIM STRICKEN,/ SMITTEN OF GOD,/ AND AFFLICTED// BUT HE WAS WOUNDED FOR OUR TRANSGRESSIONS,/ HE WAS BRUISED FOR OUR INIQUITIES:// THE CHASTISEMENT OF OUR PEACE WAS UPON HIM;/AND WITH HIS STRIPES WE ARE HEALED."

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Pythian Temple Mar 21/52
youth group

THE ATTACK ON YOUTH

EVERY GENERATION/ SOONER OR LATER/ DEMANDS SACRIFICE OF ITS YOUTH;// SACRIFICE OF TIME,/ OF EDUCATION,/ OF ENJOYMENT,/ OF HEALTH,// AND EVEN, WHAT WE CALL/ THE SUPREME SACRIFICE,// BUT BEYOND THAT,/ THERE MAY BE ASKED/ THAT WHICH IS MORE THAN LIFE/ -- THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE/ WHAT LIFE IS,/ AND WHAT,/ WITH FREEDOM OF CHOICE,/ IT MAY BECOME.

LIFE

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THE REASONS FOR THIS ARROGANT DEMAND,/ WHICH THE ADULT WORLD/ ASSUMES THE RIGHT TO ASK/ OF HALF-GROWN HUMAN BEINGS,// IS PARTLY THE DESPAIR OF AGE/ WHEN IT LOOKS BACKWARD/ TO FAILURE/ AND FORWARD TO FRUSTRATED HOPE:// WHEN IT REALIZES/ THAT THE ETERNAL LIFE/ WHICH MEN HAVE SO DESPERATELY/ TRIED TO ~~ATTAIN~~ BELIEVE IN, CAN COME ONLY/ THROUGH THEIR CHILDREN/ AND NOT THROUGH THEMSELVES.// A MAN BORN/ AMID THE VAST CLAIMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,/ AND VIEWING TODAY/ THE DISASTER OF THE 20TH,/ MAY FRANTICALLY SEEK/ TO MAKE HIS CHILDREN/ DO WHAT HE FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH.// AND FOR THAT END,/ HE MAY DESPERATELY/ TRY TO BELIEVE/ THAT WHAT HIS OWN EDUCATION/ AND EXPERIENCE/ FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH,/ MAY BE DONE BY THESE CHILDREN/ IF THEY FOLLOW HIS COMMANDS, -- WHICH IS AN EXTRAORDINARY/ ~~BELIEF~~. SELF-CONTRADICTION

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YET THE GREATER THE PRESENT FAILURE,/ THE MORE PEREMPTORY THE DEMAND.// THE 19TH CENTURY/ WHICH GAVE ME MY EDUCATION/ WAS, IN MANY RESPECTS, MORE MODEST IN ITS DEMANDS ON YOUTH/ THAN THE PRESENT ERA;// BECAUSE THE 19th CENTURY/ HAD MADE MORE PROGRESS OVER THE 18TH/ THAN THE 20TH HAS OVER THE 19TH.// IT RAISED SCIENCE/ TO CONTROL OF MAN'S THOUGHT,/ AND DREAMED THAT THE NEXT ERA/ WOULD SUBMIT HIS ACTS TO SOCIAL LAW.// THIS DID NOT HAPPEN.// ON THE CONTRARY,/ THE 20TH CENTURY/ TRIED TO DESTROY/ MUCH OF WHAT THE 19TH HAD TRIED TO BUILD.// CONSEQUENTLY THIS CENTURY OF OURS,/ HAUNTED BY MURDER,/ POVERTY,/ DISEASE AND DESPAIR,/ DEMANDS TRUCULENTLY/ MORE THAN WAS EVER ASKED/ OF THE YOUTH OF MY DAY + OR ~~WHEN~~ IF ASKED,/ ASKED WITH APOLOGY.

FOR INSTANCE:/ I WAS GIVEN TIME FOR MY EDUCATION./ FROM SIX YEARS OF AGE/ TO TWENTY-SIX/ I WAS IN SCHOOL.// NO TIME WAS TAKEN FROM ME/ TO TRAIN FOR WAR AND DESTRUCTION.// I WAS NOT GIVEN ARMY TRAINING/ IN SEX AND DRINK;// I WAS NOT ASKED/ TO CRIPPLE MY BODY NOR SURRENDER MY SOUL.// NATURALLY,/ NOT ALL OF MY GENERATION/ WERE THUS FORTUNATE,/ PERHAPS NOT MOST OF IT;// BUT AT LEAST/ THE LEADERS OF THE WORLD/ APOLOGISED TO THE

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DISINHERITED, / AND PROMISED BETTER THINGS IN THE FUTURE. // ALL THIS TODAY IS CHANGED. / THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY / WHERE I WAS GRADUATED / IS RUNNING ALL OVER THE WORLD / TO ASK / THAT THE BEST AND MOST CRUCIAL YEARS / OF YOUR LIVES / BE DEVOTED TO LESSONS IN MARCHING, / SALUTING, / KILLING AND MAIMING MEN, / AND DESTROYING THE PROPERTY WHICH THEY HAVE STRUGGLED / TO ACCUMULATE. // NATIONAL LEADERS ARE ASKING / THAT THE STUDY OF HISTORY, / ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY / (LITERATURE + ART) BE REPLACED / BY STUDY OF THE ATOM BOMB / AND HOW TO CONDUCT PROFITABLE BUSINESS. // THEY ARE WILLING AND EAGER / FOR YOU TO BE CRIPPLED / IN MIND AND BODY / OR EVEN KILLED / BY BULLET, POISON, / ICE, OR JUNGLE, / FOR OBJECTS / WHICH THEY DENY YOU THE RIGHT TO EXAMINE. // BY THREAT OF JAIL OR SOCIAL DISFAVOR / OR BY POSTPONING YOUR CHANCE TO MARRY, / HAVE CHILDREN, / AND EARN AN HONEST LIVING. // THEY DEMAND THE RIGHT TO TELL YOU / WHAT TO THINK / AND WHAT TO SAY; / HOW TO CHOOSE YOUR FRIENDS AND TEACHERS, / AND EVEN WHAT BOOKS TO READ.

WHO MAKES / THIS OUTRAGEOUS DEMAND ON YOU? // IS IT MADE BY THE GREAT THINKERS OF YOUR DAY, // - BY MEN OF STATURE AND SACRIFICE, / WHO DESERVE YOUR RESPECT AND REVERENCE? // NO. // IT IS THE DEMAND OF MEN, / SOME OF WHOM / HAVE JUST COME OUT OF JAIL, / OR OTHERS / WHO

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OUGHT TO BE THERE. // IT IS MADE BY McCARRANS / WHO SIT IN THE SENATE BY VOTE / OF THE ROTTEN BOROUGH OF NEVADA / NOTED FOR GAMBLING AND DIVORCE AND MINING MONOPOLY, // WHERE 50,000 CITIZENS / CAN OUTWEIGH IN CONGRESS / TWO MILLION VOTERS HERE IN NEW YORK; // OR BY CONGRESSMEN / LIKE WOOD OF GEORGIA, / WHO IS CHAIRMAN / OF A JUSTLY CALLED UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE, // BECAUSE FOR 20 YEARS / HE HAS SO CONNIVED / AT DISFRANCHISING ALL THE NEGROES / AND MOST OF THE POOR WHITES / IN HIS DISTRICT / THAT HE HAS BEEN ELECTED YEAR AFTER YEAR / BY LESS / THAN A QUARTER / OF THE NUMBER OF VOTERS / WHICH ADAM POWELL GETS IN HARLEM.

// BUT SUCH LEGISLATORS / ARE NOT ALONE GUILTY / IN TRYING TO CONTROL YOUR THOUGHT / AND RUIN YOUR BODIES. // THE (next) LEADERS OF THE NATION, / THE THINKERS AND SCIENTISTS, / THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS, // FOR THE MOST PART / STAND DUMB / BEFORE / THIS OUTRAGEOUS ATTACK ON YOUTH. // AND SIN BY SILENCE / AND BY CONSENTING TO EVIL! // WHILE BACK OF ALL THESE POLITICIANS / AND PROFESSORS, / ARE ARRANGED / ROW ON ROW / OF THE BUSINESS MEN OF AMERICA, // WHO OWN THE NATION AND ARE WILLING TO MAKE MONEY / BY WAR, / AND WAR BY MURDER / OF THE NATION'S YOUTH, // AND BY POLICIES / WORSE THAN DEATH // (c) CHAINING YOUR MINDS AND SOULS!

THIS ARRAY OF INFLUENCE AND POWER/CAN PAINT FOR YOU/ALLURING PICTURES/OF WHAT YOU WILL GAIN/BY SPINELESS ACQUIESCENCE// THEY CAN ASSURE YOU/THAT FROM THE BEGINNING OF CIVILIZATION/UNTIL TODAY, THE FREE RAPE OF GIRLS/AND WOMEN/HAS ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED THE MARCH OF ARMIES// THAT LIQUOR AND GAMBLING/HAVE NEVER BEEN LESSENED IN WAR;// THAT THE POWER/TO LORD IT OVER SLAVES/AND MAKE MEN DO AS YOU SAY, GO WHERE YOU DIRECT, AND DIE AS YOU SHOOT,/ IS NOT CONFINED TO GERMANS// NOR ARE JEWS AND NEGROES// THE ONLY VICTIMS;// THAT THIS IT IS THE STORY OF WAR/ALWAYS AND EVERYWHERE.// AND THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ARE DETERMINED/THAT THE YOUTH OF THIS GENERATION/SHALL THINK AS THEY THINK,/AND FIGHT AS THEY NEVER FIGHT,/AND FIND THE SAME REASONS/FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR/AS THESE ANCIENT COWARDS/CAN ALWAYS FIND.

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EVEN GRANTED/ THAT THE PRESENT HYSTERICAL FEAR OF WAR/IS JUSTIFIED/ AND OUR UNPRECEDENTED PREPARATION/FOR ORGANIZED MURDER/AND DESTRUCTION/ IS WISE,// WHO KNOWS THAT THIS IS TRUE/AND THAT IT IS THE BEST WAY/OF FACING EVIL?// HERE COMES THE SUPREME DEMAND OF ADULT AMERICA/ON YOUTH: // "THEIRS NOT TO REASON WHY"// THE OMNISCENT ADULTS WILL EXAMINE THE REASONS,/ PASS UPON THE FACTS,/AND TELL YOU WHAT TO THINK,/ TO WHOM TO LISTEN,

AND WHO ARE/AND MUST BE YOUR FRIENDS.

36-9-164

WHEN YOU REFUSE COMPLIANCE,/ THEY ARE GOING TO EXHIBIT/ VAST INDIGNATION AND ALARM.// " WHAT?" THEY YELL,/ "DO WE SCENT TREASON?/ IS THERE SUBVERSION IN THE AIR?/ DONT YOU LOVE YOUR COUNTRY?"/// AT THIS UPROAR,/ DO NOT GET EXCITED./ DO NOT EVEN RAISE YOUR VOICES./ JUST ASK A FEW QUESTIONS/AND ASK SO ALL WILL HEAR.// THE MEN WHO TODAY/OWN AND RUN THIS COUNTRY/WANT YOU TO GET MAD/AND SCREAM.// THEY WANT YOU TO BREAK THE LAW.// THEY DO NOT WANT YOU TO APPEAL/TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WITH REASON./ TO KEEP YOU FROM THIS THEY HAVE JUICY REWARDS:// DO YOU WANT YOUR NAMES IN THE TIMES?// DO YOU WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE HERALD-TRIBUNE YOUTH CONGRESS?// HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN SAY AND HERE IS WHAT YOU MUST DO.// JUST DO AS YOU ARE TOLD/AND YOU'LL BE HAPPY/AND IN LINE FOR A CUSHY JOB.// BUT MAKE A FUSS, COMPLAIN,/ INTIMATE THAT IN YOUR OPINION/LOVE OF COUNTRY IS NOT HATE/OF ALL OTHER COUNTRIES,/AND YOU FACE TROUBLE.// YOU MAY GET SUMMONED TO FACE A BUNCH OF FAT OLD MEN,/ AND GET ROUNDLY SCOLDED.// YOU MAY GET INTO JAIL. YOU MAY BE SENT TO THE NAVY/TO "SEE THE WORLD!" and to see the noisiest part of it

DON'T LET ALL THIS MOVE YOU. // APPEAL TO AMERICA. / REMIND THE RULING DEMAGOGS THAT THIS IS A DEMOCRACY. / THEY SAID SO. // TELL THEM THAT AMERICA IS FREE. / THEY SAID SO. / DID THEY LIE? // OF COURSE THEY DID, / BUT THEY DARE NOT ADMIT IT. // INSIST SWEETLY THAT THE UNITED STATES / NEVER VOTED FOR WAR IN KOREA / AND NEVER WOULD IF IT HAD A CHANCE. REMIND YOUR CONGRESSMEN / AND PREACHERS AND TEACHERS / THAT AMERICANS ARE NOT FREE. // THEY ARE NOT FREE TO TALK / OR THINK OR SPEAK; / TO ASSEMBLE OR COMPLAIN; / TO GET A DECENT EDUCATION / OR A WELL-PAID JOB; // TO STAND UPRIGHT LIKE MEN / AND LOOK THEIR FELLOWS IN THE FACE. // AND THEN ASK / WHY, WHY, WHY? // WHO IS IT / THAT IS RUNNING THIS NATION / FOR PROFIT AND MURDER, // AND WHO IS LETTING THEM RUN IT? // ASK ALL THIS AND WAIT FOR AN ANSWER. DON'T YELL, DON'T RAISE HELL -- THAT'S WHAT OUR MASTERS WANT, / AND FOR THAT SORT OF THING / THEY CARRY GUNS AND CLUBS. // BUT EARNEST QUESTIONS, / CLEAR FACTS, / STRAIGHT THINKING, / SOUND LOGIC -- / THAT SORT OF THING / EVEN THE POLICE FORCE AND THE ARMY / IS NOT LARGE ENOUGH TO RESIST. // THAT IS WHY TODAY, / TIRED OF BEING CHALLENGED BY MEN, / THE UNAMERICAN COMMITTEE IS ATTACKING BABIES. / THEY HOPE TO HEAR / ONLY SQUALLS OF FEAR / IN

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REPLY. // AND THEY HAVE LAID IN A SUPPLY OF DIAPERS / TO STOP THEIR MOUTHS. // FOOL THEM! TALK BACK LIKE GROWN MEN, / WHICH IS EASY, / SINCE MOST GROWN MEN TODAY / ARE TALKING LIKE CHILDREN. // DO THEY WANT YOU TO SAVE THE WORLD / WHICH THEY RUINED? // VERY WELL, SAVE IT! EVEN SHOULD YOU FAIL, / YOU COULD NOT DUPLICATE THEIR FAILURE. // IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET AN ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH / WHO COULD MAKE MORE MISTAKES / THAN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

36-9-166

Made yesterday on the Today Show

WHEN I WAS IN COLLEGE / THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PREACHER IN BOSTON / WAS EDWARD EVERETT HALE. / I KNEW HIM BECAUSE HE LOANED ME / HIS MAGNIFICENT VELVET AND SATIN ACADEMIC GOWN / TO WEAR WHEN I WAS COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER. // HE LATER BECAME CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE, / AND WHEN ASKED / WHETHER HE PRAYED FOR THE SENATE / HE SAID: / "NO, I LOOK AT THE SENATE / AND PRAY TO THE NATION."

TURNING NOW FROM NEGATIVE CRITICISM / TO CONSTRUCTIVE ADVICE, / YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT THERE ARE THREE MATTERS / IN WHICH INTELLIGENT YOUNG PEOPLE / CAN HELP THEIR WORLD, // AND THAT IS, / IN COURAGE AND CLEAR THINKING AND IDEAS ABOUT WORK. // MOST MEN OF MORE THAN FIFTY / HAVE LOST THEIR COURAGE. // THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED / SO MUCH OF DISAPPOINTMENT

AND CALAMITY/THAT THEY ARE AFRAID TO ACT.// THEY HAVE GOTTEN INTO THE HABIT/OF FOLLOWING THE PERSONS AROUND THEM/WHO ARE SUCCESSFUL,/ AND DOING AS THEY ARE TOLD.// THEY ARE AFRAID OF LIFE.// YOUTH IS NOT AFRAID,/ OR SHOULD NOT BE,/EVEN WHEN THEY LACK EXPERIENCE./ THEIR GREAT HERITAGE/ IS READINESS TO RISK AND DARE.

THE WORLD, THEN,/ NEEDS THE COURAGE OF YOUTH./ IT NEEDS TO LOOK TRUTH SQUARELY IN THE FACE/AND BE READY TO ASK QUESTIONS/AND TRY EXPERIMENTS.// THIS YOU CAN OFFER THE WORLD,// TOGETHER WITH THE OFFER OF YOUR OWN SELVES.// THE WORLD NEEDS THIS TODAY DESPERATELY.

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IN A WORLD/WHICH HAS BOASTED/OF ITS SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES/AND OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS/WHICH THE HUMAN BRAIN HAS MADE/IN 4000 YEARS OF ATTEMPTED CIVILIZATION,/ IT IS ASTONISHING/TO SEE HOW FEW PEOPLE TODAY/ KNOW HOW TO REASON/OR DARE TO REASON./ THEY HAVE NOT BEEN TAUGHT/CAREFUL REASONING/IN SCHOOL.// AND IN THEIR ADULT LIFE/THEY HAVE COME EVEN TO FEAR REASON.// THEY HAVE ACCEPTED IN RELIGION,/ IN BUSINESS,/ IN HUMAN RELATIONS,/ THE MOST ASTONISHING CONTRADICTIONS,/AND HELD TO THEM/ IN SPITE OF THE FACT

THAT THESE TRADITIONS/AND THE CONDUCT BASED UPON THEM/ARE CONTRADICTORY.// MILLIONS OF PEOPLE DECLARE/THAT THEY BELIEVE IN THE OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD,/AND AT THE SAME TIME THEY BELIEVE IN THE TRIUMPH OF EVIL!// THEY SAY "LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR" +- AND "KILL YOUR ENEMY".// THEY DECLARE THAT BUSINESS IS FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/AND NOT FOR PUBLIC WELFARE, +- AND YET BELIEVE THAT ALL BUSINESS/PROMOTES THE COMMON GOOD!

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BUT YOUTH CAN AND MUST REASON./ IT CAN SAY/THAT IF THE GOLDEN RULE IS A TRUE WAY OF LIFE,/ THEN WAR IS A FALSE WAY;// THAT BUSINESS CANNOT BE/AT THE SAME TIME/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/AND PUBLIC WELFARE;/AND THAT WHENEVER ANY COURSE OF LIFE/IS UNREASONABLE IT MUST BE GIVEN UP/OR LIFE BECOMES SUICIDE.

THEN THERE IS A THIRD/AND MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION/WHICH YOUTH CAN MAKE TO OUR PRESENT DILEMMA,/ AND THAT IS CLEAR THOUGHT CONCERNING WORK./ YESTERDAY A WILL WAS PROBATED/IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,/DISTRIBUTING THE PROPERTY OF A WOMAN/WHO LEFT AN ESTATE OF 95 MILLION DOLLARS.// THAT WEALTH WAS NOT IN GOLD AND JEWELS, LITTLE WAS IN CASH BUT IN THE LEGAL RIGHT/WHICH THIS WOMAN POSSESSED/TO DETERMINE/WHAT WORK 32 THOUSAND AMERICAN

CITIZENS SHOULD DO TODAY, AND HOW MUCH THEY SHOULD RECEIVE FOR IT; WHETHER THEY SHOULD MAKE BREAD, RAISE POTATOES, OR SET DIAMONDS. // THIS IMMENSE POWER INHERENT IN AN ESTATE OF 95 MILLIONS, WAS BESTOWED UPON THIS WOMAN WHO NEVER DID 95 CENTS WORTH OF WORK. in her life & received this fortune as a gift

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NOW IT MUST BE CLEAR TO YOUTH THAT THIS WORLD AND ITS CIVILIZATION CAN ONLY BE CARRIED ON AND INCREASED IN EFFICIENCY IF THE NECESSARY WORK OF THE WORLD IS DONE. // THIS WORK IS ALL KINDS - PLOWING AND DIGGING; THINKING AND PLANNING; WRITING AND PAINTING; // BUT WORK IS WORK AND INVOLVES TIME AND EFFORT, AND THE PEOPLE WHO DO THE WORK ARE THE ONES AND THE ONLY ONES WHO HAVE THE RIGHT TO DIRECT AND CONTROL THE STATE; // WHILE PEOPLE WHO ARE IDLE, WHO EITHER CANNOT OR WILL NOT DO THE WORLD'S WORK, SHOULD RIGHTFULLY BE DIRECTED, AND SUPPORTED INSOFAR AS THEY NEED SUPPORT, BY THE WILL OF WORLD'S WORKERS. // THIS IS CLEAR REASON AND COMMON SENSE, AND IT MUST BE IMPRESSED UPON THE CIVILIZATION WHICH TODAY IS GIVING SUSTENANCE AND POWER AND WIDE CONTROL INTO THE HANDS OF IDLERS AND TYRANTS.

than you

NO ONE IS IN BETTER POSITION TO FORCE THIS TRUTH UPON THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD, AND TO ENFORCE IT WITH COURAGE AND REASON. // YOUR PLIGHT TODAY, THEN, IS NOT SIMPLY ANSWERING THE ABSURD DEMANDS OF THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE. // THIS IS, may be A NECESSARY duty it is BUT NEGATIVE DUTY. // POSITIVELY, YOU SHOULD HELP THE WORLD FIGHT COWARDICE AND REGAIN ITS COURAGE! YOU SHOULD, BY RIGOROUS TRAINING IN REASON, AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS ABOUT WHICH YOU REASON, MAKE THE WORLD REALIZE THAT WEALTH AND HAPPINESS SHOULD NEVER BE THE RESULT OF CHANCE AND THE ORDERS OF IRRESPONSIBLE MEN, // BUT MUST BE THE RESULT OF HONEST WORK; ELSE THE WORLD WILL GO FURTHER DOWN THE PATH OF DESTRUCTION WHICH IT IS FOLLOWING TODAY.

36-9-170

Princeton ~~[illegible]~~ 1952 Princeton Mar 26

REVOLT IN AFRICA

A FEW WEEKS AGO IN NEW YORK A YOUNG MAN WHO HAD NOT REACHED HIS 42nd BIRTHDAY PUT HIS HEAD IN A GAS OVEN AND COMMITTED SUICIDE. HE HAD RECEIVED HIS BACHELOR'S DEGREE SUMMA CUM LAUDE FROM A NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE, WAS ADMITTED TO PHI BETA KAPPA, AND GOT HIS DOCTORATE IN ECONOMICS at a leading university IN 1938; HIS THESIS WAS USED IN THE ECONOMICS COURSES IN SEVERAL UNIVERSITIES AND HE SERVED THE UNITED STATES RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD AND THE O.P.A. HE WAS, WHEN HE DIED, CHIEF OF THE AFRICA UNIT OF THE DIVISION OF ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS. YOU WILL FIND SEVERAL OF HIS STUDIES IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC REPORT, AND HE JUST RETURNED LAST WINTER FROM A MISSION TO ~~SOMALILAND~~, EAST AFRICA. THE MOST IMPORTANT FACT ABOUT HIM IN THE MIND OF ~~THIS AND THOSE~~ America WAS THE FACT THAT ONE OR TWO OF HIS GRANDPARENTS HAD NEGRO BLOOD.

41-3-99

BUT HE EPITOMIZED IN HIS SHORT LIFE THE DISAPPOINTMENT AND FRUSTRATION OF A MODERN MAN OF AFRICAN DESCENT. HE WAS NEVER OFFERED A FIRST-CLASS ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT IN ANY COLLEGE; HE HAD CHOSEN AN AREA OF STUDY, ECONOMICS, WHICH NO ONE IN THIS NATION TODAY DARE STUDY SAVE AS A BRANCH OF HIGHER MATHEMATICS; HE WENT TO AFRICA TO SEE WITH HIS OWN EYES ONE OF THE MOST MISERABLY EXPLOITED REGIONS OF THE WORLD, WITH A HISTORY

OF DEGRADATION COMING DOWN 4000 YEARS FROM THE EGYPTIAN 12th DYNASTY TO YESTERDAY WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS HANDED SOMALILAND BACK TO THE ITALIANS. WRACKED BY THE FEVER OF A TERRIBLE CLIMATE, THIS YOUNG SCHOLAR CAME BACK TO A NATION WHERE THE SOCIAL GROUP TO WHICH HE WAS BOUND WAS TORN IN LEADERSHIP; HIS CLOSEST MALE RELATIVE HAD JUST BECOME DIRECTOR IN A NEW YORK WHITE BANK, AND ~~FROM THE VANTAGE GROUND OF A POLITICAL APPOINTMENT~~, WAS RAILING AT WILLIAM PATTERSON FOR TELLING THE STORY OF NEGRO GENOCIDE IN THE UNITED STATES TO THE EARS OF EUROPE. HE FOUND ME, ONCE A FELLOW TEACHER WHOSE DAUGHTER HAD BEEN HIS OWN TEACHER, HAND-CUFFED AND THREATENED WITH JAIL FOR TALKING OF PEACE, AND HE FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO WRITE OR TALK ECONOMICS IN A NATION WHICH WAS OWNED BY BIG BUSINESS BOTH IN PHYSICAL BODY AND LITERARY SOUL. HE KILLED HIMSELF.

BUT THE WORLD AND AMERICA NEED NOT REST HOPE THAT EITHER BLACK AMERICA OR BLAC K AFRICA IS GOING TO RID THE WORLD OF THE PROBLEM OF COLOR ADDED TO THAT OF EXPLOITATION BY ~~THIS METHOD~~ Swede. ON THE CONTRARY, ~~AND IN THE FACE OF THE PRESENT DESPERATE ATTEMPT OF NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES, THE PRESS, AND AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP~~, I WANT TO REMIND YOU

BRIEFLY TONIGHT OF THE SPREAD OF active REVOLT IN AFRICA, DESPITE OF ALL THAT THE MIGHTIEST COLONIAL POWER OF THIS DAY -- NAMELY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, -- IS ATTEMPTING TO COUNTERACT BY YELLING "COMMUNISM", AT WHICH WORD EVERY WISE AMERICAN STRAIGHTWAY DIVES UNDER THE BED.

EXPLOITATION OF LABOR IS, OF COURSE, THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. I AM USING THE WORD IN NO TECHNICAL MARXIST SENSE, BUT SIMPLY AS NAMING THE FACT THAT MODERN MAN TRIES TO GET HIS COMFORT AND INCOME FROM OTHER PEOPLE'S WORK AND PAIN, AND SUCCEEDS IN CONVINCING HIMSELF THAT THIS IS NECESSARY AND RIGHT AND THE ONLY PATH TO HIGH HUMAN CULTURE.

41-3-100

TODAY, AS FORMERLY, AND IN SPITE OF EVERY DEVICE TO HIDE THE TRUTH, THE RIGHT OF THE MINORITY OF MEN TO USE THE MAJORITY SO FAR AS THEY CAN, FOR THEIR OWN INCOME AND ENJOYMENT, IS STILL A DOMINANT WAY OF LIFE. IT IS, HOWEVER, DIFFICULT TO PROVE THIS IN ~~BLACK AND WHITE~~ BECAUSE OF THE SECRECY WHICH CONCEALS THE FACTS. MANY STUDENTS HAVE TRIED, FOR INSTANCE, TO PUT IN FIGURES THE DISPARITY OF INCOME WHICH IS CURRENT IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT HAVE FOUND IT HARD TO BASE THEIR REPORTS ON FIGURES, SINCE INCOME RETURNS, OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, AND PARTICULARLY OWNERSHIP OF CORPORATE WEALTH, IS IN THE MAIN CON-

CEALED BY THREAT OF JAIL.

IN AFRICA THERE ARE CERTAIN OVERALL FACTS WHICH CANNOT BE KEPT SECRET. IT IS A PUBLISHED FACT THAT WHEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR OPENED, THE BLACK NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA FORMING 80% OF THE POPULATION, ~~HAD~~ Controlled BUT 8% OF THE LAND. THIS WAS APPROXIMATELY THE SAME IN THE RHODESIAS, AND WAS A BETTER CONDITION THAN IN ALL EAST AFRICA, CENTRAL AND NORTH CENTRAL AFRICA. ADD TO THIS THE FACT THAT TODAY IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA EACH WHITE MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IS SUPPORTED BY FIVE BLACK AND COLORED SLAVES; OR, IF YOU PREFER TO SAY, NINE MILLION DARK WORKERS CAN LIVE ONLY BY WORKING FOR whites at WAGES DETERMINED BY WHITES, WITH NO LEGAL TRADE UNIONS, NO effective VOTE, NO DEFENSE AGAINST WHITE POLICE AND SOLDIERS; WITH SEGREGATED AND WRETCHED HOUSING AND A MINIMUM OF EDUCATION. IN THE RHODESIAS, KENYA, NYASSALAND, TANGANYIKA, LESS THAN A QUARTER MILLION WHITES, BACKED BY THE FORCE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD, ARE DOMINATING THE LAND AND LABOR OF 18 MILLION BLACKS; WHILE IN CENTRAL AFRICA FEWER WHITES CONTROL LARGER MASSES OF NEGRO LABOR AND ATTAIN OWNERSHIP OF VASTER

WEALTH. XXXXX BRITISH, FRENCH AND NOW AMERICAN CAPITALISM IS INVESTING IN AND BUILDING NEW POWER PLANNED AT PRESENT FOR OVERTHROWING CIVILIZATION THROUGH WORLD WAR.

THIS CONTROL OF WEALTH AND HUMAN WORK HAS ~~LONG BEEN A MATTER OF SATISFACTION~~ for now five centuries been satisfactory TO THE WHITE WORLD, AND USED IN SHOWING THE CLEAR SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE RACE. BUT IT HAS MET OPPOSITION AND TODAY THIS OPPOSITION IS GROWING. ITS GROWTH IN ASIA HAS OVERWHELMED US WITH COMPLETE SURPRISE. WE CANNOT YET BELIEVE IT AND ARE EXPLAINING IT AS OUR POLITICAL MISTAKE. IT WAS OUR MISTAKE, BUT THE MISTAKE OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND ~~OUR~~ the RELIGION WHICH SUPPORTS IT; AND FINALLY OF THE PROPAGANDA WHICH WE CALL NEWS AND EDUCATION.

THIS REVOLT OF LABOR WHICH BEGAN AND CONTINUES IN EUROPE AND HAS EXTENDED TO ASIA AND THE SOUTH SEAS, HAS ~~LONG~~ BEEN SEETHING IN AFRICA AND IS NOW RISING WITH NEW LIFE AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE SCENE AS THE CHIEF EXPLOITER OF COLORED LABOR IN THE WORLD.

41-3-121

THERE HAS ARISEN, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, A WIDESPREAD IDEA THAT

A NEW EUROPE IS GOING TO BE BUILT ON THE EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA, AND THAT AMERICA IS GOING TO REPLACE THE BRITISH EMPIRE AS THE CHIEF EXPLOITING NATION. THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF AFRICA WAS POINTED OUT IN WHITE KENYA AS EARLY AS 1920. WHITE MEN THERE, PARTLY OF SOUTH AFRICAN DESCENT, ASKED BRITAIN TO GIVE UP ASIA AND CENTER ON AFRICA WITH ITS DOCILE LABOR. AS AN OBSERVER WROTE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR: "NOW THAT THE PALMY DAYS OF THE EMPIRE ARE OVER, AFRICA IS THE BRIGHTEST REMAINING JEWEL IN THE IMPERIAL CROWN. VOICES FROM ALL PARTIES PROCLAIM AFRICA'S NEW ROLE IN THE IMPERIAL SCHEME. ~~GENERAL SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND~~, A STAUNCH CHURCHILLIAN TORY NOW SETTLED IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, SEES IN AFRICA THE NEW STRATEGIC CENTRE OF THE EMPIRE AND WANTS THE IMPERIAL ARMED FORCES AND WAR INDUSTRIES CONCENTRATED THERE." THE MILITARY BASE OF EMPIRE WAS MOVED FROM EGYPT TO KENYA, WHICH NOW HAS A VAST BRITISH ARSENAL IN ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IS TAKING NOTE OF AFRICA. IN ARMED FORCES, TALK NUMBER 260, THERE IS A SUMMARY THAT SAYS: "AFRICA, SECOND LARGEST OF THE CONTINENTS, SEEMS DESTINED TO PLAY AN EVEN GREATER PART IN THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS. WESTERN

EUROPE ESPECIALLY IS LOOKING TOWARD ITS AFRICAN POSSESSIONS WITH RENEWED INTEREST. GREAT PROJECTS ALREADY ARE UNDER WAY TO DEVELOP AFRICA'S AGRICULTURAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES. THE PURPOSE IS TO PROVIDE WESTERN EUROPE WITH A NEW SOURCE OF FOOD, AND NEW SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS FOR ITS INDUSTRIES..." AN AMERICAN NEGRO, LONG A STUDENT OF THE AFRICAN SITUATION, SAID IN 1949: "CHASED OUT OF CHINA, THE ROBBER BARONS OF THE WESTERN WORLD NOW ARE TAKING A FRESH AND KEEN INTEREST IN PLUNDERING THE WEALTH OF AFRICA. AND IT IS THE AMERICAN ROBBER BARONS -- THE WEALTHIEST AND MOST POWERFUL IN THE WORLD -- WHO ARE LEADING THIS NEW RAID ON THE CONTINENT OF OUR FOREFATHERS.

41-3-122

"THEIR AIM NOW IS TO MAKE AFRICA 'SAFE' FOR AMERICAN INVESTMENT PROFITS. BUT JUST AS SURELY AS NIGHT FOLLOWS DAY, -- DESPITE ALL THEIR EFFORTS TO SEAL OFF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE FROM THE EXPANDING FREE WORLD AROUND THEM WITH A DOUBLE THICKNESS IRON CURTAIN -- THE ROBBER BARONS WILL BE CHASED OUT OF AFRICA AS THEY HAVE BEEN CHASED OUT OF CHINA."

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THE ECONOMIC LURE OF AFRICA IS TREMENDOUS. IN 1948 AFRICA PRODUCED 98.4% OF THE WORLD'S OUTPUT OF DIAMONDS, 80% OF THE TOTAL OUTPUT OF COBALT, 58.9% OF THE GOLD, 35.5% OF THE PHOSPHATES, APPROXIMATELY 30% OF THE CHROME ORE

AND MANGANESE, AND 18% OF THE COPPER. IN 1948 AFRICA PRODUCED 68.3% OF THE WORLD'S COCOA, 69.5% OF THE PALM OIL (PALM KERNELS AND PALM OIL), ~~25.5%~~ OF THE SISAL, 40.4% OF THE HARD FIBRES, AND 15.3% OF THE COFFEE.

THE MAP OF AFRICA IS CHANGING. "A NEW WORLD IS STRUGGLING TO BE BORN". THE CHANGES ARE THE RESULT OF WORLD WAR II. WHAT WILL RESULT FROM WORLD WAR III? VAST CHANGES HAS ALREADY COME TO ASIA. ITALY HAS BEEN ALMOST DRIVEN OUT; ERITREA HAS BEEN UNITED TO ETHIOPIA; LIBYA HAS BEEN POLITICALLY FREED; THE SUDAN IS ASPIRING TO LIBERATION. WEST AFRICA IS MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. THE BATTLE AGAINST SLAVERY CENTERS IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA.

LET US EXPLORE THIS WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICAN LABOR. WE CAN DISTINGUISH EIGHT PHASES OF THE EXPLOITATION: THE SLAVE TRADE WHICH TRANSPORTED BLACK LABOR TO AMERICA AND BUILT THE SUGAR AND COTTON KINGDOMS WHICH FOUNDED MODERN CAPITALISM ON EUROPE; NEXT SLAVE AND SERF LABOR ON AFRICAN FARMS, MINES AND PLANTATIONS. THIS IS THE HISTORY OF EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA; THEN LAND SEQUESTRATION, RELIGION AND CASTE; THIS WAS FOLLOWED

BY THE CONVENTIONAL ATTEMPT TO TAKE A PART OF THE EXPLOITED COLORED MASS INTO PARTNERSHIP SO AS TO CARRY OUT THE EXPLOITATION OF THE MASS. THIS CAME INTO USE IN WEST AFRICA WHERE THE ENGLISH, AFTER 6 WARS WITH THE ASANTI, AND THE FRENCH AFTER 50 YEARS OF WARS IN THE SUDAN, WERE UNABLE TO CONQUER THE NATIVES AND THEREFORE TRIED SUCCESSFULLY TO RULE THEM THROUGH ~~THEIR OWN~~ native CHIEFS AND ~~THEIR OWN~~ native SOCIAL ORGANIZATION -- SO AS TO HAVE THE LEAST INTERFERENCE WITH CONTROL OF LABOR.

41-3-101

THERE FOLLOWED A REGULAR WAGE SYSTEM WHERE LOW WAGES WERE PAID TO MINERS, ARTISANS AND FARM LABORERS. THIS TOOK PLACE IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA, CENTRAL AFRICA, AND THE MINING REGIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA. IN WEST AFRICA IT EVOLVED INTO PARTIAL POLITICAL CONTROL, WHERE THE LABORERS HAD SOME RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO FORM TRADE UNIONS; BUT THE MAIN OBJECT OF THE WHOLE COLONIAL ORGANIZATION WAS TO FURNISH CHEAP RAW MATERIAL TO EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COMPANIES. FINALLY, TODAY, THERE HAS COME IN WEST AFRICA AND ETHIOPIA A DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE, LIMITED AND CONTROLLED, HOWEVER, BY INVESTING IMPERIALISM ABROAD.

KEEPING THESE 8 METHODS OF LABOR CONTROL IN AFRICA IN MIND, LET US EXAMINE THE

REACTION OF THE AFRICANS OVER THE YEARS IN SOME OF THE 19 DIFFERENT AREAS. IN AFRICA, JUST AS IN THE WEST INDIES AND THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA, REVOLT OF LABOR HAS BEEN LONG AND CONTINUOUS, BUT ~~AS~~ so FAR AS POSSIBLE CONCEALED FROM THE PUBLIC AND unrecorded in HISTORY BECAUSE OF THE BAD EFFECT WHICH IT WOULD HAVE ON CURRENT POLICIES.

IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, FOR INSTANCE, THE HISTORY OF WAR, REVOLT, STRIKES, WITH POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE, COVERS A THOUSAND YEARS OF MODERN HISTORY. IT BEGAN WHEN THE BANTU TRIBES CROSSED THE ZAMBESI AND MOVED SLOWLY INTO SOUTH AFRICA. THEY DROVE BACK BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS, AND ATTACKED THE INCOMING DUTCH LATE IN THE 18TH CENTURY. WHEN THE ENGLISH CAME, THERE WERE 6 KAFFIR WARS BETWEEN 1817 AND 1877, ENDING WITH THE KILLING OF THE FRENCH CROWN PRINCE.

EARLY IN THE 19TH CENTURY CAME THE ALMOST INVINCIBLE ZULU IMPI UNDER CHAKA, FOLLOWED BY DINGAAN. WHEN IN 1837 THE DUTCH, FLEEING THE ENGLISH, MADE THE GREAT TREK TO THE LANDS WHICH THE BANTU HAD SEIZED, 3000 DEAD WERE LEFT AT THE DECISIVE BATTLE AT BLOOD RIVER; FOLLOWED BY A DECADE OF INTERMITTENT WAR. IN 1870 AND

THEREAFTER, THE THREE MEN WHO DOMINATED SOUTH AFRICA WERE THE BLACK CHIEF, LOBENGULA, THE WHITE EXPLOITER, CECIL RHODES, AND THE BOER PRESIDENT, KRUGER. RHODES HAD LISTENED TO THE FLOWER OF ENGLISH CULTURE AT OXFORD AND HEARD ENGLAND CALLED "THE SCEPTERED ISLE", DESTINED TO RULE THE WORLD. HE IMPLEMENTED THE PHRASE AND RAIDED SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH BECAME AMONG THE GREATEST OF MODERN EXPLOITERS OF BLACK LABOR.

THE FIGHT WITH THE HOTTENTOTS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH BROKE THE BANTU TRIBES INTO FRAGMENTS, BUT IN THE NORTHERN PART THERE REMAIN THE SELF-GOVERNING BAMANGWATO. IT WAS THIS TRIBE AND COUNTRY THAT ~~ONCE~~ was EXTENDED SO AS TO LINK THE CAPE TO CAIRO. YET THE TRIBE WAS PARTIALLY INDEPENDENT, AND KHAMA IN THE 19TH CENTURY BECAME ITS CHIEF. HE WAS SUCCEEDED BY TSHEKEL, WHO HAD A WHITE ENGLISHMAN WHIPPED FOR MOLESTING A COLORED WOMAN, WITH THE RESULT THAT AN ENGLISH ARMY MARCHED UP FROM THE CAPE WITH 500 MARINES AND TWO CANNON AND TRIED TO PUNISH HIM. LONDON FINALLY BACKED DOWN; BUT PUSHED ON BY THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TRIED AGAIN TO INTERFERE WHEN THE YOUNG CHIEF SERETSI KHAMA, STUDYING IN ENGLAND, MARRIED A TYPIST, AND NOW IS REFUSED RESIDENCE IN HIS OWN LAND.

41-3-102

IN 1867 DIAMONDS, AND IN 1885 GOLD WERE DISCOVERED IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH SEALED ITS FATE. THE BOER WAR CAME IN 1899, AND, formation of THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TEN YEARS LATER. THERE FOLLOWED AN EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY OF UNREST AND REVOLT.

GOLD AND DIAMONDS CHARACTERIZED THE MODERN CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. THE DIAMONDS TYPIFY LUXURY AND EXTRAVAGANCE, IN THE GREAT CENTERS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION -- NEW YORK, LONDON AND PARIS. LATELY THEY ARE NECESSARY FOR MECHANICAL TECHNIQUES. GOLD LONG WAS A MEASURING ROD OF MODERN WEALTH AND STILL IS PARTIALLY. THE ORGANIZATION, THEREFORE, OF THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES IN SOUTH AFRICA ESTABLISHED A WORLD PATTERN. LABORERS WERE BROUGHT FROM ALL PARTS OF AFRICA BY FORCE, FRAUD, AND PROMISE ~~OF WAGES~~. THEY WERE HERDED INTO THE MINES, WORKED UNDER FORCE AND WHIP, AND PAID A ~~SHILLING~~ 24 cents A DAY. FAMILY LIFE THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA, EXTENDING EVEN TO CENTRAL AFRICA, WAS, harshly BROKEN UP.

EFFORTS TO UNIONIZE THESE WORKERS WERE OPPOSED, NOT SIMPLY BY THE MINE OWNERS, BUT BY THE WHITE WORKERS. THE WHITE TRADE UNIONS NOT ONLY REFUSED TO ADMIT NEGROES, BUT AGITATED AND MARCHED TO KEEP NEGRO UNIONS FROM BEING RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

AN ENGLISHMAN, LANGNAS, WRITES: " PERHAPS THE BEST ARGUMENT FOR COMMUNISM IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY. AFRICANS HAVE LONG MEMORIES AND ARE UNLIKELY TO FORGET THAT THE 'CIVILIZED LABOUR POLICY', KNOWN TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS THE COLOUR BAR, WAS NOT IMPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT BY THE WHITE WORKERS. IN 1922, THEY WENT ON STRIKE RATHER THAN PERMIT NON-EUROPEANS TO DO SKILLED LABOUR. THEY MARCHED THROUGH JOHANNESBURG WITH BANNERS INSCRIBED 'WORKERS OF THE WORLD, FIGHT AND UNITE FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICA', AND SET UP A SOVIET REPUBLIC BASED ON THE COLOUR BAR. THE JOHANNESBURG SOVIET LASTED ONLY A FEW HOURS, AND WAS SUPPRESSED WITH BLOODSHED, BUT THE COLOUR BAR BECAME THE LAW OF THE LAND." THE RESULTING WAGE SITUATION WAS FANTASTIC. A BRICKLAYER WORKING FOR A BRITISH FIRM CAME TO SOUTH AFRICA AND SAID "THIS COUNTRY HAS A MONOPOLY ON STUPIDITY." EACH WHITE BRICKLAYER HAD 4 NATIVE HELPERS. THE WHITE MAN WAS PAID $56 A WEEK, OR IF AN APPRENTICE, AT LEAST $32 A WEEK. THE NATIVE WAS PAID $10 A WEEK, AND DID PRACTICALLY ALL THE WORK.

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IN THE MIDST OF THIS HAS ARISEN THE OPPOSED ECONOMY OF FARMER AND INDUSTRIALIST. THE FARMER WANTS PRACTICALLY SLAVE LABOR, AND HAS TODAY ABOUT 2¼ MILLION AFRICANS RE-

CEIVING A WAGE OF ~~10 SHILLINGS~~ $2.40 A MONTH WITH RATIONS, AND BEING PRACTICALLY FORCED TO STAY ON THE LAND BY THE GOVERNMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CITY WORKER CAN BE SEEN IN A CITY LIKE DURBAN, WITH NEARLY 400 THOUSAND INHABITANTS, 1/3 EUROPEAN, 1/3 INDIAN AND 1/3 AFRICAN. THE EUROPEANS AND A FEW OF THE INDIANS LIVE IN HOUSES. THOUSANDS OF THE AFRICANS SQUAT IN SHACKS ON THE OUTSKIRTS. THE CITY WHERE THE EUROPEANS LIVE HAS BROAD STREETS, TROPICAL VEGETATION, AND MILES OF BEACH.

IN JOHANNESBURG, THE CAPITAL OF THE MINING SECTION, THERE HAVE BEEN DOZENS OF RACIAL OUTBURSTS SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IT WAS IN DURBAN THAT MAHATMA GANDHI WAS MOBBED. IN FEBRUARY 1949 THERE WAS A SERIES OF RIOTS BETWEEN AFRICANS AND INDIANS. A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY WAS APPOINTED, WITH AFRICAN AND INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES, BUT THEY WITHDREW WHEN THEY WERE GIVEN NO RIGHT TO CROSS-EXAMINE WITNESSES.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN CAPE COLONY ALL RACES HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THE NATIVE VOTERS WERE DIVIDED BETWEEN THE LEADING PARTIES, AND EDUCATED

NEGROES WERE ALWAYS PRO-EUROPEAN, FIGHTING WITH THE WHITES IN THE KAFFIR WARS.

IN 1908 THERE WAS A NATIONAL CONVENTION AT DURBAN TO PLAN FOR A UNION OF CAPE COLONY, THE ORANGE RIVER FREE STATE, THE TRANSVAAL, AND NATAL. THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE CAPE COLONY AND PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE CAPE DELEGATES WERE IN FAVOR OF ENFRANCHISING THE NATIVE AND COLORED PEOPLE IN THE NEW UNION. BUT GENERAL BOTHA, PRIME MINISTER OF THE TRANSVAAL SAID THAT IF THAT POLICY WAS CARRIED THERE COULD BE NO UNION. FINALLY IT WAS DECIDED THAT THERE COULD BE NO CHANGE IN THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE EXCEPT BY A 2/3 MAJORITY OF THE LEGISLATURE.

41-3-104

IN 1926 GENERAL HERTZOG BEGAN HIS ATTACK ON THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE WHICH LASTED UNTIL 1936 WHEN, BY A 2/3 MAJORITY THE CAPE NATIVES WERE DISFRANCHISED, AFTER HAVING HAD THE VOTE FOR 80 YEARS. THE NATIVE VOTERS' NAMES WERE TRANSFERRED TO A SEPARATE POLL, WHERE THEY COULD ELECT 3 MEMBERS WHO ~~WOULD~~ must BE WHITE, AND WOULD BE THE ONLY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIVE INTERESTS IN A CHAMBER OF 153 MEMBERS.

IN 1950 THE GROUP AREAS ACT WAS PASSED, CLASSIFYING ALL PERSONS AND COMPANIES

AS WHITE, NATIVE, OR COLORED. THE GROUPS WERE SEPARATED FOR LAND OR OCCUPATION, ~~XXXXX~~ BUT THE SERVANTS AND CITY WORKERS ARE EXCEPTED FROM COMPLETE SEGREGATION. A NATIVE OR COLORED GROUP AREA HAS A GOVERNING BOARD APPOINTED BY A MEMBER OF THE CABINET. OUT OF A TOTAL POPULATION OF 12½ MILLION IN SOUTH AFRICA THERE WERE 1½ MILLION VOTERS, OF WHOM 50 THOUSAND WERE COLORED.

SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE BEEN PROTESTING. 25 YEARS AGO A COLORED LEADER, CLEMENTS KADALIE, FORMED A TRADE UNION WHICH WAS CALLED "COMMUNIST" BUT HAD A WIDE INFLUENCE AND A LARGE FOLLOWING. EVENTUALLY HE WAS DRIVEN OUT. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

UNDER THE PASS LAWS THE NATIVES ARE REQUIRED TO CARRY AS MANY AS 16 PERMISSIONS TO MOVE FROM PLACE TO PLACE. AS A RESULT OF THE ARRESTS UNDER THESE LAWS, SOUTH AFRICA HAS THE LARGEST NUMBER OF ARRESTS CURRENT IN ANY COUNTRY CALLING ITSELF CIVILIZED. IN 1946 THERE WAS A STRIKE OF 50,000 GOLD MINE WORKERS. POLICE ATTACKED THE STRIKERS WITH MACHINE GUNS, TEAR GAS, AND HAND GRENADES.

IN JANUARY 1949, AN AFRICAN TRYING TO PREVENT THE ARREST OF HIS WIFE STARTED A

RIOT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF JOHANNESBURG. THE POLICE WERE DRIVEN OUT, BUT RETURNING WITH TEAR GAS, ARRESTED 600 MEN AND WOMEN. THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ORGANIZED A PROTEST MEETING, BUT IN FEBRUARY THE POLICE INVADED THE DISTRICT AND THERE WAS ANOTHER FIGHT. 275 AFRICANS WERE ARRESTED.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AROSE AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN 1921. IT IS THIS CONGRESS WHICH LAST JANUARY WROTE THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER SAYING: "AS IS WELL-KNOWN, THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH ITS REPRESSIVE POLICY OF TRUSTEESHIP, SEGREGATION AND APARTHEID, AND THROUGH LEGISLATION THAT CONTINUES TO INSULT AND DEGRADE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE BY DEPRIVING THEM OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS ENJOYED IN ALL DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITIES, HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED OUR OFFER OF COOPERATION. THE CONSEQUENCE HAS BEEN THE GRADUAL WORSENING OF THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POSITION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND A RISING TIDE OF RACIAL BITTERNESS AND TENSION. THE POSITION HAS BEEN AGGRAVATED IN RECENT TIMES BY THE PASS LAWS, STOCK LIMITATION, THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT OF 1950, THE GROUP AREAS ACT OF 1950, THE BANTU AUTHORITIES ACT OF 1951, AND THE VOTERS ACT OF 1951.

41-3-105

"THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT THIS LEGISLATION HAS IS TO CRUSH THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE; TO DESTROY THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE PEOPLE AND TO CREATE A RESERVOIR OF CHEAP LABOR FOR THE FARMS AND THE GOLD MINES; TO PREVENT THE UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE TOWARDS FULL NATIONHOOD, AND TO HUMILIATE THEM IN A HOST OF OTHER MANNERS.

"THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, AS THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, CANNOT REMAIN QUIET ON AN ISSUE THAT IS A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH TO THE PEOPLE. TO DO SO WOULD BE A BETRAYAL OF THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE PLACED UPON IT BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

"AT A RECENT ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD IN BLOEMFONTEIN FROM THE 15th TO THE 17th OF DECEMBER, 1951, THE WHOLE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS REVIEWED AND, AFTER SERIOUS AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE MATTER, CONFERENCE UNANIMOUSLY VOTED TO CALL UPON YOUR GOVERNMENT, AS WE HEREBY DO, TO REPEAL THE AFOREMENTIONED ACTS BY NOT LATER THAN THE 29th DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1952, FAILING WHICH

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WILL HOLD PROTEST MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE 6TH DAY OF APRIL, 1952 AS A PRELUDE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN FOR THE DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS..."

A REPORTER FROM TIME SAYS: "TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, LONG CONFIDENT OF THEIR ABILITY TO RULE OVER FIVE TIMES THEIR NUMBER OF BLACKS, THE BLACKS HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME A MAJOR INTERNAL FOE. THIS IS THE REAL BASIS OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF APARTHEID (APARTNESS). A NATIONALIST FRANKLY TOLD ME: 'WE AIM TO SEGREGATE THEM COMPLETELY, LIVING AS FAR AWAY FROM US AS POSSIBLE'...'BUT YOU NEED THESE PEOPLE TO KEEP YOUR INDUSTRIES GOING'...'OH, YES. BUT WE WANT THEM TO LIVE WELL AWAY FROM US. THEN, IF THERE'S TROUBLE, WE KNOW WHERE TO DROP THE BOMBS.' A CENTURY AGO (THE REPORTER COMMENTS) THE WHITES FORMED THEMSELVES INTO A LAAGER WHEN ATTACKED BY BLACK WARRIORS. TODAY, THE ORDER IS AGAIN TO DRAW BACK INTO THE LAAGER -- AND SHOOT TO KILL."

35-10-18

IN 1952 ~~EXTRA X12½MILLION INHABITANTS IN THE UNION SOUTH AFRICA~~

BETWEEN 1900 AND 1950 THE TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTED BY CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

IN AFRICA INCREASED FROM 500 MILLION TO 15 HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. TODAY IT UNDOUBTEDLY EXCEEDS THE BRITISH INVESTMENTS. IN 1949 SOUTH AFRICA ASKED FOR A LOAN OF 50 MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND GOT 10 MILLION DOLLARS. HOWEVER, IN DECEMBER 1950 THEY RECEIVED 80 MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE "TOP SECRET", BUT INCLUDE PURCHASE RIGHTS TO LARGE QUANTITIES OF URANIUM. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ESTIMATES THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL NEED LOANS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS TOTALLING 1½ BILLION DOLLARS. MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA A LONG TIME. FORD BEGAN INVESTING 25 YEARS AGO. GENERAL MOTORS HAS RECENTLY BUILT A 20 MILLION DOLLARS PLANT, AND HAS OTHER INVESTMENTS. THE AMERICAN KENNECOTT CORPORATION HAS RECENTLY INVESTED AN ADDITIONAL 8 MILLION DOLLARS IN GOLD MINES.

GENERAL LUCIUS CLAY IS A DIRECTOR IN THE NEWMONT MINING CORPORATION, WHICH MADE PROFITS OF 9 MILLION DOLLARS IN THREE YEARS. OTHER AMERICAN OWNERS ARE: FIRESTONE, GOODYEAR, GENERAL ELECTRIC. ALL INVESTMENTS HAVE BEEN INCREASED SHARPLY SINCE 1945. MOST FOREIGN INVESTMENT CAPITAL COMES NOW FROM AMERICA RATHER THAN ENGLAND.

THE UNITED STATES CONSUL GENERAL IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA SAID IN AUGUST, 1950: "THIS COUNTRY HAS A GREATER FUTURE THAN ALMOST ANY YOUNG COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. IT IS DEFINITELY GOING PLACES. CAPITAL INVESTMENTS AND LOANS ARE NOT MADE BY MERE PHILANTHROPISTS BUT BY ASTUTE AND FARSEEING AMERICAN FINANCIERS AND BUSINESS EXECUTIVES," SAID MR. REDECKER AS HE POINTED TO SCORES OF MILLIONS OF AMERICAN DOLLARS THAT HAD BEEN INVESTED IN MINING OR IN THE FORM OF LOANS. "IN ADDITION, MANY AMERICAN PRIVATE COMPANIES HAVE ESTABLISHED BRANCHES AND FACTORIES HERE, AND ARE PLANNING PRODUCTION ON A SCALE NOT ONLY TO CATER FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN MARKET, BUT TO CARRY ITS EXPORT TRADE THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. A BIG AMERICAN INSURANCE COMPANY HAS ESTABLISHED A COMPLETE ORGANIZATION WITH BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE UNION. SIX MILLION DOLLARS WAS ALSO BEING PUT INTO A FACTORY IN THE UNION BY INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES."

35-10-19

THE FIRST 10 MONTHS OF 1952 THE UNION IMPORTED 400 MILLION POUNDS STERLING WORTH OF GOODS, AS COMPARED WITH 245 MILLION IN 1952. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT IN THE 13 GOLD MINES IN THE FREE STATE THERE ARE BETWEEN 6 AND 7 BILLION TONS. IN THE YEAR 2000 IT IS

ESTIMATED THAT THE FREE STATE WILL STILL BE AN IMPORTANT GOLD PRODUCER. THE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNION HAS GROWN FROM 84 MILLION POUNDS STERLING IN 1925 TO 900 MILLION IN 1950-51, EQUALLING IN VALUE THE PRODUCTION OF GOLD AND AGRICULTURE TOGETHER. THE INCREASE IN NET INVESTMENT HAS RISEN FROM 53 MILLION POUNDS STERLING IN 1938 TO 147 BILLION IN 1950. IN 1950 THE PUBLIC INVESTMENT WAS 67 MILLION POUNDS, AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT 80 MILLION POUNDS.

SMALL WONDER THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL STEEL CASTING CORPORATION, ONE OF THE LARGEST MANUFACTURERS OF RAILWAY EQUIPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HAS VISITED SOUTH AFRICA THREE TIMES IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS. HE SAID, AUGUST 20, 1950, THAT HE CONSIDERED SOUTH AFRICA HAD UNLIMITED POTENTIALITY FOR DEVELOPMENT: "I CAN SEE IT GOING AHEAD WITH GREAT SPEED FOR IT IS SO RICH IN SO MANY KINDS OF RAW MATERIALS. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE A GREAT PEOPLE."

[redacted]

AFRICAN NATIONALISM IS GROWING APACE. IT IS BECOMING EVER MORE CLEAR TO THE ACUTEST POLITICAL SCIENTISTS THAT DURING THE NEXT FEW DECADES AFRICA WILL GO THE WAY EUROPE WENT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ASIA WENT IN THE FIRST FIVE DECADES OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES ARE ABOUT TO EMERGE ALL OVER THE CONTINENT NORTH OF THE EQUATOR. CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE NEW POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION NOW UNDER WAY IN AFRICA IS BECOMING APPARENT EVEN IN TRADITIONALIST CIRCLES IN ENGLAND.

THE LONDON OBSERVER IN A RECENT LEADING ARTICLE SAID: "AFRICA TODAY IS LIVING OUT THE STORY OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE THAT OCCURRED THROUGHOUT EUROPE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES, BUT INTENSIFIED BY MELODRAMATIC DIFFERENCES IN PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND A WIDE GULF IN TECHNICAL ATTAINMENTS... THERE ARE TWO POLES OF ATTRACTION. ON THE ATLANTIC COAST AND NORTH OF THE EQUATOR THERE ARE THE POPULOUS ALL-AFRICAN COLONIES OF NIGERIA AND GOLD COAST. HERE THE AFRICANS ARE ATTAINING THEIR AMBITION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH; AND IT WILL BE THE VOICES OF THE WEST AFRICAN LEADERS THAT WILL BE HEEDED BY AFRICANS ELSEWHERE. FAR TO THE SOUTH, THERE IS THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE DR.

41-3-106

MALAN'S NATIONALIST PARTY PRACTICES ITS DOCTRINE OF 'WHITE SUPREMACY'; THIS PROVIDES A POLE OF ATTRACTION FOR OTHER EUROPEAN SETTLERS WHO FEAR THE PROGRESS OF THE AFRICANS."

LET US NOW TURN TO WEST AFRICA. IN 1945 I WAS IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND ATTENDING THE 5th PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. AMONG THE DELEGATES WAS A YOUNG BLACK MAN FROM THE GOLD COAST BRITISH WEST AFRICA, POORLY DRESSED, BUT WITH AN AMERICAN COLLEGE EDUCATION. AFTER LEAVING THIS CONGRESS HE WENT BACK TO THE GOLD COAST WHERE HE WAS ARRESTED, CHARGED WITH COMMUNISM, BECAUSE HE HAD A PLAN OF SOCIAL REFORM FOR WEST AFRICA, AND THROWN INTO JAIL. ON JANUARY 12th THIS MAN, KWAMY NKRUMKH, WAS INSTALLED AS THE FIRST NATIVE PRIME MINISTER OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT MEAN COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR THE 4 MILLION BLACK PEOPLE, BUT IT IS THE NEAREST APPROACH THAT ANY BRITISH AFRICAN COLONY HAS ATTAINED. ALTHOUGH NEGRO AUTONOMY IS STILL RESTRAINED BY BRITISH APPOINTED OFFICIALS WITH CONSIDERABLE POWER, THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE GOLD COAST WILL EASILY BE TURNED BACK FROM INDEPENDENCE, OR THAT ITS NEIGHBOR, WITH 25 MILLION NEGROES, WILL NOT SOON GO THE SAME WAY. NIGERIA

HERE AGAIN WE HAVE A LONG HISTORY. IN THIS PART OF AFRICA THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE BEGAN UNDER THE ENGLISH. THEN THE CHARTERED COMPANIES MOVED IN, AND BY TRADE AND MONOPOLY GRADUALLY BROUGHT NEGRO LABOR UNDER CONTROL, BUT THEY NEVER SUCCEEDED AS IN EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA IN GETTING MONOPOLY OF THE LAND. A CENTURY OF WAR ENSUED, BUT EUROPE DID NOT SUBDUE WEST AFRICA. IT ENTERED INTO TREATY WITH VARIOUS NATIONS AND RULERS SO THAT GRADUALLY THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH FROM 1800 TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR CLAIMED CONTROL OF WEST AFRICA, AND RULED BY ALLOWING SELECTED NATIVE CHIEFS TO REPRESENT THEM IN THE CONTROL OF LABOR. DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS FROM THIS PART OF AFRICA HELPED THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH TO SUBDUE GERMANY. THAT MEANT THE AWAKENING OF WEST AFRICA.

41-3-107

BRITAIN SENSES WHAT IS BREWING. IN 1948, IN THE GUILDED RECEPTION ROOM OF LANCASTER HOUSE CAME A CONFERENCE FROM 10 BRITISH COLONIES, WITH OBSERVERS FROM 5 DEPENDENCIES, AND FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND PORTUGAL. THEY STAYED 15 DAYS. THEY WERE RECEIVED BY THE KING, THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, AND GENERAL MONTGOMERY. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY TOLD

THEM OF WHAT BRITAIN WAS GOING TO GIVE THEM IN ECONOMIC AID. HE SAID "WE MUST WIPE OUT THE WORD 'EXPLOITATION' AND PLACE IT WITH SLAVERY AND PIRACY." THEN THE ONI OF IFE, DESCENDANT OF A LINE OF ROYAL RULERS WHICH GOES BACK A THOUSAND YEARS, AROSE IN HIS WINE RED ROBE AND GREEN SHAWL, AND SPEAKING PERFECT ENGLISH, SAID THAT AFRICANS HAD NOT COME HERE TO LISTEN TO FLOWERY SPEECHES, BUT DEMANDED FAIRER PRICES FOR AFRICAN PRODUCTS, MORE MACHINERY, AND TECHNICAL ASSISTENCE, AND LESS DELAY IN THE PROMISED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. HE HAD IN MIND THE EXTRAORDINARY CASE OF THE COCOA WAR.

WEST AFRICA SUPPLIES THE WORLD NEARLY 70% OF ITS COCOA AND CHOCOLATE. THIS AROSE THROUGH THE ENTERPRISE OF A BLACK NATIVE, TETTIE QUARSIE, WHO OUT-MANEUVERED THE PLANS OF SPANISH PLANTATION OWNERS AND THE BRITISH MANUFACTURERS. THE COCOA CROP OF 250 THOUSAND TO 400 THOUSAND TONS A YEAR IS RAISED ON SMALL FARMS, A TON TO A FARM. THE COCOA IS TAKEN TO ENGLAND, HOLLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AND PROCESSED AND SOLD TO YOU AT A PRICE WHICH MAKES MILLIONAIRES OF CADBURYS, AND AT THE SAME TIME PRICE FLUCTUATIONS PUT THE FARMERS IN BANKRUPTCY.

THE FARMERS, AFTER REPEATED FAILURES, ORGANIZED A BOYCOTT IN 1937-38, AFTER THE BUYERS HAD COMBINED TO KEEP PRICES DOWN BY ESTABLISHING A FIXED PRICE AND NO COMPETITION. THEY HELD 13 EUROPEAN FIRMS AT BAY UNTIL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD TO INTERVENE. WAR CAME, AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOOK COMPLETE CONTROL. A LOW PRICE WAS FIXED, BUT THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO RETURN PROFITS TO THE FARMERS. EVENTUALLY PROFITS OF 8 MILLION DOLLARS WERE REALIZED, BUT THE FARMERS GOT NOTHING. THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO SPEND IT FOR THE FARMERS BENEFIT.

41-3-102

WHEN I WAS AT THE PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN 1945 IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FARMERS COMMITTEE WAS PRESENT. HIS FACE WAS LIKE THE FACE OF THE "MAN OF SORROWS". HE KEPT SAYING "WE MUST BE FREE. WE WILL BE FREE". THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES REFUSED TO RECEIVE HIS DELEGATION. TODAY THE GOLD COAST IS FREE -- OR IS IT? CANNOT THE AMERICAN COCOA MARKET AND BRITISH COCOA MANUFACTURERS STILL CHEAT THE FARMERS OF WEST AFRICA?

A WEST AFRICAN WROTE ME: " YOU MUST HAVE HEARD OF THE DISTURBANCE WHICH BROKE OUT IN THE GOLD COAST IN MARCH, IN WHICH SEVERAL PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND WOUNDED. THIS

WAS THE RESULT OF OVER-INFLATION OF THE PRICES OF IMPORTED GOODS AND THE DEMAND BY THE PEOPLE FOR A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE WHOLE THING WAS PLANNED BY THE LEADING OFFICER IN A RECENTLY ORGANIZED BODY THAT IS KNOWN AS THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION. IT IS A COUNTRY WIDE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY. THE OFFICERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION ARE THE MOST QUALIFIED POLITICIANS OF THE COUNTRY, FOR MOST OF THEM ARE LAWYERS, DOCTORS, AND MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNTRY. THE DISTURBANCES BEGAN WITH STRIKES, BOYCOTT OF ALL IMPORTED GOODS, LOOTING OF THE GOODS IN THE STORES OF BOTH EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC MERCHANTS, AND IT ENDED WITH OPEN ATTACKS ON THE EUROPEANS, ESPECIALLY THE POLITICAL OFFICERS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. THE NATIVES OF THE GOLD COAST WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT STOOD AS MERE SPECTATORS WHEN THEY WERE ORDERED TO DEAL WITH THE CROWD. SOLDIERS FROM NIGERIA WERE ASKED TO COME TO THE AID OF THE GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT, AND REFUSED. CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON ALL THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF THE COUNTRY. THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS WAS TAMPERED WITH, AND SOME LEADING OFFICERS OF THE GOLD

COAST CONVENTION WERE JAILED. THIS IS BUT A CRUDE SUMMARY OF A CRISIS OF UNPARALLELED INTENSITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST AS A BRITISH COLONY...THE COLONIAL EMPIRE THAT WAS ONCE CONSIDERED BY THE PROUD IMPERIALISTS AS SINECURE, HAS NOW BECOME DAMNOSA HEREDITAS. THE WISDOM OF A SERVANT WHO WAS ONCE A FOOL IS A NEVER-ENDING HEADACHE TO HIS MASTER."

41-3-109

AN ENGLISHMAN SAYS OF NIGERIA: "IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF NIGERIA THERE IS GOING ON TODAY A WONDERFUL MOVEMENT FORWARD OF THE HUMAN MIND. FOR SOME IT IS OBSCURED BY DAILY SIGHTS WHICH ARE QUITE HORRIFYING TO ANYONE WHO IS UNACCUSTOMED TO LIVING IN A SOCIETY WHERE THERE IS A GENERAL CALLOUSNESS IN HUMAN RELATIONS, AND WHERE POVERTY IS MEASURED IN TERMS OF OPEN DRAINS AND LACK OF ELEMENTARY TOOLS. BUT THERE ARE OTHER QUITE DIFFERENT SIGHTS TO SEE-- YOUNG MEN EMERGING FROM WHAT LOOK LIKE HOVELS IN SPOTLESS WHITE SHIRTS AND SHORTS, AFRICAN STUDENTS DISCUSSING DIFFICULT CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE, ADVERTISEMENTS FOR AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS OF POLITICAL MEETINGS -- WHICH SPEAK OF ENERGY AND INTELLIGENCE AND A PASSIONATE DESIRE TO BE ACCEPTED

AS THE EQUAL OF ANY OTHER PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. THIS MOVEMENT FORWARD IS EXPRESSED IN ALL KINDS OF EFFORTS TO BETTER VILLAGE AMENITIES, TO IMPROVE LABOUR CONDITIONS, TO COLLECT FUNDS FOR STUDENTS TO STUDY ABROAD, AND SO ON. THESE EFFORTS CONSTITUTE THE SOIL FROM WHICH SPRING THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE TASK IT IS TO MAKE EFFECTIVE IN A POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL SENSE THE POPULAR DESIRE FOR EQUAL STATUS."

THE NIGERIAN LABOR CONGRESS RE-OPENED ITS DEMANDS FOR PAY INCREASES IN DECEMBER, 1950. THE UNITED AFRICA COMPANY, A SUBSIDIARY OF LEVER BROTHERS, REFUSED THE DEMAND, AND A STRIKE WAS CALLED DECEMBER 14. 20 THOUSAND WORKERS BROUGHT ALL BUSINESS IN LAGOS TO A STANDSTILL, -- DESPITE POLICE ASSAULTS AND ARRESTS -- UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT AGREED TO APPOINT AN INQUIRY COMMISSION. MEANTIME THEY WERE LOCKED OUT BY THEIR EMPLOYERS.

HERE ARE TWO POLES OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT -- COMPLETE SUBJECTION OF THE WORKER IN SOUTH AFRICA, INDEPENDENCE IN WEST AFRICA. BETWEEN THEM THE CONTINENT IS DIVIDED. IN THE RHODESIAS THERE IS THE CONTINUED ATTEMPT OF GROUPS VARYING FROM 25 TO 100,000

WHITES, TO CONTROL 18 MILLION BLACK WORKERS AND SEQUESTRATE THEIR LAND UNDER THE GUISE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN WHICH ONLY THE WHITES SHARE.

THUS NORTHERN RHODESIA WITH LESS THAN 50 THOUSAND WHITES AND NEARLY 2 MILLION NEGROES; SOUTHERN RHODESIA WITH 100 THOUSAND WHITES AND 2 MILLION NEGROES; TANGANYIKA WITH 10 THOUSAND WHITES AND 7 MILLION NEGROES; KENYA WITH 50 THOUSAND WHITES AND 5 MILLION NEGROES, AND NYASSALAND WITH 10 THOUSAND WHITES AND 2 MILLION NEGROES, ARE ALL WORKING FOR INDEPENDENCE, OR A BRITISH DOMINION WHICH WILL LET LESS THAN 200 THOUSAND WHITES DOMINATE CENTRAL AFRICA.

41-3-110

IF AMERICAN STUDENTS WANT A LABORATORY TEST OF THE DIVISION OF BUSINESS PROFITS, AND MOST OF YOU DO NOT, CONSIDER THE LOOT OF COPPER MINING IN NORTHERN RHODESIA. THE MINES WERE DISCOVERED AND WORKED BY NATIVES FOR A THOUSAND YEARS. IN A SINGLE YEAR, 1937, THE COPPER EXTRACTED SOLD FOR 30 MILLION DOLLARS. OF THIS 700 THOUSAND WENT TO 17 THOUSAND BLACK LABORERS, OR $42 APIECE FOR THE YEAR; 2 MILLION DOLLARS WENT TO 1700 WHITE MEN IN SALARIES, OR ~~$1500~~ $15,000 APIECE; 15 MILLION DOLLARS AND A HALF WENT ~~TO~~

AS DIVIDENDS TO PERSONS WHO HAD NOT LIFTED THEIR HANDS EXCEPT TO CUT COUPONS.

THE WAGES OF 37 THOUSAND AFRICAN MINERS IN THE COPPER BELT OF NORTHERN RHODESIA HAVE RISEN FROM $5.88 TO $10.22 A MONTH IN THE LAST 5 YEARS. THE WAGES OF WHITE MINERS IN THE SAME PERIOD ROSE FROM $164 TO $260 A MONTH. THE AFRICANS PROTESTED AND STRUCK. THEY REJECTED AN OFFER OF $19.60 INCREASE A YEAR, BUT FINALLY ACCEPTED AN INCREASE OF $30 A YEAR.

THE LONDON PERIODICAL, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA WARNS THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THIS VICTORY UPON MORE AMBITIOUS MEMBERS OF THE UNION AND OTHER AFRICANS MUST NOT BE UNDER-RATED.

RECENTLY DIVIDENDS FOR THE ABSENTEE INVESTORS IN RHODESIA COPPER MINES HAVE BEEN RUNNING FROM 40% TO 125%.

IN 1951 IN SOUTH RHODESIA A SOUTH RHODESIA COUNCIL HAS BEEN ORGANIZED TO DEMAND "BLACK MEN MUST BE KEPT OUT OF THE WHITE PARLIAMENT". TODAY, OUT OF 2 MILLION AFRICANS

IN THE TERRITORY, ONLY 500 ARE ALLOWED TO VOTE, THROUGH PROPERTY AND INCOME QUALIFICATIONS. THE COUNTRY IS RULED BY 100 THOUSAND WHITES. WHITE SETTLERS ARE CONSIDERING WAYS OF GETTING RID OF THE INDEPENDENT BLACK FARMERS. THE PAPER NEW RHODESIA SAYS: "THERE ARE MORE CITIZENS IN SOUTH RHODESIA WITH AN INCOME OF 5 THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR AFTER PAYING INCOME TAX, THAN THERE ARE IN GREAT BRITAIN."

THE RHODESIAS AND NYASSALAND ARE AGITATING FOR AN INDEPENDENT CONFEDERATION IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH RULED BY WHITES. HARRY NKUMBULA, PRESIDENT OF THE NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN CONGRESS RECENTLY DECLARED THAT A "COLD WAR" WAS IN PROGRESS BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF AFRICA. "WHAT ARE WE AFRICANS TO DO?" HE ASKED. "HAVE WE TO TAKE OUR CASE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE UNITED NATIONS, OR SHALL WE TAKE TO UNDERGROUND AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS?" HIS ORGANIZATION LAST FALL ASKED THE GOVERNMENT TO ABOLISH THE REQUIREMENT OF NIGHT PASSES FOR AFRICANS AND THE COLOR BAR (JIM CROW) IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND SHOPS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA. THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF THE NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN MINEWORKERS' UNION,

41-3-111

(WITH 25 THOUSAND PAID-UP MEMBERS) HAVE BEEN TOURING BRITAIN THIS YEAR AS OFFICIAL GUESTS OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS, IN ORDER TO STUDY METHODS OF TRADE UNION NEGOTIATION AND ORGANIZATION.

A

LIBYA IS THE STOOGE OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE LATTER ESTABLISHED ON A VAST AIRFIELD ON THE MEDITERRANEAN WHERE ITS EXPENDITURES HELP DOMINATE THE WASTE ACRES OF THIS DESERT WITH ITS 3 MILLION INHABITANTS. BRITISH AND EGYPTIAN TROOPS ~~XXX~~ STILL STATIONED IN THE NATION, ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY IN ITS TRANSITION. IN ITS FIRST NATIONAL ELECTION IN FEBRUARY, THE NATIONAL CONGRESS PARTY CAMPAIGNED VIGOROUSLY ON A PLATFORM DEMANDING REMOVAL OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND UNITED STATES LAND AND AIR FORCES FROM THE COUNTRY, AND THE CLOSING DOWN OF ALL FOREIGN BASES. INCOMPLETE RETURNS GAVE THE PRO-WESTERN INDEPENDENCE PARTY 37 SEATS IN THE 55-MAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. CONGRESS PARTY DEMONSTRATIONS WERE SMASHED BY BRITISH-LED POLICE USING TEAR GAS AND RIFLES. FIVE PERSONS WERE KILLED AND 50 WOUNDED. A DISPATCH TO THE NEW YORK TIMES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SCALE OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY'S VICTORY HAS CAUSED "DOUBTS IN MANY MINDS REGARDING THE FAIRNESS OF THE VOTING."

41-3-115

* I HAVE NOT TIME TO COMPLETE THIS PICTURE, BUT THE AFRICAN PROBLEM AND THE REVOLT AGAINST PRESENT CONDITIONS IS CLEAR.

B

THE EFFECT OF THE REVOLT OF AFRICA ON AMERICAN NEGROES HAS BEEN DEEP BUT NOT YET QUITE REALIZED EVEN AMONG NEGROES THEMSELVES. HITHERTO THE NEGRO IN THIS COUNTRY HAS HAD A COMPARATIVELY SIMPLE PROGRAM: TO BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WITH ALL THE RIGHTS ATTACHED TO THAT STATUS. IN FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS HE RESENTED AMERICAN SUBJUGATION OF HAITI AND USED HIS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL POWER TO STOP IT. BUT IN ECONOMIC POLICY, HE FOLLOWED BOOKER WASHINGTON IN BLIND WORSHIP OF CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF LABOR EVEN BY NEGROES. ALL HE DEMANDED WAS EQUAL RIGHT TO EXPLOIT. MR. WASHINGTON EASILY LED THE NEGRO LEADER TO OPPOSE THE LABOR UNION AND THE LABOR UNIONS COOPERATED BY EXCLUDING NEGRO WORKERS. WHEN, HOWEVER, AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, COMPETITION COMPELLED THE LABOR UNIONS TO OPEN THEIR DOORS, GRADUALLY, TO BLACK WORKERS, THE NEGRO OUTLOOK BEGAN TO CHANGE. THEY RAISED THE CLAIM FOR EQUAL WORK TO THE LEVEL OF EQUAL VOTE. THEREUPON BIG BUSINESS BEGAN TO TAKE NOTICE. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE HEAD OF ONE OF OUR MOST POWERFUL INDUSTRIES HEADED TRUMAN'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AND GAINED HIM STRONG NEGRO BACKING. BUT TWO WORLD WARS HAS MADE THE NEGRO GROUP THINK. THEY ARE "JIM-CROWED IN ALL MILITARY ARMS

AND THUS ASKED TO FIGHT FOR AN AMERICA WHICH DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THEIR CITIZENSHIP. MOREOVER THEY HAVE SENTIMENTAL TIES WITH AFRICA.

IN LIBERIA BIG BUSINESS HAS PLAYED ITS SHREWDEST HAND. IT GAVE THIS CHILD OF AMERICAN NEGROES INDEPENDENCE, ALTHOUGH LONG REFUSING RECOGNITION. FRANCE, GERMANY AND BRITAIN WERE REPEATEDLY ON THE VERGE OF SEIZING THIS LAND, BUT DEFERRED TO AMERICA'S PRIOR CLAIM. WHEN THE UNITED STATES ENTERED COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, BIG BUSINESS LED HER INTO A SMALL GRAY RUBBER FOREST IN LIBERIA. I WAS PRESENT WHEN THE FIRST FIRESTONE EMISSARY ARRIVED. FIRESTONE CUT OUT A HUGE MONOPOLY. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE UNITED STATES STEPPED IN AND MADE LIBERIA A NAVY AND AIRBASE WITH PERPETUAL RIGHTS; AND A FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE SECURED A CONCESSION WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST OUTRAGEOUS OF MODERN TIMES, AND COVERS THE NATION. TO FORESTALL POSSIBLE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS IN BLACK AMERICA, A GROUP OF COLORED LEADERS WERE GIVEN FREE TRIPS TO THE RECENT INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT FOR A THIRD TERM. THEY REPORTED STRIKING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BUT THEY COULD NOT SEE THE COLONIAL PATTERN FOR THEY HAD THEMSELVES EXPERIENCED NO EXAMPLE OF THIS, AND LIBERIAN LABOR IS NOT YET AUDIBLE.

41-3-116

YET THERE HAVE BEEN STRIKES ON THE FIRESTONE PLANTATIONS AND THE PRESIDENT WON HIS ELECTION BY DRIVING HIS CHIEF RIVAL CANDIDATE OUT OF THE COUNTRY. AMERICAN NEGROES DO NOT YET REALIZE THAT LIBERIA IS AN AMERICAN COLONY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SPECTACLE OF AMERICA AS THE CHIEF ECONOMIC ALLY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT SET SO WELL ON AMERICAN NEGROES, AND THE WAR ON COLORED ASIA IS UNPOPULAR. THIS HAS CALLED FOR NEW ADVANCES FROM INDUSTRY ESPECIALLY TO NEGRO CAPITAL. THE ADMISSION TO THEATRES AND HOTELS MOVE MEN OF INCOME MORE THAN WORKERS. SOCIAL CONTROL OF WEALTH ATTRACTS NEGRO AS WELL AS OTHER WORKERS, IN SPITE OF THE EXCLUSION OF ALL NEGROES FROM THE ADVANTAGES OF THE TVA.

BUT IN THE PRESENT WAR HYSTERIA AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, THE NEGRO IS NOT SO UNITED: HE IS AS THOROUGHLY SCARED BY THE WITCH WORD "COMMUNISM" AS YOU, AND YET HE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NEITHER COLOR CONSCIOUS NOR COLONIAL MINDED. WHEN, THEREFORE, PAUL ROBESON DECLARED THAT NO AMERICAN NEGRO WOULD FIGHT RUSSIA, HE VOICED THE THOUGHT OF MILLIONS OF NEGROES. TO FRIGHTEN SUCH NEGROES, MANY BLACK WORKERS LOST

JOBS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, SOME WENT TO JAIL: AND THAT WAS THE CHIEF OBJECT OF MY INDICTMENT FOR ADVOCATING PEACE. THE NET RESULT TODAY IS THE SHARPENING OF A DIVISION IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP: A CLASS OF WELL-TO-DO NEGRO BUSINESS MEN AND PROFESSIONALS WHO FOLLOW BLINDLY THE DOCTRINES OF PRIVATE PROFIT -- OPPOSING, FOR INSTANCE, SOCIAL MEDICINE WHICH NEGROES DESPERATELY NEED; AND A GROWING CLASS OF LABOR LEADERS AND YOUNGER THINKERS WHO BELIEVE IN BROADER SOCIAL CONTROL, IN LIMITING THE POWER OF WEALTH, AND IN FIGHTING THE SWAY OF BIG BUSINESS.

41-3-117

FEW OF THESE ARE COMMUNISTS SAVE IN PROTEST AGAINST THE PREVALENT CUSTOM OF CALLING ANYBODY A COMMUNIST WHO DARES ESPOUSE EVEN A LIBERAL ECONOMIC PROGRAM. BUT THIS NEGRO DICHOTOMY WILL GROW AS AMERICAN SUPPORT OF REACTION AND TYRANNY IN AFRICA GROWS INTO WAR AND OPPRESSION.

RECENTLY YOUNG NEGRO RADICALS ADDRESSED THE UNITED NATIONS: "IF AMERICA'S NAME IS NOT TO BE HATED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHEREVER PEOPLE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY, OUR GOVERNMENT MUST COMPLETLY REVISE ITS FOREIGN POLICY AND GIVE CONCRETE EVIDENCE, THROUGH

ITS CONDUCT IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN ALL AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS, OF ITS GENUINE AND UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION.

41-3-118

THE POLICY NOW BEING PURSUED, THE POLICY OF BRIBERY AND COERCION TO MAKE THE AMERICAN OR WESTERN WAY OF LIFE PREVAIL, CAN LEAD ONLY TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATION DISASTER. THIS POLICY IF CONTINUED, WE BELIEVE, WILL SURELY LEAD ONLY TO MORE KOREAS. PEACE CANNOT BE WON WITH EITHER GUNS OR DOLLARS. THE ONLY CONCEIVABLE WORLD OF LASTING PEACE IS A WORLD OF FREE PEOPLES LIVING TOGETHER IN MUTUAL COOPERATION, EQUALITY, AND RESPECT."

APPROACHING THIS PATTERN IS THE BELGIAN CONGO, WITH 11 MILLION NEGROES AND ONLY A HANDFUL OF WHITES, WHOSE POWER IS SUPPORTED BY THE ARMIES AND NAVIES BACK OF INVESTMENTS OF THE WHOLE CIVILIZED WORLD. IT IS EDUCATING ARTISANS, BUT TRYING DESPERATELY TO KEEP HIGHER EDUCATION FROM THE NATIVES, AND GUARDING AGAINST A NATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA. WITH THEM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS VIRTUAL CONTROL OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. BUT THE TRADE UNION IN THE CONGO IS DUE TO PENETRATE FROM BRITISH WEST AFRICA IF NOT FROM FRENCH. THE BELGIANS ARE STRAINING BY MEANS OF A COLONIAL BENEVOLENT SOCIALISM IN THE CONTROL OF WHITES TO WARD OFF THE INEVITABLE DAY.

FRENCH AFRICA HAS A COMBINATION OF CAPITALISTIC CONTROL OF LAND AND LABOR, USING A FRENCH EDUCATED NEGRO ELITE WITH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER. THE FRENCH HAVE AMBITIOUS PLANS FOR DEVELOPING FRENCH GUINEA WITH FUNDS FURNISHED BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SO AS TO MAKE A STRATEGIC SUPPLY CENTER AND MILITARY BASE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS. HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE RIVERS ARE PLANNED FROM A RANGE OF MOUNTAINS CALLED "THE WATER-TOWER OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA". POWER HOUSES ARE PLANNED TO DEVELOP 150 THOUSAND KW., AND THE TOTAL PRODUCTION OF POWER MAY EQUAL

41-3-119

THAT OF FRANCH IN 1939.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF GUINEA CONSIST OF: GOLD, DIAMONDS, IRON, BAUXITE IN LARGE QUANTITIES. THE IRON INDUSTRY IN GUINEA GOES BACK TO PRIMITIVE TIMES. IN ONE LOCALITY THERE ARE RESERVES OF IRON ESTIMATED AT 2 MILLION TONS WITH A METAL CONTENT OF MORE THAN 50%. TITANIUM, A METAL NEEDED BY AMERICANS FOR WAR, IS PLENTIFUL. IT HAS BEEN CALLED BY AMERICANS " THE METAL OF THE THIRD WORLD WAR."

ONLY RECENTLY HAS THIS BEEN OPPOSED BY A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION COVERING THE WHOLE OF FRENCH SUDAN AND LED BY BLACK SENEGALESE EDUCATED IN FRANCE. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WHICH IS A CONSTITUENT OF THE FRENCH UNION, HAS TODAY SEVERAL MILLION MEMBERS. ITS BEST KNOWN LEADER IS GABRIEL D'ARBUSSIER. THIS FORMS A FORCE NEIGHBORING BLACK UGANDA, THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN, AND BUT A STEP FROM ETHIOPIA. A POEM BY BERNARD DADIE OF THE IVORY COAST IS DEDICATED TO GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC RALLY, POWERFUL PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN FRENCH BLACK AFRICA.

"TELL THEM GABRIEL, MESSENGER OF GREAT TIDINGS,
RUNNING THROUGH THE WORLD SINCE THE DAWN OF TIME,
TELL THEM CLEARLY AND PRECISELY,
THAT AFRICA IS BREAKING HER CHAINS,
TELL THEM THIS, AND STRONGLY,
THAT AFRICA - TO LIBERTY AND PEACE
ANSWERS: I AM HERE!

THIS NILE VALLEY HAS AGAIN AN EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY, WHOSE CENTER IS THE ETHIOPIA OF THE MIDDLE AGES, WHICH COMING DOWN FROM THE RAMPARTS OF EAST AFRICA, CONQUERED THE NILE VALLEY AND EGYPT AND THEN RETREATING FOR A THOUSAND YEARS, HELD MOSLEM IMPERIALISM AT BAY. IT WAS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY THAT UNDER MOHAMMED ALI THE MOSLEM FLOOD WENT UP THE NILE AND CONQUERED THE SUDAN, BUT IT WAS DRIVEN BACK, EVEN THOUGH SUPPORTED BY THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH, UNTIL THE BLACK MAHDI DROVE THE EUROPEAN OUT OF CENTRAL AFRICA FOR 14 YEARS. THEN ENGLAND, AROUSED BY THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND THE LURE OF SOUTH AFRICA, SENT KITCHENER AND HIS MACHINE GUNS AND RECAPTURED KHARTOUN.

THE BRITISH TRIED TO INSTALL THE ITALIANS IN ETHIOPIA, BUT AT THE CRUCIAL

41-3-120

BATTLE OF ADWA MENELIK THOROUGHLY THRASHED ITALIAN IMPERIALISM, AND FOR A WHILE THE DESTINIES OF AFRICA RESTED IN THE HANDS OF MENELIK OF ETHIOPIA, KITCHENER OF KHARTOUN, AND THE FRENCH AT FASHODA. EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM WON AND ETHIOPIA BECAME THE PRISONER OF EUROPEAN INVESTMENT. ALMOST OBLITERATED IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR, BUT RESTORED WITH AN INDEPENDENCE WHICH IS BASED ON THE GOOD WILL OF CAPITAL IN GREAT BRITAIN, AMERICA AND FRANCE, ETHIOPIA GAINED ERITREA, BUT TODAY THE BRITISH AND OTHERS ARE DESTROYING NEARLY ALL OF THE INSTALLATIONS AT THE MAIN PORT OF MASAWA, WHICH IS ETHIOPIA'S ONLY OUTLET TO THE SEA.

AND IN A PURELY POLITICAL DEAL, THE LARGER PART OF SOMALILAND HAS BEEN HANDED BACK TO THE ITALIANS FOR AT LEAST 10 YEARS. THE PROTEST OF THE SOMALIS WAS BROUGHT TO THE UNITED NATIONS. I SAW AND TALKED WITH THE KEEN-FACED YOUNG BLACK MAN, ISA, WHO PRESENTED IT. IT SAID THAT THEY REPRESENTED THE SOMALI YOUTH LEAGUE, AND THAT UNDER ITALIAN RULE THE SOMALI FOR 50 YEARS WERE DEPRIVED OF ANY FORM OF EDUCATION; THAT THE

ITALIANS MONOPOLIZED COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, USING SOMALIS ONLY AS SERVANTS AND LABORERS. THE SOMALI WERE ALLOWED TO FORM NO POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, AND THERE WAS NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH. DESPITE THIS PLEA, ITALIAN SOMALILAND WAS TURNED OVER TO THE ITALIANS, AND THE EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION CONTINUES, WITH ACCELERATED TEMPO.

IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN THERE IS MEETING TODAY TWO TYPICAL AFRICAN IDEAS. THE DOMINATION OF THE SOURCE OF THE WATERS OF THE NILE BY PRESENT EGYPTIAN FEUDALISM, AND THE DOMINATION OF THIS CENTER OF ENGLISH CAPITALISTIC INVESTMENT BY A BLACK CIVIL SERVICE, TRAINED UNDER ENGLISH OFFICIALS AND SHARING TO A LIMITED EXTENT ENGLISH CONTROL. OPPOSING THIS OFFICIAL ELITE ARE THE WORKERS.

35-10-31

A UNITED FRONT OF ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE SUDAN WORKERS FEDERATION, FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SUDANESE, WAS ESTABLISHED LAST MONTH. THEY DEMAND TERMINATION OF CONDOMINIUM RULE, IMMEDIATE EVACUATION OF BRITISH AND EGYPTIAN TROOPS, ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY FOR A YEAR AND ORGANIZE ELECTIONS FOR A

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH WOULD DECIDE THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE AND DRAFT A CONSTITUTION. A THREE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE, WHICH WAS STARTED JANUARY 20 BY THE SUDAN WORKERS FEDERATION IN SUPPORT OF THESE DEMANDS AND FOR A 75 PER CENT PAY INCREASE AND SHORTER WORKING HOURS PARALYZED COMMUNICATIONS IN THE COLONY. POLICE WERE BUSY ARRESTING DEMONSTRATORS AND TEAR-GASSING THEM.

IN NORTH AFRICA THE FRENCH DOMINATION OF TUNIS AND ALGIERS FORMS THE SAME PATTERN THAT IS DOMINANT OVER MOST OF AFRICA. THEY CONTROL THE MASS OF THE NATIVE POPULATION BY A HANDFUL OF FRENCH CAPITALISTS REPRESENTED BY FRENCH OFFICIALS. THIS IS CAUSING UPHEAVAL IN TUNISIA, ALGERIA AND MOROCCO, AND AGAIN THE AMERICANS ARE RETURNING WITH AIR BASES WHICH THEY NEGOTIATED WITH THE FRENCH CAPITALISTIC GOVERNMENT AND NOT WITH THE RECOGNIZED RULER OF MOROCCO; WITH AIR BASES AND NAVAL BASES IN LIBYA, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE FEUDAL CHIEFS AND NATURALLY WITH AMERICAN INVESTMENT AND INFLUENCE IN EGYPT.

EGYPTIAN AND BRITISH DIPLOMATS ARE SPEAKING POLITELY TO ONE ANOTHER. AND BEHIND THE SCENES IS AMERICAN AMBASSADOR JEFFERSON CAFFERY. THE CURRENT ADULATION OF FAROUK IN THE AMERICAN PRESS APPEARS DESIGNED TO ADD WEIGHT TO THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE UNITED STATES STATE DEPARTMENT EARLY IN JANUARY THAT THE WEST BUY EGYPT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST MILITARY ALLIANCE (AN EXTENSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC MILITARY ALLIANCE) BY GRANTING RECOGNITION OF EGYPT'S KING AS RULER OF THE SUDAN. SUCH BETRAYAL AND REPRESSION HAS OCCURRED MANY TIMES DURING THE 70 YEARS OF BRITAIN'S OCCUPATION OF EGYPT. IT IS IN FACT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE EGYPTIAN RULING CLIQUE'S REPEATED BETRAYALS OF THE PEASANTS, WORKERS, AND YOUTH THAT THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REMAIN THERE. BUT TODAY THE DEMAND FOR FREEDOM RUNS WIDE AND DEEP AMONG EGYPT'S 20 MILLION PEOPLE. IT CANNOT BE BOTTLED UP.

41-3-112

IN TRIPOLI, NORTH AFRICA, ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO, AMERICAN, BRITISH AND ITALIAN FLAGS WERE TORN TO SHREDS IN ANGRY PROTEST AGAINST THE ATTEMPTED SELLOUT OF THE FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES. IN THE FRENCH COLONIES OF AFRICA A POWERFUL MASS MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM, THE AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION, HAS DEVELOPED IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.

IN ALL SECTIONS OF THE CONTINENT, INCLUDING FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA, BLACK PEOPLE ARE AWAKE AND IN MOTION WITH A NEW DETERMINATION TO THROW OFF THE SHACKLES OF COLONIAL BONDAGE.

FRENCH INTERESTS DOMINATE NINE-TENTHS OF THE ECONOMY OF TUNISIA. IN MOROCCO, UNITED STATES INTERESTS REPRESENTED BY THE NEWMONT MINING CORPORATION AND ST. JOSEPH LEAD COMPANY, CONTROL A MAJOR PORTION OF THE MINING INDUSTRY. MOROCCAN MINERS ARE PAID 15¢ AN HOUR, AND FORTUNE MAGAZINE HAILS THIS AS A 'PROFIT BONANZA'. AND THIS EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN EXTENDED BY MARSHALL PLAN LOANS OF SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS TO FRENCH MINING COMPANIES CONTROLLED BY NEWMONT AND ST. JOSEPH IN MOROCCO. THIS POLICY HAS COST US AMERICAN PEOPLE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN MOROCCO ALONE IN THE BUILDING OF AIR BASES, A BIG PORTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MONEY HAVING BEEN SQUANDERED IN CORRUPTION AND WASTE.

UGANDA IS PERHAPS THE MOST ARRESTING EXAMPLE OF MISSIONS AND EXPLOITATION. ITS 5 MILLION BLACK PEOPLE WERE ONCE THE MOST HIGHLY DEVELOPED OF MODERN AFRICA, LIVING IN A BEAUTIFUL LAND. MOHAMMEDANS, PROTESTANTS, AND CATHOLICS INVADED THEM AND

STARTED A PERFECT DEVILS DANCE OF WAR AND DESTRUCTION WHICH RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF AN ENGLISH BISHOP. THE BRITISH EMPIRE MOVED IN TO FORESTALL THE GERMANS AND FRENCH, DEPOSED THE KING, AND ANNEXED UGANDA AS A "PROTECTORATE". THERE FOLLOWED JOCKEYING FOR CONTROL OF LAND AND LABOR, WHICH HAS REDUCED THE LAND TO THE USUAL COLONIAL PATTERN, WITH COTTON AS THE CHIEF EXPLOITED CROP. RIOTS BROKE OUT AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE BLACK PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS UNION FLED TO ENGLAND, WAS THREATENED WITH IMPRISONMENT IF HE DID NOT RETURN. HIS AND OTHER TRADE UNIONS WERE BANNED UNLESS "REGISTERED". TODAY NOT A SINGLE TRADE UNION IS REGISTERED. THE ORGANIZED WHITE EMPLOYERS EXPLAIN: "STRIKES MIGHT EASILY HAVE THE UGLY APPEARANCE OF CIVIL WAR IN SUCH A COUNTRY AS UGANDA... HERE THERE IS NO NEED TO TAKE THE RISK OF HANDLING THE HIGH EXPLOSIVE MIXTURE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, THE STRIKE, THE PICKETING, AND THE SUBSEQUENT RIOT. WE CAN CARRY ON QUITE HAPPILY WITH INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING, NO STRIKE, AND NO PICKETING." BUT UGANDA IS NEXT TO THE FERMENT OF THE SUDAN AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF ETHIOPIA AND LIBYA.

41-3-113

FROM KENYA COMES A CRY. MOIYN KOINANGE, WHO CAME TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1927 TO STUDY, RECEIVING HIS M.A. DEGREE FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, IS FOUNDER AND PRINCIPAL OF THE KENYA TEACHERS' COLLEGE AND AN EXECUTIVE MEMBER OF THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION. HE AND ANOTHER MEMBER WENT TO PARIS LAST FALL TO PLACE THEIR COUNTRYMEN'S PETITION BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY THEN PRESENTED THEIR PETITION TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN LONDON. COLONIAL SECRETARY OLIVER LYTTELTON REFUSED TO SEE THE DELEGATES. "LAND IN AFRICA IS LIFE", SAID KOINANGE, "FOR THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, WHETHER THEY BE STOCKMEN OR CULTIVATORS, LAND IS THE BASIS OF SOCIETY OR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT BEGINS WITH SECURITY OF TENURE IN THE LAND. IN 1901 THERE WERE 13 SETTLERS IN KENYA. TODAY THERE IS A EUROPEAN POPULATION OF 38 THOUSAND. THE AFRICAN POPULATION IS 5 MILLION, 545 THOUSAND. SINCE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY 16 THOUSAND 700 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY HAS BEEN TAKEN AWAY FROM THE AFRICANS AND GIVEN TO THE EUROPEANS." THIS, IS THE BASIS OF THE PETITION INITIATED BY THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION AND ENDORSED BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS IN THE BRITISH EAST AFRICAN COLONY, WHERE THE

WHITE SETTLERS HAVE RESERVED THE BEST LAND AREAS, ON THE HIGHLAND PLATEAU, FOR THEIR OWN OWNERSHIP.

THE NIGERIAN EASTERN MAIL, A NEGRO WEEKLY, IN OCTOBER, 1950, SAID OF THE UNITED STATES HELP FOR SOUTH KOREA, CHIANG KAI-SHEK, BAO DAI, AND THE REACTIONARY PHILLIPINES: "SUCH A SHORTSIGHTED, CYNICAL AND IMMORAL POLICY IS THE QUICKEST WAY OF SELLING COMMUNISM TO THE MASSES OF ASIA, AND PERSUADING THEM THAT THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS DO NOT REGARD THE SUBSTANCE OF DEMOCRACY AS AN EXPORTABLE ARTICLE BUT CONSIDER EVEN THE MOST CORRUPT GOVERNMENT GOOD ENOUGH FOR ASIATICS, SO LONG AS IT KEEPS THEM OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS.

41-3-114

"AND IS THIS NOT THE VERY THING THAT WILL CREATE CYNICISM, DOUBT AND DISTRUST IN AFRICA? WILL NOT SUCH AN EVIL AND INSINCERE POLICY IN ASIA PROMPT AFRICAN NATIONALISTS TO ASK 'CAN THESE PEOPLE BE SINCERE?' WHEN THE ASIATICS ASK FOR BREAD AND GET STONES, CAN WE TRUST THEM TO LEAD US TO REAL, DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT?"

Teachers Union Speech given
April 5/52
Teachers Union

May I express to the President, the Officers, the Directors and the Members of The Teachers Union my very deep appreciation of the great honor which they have done me. I could wish it were possible for me to discuss at some length with this audience the implications of this occasion and its meaning to us all. But I cannot. Perhaps, however, you will permit me earnestly to hope that (with real courage) real progress may be accomplished this year by this organization and by this nation in all the years to come for Peace and Freedom and Education.

46-9-152

[April 5, 1952]

MAY I EXPRESS | TO THE PRESIDENT | THE OFFICERS [redacted] | AND THE MEMBERS | OF THE TEACHERS UNION | MY VERY DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE GREAT HONOR | WHICH THEY HAVE DONE ME.

I COULD WISH | IT WERE POSSIBLE | FOR ME TO DISCUSS | AT SOME LENGTH WITH THIS AUDIENCE | THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS OCCASION | AND ITS MEANING TO US ALL.// BUT I CANNOT.

PERHAPS HOWEVER | YOU WILL PERMIT ME | EARNESTLY TO HOPE | THAT WITH FAST COURAGE REAL PROGRESS | [redacted] MAY BE ACCOMPLISHED | THIS YEAR | BY THIS ORGANIZATION | AND BY THIS NATION | IN ALL THE YEARS TO COME | FOR PEACE | AND FREEDOM | AND EDUCATION.//

46-4-153

Teachers Union not given
Apr 25/52

IT IS THE CURIOUS OBSESSION OF OUR TIME, THAT AT THE VERY HOUR WHEN AS SELDOM BEFORE WE NEED TO DISCUSS AND EXPLORE IDEAS AND METHODS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, THERE IS PRACTICALLY NATIONAL EFFORT AND EVEN WIDE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, TO FRIGHTEN US BY OVERWHELMING PUBLIC OPINION, FROM THINKING OF, READING, SPEAKING, OR LISTENING TO, ANY PAST OR PRESENT PLANS OF FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL REFORM.

YET AS THE VERY FABRIC OF CIVILIZATION IS DISSOLVING IN OUR FACES, WE MUST EXPLORE OR DIE. THE WARNING AGAINST ANY SUCH EFFORT IS THAT MOST SUGGESTED REMEDIES ARE SOCIALISTIC OR COMMUNISTIC, AND POINT TOWARD CURRENT TRENDS IN CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, GREAT BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA; OR EVEN BACK TO OUR OWN RECENT PAST IN THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT. FLOODS IN THEIR USUAL ROUTINE, AND HURRICANES, HAVE THIS YEAR, AS MANY YEARS BEFORE, SPREAD DEATH AND POVERTY OVER OUR NATION. BUT THE OBVIOUS REMEDY OF BROADLY PLANNED FLOOD CONTROL AND REFORESTRATION IS DISTINCTLY IN ACCORD WITH THE SIMILAR WIDE PLANNING OF THE SOVIET UNION. SOCIAL MEDICINE IS SURELY A PRESSING NECESSITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT IT IS ALSO THE GREAT AND MOST SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST

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BRITAIN AND CONSEQUENTLY ANATHEMA TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. HOUSING FOR MILLIONS OF HOMELESS AMERICANS, INCLUDING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CRIPPLED AND DISILLUSIONED SOLDIERS, IS THE ONLY DECENT EXCUSE FOR OUR INDECENT TAXATION OF THE POOR; BUT IT IS ALSO THE METHOD OF SEMI-SOCIALISTIC LANDS LIKE SWEDEN WHICH REFUSE TO JOIN THE ATLANTIC PACT. IN A NATION WHOSE AVERAGE AGE IS GROWING ANNUALLY OLDER, LEAVING THOUSANDS OF MEN FACING STARVATION AFTER YEARS OF HONEST WORK, WE MIGHT TAKE A LEAF FROM THE EFFORT OF NEW CHINA TO PROVIDE OLD AGE SECURITY AND JOB CERTAINTY FOR OUR HARD PRESSED WORKERS; BUT WE ARE WARNED AGAINST THAT BECAUSE WE ARE ON THE VERY EDGE OF TRYING OURSELVES TO SMASH CHINESE COMMUNISM.

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BUT OF ALL MATTERS THAT WHICH SHOULD EXERCISE OUR EARNEST CURIOUSITY AND DESPERATE EFFORT IS OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, WHICH TODAY HAS MADE THIS INTELLIGENT, RICH AND RESOURCEFUL NATION, SO STUPID IN FACING THE TERRIBLE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE BEFORE US THAT WE ARE ACTUALLY PREPARING TO DIE AND KILL OUR OWN WORLD, WHEN AS NEVER BEFORE WE HAVE THE IDEAL AND THE TECHNIQUE FOR LIFE. DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE ARE IGNORING ALL THE LESSONS

OF HISTORY, REVILING AND INSULTING THE GREAT PROPHETS WHO HAVE STRIVEN AMID DEATH AND STARVATION TO INTERPRET OUR ERA TO THE GOOD OF MANKIND; DESPITE OUR VAST EXPENDITURE FOR BRICKS AND MORTAR IN WHAT WE CALL OUR UNIVERSITIES; DESPITE ALL THIS, WE DO NOT DARE DISCUSS OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM BECAUSE WE KNOW IF WE KNOW ANYTHING THAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF MOSCOW IS TODAY BETTER THAN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NEW YORK.

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AND I SUPPOSE THAT JUST BECAUSE THIS SUBJECT IS TABU IF NOT CRIMINAL I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT IT, HAVING COME OF A STUBBORN GENERATION WHICH ALWAYS INSISTED ON TALKING ABOUT THINGS WHICH MOST OF OUR FELLOWS DARED US TO THINK OVER, MUCH LESS TO MENTION.

I KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES; IN NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, THE MIDDLE WEST, AND THE SOUTH. I HAVE ATTENDED THEM, AND MY CHILDREN HAVE; I HAVE TAUGHT IN THEM, AND WHAT IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT I HAVE TRIED TO TEACH CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF THESE SCHOOLS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE MIDST OF AN ARRAY OF AUTHORITIES ON THE SOVIET UNION WHO KNOW THE COMPLETE FACTS ABOUT THAT COUNTRY AND TELL THEM EVERYWHERE AND OFTEN, I MAKE NO PRETENSE OF KNOWING THE WHOLE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

OF THIS VAST AND FASCINATING NATION WHICH TODAY DESPITE THE UNRESTING EFFORT OF THE WEALTH AND INGENUITY OF AMERICA IS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S THOUGHT AND INTEREST. AMID THE EVER INCREASING ARRAY OF REFUGEES, STOOL PIGEONS AND PAID LIARS WHO TODAY ARE TELLING US OF THE MISTAKES AND FAILURES OF THE SOVIET UNION, I KNOW OF MY OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE ONLY A LITTLE SOMETHING OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF RUSSIA WHICH I WANT TO LAY BEFORE YOU FOR YOUR THOUGHT.

IN 1928 I SPENT SEVERAL WEEKS IN THE SOVIET UNION, VISITING CRONSTAD, LENINGRAD, MOSCOW, NISHNI NOVGOROD, NOW GORKI, KIEV AND ODESSA. THIS WAS BUT FLEETING OBSERVATION WITHOUT DETAILED STUDY OR STATISTICAL INQUIRY, AND WITH ONLY A SMATTERING OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE LAND; BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, OBSERVATION QUITE FREE AND UNCONTROLLED. THERE WAS ONE PHENOMENA WHICH INTRIGUED ME AND WHICH I WATCHED CAREFULLY, AND THAT WAS THE WILD CHILDREN: THE LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF INCREDIBLY DIRTY, HOMELESS, CRIPPLED AND WILD CHILDREN FROM ALL PARTS OF RUSSIA, THE RESULT OF TEN YEARS OF WAR ON RUSSIAN SOIL CARRIED ON BY 16 CIVILIZED NATIONS OF THE WORLD INCLUDING OUR OWN, IN ORDER TO COMPEL THE

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RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TO FOLLOW THE PATH WHICH THE WESTERN WORLD HAD MAPPED OUT.

THESE CHILDREN WHO LIVED IN DROVES WERE A TERRIBLE SIGHT AND LITERALLY SWARMED IN THE LARGE CITIES. I SAW THEM CRAWLING IN AND OUT OF THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW -- THEY WERE HORRIBLE TO SEE AND MORE HORRIBLE TO THINK ABOUT. THEY HAD IN THEM THE MAKING OF A CRIMINAL CLASS WHICH I KNEW MIGHT HAUNT RUSSIA FOR GENERATIONS. I WAS NATURALLY INTERESTED IN THEM. THEY MADE ME THINK OF NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE SLUMS OF NEW ORLEANS AND CHARLESTON, IN THE JAILS OF ATLANTA, AND ON THE PLANTATIONS OF MISSISSIPPI-- ONLY THEY WERE WORSE OFF, AND SEEMED MORE WRETCHED AND HOPELESS.

WHAT WAS BEING DONE ABOUT THEM? AT FIRST SIGHT, NOTHING; NOBODY MOLESTED THEM, LEAST OF ALL THE AUTHORITIES. ONCE IN A WHILE I SAW POLICE STOP A FIGHT OR A ROBBERY OR DRIVE THE CHILDREN AWAY FROM SOME PUBLIC PLACE, BUT I NEVER SAW ONE ARRESTED. THEN I WAS SHOWN AN INSTITUTION, ONE OF MANY, -- NOT A JAIL, AND WITH NO APPEARANCE OF A REFORM SCHOOL, BUT A PLAIN AND ORDINARY BUILDING IN THE SUBURBS, WITH LAND AND OUTBUILDINGS BUT NO GATES OR BARS. HERE I WAS TOLD THESE CHILDREN COULD COME WHEN THEY WOULD AND GO WHEN THEY DESIRED. THEY WERE GIVEN FOOD AND LODGING, AND AS LONG AS THEY STAYED THEY

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MUST WORK AND STUDY. SOME STAYED, SOME WENT. IT WAS A CURIOUS EXPERIMENT AND UTTERLY NEW TO ME, MY TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE. I WONDERED HOW IT WAS GOING TO TURN OUT. NEARLY TEN YEARS PASSED BEFORE I VISITED THE SOVIET UNION AGAIN. MY TRIP IN 1936 WAS SHORT, COVERING ONLY 10 DAYS, BUT IN THAT TIME I TRAVERSED THE COMPLETE LENGTH OF THE SIBERIAN RAILROAD, TRAVELLING 3,500 MILES FROM MOSCOW TO MANCHURIA. I DID NOT ASK ABOUT THE WILD DHILDREN, BUT I DID NOT SEE THEM. I SAW NO TRACE OF THEM AT ALL. I DID SEE PEOPLE STANDING IN CUES TO BUY FOOD, AND AN EXTRAORDINARY NUMBER OF BOOKSTORES AND PERSONS ON STREET CARS, IN PARKS, AND IN THE STREETS, READING BOOKS! I HAVE NEVER SEEN IN THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, OR ENGLAND, SO MANY PEOPLE WHO APPARENTLY HAD THE HABIT OF READING. AND, AS I HAVE SAID, THE WILD CHILDREN WERE GONE.

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IT WAS 13 YEARS LATER IN 1949 THAT I SPENT SOME TEN DAYS IN MOSCOW, VISITING A PEACE CONGRESS, AND SEEING SOMETHING OF THE CITY. BUT MY MOST INTERESTING CONTACT WAS A YOUNG MAN ABOUT 30 WHO WAS MY GUIDE AND INTERPRETER. HE WAS NOT PARTICULARLY BRILLIANT OR IN ANY WAY NOTABLE; BUT HE SPOKE FAIRLY GOOD ENGLISH, WAS ALERT, AND ENTHUSIASTIC

ABOUT LIFE. AFTER MEETING MANY YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE MODERN WORLD INCLUDING THOSE IN MY OWN CLASSES, I WAS ASTONISHED AT THE VERVE FOR LIFE THAT THIS MAN REPRESENTED. HE WAS CONNECTED WITH THE ORGANIZATION WHICH SUPERINTENDED CONTACTS BETWEEN FOREIGN VISITORS AND RUSSIANS, PUBLISHED PAMPHLETS, AND HAD A WORLDWIDE CORRESPONDENCE. HE TOLD ME OF HIS OWN EDUCATION. HE WAS ONE OF MANY CHILDREN IN A POOR PEASANT FAMILY, AND SAID QUITE FRANKLY THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT TAKEN HOLD AND GUIDED HIS EDUCATION HE WOULD HAVE HAD NONE.

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SELECTED BECAUSE OF HIS MARKS OBTAINED IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL, HE WAS SENT TO HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE AND PAID WAGES WHILE ATTENDING. HIS FURTHER EDUCATION WAS CAREFULLY PLANNED: HE STUDIED MUSIC AND PLAYED THE PIANO. HE DID SOME PAINTING, AND NOW HE WAS WORKING PARTLY FOR THE GOVERNMENT, AND WRITING A THESIS ON "SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MODERN WORLD" IN WHICH HE WAS TREMENDOUSLY INTERESTED. HE ASKED ALL SORTS OF QUESTIONS, AND WANTED VERY MUCH TO VISIT AMERICA FOR FURTHER OBSERVATION. HE WAS NOT YET MARRIED BUT EXPECTED TO BE IN THE NEXT ONE OR TWO YEARS.

HE LIVED IN AN APARTMENT FURNISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT, AT A RENT WHICH DID NOT TAKE MORE THAN 1/5 OF HIS INCOME. HE BOARDED IN THE COMMISSARY CONNECTED WITH HIS HOUSING PROJECT, AND HE REGULARLY ATTENDED THE THEATRE AND THE CINEMA AT SMALL OR NO COST TO HIMSELF. HIS NEXT VACATION at government expense HE EXPECTED TO SPEND IN THE TROPICAL CAUCASUS, WHICH HE WAS EAGER TO SEE, HAVING NEVER LIVED IN A WARM CLIME. HE WAS WELL, BUT NOT EXTRAVAGANTLY DRESSED, PROMPT IN HIS APPOINTMENTS, AND, AS I HAVE SAID, EAGER FOR LIFE.

WHILE HE WAS ESCORTING ME ABOUT DAILY I NOTICED THE CHILDREN ON THE STREETS. THEY WERE WELL DRESSED, AND BUSY. THEY WERE GOING TO SCHOOL OR COMING FROM SCHOOL. THEY WERE GOING ON EXCURSIONS. THEY WERE VISITING MUSEUMS. THEY WERE NEVER LOAFING ABOUT AND CLUTTERING THE CORNERS. THEY WERE COURTEOUS. ON THE FIRST TWO CARS OF THE FABULOUSLY BEAUTIFUL SUBWAY WHICH I ENTERED, TWO GIRLS IMMEDIATELY ROSE AND OFFERED ME THEIR SEATS, WHICH SEEMED MORE EMBARRASSING TO ME THAN TO THE OTHER PASSENGERS.

IT WAS EVIDENT FROM THIS OBSERVATION THAT THE WILD CHILDREN HAD, AS WE ARE SO FOND OF SAYING, BEEN "LIQUIDATED". I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THEY HAD BEEN KILLED IN MASS.

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ON THE CONTRARY, I AM SURE THAT VERY GRADUALLY AND SLOWLY, OUT FROM AMONG THEM, THOSE OF LATENT ABILITY AND AMBITION HAD BEEN SELECTED AND THEIR LIVES PLANNED FOR THEM, SO THAT IN EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY THEY COULD GO AS FAR AS THEY WISHED, AND IN WHAT DIRECTION THEY WISHED; LIMITED, HOWEVER, AND LIMITED VERY CAREFULLY BY WHAT THE CITY AND NATION NEEDED IN WORK AND THOUGHT FROM THIS GENERATION OF HUMAN BEINGS.

I DO NOT KNOW JUST HOW SUCCESSFUL THIS VAST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AND DISCIPLINE HAS BEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION OR WILL BE IN THE FUTURE, BUT I DO KNOW THAT THEORETICALLY THIS IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH A GENERATION OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE TRAINED, AND THAT ITS SUCCESS DEPENDS UPON THE SORT OF TEACHERS THAT THE NATION CAN OBTAIN, AND THE SORT OF GENERAL LEADERSHIP OVER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION OF THE CITIZENS IT CAN SUCCESSFULLY MAINTAIN.

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I SAT IN 1949 IN THE GREAT MARBLE HALL OF THE LABOR UNIONS IN MOSCOW, AND LOOKED UPON THE MARBLE COLUMNS AND EXTRAORDINARY ARCHITECTURE OF THIS MAGNIFICENT BUILDING WHERE THE NOBILITY OF THE CZARIST REGIME USED TO GAMBLE AND GET DRUNK, I LOOKED DOWN

In the fascinated company of sycophantic Americans

INTO THE FACES OF A THOUSAND PERSONS. THEY REPRESENTED EVERY PART OF RUSSIA AND MANY TYPES OF MANKIND: THE BROAD FACES OF THE SLAVS, THE SHARP FACES OF THE NORDIC GROUPS, THE DARK SKINS OF ASIA. THEY WERE TREMENDOUSLY INTERESTED IN THE TALKS ABOUT PEACE, TO WHICH THEY LISTENED TIRELESSLY AT LEAST 10 HOURS A DAY. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT AMONG THEM, AND AMONG SUCH LEADERS OF PRESENT RUSSIA AS I MET, THAT RUSSIA WAS GETTING AN EXTRAORDINARY AMOUNT OF ABILITY AND EFFICIENCY OUT OF HER POPULATION; THE KIND OF ABILITY WHICH IN AN ARISTOCRACY, OR IN OUR PLUTOCRACY, WE ARE FAILING TO DISCOVER OR ADEQUATELY TO USE.

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THIS, OF COURSE, WAS SIMPLY AN IMPRESSION, AND I WAS QUITE AWARE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE CRITICISM THAT CAN BE BROUGHT AGAINST THIS THEORY OF EDUCATION: THAT IS, IF A STATE INSTEAD OF MERELY TAKING CHARGE OF THE CHILDREN PARTIALLY FROM THE AGE OF 6 TO 14, ~~AND THEN GIVING~~ gives UP ITS CONTROL OF EDUCATION, IT IS GOING TO SEND AN ILL-EQUIPPED AND USUALLY PUZZLED YOUTH OUT INTO A DIFFICULT WORLD. BUT IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, EDUCATION TRIES TO COVER THE LIFE OF A HUMAN BEING FROM THE TIME HE IS BORN THROUGH THE PRIMARY

AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, UP TO THE CHOICE OF HIS VOCATION AND THEN THROUGH HIS ADULT LIFE, IT IS ESSAYING A TREMENDOUS JOB, AND IT IS APPLYING AND MUST APPLY A DEGREE OF DISCIPLINE TO WHICH AMERICA AND THE WESTERN WORLD IS NOT ACCUSTOMED. BUT IT IS UNDERTAKING TO FURNISH FOR THE STATE THE WORK WHICH IT NEEDS AND THE TRAINED WORKER WHO CAN AND WILL DO IT. AFTER THAT IT IS GOING IN SOME DEGREE TO UNDERTAKE TO TELL THE ADULT WORKER WHAT LIFE IS AND WHAT IT MAY GIVE HUMAN BEINGS IN DRAMA, IN FORMATION, ~~VACATION~~ recreation; IN LITERATURE AND ART. ON THE STREETS OF MOSCOW NOW, NIGHT OR DAY, THERE IS NO SIGN OF DRUNKENNESS OR PROSTITUTION; OF HOODLUMS OR GANGS, OR OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE; IF THIS IS BECAUSE ALL CRIMINALS OR POSSIBLE CRIMINALS ARE IN JAIL, HERE AGAIN IS FOOD FOR OUR THOUGHT AND STUDY.

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HERE THEN COMES THE REAL PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, AND THE REAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THAT WAY OF LIFE AND OURS. BUT WE OUGHT TO REMEMBER THAT INSTEAD OF SPENDING OUR TIME, MONEY AND PROPAGANDA IN TELLING THE WORLD OF THE MISTAKES OF RUSSIA, WE SHOULD TURN TO OURSELVES AND SEE HOW FAR WE CAN ESTABLISH IN THIS COUNTRY A DECENT

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, WHICH TODAY WE HAVE NOT OBTAINED, AND A CULTIVATED, INTELLIGENT PUBLIC. WE MAY DO THIS BY WHAT WE CALL "FREEDOM." SO FAR WE HAVE FAILED MISERABLY. FROM MY OWN OBSERVATION COVERING MANY YEARS, I AM CONVINCED THAT THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS WORSE THAN IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO, WITH NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF IMPROVEMENT. PROPORTIONATELY OUR EXPENDITURE FOR EDUCATION IS LESS; THE NUMBER OF OUR TRAINED TEACHERS IS POORER IN QUALITY, AND LATELY WE ARE SECURING FEW PERSONS OF INDEPENDENT MIND AND REAL CONVICTION FOR THE TEACHING PROFESSION. THE SCHOOLS IN WHICH MY DAUGHTER FOR 20 YEARS HAS BEEN TEACHING IN BALTIMORE ARE SO CROWDED, SO POORLY EQUIPPED, SO WRETCHEDLY SUPERVISED, THAT NO CHILD CAN COME OUT OF THESE CLASSES ADEQUATELY EQUIPPED FOR LIFE ~~IF HE DEPENDS ON THESE PUBLIC SCHOOLS~~.

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IT MAY WELL BE AND IT HAS HAPPENED, THAT DEVOTED TEACHERS WORKING OUTSIDE THEIR REGULAR HOURS, AND TRAINED PARENTS WHO HAVE THE TIME AND VISION, CAN RESCUE OUT OF THIS HETEROGENEOUS MASS, YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL MAKE GOOD CITIZENS; BUT ON THE WHOLE THEY ARE THE EXCEPTIONS, AND NOT THE RULE. MOREOVER, IF THE SOVIET UNION HAS GONE TOO

FAR IN GIVING DIRECTION AND DISCIPLINE TO HER YOUTH, THERE IS NO DOUBT OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH, AND THAT OUR BOAST OF FREEDOM FOR YOUTH AND MANHOOD IS CONTINUALLY DEGENERATING INTO LICENSE AND CRIME, OR AT BEST TO WRETCHEDLY BAD TASTE. THERE CAN BE NO COMPARISON BETWEEN OUR UNIVERSITIES OF TODAY AND THE HARVARD OF 1890, WITH WILLIAM JAMES, JOSIAH ROYCE, GEORGE SANTAYANA, ~~JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL~~, CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, ~~OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES~~, BARRETT WENDELL AND GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. THE STUDENTS OF THAT DAY HAD GUTS TO TALK BACK AND THINK FORWARD, AND WERE LET TO DO IT! Today our youth are being taught by the eminent Louis Budenz

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WHAT THE STATE SHOULD UNDERTAKE IN GUIDANCE OF PUBLIC TASTE, ENDOWMENT OF ART AND LITERATURE, AND CRITICISM OF INDIVIDUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT, IS SURELY A GRAVE PROBLEM, BUT TO ALLOW THE STATE TO LEAD IN DEBASEMENT OF THE HIGHER IDEALS OF LIFE IS SURELY NOT THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE.

ALL THIS IS OBSERVATION AND CONCLUSION BASED ON LIMITED KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE. WHAT IS NEEDED TO FASTEN THOUGHT ON FIRM FOUNDATION AND GUIDE ACTION TO PROVEN CONCLUSIONS IS STUDY AND SCIENCE, AND THE FREEDOM TO KNOW! WE OUGHT TO BE OBSERVING CAREFULLY AND CONTINUOUSLY THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVIET UNION, OF CHINA AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, IN

THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE BEFOGGING THE WHOLE PROBLEM WITH A MISERABLE AND MISLEADING FLOOD OF PROPAGANDA, AND WITH THREAT OF STARVATION AND PUNISHMENT OF INDIVIDUAL WITnesses, SO THAT EVEN IN A MEETING LIKE THIS WE HARDLY DARE DISCUSS WHAT WE KNOW, MUCH LESS TO PLAN TO INCREASE OUR KNOWLEDGE BY LONG, CAREFUL AND FREE STUDY.

IT IS THIS SITUATION WHICH IS THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

151-6-94

Jerrold Luffe Apr 16, 1952

POLAND

I HAVE BEEN TO POLAND THREE TIMES. THE FIRST TIME WAS 59 YEARS AGO, WHEN I WAS A STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN. I HAD BEEN TALKING TO MY SCHOOLMATE, STANISLAUS RITTER VON ESTREICHER. I HAD BEEN TELLING HIM OF THE RACE PROBLEM IN AMERICA, WHICH SEEMED TO ME AT THE TIME THE ONLY RACE PROBLEM, AND THE GREATEST SOCIAL PROBLEM OF THE WORLD. HE BRUSHED IT ASIDE. HE SAID "YOU KNOW NOTHING, REALLY, ABOUT REAL RACE PROBLEMS". THEN HE BEGAN TO TELL ME ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF THE POLES, AND PARTICULARLY OF THAT PART OF THEM WHO WERE INCLUDED IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE; OF THEIR LIMITED EDUCATION; OF THE REFUSAL TO LET THEM SPEAK THEIR OWN LANGUAGE; OF THE FEW CAREERS THAT THEY WERE ALLOWED TO FOLLOW; OF THE CONTINUED INSULT TO THEIR CULTURE AND FAMILY LIFE.

I WAS ASTONISHED; BECAUSE RACE PROBLEMS AT THE TIME WERE TO ME PURELY PROBLEMS OF COLOR, AND PRINCIPALLY OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES AND NEAR SLAVERY IN AFRICA. I PROMISED FAITHFULLY THAT WHEN I WENT ON MY VACATION THAT SUMMER I WOULD STOP TO SEE HIM IN HIS HOME AT KRAKOW, POLAND, WHERE HIS FATHER WAS LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY.

I WENT DOWN TO SOUTH GERMANY THROUGH SWITZERLAND TO ITALY, AND THEN CAME BACK

BY VENICE AND VIENNA, AND WENT OUT THROUGH AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND INTO GERMAN POLAND, AND THERE, ON THE WAY, I HAD A NEW EXPERIENCE WITH A NEW RACE PROBLEM. I WAS TRAVELLING FROM BUDAPEST THROUGH HUNGARY, TO A SMALL TOWN IN GALICIA, WHERE I PLANNED TO SPEND THE NIGHT. THE CABMAN LOOKED AT ME AND ASKED IF I WANTED TO STOP "UNTER DIE JUDEN." I WAS A LITTLE PUZZLED, BUT TOLD HIM "YES". SO WE WENT TO A LITTLE JEWISH HOTEL ON A SMALL, OUT OF THE WAY STREET. THERE I REALIZED ANOTHER PROBLEM OF RACE OR RELIGION, I DID NOT KNOW WHICH, WHICH HAD TO DO WITH THE TREATMENT AND SEGREGATION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF HUMAN BEINGS. I WENT ON TO KRAKOW, BECOMING MORE AND MORE AWARE OF TWO PROBLEMS OF HUMAN GROUPS, AND THEN CAME BACK TO THE UNIVERSITY, NOT A LITTLE PUZZLED AS TO MY OWN RACE PROBLEM AND ITS PLACE IN THE WORLD.

GRADUALLY I BECAME AWARE OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM OF THE MODERN WORLD AND SOMETHING OF ITS HISTORY. IN POLAND I LEARNED LITTLE, BECAUSE THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS TEACHERS AND STUDENTS WERE HARDLY AWARE THEMSELVES OF WHAT THIS PROBLEM WAS, AND HOW IT INFLUENCED THEM, OR WHAT ITS MEANING WAS IN THEIR LIFE. IN GERMANY, I SAW IT CONTINUALLY OBTRUDING

BUT BEING SUPPRESSED AND SELDOM MENTIONED. I REMEMBER ONCE VISITING ON A SOCIAL OCCASION IN A SMALL GERMAN TOWN. A GERMAN STUDENT WAS WITH ME, AND WHEN I BECAME UNEASILY AWARE THAT ALL WAS NOT GOING WELL, HE REASSURED ME. HE WHISPERED "THEY THINK I MAY BE A JEW. IT'S NOT YOU THEY OBJECT TO, IT'S ME". I WAS ASTONISHED. IT HAD NEVER OCCURRED TO ME UNTIL THEN THAT ANY EXHIBITION OF RACE PREJUDICE COULD BE ANYTHING BUT COLOR PREJUDICE. I KNEW THAT THIS YOUNG MAN WAS PURE GERMAN, YET HIS DARK HAIR AND HANDSOME FACE MADE OUR FRIENDS SUSPICIOUS. THEN I WENT FURTHER TO INVESTIGATE THIS NEW PHENOMENA IN MY EXPERIENCE.

THIRTEEN YEARS AFTER THAT I PASSED AGAIN THROUGH POLAND AND WARSAW. IT WAS IN THE DARKNESS, BOTH PHYSICALLY AND SPIRITUALLY. HITLER WAS SUPREME IN GERMANY, WHERE I HAD BEEN VISITING FOR FIVE MONTHS, AND I SENSED THE ONCOMING STORM. I PASSED THROUGH WARSAW INTO THE SOVIET UNION JUST THREE YEARS BEFORE THE HORROR FELL UPON THAT CITY.

BUT IN BERLIN, BEFORE I LEFT, I SENSED SOMETHING OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM AND ITS GROWTH IN THE GENERATION SINCE MY STUDENT DAYS. I WENT TO THE JEWISH QUARTER ONE

DAY AND ENTERED A BOOKSTORE. IT WAS QUIET AND EMPTY. AFTER A TIME A MAN CAME INTO THE ROOM AND VERY QUIETLY HE ASKED ME WHAT I WAS LOOKING FOR. I MENTIONED CERTAIN BOOKS, AND BROWSED AMONG THOSE HE POINTED OUT. HE SAID NOTHING MORE, NOR DID I. I FELT HIS SUSPICION AND AT LAST I WANDERED OUT. I WENT THAT NIGHT TO A TEACHER'S HOME. THERE WERE A FEW AMERICANS AND SEVERAL GERMANS PRESENT. THE CURTAINS WERE CAREFULLY DRAWN, AND THEN THE TEACHER SPOKE. HE DEFENDED THE NAZI PROGRAM IN THE MAIN -- ITS EMPLOYMENT, ITS HOUSING AND ROADS; BUT HE FRANKLY CONFESSED THAT HE WAS ASHAMED OF THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS, OR AT LEAST SOME OF THEM. HE BLAMED SOME SEVERELY, BUT HE HAD FRIENDS AMONG THEM AND HE WAS ASHAMED OF THEIR TREATMENT.

THEN, AT MIDNIGHT I ENTERED POLAND. IT WAS DARK -- DARK NOT ONLY IN THE SMOKE, BUT IN THE SOUL OF ITS PEOPLE WHO WHISPERED IN THE NIGHT, AS WE RODE SLOWLY THROUGH THE MURK OF THE RAILWAY YARDS.

AND SENSED ONLY THE SMOKE AND NOISE OF THE RAILWAY TERMINAL.

THEN FINALLY, THREE YEARS AGO I WAS IN WARSAW. I HAVE SEEN SOMETHING OF HUMAN UPHEAVAL IN THIS WORLD: THE SCREAM AND SHOTS OF A RACE RIOT IN ATLANTA; THE MARCHING OF THE KU KLUX KLAN; THE THREAT OF COURTS AND POLICE; THE NEGLECT AND DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN HABITATION; BUT NOTHING IN MY WILDEST IMAGINATION WAS EQUAL TO WHAT I SAW IN WARSAW IN 1949. I WOULD HAVE SAID BEFORE SEEING IT THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR A CIVILIZED NATION WITH DEEP RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS AND OUTSTANDING RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS; WITH LITERATURE AND ART; TO TREAT FELLOW HUMANBEINGS AS WARSAW HAD BEEN TREATED. THERE HAD BEEN COMPLETE, PLANNED AND UTTER DESTRUCTION. SOME STREETS HAD BEEN SO OBLITERATED THAT ONLY BY USING PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE PAST COULD THEY TELL WHERE THE STREET WAS. AND NO ONE MENTIONED THE TOTAL OF THE DEAD, THE SUM OF DESTRUCTION, THE STORY OF CRIPPLED AND INSANE, THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS.

THE ASTONISHING THING, OF COURSE, WAS THE WAY THAT IN THE MIDST OF ALL THESE MEMORIES OF WAR AND DESTRUCTION, THE PEOPLE WERE REBUILDING THE CITY WITH AN ENTHUSIASM

THAT WAS SIMPLY UNBELIEVABLE. A CITY AND A NATION WAS LITERALLY RISING FROM THE DEAD.

THEN, ONE AFTERNOON, I WAS TAKEN OUT TO THE FORMER GHETTO. I KNEW ALL TOO LITTLE OF ITS STORY, ALTHOUGH I HAD VISITED GHETTOS IN PARTS OF EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN FRANKFORT, GERMANY. HERE THERE WAS NOT MUCH TO SEE. THERE WAS COMPLETE AND TOTAL WASTE, AND A MONUMENT. AND THE MONUMENT BROUGHT BACK AGAIN THE PROBLEM OF RACE AND RELIGION, WHICH SO LONG HAD BEEN MY OWN PARTICULAR AND SEPARATE PROBLEM. GRADUALLY, FROM LOOKING AND READING, I REBUILT THE STORY OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY RESISTENCE TO OPPRESSION AND WRONG IN A DAY OF COMPLETE FRUSTRATION, WITH ENEMIES ON EVERY SIDE: A RESISTENCE WHICH INVOLVED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION FOR HUNDREDS AND HUNDREDS OF HUMAN BEINGS; A DELIBERATE SACRIFICE IN LIFE FOR A GREAT IDEAL, IN THE FACE OF THE FACT THAT THE SACRIFICE MIGHT BE COMPLETELY IN VAIN.

THE RESULT OF THESE THREE VISITS, AND PARTICULARLY OF MY VIEW OF THE WARSAW GHETTO, WAS NOT SO MUCH CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE WORLD, AS IT WAS A REAL AND MORE COMPLETE, UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM. IN THE FIRST PLACE,

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY, EMANCIPATION, AND CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES WAS NO LONGER IN MY MIND A SEPARATE AND UNIQUE THING AS I HAD SO LONG CONCEIVED IT. IT WAS NOT EVEN SOLELY A MATTER OF COLOR AND PHYSICAL AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS, WHICH WAS PARTICULARLY A HARD THING FOR ME TO LEARN, SINCE FOR A LIFETIME THE COLOR LINE HAD BEEN A REAL AND EFFICIENT CAUSE OF MISERY. IT WAS NOT MERELY A MATTER OF RELIGION. I HAD SEEN RELIGIONS OF MANY KINDS — I HAD SAT IN THE SHINTO TEMPLES OF JAPAN, IN THE BAPTIST CHURCHES OF GEORGIA, IN THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL OF COLOGNE, AND IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. NO, THE RACE PROBLEM IN WHICH I WAS INTERESTED CUT ACROSS LINES OF COLOR AND PHYSIQUE AND BELIEF AND STATUS, AND WAS A MATTER OF CULTURAL PATTERNS, PERVERTED TEACHING, AND HUMAN HATE AND PREJUDICE, WHICH REACHED ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE, AND CAUSED ENDLESS EVIL TO ALL MEN. SO THAT THE GHETTO OF WARSAW HELPED ME TO EMERGE FROM A CERTAIN SOCIAL PROVINCIALISM INTO A BROADER CONCEPTION OF WHAT THE FIGHT AGAINST RACE SEGREGATION, RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION, AND THE OPPRESSION BY WEALTH HAD TO BECOME IF CIVILIZATION WAS GOING TO TRIUMPH AND BROADEN IN THE WORLD.

36-9-45

I REMEMBERED NOW MY SCHOOLMATE, STANISLAUS. HE HAS LONG BEEN DEAD, AND HE DIED

(2) REFUSING TO BE A STOOL PIGEON FOR THE NAZIS IN CONQUERED POLAND. HE GAVE HIS LIFE FOR A GREAT CAUSE. HOW BROAD IT EVENTUALLY BECAME! HOW MUCH HE REALIZED THAT BEHIND THE POLISH PROBLEM LAY THE JEWISH PROBLEM, AND THAT ALL WERE ONE CRIME AGAINST CIVILIZATION, I DO NOT KNOW.

I REMEMBER NOW ONE SCENE IN POLAND OVER A HALF CENTURY AGO. IT WAS OF WORSHIP IN A CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE PEASANTS WERE CROWDED TOGETHER AND WERE GROVELLING ON THEIR KNEES. THEY WERE IN UTTER SUBJECTION TO A POWERFUL HIERARCHY. AND OUT OF THAT, TODAY, THEY HAVE CRAWLED AND FOUGHT AND STRUGGLED. THEY SEE THE LIGHT. MY FRIEND, GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, AN AFRICAN, RECENTLY VISITED WARSAW AND WROTE: "AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE CITY RISES AN IMPOSING MAUSOLEUM ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF THE FORTY THOUSAND SOLDIERS OF THE RED ARMY WHO FELL FOR THE LIBERATION OF WARSAW AND WHO ARE ALL BURIED THERE. THIS IS NO CEMETERY, CUT OFF FROM THE LIVING, BUT THE LAST RESTING PLACE OF THESE GLORIOUS DEAD, NEAR WHOM THE LIVING COME TO SIT AND PONDER THE SACRIFICE OF THOSE TO WHOM THEY OWE LIFE. HAD I SEEN NOTHING ELSE, THAT MAUSOLEUM ALONE WOULD HAVE TAUGHT ME ENOUGH TO

UNDERSTAND THE POLISH PEOPLE'S WILL TO PEACE, AND ITS ATTACHMENT TO THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THERE IS MORE TO TELL, AND IT CANNOT BE TOO OFTEN TOLD: OF POLAND'S 35 MILLION INHABITANTS SIXTEEN AND A HALF MILLION DIED. THERE IS ALSO WARSAW, 83% DESTROYED AND ITS POPULATION REDUCED FROM OVER A MILLION TO TWENTY-TWO THOUSAND, AND THE POIGNANT SPECTACLE OF THE FLATTENED GHETTO."

BUT WHERE ARE WE GOING -- WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING? WE ARE FACING WAR, TAXATION, HATE AND COWARDICE, AND PARTICULARLY INCREASING DIVISION OF AIM AND OPINION WITHIN OUR OWN GROUPS. NEGROES ARE DIVIDING BY SOCIAL CLASSES AND SELLING THEIR SOULS TO THOSE WHO WANT WAR AND COLONIALISM, IN ORDER TO BECOME PART OF THE RULING PLUTARCHY, AND ENCOURAGE THEIR SONS TO KILL "GOOKS". AMONG JEWS THERE IS THE SAME DICHOTOMY AND INNER STRIFE, WHICH FORGETS THE BRAVERY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO AND THE BONES OF THE THOUSANDS OF DEAD WHO STILL LIE BURIED IN THAT DUST. ALL THIS SHOULD LEAD BOTH THESE GROUPS AND OTHERS TO REASSESS AND REFORMULATE THE PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY, WHOSE SOLUTION BELONGS TO NO ONE GROUP: THE STOPPING OF WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR; INCREASED EXPENDITURE FOR SCHOOLS BETTER

30-9-46

THAN WE HAVE OR ARE LIKELY TO HAVE IN OUR PRESENT NEGLECT AND SUPPRESSION OF EDUCATION; THE CURBING OF THE FREEDOM OF INDUSTRY FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE; AND AMID ALL THIS, THE RIGHT TO THINK, TALK, STUDY, WITHOUT FEAR OF STARVATION OR JAIL. THIS IS A PRESENT PROBLEM OF ALL AMERICANS AND BECOMES THE PRESSING PROBLEM OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

Add to page 4, speech on Poland

I went on through Russia from Moscow to Manchuria, through China and Japan and back to the United States. Within less than a decade the world was again at war. And it was in this war that Wadyslaw Anders played his role in Poland. I mention him because it was not long ago that you saw him marching down Fifth Avenue, honored by governor, mayor and senator as a great Polish patriot.

35-2-273

Who was Anders? He was born in Latvia of a rich land-owning family.
?
In 1934 as a member of the ruling landed aristocracy Anders became a colonel under the Russian tzars.

Add here copy of the insert.

35-2-274

ruling class became a Colonel under the Czars. When the revolution came, he with so many of his class fought the Soviets and then took refuge in Poland which became the center of Western Europe's efforts to reconquer Russia. Anders became a General in the Polish army but spent most of his time on his stable of race horses. Eventually he joined with Pilsudski in an all-out effort to unite into a fascist party the reactionary and anti-semitic elements of Poland. Landlords and Militarists joined in every effort against Russia. When Hitler finally attacked Czechoslovakia, it was Poland that prevented Russia from coming to the rescue. When Germany and the Soviets made alliance Anders offered his services to the Soviet Union, and the Soviets loaned him $250 million without interest. ~~He drove all Jews, socialists, and liberals out of his ranks and~~ to equipped an army of 75,000

When the Germans turned and attacked the Soviet Union, Anders without striking a blow for the Soviets, deserted just before the seige of Stalingrad and under the protection of the British took his whole army with 40,000 members of their families to Iran. From 1942 to 1944, Anders was in Teheran where he promptly clapped all Jews in a ghetto, confiscated large stocks of goods from America intended for the Persians and sold them in open market for his private profit. He stopped Jewish children from being sent to Palestine, speculated in Iranian money and acted so outrageously that at last ~~MacDonald~~ the, head of the Red Cross resigned in disgust. The powerful Polish lobby in Washington prevented publicity in America

Anders then joined the allied campaign in Italy and sought to enlarge his army and arrange for an attack on Soviet Russia. From the allied prison camps he took Poles and Nazis, getting a fifth of his army from those who had ~~xxxxx~~ served under Hitler. One estimate was that 30,000 former Nazis were attached to the Polish army. His camp in Italy became a rallying ground for international adventurers and Nazi troops who had massacred Poles, Russians

35-2-75

and Jews. The resentment of the Italian people grew; ~~because of Anders' army~~. The NEW YORK TIMES reported that they "terrified the Italians, impoverished the countryside, interfered in local politics and were resented as a genuine curse to the Italian government and to Italy."

In the NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE, Anders was denounded as a "dangerous fire-brand if ever there was one." His army was transferred to Great Britain from Italy, where again he was cordially hated and every effort made to get rid of him. His army's stay cost the British Government $442,000,000. Next a corps of his army, 10,000 officers and men, came to Palestine where they stirred up trouble between Jews and Arabs. Some of them had to be removed from settlements for killing Jews and finally the whole corps was ~~forced to be~~ evacuated.

35-2-276

At the same time Anders actively interfered with affairs in Poland while the people were trying to rebuild their industries, homes, farms and schools. Underground gangs were guilty of terror and sabotage as was proven in public trials in Poland in 1947-48. Arms and spies were smuggled into the country by the Anders organization, until by unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers, Anders was deprived of Polish citizenship in 1946, for a long series of activities detrimental to the Polish State. In that decision Stanislaw Mikolajik, leader of the right wing concorded. But Anders was not through; during the cold war, Anders has kept his ear to the ground, and when America seemed set on a war with the Soviets, Anders planned to come to New York to further his internatial intrigue. In New York he was welcomed by the representatives of the ousted landlards of Poland, by Merwin Hart, the professional Anti-Semite, by Americans interested in foreign investment and set on war with the Soviets. The history of this notorious freebooter must have been known to Senator Lehman; he must have known his Anti-Semitism and his determination to plunge the world into a Third World War. But

Omit

Apr 24, 1952
Baptist Ministers

36-9-194

THE CHURCH AND WAR AND PEACE

THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION/ BUT THAT PEACE IS THE FIRST/ AND MOST PRESSING PROBLEM/ OF OUR DAY.// ONE MIGHT NOT REALIZE THIS/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ WHERE WE TALK LOOSELY OF WAR/ AND ARE BUT RECENTLY/ BEING SHAKEN TO OUR SENSES/ BY PRICES AND TAXES;/ TO A LESS EXTENT/ BUT INCREASINGLY/ WE ARE NOTING THE DEAD/ THE CRIPPLED AND THE INSANE,/ THE YOUNG CRIMINALS/ AND THE OLD THIEVES.// BUT ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD/ WHERE WAR HAS FALLEN REPEATEDLY/ IN OUR DAY/ AS A BITTER SCOURGE/ AND UNENDING HORROR,/ THE UNITED STATES IS FEARED AND HATED/ BECAUSE IT IS THE ONE GREAT NATION/ WHICH DEMANDS WAR,/ PREPARES FOR WAR,/ AND TRIES TO FORCE WAR/ ON OTHER NATIONS.

DESPITE THIS,/ WHICH NO HONEST STUDENT/ OF CURRENT AFFAIRS CAN DENY/ THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH/ IS COMPARATIVELY INACTIVE.// WE HEAR, TO BE SURE,/ SERMONS ON PEACE/ NOW AND THEN,/ AND MISSIONS HERE AND THERE/ WHICH ARE CALLED/ EFFORTS FOR PEACE.// BUT THEY ARE FEW IN NUMBER/ NOT VERY ENTHUSIASTIC/ AND PRACTICALLY/ EACH WORD FOR PEACE/ IS ACCOMPANIED BY SO STERN A BLAST FOR WAR/ THAT IT CAN WITH TRUTH BE SAID/ THAT IF A THIRD WORLD WAR BURSTS UPON THE WORLD/ IT WILL BE LARGELY/ A CHRISTIAN CRUSADE.

36-9-195

IF THIS HAPPENS,/ IT WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TIME/ IN HISTORY/ THAT THE CHURCH HAS RANGED ITSELF/ ON THE WRONG SIDE/ OF EFFORTS FOR HUMAN PROGRESS/ AND THEN LATER HAS NOT HESITATED/ TO CLAIM CREDIT/ FOR THE TRIUMPH OF A REFORM/ WHICH IT LONG AND BITTERLY OPPOSED.// I HAVE IN MIND PARTICULARLY/ THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH/ IN THE PAST/ TOWARD WOMEN, SLAVERY, POPULAR EDUCATION, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, BIRTH CONTROL, AND NOW PEACE.

I NEED SCARCE RECALL/ TO THIS AUDIENCE/ THE HISTORY OF THE CONTEMPT TOWARD WOMANHOOD/ WHICH THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH/ FOR CENTURIES/ HAS DEFENDED IN ITS HIGHEST CIRCLES. ST. PAUL,/ WHO IS A FAVORITE/ IN BAPTIST CHURCHES,/ EXPRESSED FEAR OF/ AND DISPARAGEMENT FOR/ WOMEN.// HE WARNED THE PEOPLE OF CORINTH/ TO MAKE THEIR WOMEN KEEP SILENT/ IN CHURCH MEETINGS,/ AND TOLD TIMOTHY/ THAT EVE NOT ADAM/ WAS GUILTY OF the ORIGINAL SIN.// HE REGARDED MARRIAGE/ AS ONLY SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN HELL.// THE GREAT CHURCH FATHER/ TERTULLIAN/ REGARDED WOMEN/ AS "THE DEVIL'S GATEWAY",/ AND ST. AUGUSTINE DISLIKED THE SEX.// THE PROTESTANT + Catholic CHURCH/ FOR YEARS FOUGHT SEX EQUALITY,/ THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN,/ WOMAN SUFFRAGE,/ AND BIRTH

CONTROL.// THE CHURCH CONSISTENTLY /HAS DEFENDED WEALTH AGAINST POVERTY/AND CONTINUES TO DO SO TODAY.

36-9-196

A DISTINGUISHED BISHOP OF VERMONT/WROTE IN 1854/OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH/TOWARD SLAVERY:// "THE SLAVERY OF THE HEATHEN RACES/WAS SANCTIONED BY THE DIVINE LAW/IN THE OLD TESTAMENT,/ AND THE SYSTEM OF ROMAN SLAVERY/WAS ALLOWED TO CHRISTIANS/BY THE APOSTLES/IN THE NEW TESTAMENT;// AND IT WAS REGARDED/AS A PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT OF SOCIETY/BY THE FATHERS,/ THE COUNCILS,/ THE THEOLOGIANS,/ AND COMMENTATORS/IN EVERY BRANCH OF THE CHURCH/FOR MORE THAN EIGHTEEN CENTURIES;"..A HE ADDED, on Negro slavery in the U.S. "THE CHURCH HAS NO RIGHT/ TO INTERFERE WITH THE INSTITUTION/ WARRANTED AS IT IS/ NOT ONLY BY THE 'SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND'/ LAID DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION/ BUT BY THE WORD OF GOD/AND THE UNANIMOUS JUDGMENT OF CHRISTENDOM..."

NEARLY ALL THE LEADING ABOLITIONISTS/LIKE DOUGLASS,/ GARRISON AND PHILLIPS/HAD TO LEAVE THE CHURCH/TO FIGHT SLAVERY.// THE CHURCH PROMOTED AND CONSERVED/EDUCATION FOR PRIESTS AND THE ARISTOCRACY/ BUT FOUGHT POPULAR EDUCATION/FROM THE 12TH TO THE 19TH

36-9-197

CENTURIES/AND DESPERATELY OPPOSED/UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE/UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY// THE WHOLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH/AND MUCH OF THE PROTESTANT TODAY/OPPOSE BIRTH CONTROL.//AND THERE IS NO WAR FROM THE YEAR I/TO 1952,/WHICH HAS NOT HAD/A MAJORITY OF THE CHURCH MILITANT/SHOUTING AND SINGING:/ "THE SON OF GOD GOES FORTH TO WAR,/ A KINGLY CROWN TO GAIN/ HIS BLOOD-RED BANNER FLOATS AFAR/ WHO FOLLOWS IN HIS TRAIN."

THESE ARE SERIOUS FACTS/TO WHICH THOSE OF YOU/WHO SUPPORT THE CHURCH/AND CONSCIENTIOUSLY BELIEVE IN IT/MUST GIVE THOUGHT AND ATTENTION.// IS IT GOING TO BE TRUE/IN THE FUTURE/AS SO OFTEN IN THE PAST/ THAT EVERY BATTLE FOR HUMAN UPLIFT/MUST BE FOUGHT OUTSIDE THE CHURCH/AND AGAINST ITS VAST POWER?// IT IS NO ANSWER TO THIS ACCUSATION/TO SAY/THAT ALWAYS SOME PART OF THE CHURCH/HAS NOT FOLLOWED THE POWERFUL MAJORITY/AND HAS STOOD ON CONSCIENCE.// MOST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES/DID SUPPORT ABOLITION OF SLAVERY/AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN!// BUT THE WEALTHY EPISCOPAL/AND CATHOLIC CHURCHES/DID NOT,/AND THE METHODIST AND BAPTIST CHURCHES/WERE SPLIT IN TWO,/ WITH THE POOREST AND FEWEST/OPPOSING SLAVERY/AND DEFENDING WOMENS RIGHTS.

36-9-198

SO TODAY, THERE ARE PEACE GROUPS AMONG CHRISTIANS, BUT NOT MANY, NOR OUTSPOKEN, AND THE CHURCH AS A WHOLE, WITH ITS WEALTH AND POWER, IS NOT TODAY IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

THE NEGRO CHURCH MAY PREEN ITSELF, ON BEING LESS GUILTY THAN THE WHITE CHURCH IN SOME OF THESE MATTERS. // NATURALLY IT WAS AGAINST SLAVERY, AND IT EMBRACED POPULAR EDUCATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. // BUT HERE IT DESERVES NO CREDIT, SINCE ITS EARLY MEMBERSHIP WAS RECRUITED FROM ILLITERATE SLAVES. // AS THE NEGRO CHURCH HAS BECOME AUTONOMOUS AND SELF-SUSTAINING, IT HAS NOT BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF LIBERAL MOVEMENTS. // IT DID DEFEND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN, BUT IT DID NOT CHAMPION WOMAN SUFFRAGE, NOR DOES IT DUSCUSS BIRTH CONTROL. // AND IN THE MATTER OF PEACE IT IS AS REACTIONARY AS THE WHITE CHURCH. // IN FACT, IT IS PERFECTLY WILLING TO FIGHT ANY WAR WHICH THE WHITE FOLKS FIGHT IF ONLY NEGROES ARE ALLOWED TO JOIN IN FIGHTING ON EQUAL TERMS. // IT DOES NOT USUALLY DISCUSS THE RIGHTNESS OR WRONGNESS OF WAR ITSELF.

FOR THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO BRANCH THIS ATTITUDE IS DANGEROUS. // IF YOU REALLY

BELIEVE AND WANT OTHERS TO BELIEVE THAT GOD TELLS THIS ORGANIZATION OF MEN WHAT TO DO, AND THEN REPEATEDLY YOU ARE FOUND ON THE WRONG SIDE, YOUR CREED IS NOT CONVINCING, NOR WILL YOU MAKE UP FOR PAST MISTAKES BY CLAIMING PRESENT CREDIT WHICH IS NOT DUE YOU. SLAVERY WAS NOT ABOLISHED BY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BUT IN SPITE OF IT.

36-9-199

ON THE OTHER HAND, IF AS SOME OF US PREFER TO BELIEVE, THE CHURCH IS AN ORGANIZATION MAINLY OF HONEST, CONSCIENTIOUS MEN WHO HAVE NO MIRACULOUS SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE BUT MAKE MISTAKES LIKE THE REST OF US, ACKNOWLEDGE THOSE MISTAKES AND TRY TO CORRECT THEM, THEN TODAY, AND WITH REGARD TO PEACE, LET US ASK WHY ARE WE REFUSING TO TAKE THE RIGHT ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR, AND WHAT IS THE TEMPTATION WHICH IS LEADING US DIRECTLY TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR? // THIS QUERY APPLIES TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO CHURCH WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE MOST AT STAKE IN WAR, AND YET WHO TODAY ARE MORE SILENT ON THE MATTER THAN ANY OTHER LARGE GROUP IN OUR NATION.

REMEMBER, YOU ARE SUPPOSED TO BRING TO THIS MORAL PROBLEM AN UNUSUAL POINT OF VIEW LAID DOWN BY JESUS CHRIST WHICH DECLARES: // "BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS: FOR THEY

SHALL BE CALLED/THE CHILDREN OF GOD.// YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT HATH BEEN SAID/ 'AN EYE FOR AN EYE/ AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH': / BUT I SAY UNTO YOU,/THAT YE RESIST NOT EVIL;/ BUT WHOSOEVER/SHALL SMITE THEE ON THY RIGHT CHEEK/ TURN TO HIM THE OTHER ALSO.// .. YE HAVE HEARD/THAT IT HATH BEEN SAID,/ 'THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR,/ AND HATE THINE ENEMY.// BUT I SAY UNTO YOU,/LOVE YOUR ENEMIES,/BLESS THEM THAT CURSE YOU,/ DO GOOD TO THEM/THAT HATE YOU/ AND PRAY FOR THEM/WHICH DESPITEFULLY USE YOU/ AND PERSECUTE YOU... "

36-9-200

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH/HAS NOT BEEN/THE FOLLOWING OF THIS CREED;/ AND THE QUESTION/WHICH FACES YOU TODAY/ IS WHETHER OR NOT/ YOU STILL PROFESS THIS CREED/OR HAVE DEFINITELY SURRENDERED IT?

THIS IS CERTAINLY/ NOT THE ATTITUDE OF THIS NATION TOWARD WAR/WITH THE SOVIET UNION TODAY.// NOT ONLY ARE WE/ NOT TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK,/ BUT LED BY THE CHURCH/WE ARE REFUSING TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNISTS/OR COMMUNIST NATIONS/AS DESERVING/EVEN THE TREATMENT OF HUMAN BEINGS.//WE ARE TEACHING OUR CHILDREN/TO HATE AND FEAR THEM,/ AND WE ARE ARMING THE NATION TO KILL, DESTROY AND UTTERLY RUIN THESE NATIONS/AND THEIR PLANS.//WHY? HAS

THE SOVIET UNION/ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES?// NEVER,/ BUT WE HAVE SENT OUR SOLDIERS ONTO RUSSIAN SOIL/AND HELPED OTHERS ATTACK HER/AND KILL HER SONS/AND DESTROY HER PROPERTY. REMEMBER THAT/ACCORDING TO CHRIST/EVEN IF RUSSIA HAD ATTACKED US/IT WOULD BE OUR DUTY TO SEEK PEACE WITH HER/AND WELCOME HER PLEAS FOR PEACE.//INSTEAD,/ WHEN THE SOVIETS ASK PEACE/WE SPURN THE OFFER/AS FALSE/ON THE GROUND THAT COMMUNISTS ARE LIARS,/ THIEVES AND CONSPIRATORS/WITH WHOM WE CANNOT/EVEN TALK PEACE.// OUR ONLY DUTY IS TO CRUSH THEM/AND MAKE THEM/AGREE WITH US BY FORCE .

36-9-201

NOT ONLY/IS THIS PROGRAM/PATENTLY UNCHRISTIAN,/ BUT IT IS SO LARGE AND DIFFICULT A TASK/THAT IT CERTAINLY CALLS/ FOR THOUGHT AND INVESTIGATION.// YET PEACE CONGRESSES,/ CONSULTATIONS ABOUT PEACE,/ PARTICULARLY IF COMMUNISTS ARE PRESENT// VISITS TO RUSSIA, CHINA OR POLAND/ARE DISCOURAGED/IF NOT FORBIDDEN,/ AND FOREIGN ADVOCATES OF PEACE/ARE USUALLY/DENIED ENTRANCE TO THIS NATION.// IS THIS CHRISTIAN? / IS IT EVEN GOOD COMMON SENSE?

PERSONALLY/I DO NOT BELIEVE COMMUNISTS/ARE NOT DESERVING OF HUMAN TREATMENT/ I BASE MY CONCLUSION/ON STUDY AND INVESTIGATION/ AND MY LIFE ~~PREPARATION~~ WORK/ HAS PREPARED

ME/FOR SUCH AN ATTEMPT/TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH/IN SOCIAL RELATIONS.// I HAVE BEEN IN RUSSIA, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA/THREE TIMES IN A GENERATION/ AND IN CHINA ONCE.// I HAVE NOT READ/ ALL THE LITERATURE/ OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM/BUT I HAVE READ A GREAT DEAL.// IT IS MY CONSIDERED OPINION/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/ IS TODAY/ THE MOST HOPEFUL NATION/ON EARTH// I DO NOT BELIEVE/IT IS HEAVEN/NOR ITS PEOPLE SAINTS.// I THINK THE SOVIET UNION/HAS MADE ~~MANY~~ GRAVE MISTAKES/AND STILL HAS MUCH AHEAD/IN THE WAY OF REFORM.// BUT CONSIDERING/THE DEGRADATION OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE/IN THE 19TH CENTURY;/ THEIR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE,/ AND THE DISGRACEFUL/SUPERSTITION AND GREED/OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN RUSSIA;// CONSIDERING WHAT BRITAIN,/ FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES/HAVE DONE TO CRUSH THE WORKERS/ OF RUSSIA AND SUBJECT THEM/TO CAPITALISTIC SLAVERY,/ I RAISE MY HAT/TO WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED// I BELIEVE/THE MASS OF HER PEOPLE/HAPPY AND LOYAL;/ I BELIEVE THE SOVIET UNION/HAS A BETTER PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM/THAN WE HAVE,/ AND BETTER UNIVERSITIES.// I BELIEVE THE RUSSIANS/PUBLISH AND READ/MORE DECENT BOOKS THAN WE DO,/ AND THAT THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE/HAS LESS HYPOCRISY THAN OURS/ ~~IN AMERICA.~~ /

36-9-202

NOW I MAY BE WRONG./ I MAY BE DECEIVED./ I MAY BE PREJUDICED/BECAUSE I AM TREATED LIKE A MAN IN MOSCOW/AND I AM NOT IN NEW YORK.// NEVERTHELESS/THIS IS MY HONEST AND CONSIDERED BELIEF.// AND I ALSO BELIEVE/THAT THE OTHER STATES/BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN/AND THE NEW CHINESE REPUBLIC/ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK/AND INCREASING IN HEALTH/ WEALTH AND CONTENTMENT.

BUT I MAY BE WRONG./ IT IS POSSIBLE/THAT THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR NATIONS/ARE FOOLS AND KNAVES,/ A THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES/AND WESTERN EUROPE.// BUT SUPPOSE IT IS TRUE,/ WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT IT?// WHAT AS CHRISTIANS/OUGHT YOU TO TRY TO DO/ABOUT IT?// OF ALL METHODS/OF TRYING TO MEET THIS THREAT,/ WORLD WAR IS THE CRAZIEST/AND LEAST LIKELY TO SUCCEED;// AND BEYOND THAT,/ IT IS THE MOST HYPOCRITICAL/FOR YOU TO ESPOUSE.// IT IS AGAINST YOUR PROFESSED CREED,/ AGAINST THE WORD OF YOUR PROPHET,/ AND IT CONTRADICTS/ALL YOU HAVE BOASTED OF/FOR 2000 YEARS.

IN ADDITION,/ IT IS A PROGRAM/WHICH YOU CANNOT CARRY OUT.// IF IT HAS TAKEN THE UNITED STATES/TWO YEARS/ TO MAKE A MESS OF KOREA,/ HOW LONG WOULD IT TAKE US/TO CONQUER

36-9-203

36-9-204

THE 200 MILLION OF THE SOVIET UNION/ 75 MILLION OF HER BORDER ALLIES/ THE 475 MILLION CHINESE/ AND PERHAPS 100 MILLION/ OTHER ASIATIC SYMPATHIZERS/ NOT TO MENTION INDIA// WE MAY BE SMART,/ RICH AND RESOURCEFUL/ BUT WE ARE NOT ~~SUPERMEN~~ SUPERMEN./ WE COULD NOT CONQUER HITLER AND MUSSOLINI/ EXCEPT BY THE HELP OF RUSSIA./ AND WE GLADLY ACCEPTED THAT HELP/ AND THE BLOOD OF 10 MILLION OF HER PEOPLE.// TODAY WE SIMPLY CANNOT CONQUER THE COMMUNIST WORLD/ BY FORCE/ EVEN WITH THE HORRIBLE ATOM BOMB/ AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE.

BUT THE QUESTION IS/ SHOULD WE EVEN ATTEMPT THIS,/ IF WE COULD// WE HAVE TO DO WITH A BELIEF/ AND A DEEP-SEATED BELIEF// COMMUNISM AS A DOCTRINE/ IS AS OLD AS CIVILIZATION/ IT WAS PRACTICED/ BY THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH:/ IT IS CHARACTERISTIC/ OF ALL PRIMITIVE CULTURES/ IN AFRICA, ASIA, AMERICA AND EUROPE// THE LONG CHERISHED BELIEF/ THAT IT WOULD NOT WORK TODAY/ HAS BEEN REFUTED./ IT IS WORKING./ YOU MUST LIVE IN A WORLD/ WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.// YOU ARE LIVING IN SUCH A WORLD/ AND YOU WILL LIVE IN SUCH A WORLD// THE ONLY SUCCESSFUL ATTACK/ ON COMMUNISM/ IS A BETTER ECONOMIC SYSTEM,/ AND THIS/ WE SAY WE HAVE/ IN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE.// BUT WE TRY TO PROVE/ OUR ECONOMY BETTER/ THAN THAT

36-9-205

OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST NATIONS/ BY PAINTING THEM AS FAILURES// THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING TODAY,/ WITH AN ATTEMPT AT PROPAGANDA/ AND SYSTEMATIC LYING/ ON A SCALE NEVER BEFORE ATTEMPTED/ EVEN BY ADOLF HITLER./ ASSUMING THAT COMMUNISM/ IS NOT AS GOOD AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM/ AS AMERICAN CAPITALISM,/ THERE IS NO NEED OF LYING// A CAMPAIGN OF SINCERE INVESTIGATION/ OF THE TRUTH/ WOULD BE NOT ONLY CONVINCING BUT CHRISTIAN// THIS IS DENIED AMERICANS. WE CANNOT DISCUSS COMMUNISM/ IN COLLEGE OR most PUBLIC FORUMS.// IN ADDITION,/ INCREDIBLE LIES ARE CIRCULATED./ RUSSIAN TROOPS DID NOT START THE KOREAN WAR./ RUSSIAN WORKERS ARE NOT LARGELY SLAVES./ THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA/ AND POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA/ ARE NOT ON THE EDGE OF REVOLT./ WE ARE TRAINING SPIES/ AND SENDING THEM ABROAD.

THE MARSHAL PLAN FUNDS/ WERE NOT GIVEN TO THE POOR AND HUNGRY/ THEY WERE GIVEN TO CAPITALISTS/ WHO HIRE THE POOR/ AND KEEP THEM HUNGRY// THE ATLANTIC PACT/ IS NOT TO KEEP THE SOVIET UNION/ FROM CONQUERING WEST EUROPE,/ BUT TO GET WEST EUROPE READY/ TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION.// WE ARE NOT KILLING KOREANS/ FOR THE SAKE OF KOREA/ BUT TO KEEP OUR GRIP/ ON THE CHEAP LABOR OF ASIA/ WHICH WE LOST/ WHEN WE GAVE SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLIONS

OF OUR TAXES/ TO CHIANG KAI CHEK.// WE ARE HIRING TRAITORS AND LIARS/TO STIR UP REVOLT ABROAD/AND JAIL AMERICANS AT HOME// WE DID DELAY OUR HELP TO RUSSIA/ IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ IN THE HOPE/THAT GERMANY AND RUSSIA/WOULD DESTROY EACH OTHER.

36-9-206

WHAT NOW IS THE USE OF LYING,/ AND WHY DOES THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH/RANGE ITSELF WITH REACTION AND WAR/RATHER THAN WITH EFFORTS/AT PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING? //FIRST, LET US REALIZE/THAT WHEN IN ANY AGE/ A LARGE ORGANIZATION OF MEN/GAINS THE POWER AND PRESTIGE/ OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,/ IT IS GOING TO ATTRACT TO ITS MEMBERSHIP/ INTO ITS PLACES OF POWER/AND INTO ITS PULPITS/ MEN WHOSE OBJECTS/ARE NOT MERELY GOODNESS/ SACRIFICE, AND HIGH IDEALS,/ BUT PERSONAL GREED AND POWER.// WHEN, NOW,/THERE COMES BEFORE SUCH A CHURCH/ A QUESTION OF POLICY/WHICH THREATENS/OR SEEMS TO THREATEN /THE INTERESTS OF THE SELFISH AND AMBITIOUS,/ THE MINORITY/OF THE UNSELFISH AND SACRIFICING/WILL BE FORCED TO YIELD TO POWER/ OR LEAVE THE ORGANIZATION./ THIS HAS BEEN TRUE/IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS/FROM THE DAY OF EGYPT/TO THE RULE OF AMERICA// SINCE THE 18TH CENTURY/ POWER IN WESTERN EUROPE/AND NORTH AMERICA/HAS BEEN IN THE HANDS/ OF THE LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRY/WHICH SATISFIED THE WANTS

OF MEN. THEY,/ BY THE USE OF THE GREAT INVENTION/OF CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION/HAVE BEEN THE RULERS OF MANKIND,/AND NATURALLY HAVE OCCUPIED HIGH PLACE/IN THE MEMBERSHIP AND COUNCILS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.// ANY THOUGHT OR POLICY/WHICH THREATENED THIS IN-DUSTRY/THEREFORE THREATENED THE CHURCH/AND THE CHURCH OPPOSED IT.// BUT A CERTAIN POLICY MIGHT THREATEN/A CURRENT METHOD OF INDUSTRIAL CONDUCT/WHEN ANOTHER METHOD MIGHT MAKE INDUSTRY/MORE EFFICIENT/IN SATISFYING THE NEEDS/OF THE MASS OF MEN.

36-9-207

FROM THE RISE/OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM,/ WHICH WAS BUILT ON AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY/ AND THE COTTON KINGDOM,/ PROTEST AFTER PROTEST, AND PROPHET AFTER PROPHET, /HAVE ARISEN TO SAY,/ NOT THAT INDUSTRY WAS WRONG,/ NOT THAT CAPITALISM WAS WRONG,/ NOT THAT PROPERTY AND WEALTH WERE EVIL/ BUT THAT INDUSTRY/WAS USING WRONG METHODS ~~FOR RIGHT OBJECTS;~~ THAT CAPITAL/WAS BEING MONOPOLIZED/FOR THE PRIVATE PROFIT OF THE FEW / INSTEAD OF BEING USED FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE MANY,/ AND THAT WEALTH/PRODUCED BY THE SWEAT OF ALL/MUST NOT BE CONFINED/TO THE USE OF THE ~~POWERFUL~~ FEW.// THIS WAS NOT SAID FIRST/ BY LENIN,/ OR IN THE SOVIET UNION// IT WAS SAID/ BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WAS DREAMED OF/ OR KARL MARX

WAS BORN.// IT WAS TRUE THEN.| IT IS TRUE NOW.// YET WE CANNOT DISCUSS IT TODAY|WITHOUT BEING IN DANGER OF JAIL.// THOSE INDUSTRIAL LEADERS|WHO TODAY ARE GETTING RICH AND POWERFUL|BY PRESENT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION| AND WHO BY THAT SAME WEALTH AND POWER|OWN AND DIRECT THE CHURCHES| HAVE ALSO BOUGHT UP THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES| AND SO MONOPOLIZE THE JOBS|AS TO MAKE YOU THINK SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM|ARE INHERENTLY WRONG|AND NOT EVEN TO BE MENTIONED.

36-9-208

YET SOCIALISM|IS PRACTICED IN SOME DEGREE|IN EVERY CIVILIZED NATION|INCLUDING OUR OWN.// FRANCE, BRITAIN, ITALY,| AND ALL SCANDINAVIA|OWN THEIR RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES, WATERWORKS AND ELECTRIC PLANTS.// BRITAIN OWNS ITS STEEL TRUST AND COAL MINES AND HAS SOCIAL MEDICINE.| WE HAVE FLOOD CONTROL IN TENNESSEE| AND WILL HAVE IT IN THE MISSOURI-MISSISSIPPI VALLEY|OR ANNUALLY continues DROWN ITS INHABITANTS|AND DESTROY THEIR FARMS.//YET BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION|PLANS EVEN MORE SOCIAL CONTROL|FOR ALL INDUSTRY, WE ARE SET|TO SPEND 60 THOUSAND THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR|TO STOP HER// WHY, IN GOD'S NAME, WHY?

IF MEN JUST WANT TO TALK PEACE|WITH THE SOVIET UNION| EVEN LIBERAL CHURCHES

HAVE REFUSED TO MEET|WITH SUCH FOLK|AND PREFER TO GIBBER PRAYERS|WITH LIGHTED CANDLES. // DECENT AND INTELLIGENT MEN|REFUSE TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION|LEST THEY SEE SOMETHING THEY DO NOT WANT TO|OR LEARN SOMETHING|THEY DO NOT BELIEVE.

36-9-209

WHAT IS AMERICA AFRAID OF?// WE ARE TOLD THAT WE WANT TO SAVE THE WORLD|FROM EVIL.// IF SO,|THIS IS THE FIRST TIME|WE HAVE BEEN SO ANXIOUS// NO, WHAT AMERICA WANTS| IS TO HIRE CHINESE CHILDREN|TO WORK IN THEIR FACTORIES|FOR 12 CENTS A DAY.// THEY WANT NEGROES|TO DIG DIAMONDS|TO DECORATE THE WHITE WHORES|OF PARIS AND LONDON.// THEY WANT CEAP JUTE, OPIUM, AND SPICE|FROM INDIA;| CHEAP COCOA FROM WEST AFRICA,|CHEAP TIN FROM BOLIVIA,|AND TUNGSTEN FOR ~~WEAPONS~~ Atom Bombs, FROM KOREA// BRITAIN ONCE OWNED THESE LANDS// WE WANT TO SUCCEED|THE TUMBLING BRITISH EMPIRE|AS OWNERS OF THE DARKER WORLD|OF COLONIAL PEOPLE. WE ARE FIGHTING|FOR THE COLONIAL SYSTEM|IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD|WHERE IT THREATENS TO GAIN FREEDOM.// AND TO MAKE AMERICA,| WHITE AND BLACK,| FIGHT WITH IT,|WE ARE PREACHING A CRUSADE OF WAR AND HATRED.// WE ARE POURING OUR MONEY|INTO THE HANDS OF CAPITALISTS|IN SOUTH AFRICA,|INDONESIA,| EGYPT,|THE CONGO,|THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA,| TO HOLD

IN THRALL/THE PAUPER LABOR/WHICH MAKES THE MILLIONAIRES/OF THE WHITE WORLD.

GRANTED THAT YOU DO NOT LIKE COMMUNISM/OR SOCIALISM;/ THAT YOU LOVE AMERICAN INDUSTRY/AFTER 300 YEARS OF THE SLAVERY/ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED,/ AND A LIFETIME OF THE JIM CROW/WHICH IT BUILT +/ GRANTED ALL THIS,/ WILL WAR, MURDER,/ HIGH PRICES, AND HIGHER TAXES/MAKE THINGS BETTER?// THE UNITED STATES CANNOT CONQUER RUSSIA,/ AND WE KNOW IT./ EVEN IF WE COULD,/ THE CONQUEST OF RUSSIA/ WILL NOT CONQUER COMMUNISM.// WE HAVE GOT THE SILLY IDEA/IN THIS NATION/THAT WE CAN GET ANYTHING/WE WANT BY KILLING AND KICKING.// WE HAVE NOT YET LEARNED with Zechariah ~~THAT~~ "NOT BY MIGHT NOR BY POWER,"/ NOT BY ATOM BOMBS AND Germ ~~INSECT~~ WARFARE/ CAN RIGHTEOUSNESS PREVAIL.

36.9-210

MOREOVER,/ AND THIS COMES HOME:/ HOW IN HEAVENS NAME/CAN YOU NEGROES/THINK THAT YOU HAVE ANY INTEREST/IN THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF THE WORLD?// THAT BECAUSE YOU MARCH IN JIM CROW ARMIES/AND KILL "GOOKS"/THAT YOU ARE GOING/TO BE RECOGNIZED AS MEN?// DOES IT NOT OCCUR TO YOU/THAT ONE OF THE COUNTS/AGAINST RUSSIA/IS THAT IT IS AMONG/THE FEW CIVILIZED NATIONS/WHICH TREATS NEGROES/AS THE EXACT EQUALS OF WHITES?// YOU ARE GETTING "AUTHENTIC"

INFORMATION/ABOUT NEW CHINA/FROM THE SAME NEWSPAPERS/THAT USED TO FURNISH DETAILS OF NEGRO RAPISTS,/ AND FOR THE SAME REASONS.

36.9.211

TODAY THE NEGRO CHURCH/IN AMERICAN POLITICS/IS FACED BY PARADOX AND DILEMMA./ THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD/HAS LED TO POLITICAL STRIFE AND WORLD WAR.// BUT THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH/BY AND LARGE/HAS HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH ECONOMIC GUIDANCE// IN FACT,/ TO THE MIND OF THE AVERAGE PREACHER/TRAINED IN THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL,/ MODERN ECONOMICS HAS ALMOST NO ~~PART.~~ SIGNIFIGANCE/ WHAT IS TAUGHT IS SIMPLE:/ PEOPLE SHOULD WORK,/THEY SHOULD BE PAID REASONABLE WAGES;/ THEY SHOULD SAVE THEIR MONEY/AND INVEST AND MAKE PROFIT/ WHERE POSSIBLE/THEY SHOULD BECOME WEALTHY/AND HIRE OTHER PEOPLE,/ AND SO ON TO THE MILLENIUM WHERE THEY BECOME RICH.// IT IS NOT EMPHASIZED/IN THE AVERAGE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL/ THAT THIS 19TH CENTURY PROGRAM/HAS BROKEN DOWN;/ THAT THE TREMENDOUS INCREASE OF GOODS/WHICH CAME/WHEN EUROPE SEIZED ASIA AND Africa AMERICA/ AND WORKED THE NATIVES FOR PROFIT/ WAS STORED AS CAPITAL/TO BE USED FOR MAKING OTHER GOODS/ AND THAT THIS IMMENSE/INCREASE OF CAPITAL GOODS/LED TO A NEW MORALITY/WHICH HAS QUITE UPSET/ THE OLD IDEAS OF WORK/ SAVING AND WEALTH.

36-9-212

IT HAS MEANT/ A CONTROL OF THE MASS OF THE WORKING CLASS/ BY A COMPARATIVELY FEW OWNERS OF CAPITAL/ WHICH MAKES SAVING/ ON THE PART OF THE ORDINARY WORKER/ IMPOSSIBLE,/ AND NORMAL AND DEMOCRATIC/ ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH/ BY WORK VERY RARE. / WEALTH TODAY ARISES FROM MONOPOLY AND POWER/ AND NOT BY SAVING.

WHEN NOW THIS METHOD/ OF WORK AND INCOME/ DOMINATES THE WORLD,/ AND THE CHURCH STEPS OUT/ TO PLAY A ROLE/ THAT ITS LEADERS/ HAVE NOT BEEN TRAINED FOR/ IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE FOR THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION/ TO HAVE NO CONCEPTION/ OF WHAT IS TODAY CAUSING WAR// CONSEQUENTLY/ WHEN IT BEGINS TO GIVE ADVICE/ CONCERNING POLITICAL ATTITUDES/ TOWARDS WAR/ IT FINDS THAT ADVICE/ NOT TAKEN/ BECAUSE IT IS CONTRADICTED/ BY ADVICE GIVEN BY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS/ BY SCHOOLS/ TRADE UNIONS/ AND POLITICAL PARTIES/ LED BY MEN MUCH BETTER TRAINED/ THAN THE AVERAGE MINISTER/ IN JUST THE LINE OF THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY/ WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT AND PRESSING IN THE PRESENT WORLD.

WHEN, THEREFORE,/ THE CHURCH ATTEMPTS TO TAKE AN ATTITUDE/ AND TO LEAD ITS MEMBERSHIP/ TO CERTAIN POLITICAL ATTITUDES/ LIKE PEACE OR WAR,/ IT HAS TO DO ONE OF TWO THINGS:/ EITHER IT HAS TO DEVELOP/ IN ITS PULPITS/ AN ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP/ WHICH MUST ARISE FROM

36-9-213

AN ENTIRELY REVISED PROGRAM/ OF THEOLOGICAL TEACHING/ OR IT MUST BRING IN FOR LEADERSHIP/ AND ADVICE/ PERSONS OUTSIDE OF ITS REGULAR PREACHERS/ AND TRAINED IN ECONOMIS AND POLITICS// AND PERHAPS PERSONS/ OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH ENTIRELY// HERE IT MUST FRANKLY FACE/ THE FACT/ THAT SUCH PERSONS/ MAY NOT AGREE WITH/ OR PRETEND TO AGREE WITH/ THE CREED OF THE CHURCH // WITH THE CONCEPTION/ OR STATEMENT OF TRUTH/ WHICH THE CHURCH PROFESSES// WITH ITS BELIEF IN MIRACLES/ AND CEREMONIES,/ ITS FASTING AND PRAYING// IF THE CHURCH RECEDES FROM ITS CREED/ IT MAY ASK/ WHAT BECOMES OF ~~SOBRIETY~~ MORALITY, AND MANNERS, ~~AND HABITS OF DRINK-ING, GAMBLING AND FAST WOMEN.~~ // AND IF IT NEGLECTS UNION LABOR/ WAGES, STRIKES/ SHOP CONTROL AND DUES/ WHAT BECOMES OF DECENT INCOME/ AND SECURITY?// EITHER THERE COMES/ HERE/ COMPROMISE AND UNDERSTANDING/ OR THE WORLD SINKS IN WAR/ AND MURDER/ WITH NO ADEQUATE GUIDANCE AND CONTROL.

~~AND~~ HERE THE CHURCH/ IS HESITATING TODAY// MOREOVER, THAT HESITATION/ IS BEING INCREASED/ BY PERSONS OF POWER/ AND INFLUENCE/ IN THE PEWS/ WHO DO NOT WANT THE CHURCH TO TAKE ANY PATH/ BUT ONE/ CONCERNING WORK AND WAGE// AND THAT IS THE PATH/ THAT IS OF GREAT-EST

36-9-214

ADVANTAGE/TO PERSONS MOST COMFORTABLE/UNDER THE PRESENT SITUATION//AND WHO IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN/AND INCREASE THAT COMFORT/are WILLING/TO LET YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN/OF THE WORLD/ MURDER EACH OTHER.

FOR A LONG TIME/THE NEGRO CHURCH/RATHER COMFORTABLY ASSUMED/THAT THIS PROBLEM/ DID NOT TOUCH/ITS MEMBERSHIP DIRECTLY/BECAUSE ITS PEOPLE/ON THE WHOLE WERE POOR WORKERS,/ WHILE THE RICH CAPITALISTS/WERE AMONG THE WHITES//THAT THE ONLY INTEREST OF NEGROES/ IN WEALTH/WAS THE INTEREST OF A PERSON/WHO RECEIVES WAGES FROM EMPLOYERS/OR ALMS FROM THE PHILANTHROPIST// BUT THE SITUATION IS GREATLY CHANGED/IN THIS GENERATION.// AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER/OF WELL-TO- DO PEOPLE/WITH ACCUMULATIONS OF WEALTH/AND CAPITAL;/AND IN ADDITION TO THAT,/NUMBERS OF OUR MIDDLE CLASS/HAVE INTERESTS/WHICH ARE BOUND UP/WITH THE INTERESTS/OF THE RICH EVERYWHERE// SO THAT WHILE/NUMERICALLY/STILL THE WORKING CLASS AMONG US/IS IN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY,/OUR INTERESTS AS REPRESENTED/BY OUR WELL-TO-DO,/OUR PROFESSIONAL CLASS/THE OWNERS and renters OF FINE HOMES/THE LEADERS OF INSURANCE ORGANIZATIONS/AND MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS,/THE GAMBLERS AND LIQUOR DEALERS,/ARE IDENTICAL WITH THE INTERESTS/OF THE SAME CLASS OF WHITES/WHO RULE THE WORLD/AND ARE THREATENING

36-9-215

CIVILIZATION/WITH CONTINUOUS WORLD WAR.

SO THAT THE LEAST/ONE CAN SAY/IS THAT THE NEGRO CHURCH/HAS TO BE WARNED// THAT THE OLD MAXIMS CONCERNING WORK/ WAGES AND WEALTH/HAVE GOT TO BE RE-EXAMINED// AND THAT WE CANNOT ASSUME/THAT WHAT IS FOR THE BEST INTERESTS/OF THAT LEADING GROUP OF WHITE PHILANTHROPISTS/WHO HAVE BEEN HELPING US IN EDUCATION,/WITH A NEGRO COLLEGE FUND/OF SIX CENTS for A YEAR/A STUDENT,// AND WITH BUILDING CHURCHES,// AND IN WHAT WE CALL/"GIVING US WORK"/ -- THAT THEIR INTERESTS/ARE IDENTICAL/WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE MASS/OF OUR CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.// ON THE OTHER HAND/ WE HAVE GOT TO LEARN/THAT THE PEOPLE/WHOSE CRY OF DISTRESS/IS RISING FROM THE COLONIAL/AND SEMI-COLONIAL LANDS/IN ASIA, AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES//SUFFER FROM THE SAME CAUSES/WHICH MAKE POVERTY/ UNEMPLOYMENT,/ IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/THE CAUSE OF DISTRESS AND ALARM/AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES.//THE NEXUS BETWEEN NEGRO WORKERS/IN AMERICA/AND THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND ASIA/IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER/OF RACE AND COLOR// THAT ATTRACTS US NATURALLY/TO A VAST EXTENT// BUT FAR BEYOND THAT/IS THIS DIFFICULT/PARADOXICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION/WHICH HAS THE SAME CAUSES/IN

36-9-216

INDO-CHINA AS IN MISSISSIPPI/ AND WHICH RESTS ON THIS UNDENIABLE TRUTH:// THAT THE PERSONS/WHO DO MOST OF THE WORK/AND THE HARDEST WORK/GET THE SMALLEST PAY/AND ARE COMPELLED TO LIVE/IN IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND DISEASE.//FOR THESE, AND TO THIS/THERE IS BUT ONE BEGINNING/OF AN ANSWER:// PEACE, NO MORE WAR! XTXISXXTHISXCHONGKCXGXKCHXSKOWLNCXNXCE XBCISCBEDXCAMPCALICXIZCRERESENTAC

Wisconsin Univ. Jan 26, 1952

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

MY PRACTICAL CONNECTION WITH INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING FALLS INTO THREE PARTS: UNDERGRADUATE WORK AT FISK UNIVERSITY FROM 1885-1888; UNDERGRADUATE WORK AT HARVARD FROM 1888 TO 1890; THEN FOUR YEARS OF GRADUATE WORK DIVIDED EQUALLY BETWEEN HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN FROM 1890 TO 1894.

IN THIS ~~WAY~~ study I GOT A FAIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY IN WHICH EDUCATION WAS CARRIED ON IN A SMALL SOUTHERN COLLEGE PATTERNED AFTER A NEW ENGLAND ~~COLLEGE~~ AND IN TWO LEADING UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD; AND PARTICULARLY A CONCEPTION OF WHAT ACADEMIC FREEDOM MEANT IN THAT DAY; WITH SOME OPPORTUNITY LATER OF COMPARISON WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF THIS ERA.

46-9-154

MY KNOWLEDGE OF CONTEMPORARY INSTITUTIONS DEPENDS ON LECTURES AND VISITS TO PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE LARGE UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1920 AND 1950, EXCEPT THOSE CONFINED TO WHITES IN THE FORMER SLAVE STATES AND ~~TO~~ visits & lectures in INSTITUTIONS ABROAD IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA, JAPAN, HAITI, AND CUBA.

THE COLLEGE COURSE AT A SMALL INSTITUTION FOR NEGROES IN TENNESSEE IN THE 19TH CENTURY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A CONTINUATION OF MY NEW ENGLAND HIGH SCHOOL COURSE,

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WITH SOME EXCELLENT TEACHING; AND WITH BROAD FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND CONCEPTION OF THE TEACHER'S PROFESSION, EXCEPT, PERHAPS, IN THE MATTER OF RELIGION. THERE THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE WAS ORTHODOX PROTESTANTISM, AND NOT MUCH QUESTIONING OF DOGMA WAS PERMITTED, ALTHOUGH, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE COLLEGE DID NOT WANT TO HAVE THE STUDENTS GET THE IDEA THAT THEY WERE NOT QUITE FREE TO INQUIRE.

46-9-155

THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY WHICH I KNEW FROM THE FALL OF 1888 THROUGH THE SPRING OF 1894 WAS TO MY MIND AS FAIR AN EXAMPLE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AS THE MODERN WORLD HAS SEEN. FIRST OF ALL, IT HAD AN EXTRAORDINARY NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND OFFICIALS OF BROAD LEARNING, MORAL COURAGE, AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. THERE WERE CONNECTED WITH THE UNIVERSITY A NUMBER OF MEN WHO WERE NOT ~~TEACHING~~ active BUT WERE STILL INFLUENTIAL, LIKE ALEXANDER AGASSIZ, JOHN FISKE, JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, AND OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. IN ADDITION TO THESE AND IN ~~MORE~~ ACTIVE SERVICE, WAS THE PRESIDENT, CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, ~~THE COLLEGE PREACHER, ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY~~, AND TEACHERS LIKE CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, NATHANIEL SHALER, GEORGE PALMER, WILLIAM JAMES, JOSIAH ROYCE,

BARRETT WENDELL, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, GEORGE SANTAYANA, AND PERHAPS A DOZEN OTHER MEN OF NATIONAL IF NOT INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION.

IT WAS ONE OF THE HIGH POINTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S CAREER, AND I CANNOT CONCEIVE OF ANY ORGANIZED FORCE IN THEOLOGY OR MILITARY CONTROL, IN INDUSTRIAL OR ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP, OR IN OWNERSHIP OR CENSORSHIP OF PRESS, PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS, WHICH WOULD HAVE DARED TO TELL THESE MEN WHAT THEY SHOULD THINK, OR INDICATE LIMITATIONS TO THEIR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH.

NATURALLY THEY WERE, IN FACT, WIDELY CONDITIONED IN THOUGHT AND ACTION BY THEIR TRAINING THROUGHOUT THE 19TH CENTURY, WITH THAT CENTURY'S DICTATORSHIP IN DRESS AND MANNERS, WITH ITS VICTORIAN CONTROL OF MORALS, AND WITH ITS COMPLACENT INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. NEVERTHELESS THEY HAD REBELS WITH A RECOGNIZED STATUS, LIKE JAMES IN THEOLOGY, PEABODY IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, SHALER IN GEOLOGY, AND SANTAYANA IN SOCIAL ~~THOUGHT~~ DEVELOPMENT. PERHAPS REBELLION IN ECONOMICS WAS LEAST OUTSTANDING, AND YET SOCIALISM WAS RESPECTABLE IF NOT POPULAR. THESE THINKERS KNEW LITTLE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, OF KARL MARX, OF THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY, but all were discussed

251-6-46-9-15

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE TRANSITION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN THE REVOLT AGAINST THEOLOGY WAS COMPLETE, AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION HAD GONE THEORETICALLY OVER TO STATE SOCIALISM, BUT HAD NOT CONCEIVED OF COMMUNISM AS PRACTICAL. I GOT MUCH OF MY GERMAN EDUCATION IN THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. The German professor of that day was as free as at Harvard save in relation to the emperor

I CAME THROUGH THIS UNIVERSITY TUTELAGE, THEREFORE, ABLE TO READ AND WRITE AND WITH THE BEGINNING OF CLEAR IDEAS AS TO COUNTING, PARTICULARLY IN THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL UNITS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WITH A CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM IN MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND UNHAMPERED LIBERTY IN ITS EXPRESSION, ALTHOUGH THERE AGAIN I MYSELF HAD INHERITED SOMETHING OF PROTESTANT THEOCRACY AND OF FIERCELY STRICT NEW ENGLAND MORALITY.

251-6-46-9-15a

IN GERMANY I HAD GONE OVER TO A CONCEPTION OF SCIENCE, OF OVERWHELMING AND COMPLETE SCIENTIFIC LAW GOVERNING THE UNIVERSE, AND ALTHOUGH ONLY PARTIALLY CONCEIVED AND DISCOVERED AT PRESENT, CAPABLE OF ADVANCEMENT AND ELUCIDATION AT THE HANDS OF PROPERLY EQUIPPED DISCIPLES, WITH SOMEHOW ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN A MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT AND A MORAL CHOICE OF IDEALS.

I CAME AT LAST INTO A LIFE WORK WHICH COULD BE DIVIDED RATHER COMPLETELY INTO TWO PARTS. THE ATTEMPT AT CONCEIVING AND STARTING A SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY ARISING FROM A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO ~~PROBLEM~~ AND A PERIOD OF ADMITTING THAT PROGRESS ALONG THAT LINE WAS TEMPORARILY IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE OPPOSING ATTITUDES OF MEN TO WHICH I MUST GIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION RATHER THAN TO THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WHICH I HAD PLANNED.

MY CONCEPT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES WHEN I TRIED TO PLAN AND CARRY OUT WHAT SEEMED TO ME A PERFECTLY CLEAR AND UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTABLE PROGRAM OF STUDYING THE NEGRO PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO FORWARD AND BROADEN THE AMERICAN CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY. I ADOPTED IT CONSCIOUSLY AS A SORT OF COMPROMISE BETWEEN TWO ATTITUDES AGAINST WHICH I WAS CLEARLY IN OPPOSITION. THE ATTITUDE ON THE ONE HAND OF THE DOMINANT SOUTH, WHICH MAINTAINED THAT THE WHITE SOUTH KNEW THE NEGRO AND WHAT WAS BEST FOR HIM, AND WAS ~~WITH DIFFICULTIES~~ TRYING TO REALIZE A PROGRAM OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE POST-CIVIL WAR STATE. AND THE OPPOSING ATTITUDE WHICH FELT STRONG ~~THAT~~ RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC EMOTION AND WHICH STRESSED THE INJUSTICE TOWARDS THE NEGRO, HIS

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SUFFERING AND DEGRADATION, AND WANTED IMMEDIATE ACTION IN LAW AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

MY OWN ATTITUDE CAME, AS I HAVE SAID, AS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THESE TWO. I SAID THAT PERSONALLY I DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH WAS. ALTHOUGH OF NEGRO DESCENT, I HAD BEEN BORN AND EDUCATED LARGELY IN THE NORTH. I HAD SEEN BUT SMALL PARTS OF THE SOUTH, AND I KNEW A COMPARATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE AGGREGATE. BUT, on the other hand, I WAS NOT CONVINCED THAT THOSE WHITES WHO THOUGHT THEY "KNEW THE NEGRO" WERE NOT JUST AS LACKING IN REAL SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEGE AS I WAS BECAUSE OF WIDE SOCIAL SEPARATION between the races. THEREFORE I PROPOSED TO BEGIN A STUDY OF THE VARIOUS NEGRO PROBLEMS, AND I WAS CAREFUL ALWAYS TO SPEAK IN THE PLURAL HERE AND NOT ADMIT FOR A MOMENT THAT WE WERE DEALING WITH ONE PROBLEM. SO THAT IN THE LONG RUN I PROPOSED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR PREJUDICE A FOUNDATION OF SCIENTIFICALLY ASCERTAINED TRUTH; AND THE TIME WHICH I WAS WILLING TO EXPEND UPON SUCH A STUDY LED ACTUALLY TO A PLAN WHICH COVERED 100 YEARS. IN EACH ~~ONE~~ year OF A TEN YEAR CYCLE MY ORGANIZATION WAS TO MAKE A STUDY, LIMITED BY OUR RESOURCES, BUT AS BROAD AND ACCURATE AS POSSIBLE, ON A ~~LIMITED~~ PHASE OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS;

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THEN WOULD FOLLOW ANOTHER YEAR WITH STUDY OF A DIFFERENT PROBLEM ~~FROM A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW~~, UNTIL WE HAD COVERED 10 SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD FAIRLY EXHAUST THE FIELD. ON THE 11TH YEAR WE WOULD BEGIN A SECOND CYCLE AND GO BACK TO THE FIRST SUBJECT STUDYING IT WITH MORE CARE AND COMPLETENESS. AND SO ON YEAR AFTER YEAR AND DECADE AFTER DECADE FOR A CENTURY OF SOCIAL INQUIRY.

THEORETICALLY THE PLAN WAS QUITE COMPLETE! PRACTICALLY IT RAN INTO UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTIES. FIRST OF ALL, I GAVE 13 YEARS OF WORK, ~~13 YEARS~~ AT A SALARY OF $1200 A YEAR, SUPPORTING A SMALL FAMILY ~~OFF MY SALARY~~. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, WHERE I WAS INITIATING THIS PROJECT, COULD NOT RAISE the $5000 A YEAR needed FROM PHILANTHROPY AND ~~ORGANIZED~~ SCIENCE TO PAY MY SALARY and TO CARRY ON THIS WORK AND ~~TO~~ ENLARGE IT.

THE WORK GAINED NATIONAL AND INDEED SOMETHING OF WORLD-WIDE RECOGNITION, SO THAT IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT FROM 1900 TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR THERE WAS NO SERIOUS WORK ON THE NEGRO PROBLEMS IN ~~THE UNITED STATES~~ WHICH DID NOT MORE OR LESS DEPEND UPON THESE LITTLE STUDIES WHICH WE HAD MADE AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. LATER THE MYRDAL STUDY HAD

MORE REFERENCES TO ~~THIS~~ OUR WORK THAN TO ANY OTHER.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE OPPOSITION TO MY FREEDOM OF INQUIRY, FREEDOM OF TEACHING AND LECTURING, AND FREEDOM OF PUBLICATION WAS STRONG. SO STRONG THAT IT INFLUENCED ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE THEN NEW GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD NOT ONLY NOT TO HELP US BUT STRONGLY TO INTIMATE THAT ITS FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO OTHER WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY MIGHT STOP IF I REMAINED there. MY RESEARCHES AND CONCLUSIONS DETERRED INDIVIDUAL PHILANTHROPISTS FROM HELPING, MADE MY HEARING BEFORE SOUTHERN WHITE INSTITUTIONS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE, AND I WAS NOT TOO WELCOME EVEN BEFORE NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS. ABOVE ALL, AS I HAVE SAID, IT GAVE ME NO MONEY ~~FOR SALARIES~~, FOR EXPANSION, FOR REAL BROAD, SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. AND IT MET STRONG ANTI-NEGRO OPPOSITION FROM ALMOST ALL QUARTERS. SOME PUBLICITY CAME TO OUR WORK FROM VISITORS AND READERS, BUT NOTHING ANYWHERE NEAR ADEQUATE FOR THE GREAT WORK WHICH WE HAD PLANNED.

AND THEN, QUITE OVERWHELMING ALL THAT AND PUSHING IT TO THE BACK OF MY MIND AS WELL AS OUT OF THE MINDS OF ALL SCIENTISTS, CAME THE BITTER EXACERBATION OF RACE

PREJUDICE/ AND ORGANIZED POLITICAL DOMINATION OF THE NEGRO/ WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 1890'S, AND SPILLED OVER/ INTO THE 20TH CENTURY.// MY OWN UNEXPECTED/ AND BITTER CONTACT WITH LYNCHING AND INJUSTICE IN GEORGIA,/ CULMINATING WITH THE ATLANTA RIOT OF 1906,/ CATAPULTED ME OUT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH/ INTO ORGANIZED AGITATION/ FOR PREPARING AND EXHORTING THE MINDS OF MEN/ TO TURN FROM PREJUDICE TO DECENCY,/ ON THE WAY TO THE SCIENCE/ WHICH I HAD BEEN ADVOCATING.

THE RESULT/ WAS THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAACP/ AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE CRISIS,/ AND A PATH OF EXHORTATION AND AGITATION/ OVER A PERIOD OF A QUARTER OF A CENTURY.// RATHER THAN THE IVORY TOWER/ OF QUIET STUDY, INVESTIGATION AND RECORDING,// WHICH I had planned DURING THAT TIME,/ THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY/ FREEDOM OF ACADEMIC INVESTIGATION AND EXPRESSION/ BECAME LESS in the nation, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD/ OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES/ IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY/ AND WHAT WAS CALLED IN THOSE DAYS/ "APPLIED PHILANTHROPY".// IN FACT, THE IDEA THAT SCIENCE/ WAS A TERM TO BE CONFINED/ TO THE "NATURAL" SCIENCES/ AND WAS NOT APPLICABLE OR CONCEIVABLE/ SO FAR AS THE ACTIONS OF MEN/ WERE CONCERNED,/ GREW BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT

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ACADEMIC CIRCLES.// WHILE IT WAS THEREFORE RESPECTABLE/ AND CALLED FOR GENEROUS SUPPORT,/ FOR A MAN TO BE A PHYSICIST,/ CHEMIST OR A GEOLOGIST,// ECONOMICS WAS OPPOSED/ WHEN IT BEGAN TO DRIFT INTO STUDY OF SOCIALISM/ AND CRITICISM OF MODERN INDUSTRY.// WHICH WAS GROWING IN POWER AND CONTROL.// AND PUBLIC OPINION WAS AGAINST ANY PHILANTHROPY/ WHICH WAS NOT IN THE SERVICE OF INDUSTRY,/ AND ESPECIALLY AGAINST/ ANY RECOGNITION OF SOCIOLOGY/ AS A SCIENCE.

AT THE END OF THIS QUARTER OF A CENTURY/ OF my PATH OF EXHORTATION/ SHAKEN AS IT WAS BY THE FIRST,/ AND AS I FIRMLY BELIEVED,/ THE LAST WORLD WAR.// AND FOLLOWED BY THE NEAR COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM,/ I TURNED BACK AGAIN/ TO MY PLAN OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY/ OF RACE PROBLEMS./ IN ADDITION TO A LARGER CONCEPTION/ OF A REAL ESTABLISHMENT/ OF A SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION.// THIS PROPOSAL HAD NO REAL TRIAL./ ITS WHOLE EFFORT AND CONCEPT/ WAS SHAKEN TO ITS DEPTHS/ BY ~~THE COLLAPSE OF INDUSTRY IN 1929,/ AND~~ THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN 1939.

THIS PLAN/ INVOLVED A UNION OF THE NEGRO COLLEGES/ OF THE SOUTH,/ ONE IN EACH STATE,/ IN A CONTINUOUS YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT/ STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS/ AND

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO GROUP USING ALL AVAILABLE PUBLISHED DATA IN ADDITION TO SPECIAL LOCAL STUDIES // THIS WORK WAS TO BE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MY DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN ATLANTA UNIVERSITY AND CRITICIZED AND GUIDED BY AN ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIOLOGISTS OF THE NATION // ~~THE PRESIDENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY WAS INDUCED TO INTERPRET IN A WAY WHICH KILLED THE WHOLE SCHEME~~ and the threat of a third World War stopped ~~all of~~ IT. SECOND WORLD HINDERED THE PLAN ALTHO IT WAS STARTED VA FIRST CONGRESS HELD thought of it

THE NATION ~~WE~~ EMERGED AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR ~~THEN~~, INTO A WORLD IN WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, THERE IS LIMITED ACADEMIC FREEDOM, AND WHERE SCIENCE ~~AND PARTICULARLY SOCIOLOGY~~, IS UNDER THE COMPLETE ~~CONTROL~~ DOMINATION OF EFFORTS TO PRODUCE MONOPOLIES AND CONTROL WEALTH // IT MEANS THAT YOU ARE LIVING TODAY IN A UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE OF ALMOST COMPLETE SILENCE; PARTICULARLY ON SUBJECTS OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY // AND WHERE THERE IS SCARCELY A GREAT VOICE IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH DARES SPEAK ON THESE SUBJECTS WITH COMPLETE FRANKNESS AND OUT OF CAREFULLY FOUNDED KNOWLEDGE.

46-9-164

~~ONCE AND ONLY ONCE WE MADE A MAGNIFICENT ATTEMPT, WHEN HARLOW SHAPLEY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AN ASTRONOMER AND NOT A SOCIOLOGIST, MADE THE OBVIOUS PROPOSAL THAT~~

11½

IT MUST BE CLEAR TO YOUNG MINDS JUST WHY VAST FORCES HAVE IMPOSED THIS PALL OF SILENCE ON THE PRESENT UNIVERSITY WORLD // IT IS NOT A MATTER OF DELIBERATELY EVIL DESIRE OR STUDIED IGNORANCE, BUT BECAUSE YOU ARE LIVING IN AN ERA OF REVOLUTION, WHEN A GREAT WORLD INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS RULED THE MODERN WORLD FOR TWO CENTURIES IS FALLING APART AND IS CHALLENGED BY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR PLANS // IT IS NOT MERELY A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER A NEW ORGANIZATION REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIET UNION IS RIGHT OR WRONG, BUT THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL FACT THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH HAS SO LONG AND SO SUCCESSFULLY DOMINATED CIVILIZATION NO LONGER SATISFIES MANKIND, AND MUST EITHER CHANGE FROM WITHIN OR BE SUPERSEDED FROM WITHOUT // TO STOP THIS INEVITABLE CHANGE BY WORLD WAR OR BY ITS SPIRITUAL EQUIVALENT, SILENCE OR THOUGHT CONTROL IS INDEFENSIBLE /// IN 1949 THERE WAS A MAGNIFICENT EFFORT MADE TO PREVENT THIS SITUATION FROM DEVELOPING // HARLOW SHAPLEY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AN ASTRONOMER AND NOT A STUDENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, MADE THE OBVIOUS PROPOSAL THAT

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ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS/AND PROFESSIONAL MEN/OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD/ SHOULD MEET IN NEW YORK AND CONSIDER/THE NEXT STEP FOR CIVILIZATION/ AFTER TWO SHATTERING WORLD WARS,/ WITH THE ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE SHADOW/OF ANOTHER AND FINAL WAR.

I DO NOT THINK/THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,/THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITIES/ OR THE CIVILIZED WORLD/REALIZE THE ENORMITY OF THE FATE/WHICH MET THAT WALDORF-ASTORIA WORLD CONFERENCE/ON PEACE/ LATE IN MARCH, 1949.

THE PERSONS/WILLING TO CALL AND SUPPORT/THIS CONFERENCE/ AND THE GREAT MINDS AND SOULS/EAGER TO ATTEND IT,/ REPRESENTED/IN THE BEGINNING/A ROLE OF HONOR/IN MODERN CIVILIZATION.// IT WAS NEVERTHELESS/GREETED BY A CONCERTED WAVE/OF INTOLERANCE AND IGNORANCE,/ VILIFICATION,/AND DELIBERATE LYING,/WHICH SHOCKED THE PEOPLE/OF THE UNITED STATES INTO A SHAMEFUL ACQUIESCENCE/TO MILITARY RULE AND INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY/ AND ^ there followed THE STOPPING OF FREEDOM OF TEACHING/IN ACADEMIC HALLS/, FREEDOM OF SPEECH,/ AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION EVERWHERE/WORSE THAN THAT OF ANY PERIOD/ SINCE THE REFORMATION.

46-9-166

THE NEW YORK PEACE MEETING OF 1949/WAS FOLLOWED BY A WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS*/LATER THE SAME YEAR/ AND OTHER PEACE CONGRESSES/IN THE SOVIET UNION,/WITH AN ATTEMPTED MEETING/ IN ENGLAND ^ in 1951 WHICH HAD TO BE TRANSFERRED TO POLAND.// IT IS NOT A QUESTION/AS TO WHETHER MEN AGREE/WITH ALL WHICH THESE CONGRESSES/SAID OR DID,// OR WHETHER THEIR SPONSORS/WERE CAPITALISTS OR COMMUNISTS/ THEY WERE MEETINGS OF HUMAN BEINGS,/ INCLUDING MEN OF REPUTATION/AND WORLD- WIDE FAME// COLLEGES TODAY/ OUGHT TO KNOW ABOUT THEM AND STUDY THEM./ THEY DO NOT.

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THAT IS WHAT WE ARE FACING TODAY,/ AND OUT OF THIS SITUATION/WE HAVE GOT TO CLIMB AND FIGHT// FOR A GENERATION/ I HAVE SPOKEN TO STUDENTS OF ALL RACES AND COLORS/ IN ALL SORTS OF PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL SURROUNDINGS.// IN THE LAST TWO YEARS/I HAVE SUDDENLY FOUND MYSELF/SPEAKING TO LIMITED GROUPS OF STUDENTS/IN INSTITUTIONS WHERE I HAVE BEEN INVITED/ONLY WITH HESITATION/ AND WHERE TO MY SURPRISE/I FIND, INSTEAD OF EAGER, OPEN-MINDED INQUIRIES/INTO TRUTH AND RIGHT/ GROUPS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN/WHO ARE POSITIVELY SCARED// WHO DO NOT DARE ASK QUESTIONS/ WHO DO NOT DARE EXPRESS OPINIONS/ AND WHO

SIT BEFORE ME SILENTLY, HOPING THAT I WILL SPEAK ON ONE SUBJECT WHICH THEY THEMSELVES DO NOT RAISE, AND WHICH THEIR TEACHERS ~~DARE~~ do NOT DISCUSS FOR FEAR THAT THEY WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS; ~~AND~~ I MEAN BY THAT, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE SOVIET UNION. // THEY ARE THE GREAT SUBJECTS OF PRESENT CURIOSITY AND INQUIRY WHICH FACE THE MODERN WORLD AND ASK FOR DECISION. // IN EVERY CASE WHERE I HAVE IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS FACED ACADEMIC AUDIENCES, THEY EITHER DARE NOT BRING UP THESE SUBJECTS, OR IF SOMEBODY SUGGESTS THAT ~~IT~~ they BE BROUGHT UP, THEY DARE NOT DISCUSS IT. // NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, WE ARE PROPOSING TO FIGHT A WORLD WAR ON COMMUNISM, WHEN WE DARE NOT ASK OURSELVES WHAT COMMUNISM IS, HOW IT IS PROGRESSING, AND WHAT ITS FUTURE MAY BE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I WAS GLAD TO COME TO THIS MEETING; NOT TO DISCUSS ANYTHING THAT YOU ARE AFRAID TO DISCUSS, OR BRING UP ANY MATTER WHICH WOULD CAUSE CONSTERNATION IN ~~THESE~~ HALLS OF SCIENCE, BUT SIMPLY TO IMPRESS UPON THIS AUDIENCE THAT YOU ARE IN SLAVERY, THAT YOU ARE SCARED, AND THAT FOR THIS REASON YOU OUGHT TO BE ASHAMED OF YOURSELVES.

46-9-128

14½

ONE OF THE MOST DEPLORABLE RESULTS OF THE PRESENT FEAR AND SILENCE IS THE FLIGHT OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM THE VERY FIELDS WHERE WE NEED AND WILL NEED LEADERSHIP AND SCIENCE // INTO FIELDS WHICH ARE CROWDED AND WHICH CAN NEVER FLOURISH WITHOUT THEIR NATURAL SCIENTIFIC COMPLEMENT. // WE ARE NEGLECTING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. HISTORY IS PEDANTIC, ECONOMICS IS HIDING IN JUNGLES OF HIGHER MATHEMETICS, AND THERE IS NOTHING THAT CAN BE CALLED A SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY. // WE ARE AFRAID OF THESE: // THEY INVOLVE OPINIONS, JUDGMENTS OF MEN, EXPOSURE OF THE CRIME OF WAR, AND CRIES FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, AND COURAGE TO SPEAK. // WE RATHER STUDY EXPLOSIVES AND MURDER AND BUILDING, EVEN WHEN WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT OUR BUILDING IS FOR OR WHERE OUR BRIDGES LEAD OR WHAT OUR DAMS STOP, PARTICULARLY IN THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI VALLEYS.

46-9-129

YOU OUGHT TO HAVE THE BRAINS TO REALIZE/AND THE GUTS TO ADMIT/ THAT YOU ARE FACING THE GREATEST OF THE WORLD'S REVOLUTIONS// THAT IT IS YOUR BUSINESS/AS CITIZENS OF ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS,/TO KNOW JUST AS MUCH ABOUT IT/ AS YOU CAN// TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE UTMOST FREEDOM,/ AND TO COME TO ANY CONCLUSIONS/THAT YOU THINK TRUE// THAT ANY ATTEMPT ON THE PART/OF SUCH INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/AS DOMINATES THE WORLD TODAY/AND WHICH/WITH ALL ITS MIRACULOUS TRIUMPHS/HAS BEEN GUILTY OF THE MOST AWFUL CRIMES// TO STOP YOUR THINKING/AND CURTAIL YOUR SPEAKING/WITH THREAT OF JAIL AND DISGRACE,/ IS A DEMAND TO WHICH NO FREE AMERICAN CITIZEN/HAS ANY RIGHT TO ~~THINK~~ dream OF SUBMITTING// AND THAT THOSE OF US/WHO ARE BOWING TO THIS INSUFFERABLE TYRANNY/ WILL BE/AND WILL DESERVE TO BE/CALLED COWARDS AND TRAITORS TO OUR GREAT HERITAGE.

I CAN BEST CLOSE/BY REPEATING THE WORDS OF ALEXANDER FADEYEV/ A SOVIET NOVELIST,/ WHICH HE SPOKE IN NEW YORK IN 1949://

"THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION STAND FOR PEACE./ IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER/ EVEN ONE UNPREJUDICED AMERICAN/OR WESTERN EUROPEAN/COULD BE FOUND WHO/, COMING TO OUR

46-9-170

COUNTRY,/WOULD NOT FEEL THE HEALTHY,/ PEACEFUL PULSE OF LIFE/IN THE ENTIRE ATMOSPHERE;// IN THE PLAN/FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSCOW/PROJECTED FOR A PERIOD OF 25 YEARS;/ IN THE PLANS/FOR THE PLANTING OF FORESTS/ENCOMPASSING THE GIGANTIC STEPPE REGIONS/OF THE EUROPEAN PART/OF THE ~~U.S.S.R.~~ SOVIET UNION// IN ORDER TO INSURE A RICH HARVEST;/ ~~IN THE FIELDS~~// IN THE EXPERIMENT OF ACADEMICIAN LYSENKO/FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF BUSHLIKE WHEAT// IN THE NEW PRODUCTIONS/OF THE MOSCOW ART THEATRE// IN THE LIFE-LOVING/ OPTIMISTIC MOOD OF OUR CITIZENS// IN THE PEACEFUL TONE OF THE PRESS// IN THE BRIGHT VOICES OF THE CHILDREN - SO MANY OF WHOM ARE BEING BORN/IN OUR COUNTRY/ AS A SIGN OF THE CONFIRMATION OF LIFE,/ ITS MOST BEAUTIFUL/AND MOST HOPEFUL SYMBOL.

46-9-171

"THE SOVIET STATE/IS FOR PEACE/AS IT IS NATURAL/FOR A GREAT SOCIALIST STATE TO BE.//A STATE FULL OF CREATIVE PLANS/ SURE OF ITS FUTURE;/ A STATE WHICH SPENDS ALMOST 40%/OF ALL THE EXPENDITURES/ ~~OF ITS TREMENDOUS 1949 BUDGET,/ 415 BILLION RUBLES,~~/ ON THE RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT/OF ITS ECONOMY/ 30% FOR CULTURAL UNDERTAKINGS/ FOR THE EDUCATION OF 40 MILLION SCHOOL CHILDREN/AND ALMOST 2 MILLION STUDENTS IN 1949...."

I do not believe that this statement was less worthy of credence than those of the other nations

ALL THE NATIONS PRESENT ON THAT HISTORIC OCCASION/ INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN,/ FRANCE, ITALY/AND THE NATIONS OF ASIA,/ AFRICA/AND SOUTH AMERICA JOINED/ IN SIMILAR STATEMENTS /ASSERTING THEIR GOOD WILL,/ THEIR HATRED OF WAR,/ AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO STRIVE/FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.// SUPPOSE THAT MANY OF THEM DID NOT BELIEVE/ALL THAT WAS SAID THERE.// NEVERTHELESS THERE WAS SURELY THE PLACE/TO ASSERT FAITH,/ TO STRIVE FOR FRANK DEEDS/AND TO UNITE MORE CLOSELY/FOR COOPERATION AND STUDY.// ON THE CONTRARY,/ THIS NATION,/ IN ITS GOVERNMENT/AND ITS COMMERCIALIZED PRESS/WAS INSULTING AND RUDE.// SHOSTAKOVICH, THE GREAT SOVIET COMPOSER/WAS REFUSED THE PRIVILEGE/TO GIVE A CONCERT ON THE YALE CAMPUS/TO WHICH HE HAD BEEN INVITED.// NONE OF OUR GUESTS,/ SOME OF WORLD RENOWN,/ WAS ALLOWED TO SPEAK OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY.// COLLEGES WHO HAD SHOWERED/ DEGREES ON SOLDIERS/HAD NONE FOR PEACMAKERS.// THEY WOULD NOT EVEN LISTEN TO THEM.// MEN OF UNBLEMISHED REPUTATION/WERE OPENLY CALLED LIARS AND TRAITORS,/ NOT BECAUSE OF ACADEMIC INVESTIGATION/OR STUDY,/BUT BECAUSE/AMERICAN BUSINESS/ FEARED THE COMPETITION OF COMMUNISM IN ASIA,/ AND WAS DETERMINED/TO STOP IT/ BY WAR!//

ASSERTION OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM TO KNOW,/ TO DISCUSS AND CONCLUDE,/ COULD THEN/AND MAY EVEN NOW/SAVE CIVILIZATION FROM SUICIDE.// BUT IF SO,/ IT MUST START IN INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,/ AND AMONG STUDENTS LIKE THESE.// IT MUST CEASE/LONGER TO BE TRUE/THAT MEETINGS LIKE THIS/CAN BE BANNED OR SLANDERED/JUST BECAUSE YOUTH LIKE YOU/DEMAND THE RIGHT/TO THINK AND TALK./

IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM/FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS/LIES THE END OF WAR,/ THE BEGINNING OF PEACE,/ AND THE START OF PROGRESS/TOWARD A WORLD/ WHERE MOST MEN ARE NOT/ POOR,/ IGNORANT/AND SICK.

Wisconsin Apr 26, 1952

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

MY PRACTICAL CONNECTION WITH INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING FALLS INTO THREE PARTS: UNDERGRADUATE WORK AT FISK UNIVERSITY FROM 1888-1888, UNDERGRADUATE WORK AT HARVARD FROM 1888 TO 1890; THEN FOUR YEARS OF GRADUATE WORK DIVIDED EQUALLY BETWEEN HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN FROM 1890 TO 1894.

IN THIS study I GOT A FAIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY IN WHICH EDUCATION WAS CARRIED ON IN A SMALL SOUTHERN COLLEGE PATTERNED AFTER NEW ENGLAND [redacted], AND IN TWO LEADING UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD; AND PARTICULARLY A CONCEPTION OF WHAT ACADEMIC FREEDOM MEANT IN THAT DAY; WITH SOME OPPORTUNITY later OF COMPARISON WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF THIS ERA.

MY KNOWLEDGE OF CONTEMPORARY INSTITUTIONS DEPENDS ON LECTURES AND VISITS TO PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE LARGE UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1930 AND 1950, EXCEPT THOSE CONFINED TO WHITES IN THE FORMER SLAVE STATES, AND 20 visits and lectures INSTITUTIONS ABROAD IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA, JAPAN, HAITI, AND CUBA.

36-9-21

THE COLLEGE COURSE AT A SMALL INSTITUTION FOR NEGROES IN TENNESSEE IN THE 19TH CENTURY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A CONTINUATION OF MY NEW ENGLAND HIGH SCHOOL COURSE,

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WITH SOME EXCELLENT TEACHING; AND WITH BROAD FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND CONCEPTION OF THE TEACHER'S PROFESSION, EXCEPT, PERHAPS, IN THE MATTER OF RELIGION. THERE THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE WAS ORTHODOX PROTESTANTISM, AND NOT MUCH QUESTIONING OF DOGMA WAS PERMITTED, ALTHOUGH, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE COLLEGE DID NOT WANT TO HAVE THE STUDENTS GET THE IDEA THAT THEY WERE NOT QUITE FREE TO INQUIRE.

THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY WHICH I KNEW FROM THE FALL OF 1888 THROUGH THE SPRING OF 1894 WAS TO MY MIND AS FAIR AN EXAMPLE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AS THE MODERN WORLD HAS SEEN. FIRST OF ALL, IT HAD AN EXTRAORDINARY NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND OFFICIALS OF BROAD LEARNING, MORAL COURAGE, AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. THERE WERE CONNECTED WITH THE UNIVERSITY A NUMBER OF MEN WHO WERE NOT active BUT WERE STILL INFLUENTIAL, LIKE ALEXANDER AGASSIZ, JOHN FISKE, JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, AND OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. IN ADDITION TO THESE AND IN [redacted] ACTIVE SERVICE, WAS THE PRESIDENT, CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, [redacted], AND TEACHERS LIKE CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, NATHANIEL SHALER, GEORGE PALMER, WILLIAM JAMES, JOSIAH ROYCE,

BARRETT WENDELL, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, GEORGE SANTAYANA, AND PERHAPS A DOZEN OTHER MEN OF NATIONAL IF NOT INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION.

IT WAS ONE OF THE HIGH POINTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S CAREER, AND I CANNOT CONCEIVE OF ANY ORGANIZED FORCE IN THEOLOGY OR MILITARY CONTROL, IN INDUSTRIAL OR ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP, OR IN OWNERSHIP OR CENSORSHIP OF PRESS, PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS, WHICH WOULD HAVE DARED TO TELL THESE MEN WHAT THEY SHOULD THINK, OR INDICATE LIMITATIONS TO THEIR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH.

NATURALLY THEY WERE, IN FACT, WIDELY CONDITIONED IN THOUGHT AND ACTION BY THEIR TRAINING THROUGHOUT THE 19TH CENTURY, WITH THAT CENTURY'S DICTATORSHIP IN DRESS AND MANNERS, WITH ITS VICTORIAN CONTROL OF MORALS, AND WITH ITS COMPLACENT INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. NEVERTHELESS THEY HAD REBELS WITH A RECOGNIZED STATUS, LIKE JAMES IN THEOLOGY, PEABODY IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, SHALER IN GEOLOGY, AND SANTAYANA IN SOCIAL development. PERHAPS REBELLION IN ECONOMICS WAS LEAST OUTSTANDING, AND YET SOCIALISM WAS RESPECTABLE IF NOT POPULAR. THESE THINKERS KNEW LITTLE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, OF KARL MARX, OF THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY, but all were discussed.

30-9-22

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE TRANSITION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN THE REVOLT AGAINST THEOLOGY WAS COMPLETE, AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION HAD GONE THEORETICALLY OVER TO STATE SOCIALISM, BUT HAD NOT CONCEIVED OF COMMUNISM AS PRACTICAL. I GOT MUCH OF MY GERMAN EDUCATION IN THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. the German professor of that day was as free as at Harvard, save in relation to the emperor.

I CAME THROUGH THIS UNIVERSITY TUTELAGE THEREFORE, ABLE TO READ AND WRITE AND WITH THE BEGINNING OF CLEAR IDEAS AS TO COUNTING, PARTICULARLY IN THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL UNITS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT; WITH A CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM IN MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND UNHAMPERED LIBERTY IN ITS EXPRESSION; ALTHOUGH THERE AGAIN I MYSELF HAD INHERITED SOMETHING OF PROTESTANT THEOCRACY AND OF the FIERCELY STRICT NEW ENGLAND MORALITY.

IN GERMANY I HAD GONE OVER TO A CONCEPTION OF SCIENCE, OF OVERWHELMING AND COMPLETE SCIENTIFIC LAW GOVERNING THE UNIVERSE, AND ALTHOUGH ONLY PARTIALLY CONCEIVED AND DISCOVERED AT PRESENT; CAPABLE OF ADVANCEMENT AND ELUCIDATION AT THE HANDS OF PROPERLY EQUIPPED DISCIPLES, WITH SOMEHOW ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN A MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT AND A MORAL CHOICE OF IDEALS.

I CAME AT LAST INTO A LIFE work WHICH COULD BE DIVIDED RATHER COMPLETELY INTO TWO PARTS; THE ATTEMPT AT CONCEIVING AND STARTING A SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY ARISING FROM A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO [redacted], AND A PERIOD OF ADMITTING THAT PROGRESS ALONG THAT LINE WAS TEMPORARILY IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE OPPOSING ATTITUDES OF MEN, TO WHICH I MUST GIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION RATHER THAN TO THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WHICH I HAD PLANNED.

MY CONCEPT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES WHEN I TRIED TO PLAN AND CARRY OUT WHAT SEEMED TO ME A PERFECTLY CLEAR AND UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTABLE PROGRAM OF STUDYING THE NEGRO PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO FORWARD AND BROADEN THE AMERICAN CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY. I ADOPTED IT CONSCIOUSLY AS A SORT OF COMPROMISE BETWEEN TWO ATTITUDES AGAINST WHICH I WAS CLEARLY IN OPPOSITION: THE ATTITUDE ON THE ONE HAND OF THE DOMINANT SOUTH, WHICH MAINTAINED THAT THE WHITE SOUTH KNEW THE NEGRO AND WHAT WAS BEST FOR HIM, AND WAS [redacted] TRYING TO REALIZE A PROGRAM OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE POST-CIVIL WAR STATE; AND THE OPPOSING ATTITUDE WHICH FELT strong [redacted] RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC EMOTION and STRESSED THE INJUSTICE TOWARDS THE NEGRO, HIS

86-9-23

SUFFERING AND DEGRADATION, AND WANTED IMMEDIATE ACTION IN LAW AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

MY OWN ATTITUDE CAME, AS I HAVE SAID, AS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THESE TWO. I SAID THAT PERSONALLY I DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH WAS. ALTHOUGH OF NEGRO DESCENT, I HAD BEEN BORN AND EDUCATED LARGELY IN THE NORTH. I HAD SEEN BUT SMALL PARTS OF THE SOUTH, AND I KNEW A COMPARATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE AGGREGATE. BUT on the other hand I WAS NOT CONVINCED THAT THOSE WHITES WHO THOUGHT THEY "KNEW THE NEGRO" WERE NOT JUST AS LACKING IN REAL SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AS I WAS, BECAUSE OF WIDE SOCIAL SEPARATION between the races. THEREFORE I PROPOSED TO BEGIN A STUDY OF THE VARIOUS NEGRO PROBLEMS, AND I WAS CAREFUL ALWAYS TO SPEAK IN THE PLURAL HERE AND NOT ADMIT FOR A MOMENT THAT WE WERE DEALING WITH ONE PROBLEM. SO THAT IN THE LONG RUN I PROPOSED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR PREJUDICE A FOUNDATION OF SCIENTIFICALLY ASCERTAINED TRUTH; AND THE TIME WHICH I WAS WILLING TO EXPEND UPON SUCH A STUDY LED ACTUALLY TO A PLAN WHICH COVERED 100 YEARS. IN EACH [redacted] TEN YEAR CYCLE MY ORGANIZATION WAS TO MAKE A STUDY, LIMITED BY OUR RESOURCES BUT AS BROAD AND ACCURATE AS POSSIBLE ON A [redacted] PHASE OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS. YEAR OF A RE-

THEN WOULD FOLLOW ANOTHER YEAR WITH STUDY OF A DIFFERENT PROBLEM [redacted], UNTIL WE HAD COVERED 10 SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD FAIRLY EXHAUST THE FIELD. ON THE 11TH YEAR WE WOULD BEGIN A SECOND CYCLE AND GO BACK TO THE FIRST SUBJECT, STUDYING IT WITH MORE CARE AND COMPLETENESS; AND SO ON YEAR AFTER YEAR AND DECADE AFTER DECADE FOR A CENTURY OF SOCIAL INQUIRY.

THEORETICALLY THE PLAN WAS QUITE COMPLETE. PRACTICALLY IT RAN INTO UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTIES. FIRST OF ALL, I GAVE 13 YEARS OF WORK, [redacted] AT A SALARY OF $1200 A YEAR, SUPPORTING A SMALL FAMILY [redacted]. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, WHERE I WAS INITIATING THIS PROJECT, COULD NOT RAISE the $5000 A YEAR needed FROM PHILANTHROPY AND ORGANIZED SCIENCE TO PAY MY SALARY and CARRY ON THIS WORK AND [redacted] ENLARGE IT.

12-6-24

THE WORK GAINED NATIONAL AND INDEED SOMETHING OF WORLD-WIDE RECOGNITION, SO THAT IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT FROM 1900 TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR THERE WAS NO SERIOUS WORK ON THE NEGRO PROBLEMS [redacted] WHICH DID NOT MORE OR LESS DEPEND UPON THESE LITTLE STUDIES WHICH WE HAD MADE AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. LATER THE MYRDAL STUDY HAD

MORE REFERENCES TO our WORK THAN TO ANY OTHER.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE OPPOSITION TO MY FREEDOM OF INQUIRY, FREEDOM OF TEACHING AND LECTURING, AND FREEDOM OF PUBLICATION WAS STRONG; SO STRONG THAT IT INFLUENCED ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE THEN NEW GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD NOT ONLY NOT TO HELP US BUT STRONGLY TO INTIMATE THAT ITS FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO OTHER WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY MIGHT STOP IF I REMAINED there. MY RESEARCHES AND CONCLUSIONS DETERRED INDIVIDUAL PHILANTHROPISTS FROM HELPING, MADE MY HEARING BEFORE SOUTHERN WHITE INSTITUTIONS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE, AND I WAS NOT TOO WELCOME EVEN BEFORE NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS. ABOVE ALL, AS I HAVE SAID, IT GAVE ME NO MONEY [redacted], FOR EXPANSION, FOR REAL BROAD, SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. AND IT MET STRONG ANTI-NEGRO OPPOSITION FROM ALMOST ALL QUARTERS. SOME PUBLICITY CAME TO OUR WORK FROM VISITORS AND READERS, BUT NOTHING ANYWHERE NEAR ADEQUATE FOR THE GREAT WORK WHICH WE HAD PLANNED.

AND THEN, QUITE OVERWHELMING ALL THAT AND PUSHING IT TO THE BACK OF MY MIND AS WELL AS OUT OF THE MINDS OF ALL SCIENTISTS, CAME THE BITTER EXACERBATION OF RACE

PREJUDICE AND ORGANIZED POLITICAL DOMINATION OF THE NEGRO WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 1890'S, AND SPILLED OVER INTO THE 20TH CENTURY. MY OWN UNEXPECTED AND BITTER CONTACT WITH LYNCHING AND INJUSTICE IN GEORGIA, CULMINATING WITH THE ATLANTA RIOT OF 1906, CATAPULTED ME OUT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INTO ORGANIZED AGITATION FOR PREPARING AND EXHORTING THE MINDS OF MEN TO TURN FROM PREJUDICE TO DECENCY, ON THE WAY TO THE SCIENCE WHICH I HAD BEEN ADVOCATING.

THE RESULT WAS THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAACP AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE CRISIS, AND A PATH OF EXHORTATION AND AGITATION OVER A PERIOD OF A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, RATHER THAN THE IVORY TOWER OF QUIET STUDY, INVESTIGATION AND RECORDING which I had planned. DURING THAT TIME, THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY, FREEDOM OF ACADEMIC INVESTIGATION AND EXPRESSION BECAME LESS in the nation, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND WHAT WAS CALLED IN THOSE DAYS "APPLIED PHILANTHROPY". IN FACT, THE IDEA THAT SCIENCE WAS A TERM TO BE CONFINED TO THE "NATURAL" SCIENCES AND WAS NOT APPLICABLE OR CONCEIVABLE SO FAR AS THE ACTIONS OF MEN WERE CONCERNED, GREW BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT

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ACADEMIC CIRCLES. WHILE IT WAS THEREFORE RESPECTABLE AND CALLED FOR GENEROUS SUPPORT, FOR A MAN TO BE A PHYSICIST, CHEMIST OR A GEOLOGIST; ECONOMICS WAS OPPOSED WHEN IT BEGAN TO DRIFT INTO STUDY OF SOCIALISM AND CRITICISM OF MODERN INDUSTRY, WHICH WAS GROWING IN POWER AND CONTROL; AND PUBLIC OPINION WAS AGAINST ANY PHILANTHROPY WHICH WAS NOT IN THE SERVICE OF INDUSTRY, AND ESPECIALLY AGAINST ANY RECOGNITION OF SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE.

AT THE END OF THIS QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF MY PATH OF EXHORTATION, SHAKEN AS IT WAS BY THE FIRST AND AS I FIRMLY BELIEVED, THE LAST WORLD WAR, AND FOLLOWED BY THE NEAR COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM, I TURNED BACK AGAIN TO MY PLAN OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RACE PROBLEMS, IN ADDITION TO A LARGER CONCEPTION OF A REAL ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION. THIS PROPOSAL HAD NO REAL TRIAL, ITS WHOLE EFFORT AND CONCEPT WAS SHAKEN TO ITS DEPTHS BY [redacted] THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN 1939.

THIS PLAN INVOLVED A UNION OF THE NEGRO COLLEGES OF THE SOUTH, ONE IN EACH STATE, IN A CONTINUOUS YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO GROUP, USING ALL AVAILABLE PUBLISHED DATA IN ADDITION TO SPECIAL LOCAL STUDIES. THIS WORK WAS TO BE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MY DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, AND CRITICIZED AND GUIDED BY AN ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIOLOGISTS OF THE NATION. [redacted] the Second World War hindered the plan although it was started and a first Congress held. The threat of a 3rd world War stopped it.

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THE NATION [redacted] EMERGED, AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR [redacted] INTO A WORLD IN WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, THERE IS LIMITED ACADEMIC FREEDOM, AND WHERE SCIENCE [redacted] IS UNDER THE COMPLETE domination OF EFFORTS TO PRODUCE MONOPOLIES AND CONTROL WEALTH. IT MEANS THAT YOU ARE LIVING TODAY IN A UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE OF ALMOST COMPLETE SILENCE; PARTICULARLY ON SUBJECTS OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY; AND WHERE THERE IS SCARCELY A GREAT VOICE IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH DARES SPEAK ON THESE SUBJECTS WITH COMPLETE FRANKNESS AND OUT OF CAREFULLY FOUNDED KNOWLEDGE.

[redacted]

11½

IT MUST BE CLEAR TO YOUNG MINDS JUST WHY VAST FORCES HAVE IMPOSED THIS PALL OF SILENCE ON THE PRESENT UNIVERSITY WORLD. IT IS NOT A MATTER OF DELIBERATELY EVIL DESIRE OR STUDIED IGNORANCE, BUT BECAUSE YOU ARE LIVING IN AN ERA OF REVOLUTION, WHEN A GREAT WORLD INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS RULED THE MODERN WORLD FOR TWO CENTURIES IS FALLING APART AND IS CHALLENGED BY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR PLANS. IT IS NOT MERELY A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER A NEW ORGANIZATION REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIET UNION IS RIGHT OR WRONG, BUT THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL FACT THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH HAS SO LONG AND SO SUCCESSFULLY DOMINATED CIVILIZATION NO LONGER SATISFIES MANKIND, AND MUST EITHER CHANGE FROM WITHIN OR BE SUPERSEDED FROM WITHOUT. TO STOP THIS INEVITABLE CHANGE BY WORLD WAR OR BY ITS SPIRITUAL EQUIVALENT, SILENCE OR THOUGHT CONTROL IS INDEFENSIBLE. IN 1949 THERE WAS A MAGNIFICENT EFFORT MADE TO PREVENT THIS SITUATION FROM DEVELOPING. HARLOW SHAPLEY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AN ASTRONOMER AND NOT A STUDENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, MADE THE OBVIOUS PROPOSAL THAT

ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD SHOULD MEET IN NEW YORK AND CONSIDER THE NEXT STEP FOR CIVILIZATION, AFTER TWO SHATTERING WORLD WARS, WITH THE ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE SHADOW OF ANOTHER AND FINAL WAR.

I DO NOT THINK THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITIES, OR THE CIVILIZED WORLD REALIZE THE ENORMITY OF THE FATE WHICH MET THAT WALDORF-ASTORIA WORLD CONFERENCE ON PEACE, LATE IN MARCH, 1949.

100-9-27

THE PERSONS WILLING TO CALL AND SUPPORT THIS CONFERENCE, AND THE GREAT MINDS AND SOULS EAGER TO ATTEND IT, REPRESENTED IN THE BEGINNING A ROLE OF HONOR IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. IT WAS NEVERTHELESS GREETED BY A CONCERTED WAVE OF INTOLERANCE AND IGNORANCE, VILIFICATION, AND DELIBERATE LYING, WHICH SHOCKED THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO A SHAMEFUL ACQUIESCENCE TO MILITARY RULE AND INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY, there followed THE STOPPING OF FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN ACADEMIC HALLS, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION EVERWHERE WORSE THAN THAT OF ANY PERIOD SINCE THE REFORMATION.

THE NEW YORK PEACE MEETING OF 1949 WAS FOLLOWED BY A WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN PARIS LATER THE SAME YEAR, AND OTHER PEACE CONGRESSES IN THE SOVIET UNION, WITH AN ATTEMPTED MEETING IN ENGLAND in 1951, WHICH HAD TO BE TRANSFERRED TO POLAND. IT IS NOT A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER MEN AGREE WITH ALL WHICH THESE CONGRESSES SAID OR DID, OR WHETHER THEIR SPONSORS WERE CAPITALISTS OR COMMUNISTS; THEY WERE MEETINGS OF HUMAN BEINGS, INCLUDING MEN OF REPUTATION AND WORLD- WIDE FAME. COLLEGES TODAY OUGHT TO KNOW ABOUT THEM AND STUDY THEM. THEY DO NOT.

THAT IS WHAT WE ARE FACING TODAY, AND OUT OF THIS SITUATION WE HAVE GOT TO CLIMB AND FIGHT. FOR A GENERATION I HAVE SPOKEN TO STUDENTS OF ALL RACES AND COLORS, IN ALL SORTS OF PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL SURROUNDINGS. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS I HAVE SUDDENLY FOUND MYSELF SPEAKING TO LIMITED GROUPS OF STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS WHERE I HAVE BEEN INVITED ONLY WITH HESITATION, AND WHERE TO MY SURPRISE I FIND, INSTEAD OF EAGER, OPEN-MINDED INQUIRIES INTO TRUTH AND RIGHT, GROUPS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE POSITIVELY SCARED; WHO DO NOT DARE ASK QUESTIONS, WHO DO NOT DARE EXPRESS OPINIONS, AND WHO

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SIT BEFORE ME SILENTLY, HOPING THAT I WILL SPEAK ON ONE SUBJECT WHICH THEY THEMSELVES DO NOT RAISE, AND WHICH THEIR TEACHERS do NOT DISCUSS FOR FEAR THAT THEY WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS; AND I MEAN BY THAT, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ARE THE GREAT SUBJECTS OF PRESENT CURIOSITY AND INQUIRY WHICH FACE THE MODERN WORLD AND ASK FOR DECISION. IN EVERY CASE WHERE I HAVE IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS FACED ACADEMIC AUDIENCES, THEY EITHER DARE NOT BRING UP THESE SUBJECTS, OR IF SOMEBODY SUGGESTS THAT they BE BROUGHT UP, THEY DARE NOT DISCUSS IT. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, WE ARE PROPOSING TO FIGHT A WORLD WAR ON COMMUNISM, WHEN WE DARE NOT ASK OURSELVES WHAT COMMUNISM IS, HOW IT IS PROGRESSING, AND WHAT ITS FUTURE MAY BE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I WAS GLAD TO COME TO THIS MEETING; NOT TO DISCUSS ANYTHING THAT YOU ARE AFRAID TO DISCUSS, OR BRING UP ANY MATTER WHICH WOULD CAUSE CONSTERNATION IN [redacted] HALLS OF SCIENCE, BUT SIMPLY TO IMPRESS UPON THIS AUDIENCE THAT YOU ARE IN SLAVERY, THAT YOU ARE SCARED, AND THAT FOR THIS REASON YOU OUGHT TO BE ASHAMED OF YOURSELVES.

ONE OF THE MOST DEPLORABLE RESULTS OF THE PRESENT FEAR AND SILENCE IS THE FLIGHT OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM THE VERY FIELDS WHERE WE NEED AND WILL NEED LEADERSHIP AND SCIENCE, INTO FIELDS WHICH ARE CROWDED AND WHICH CAN NEVER FLOURISH WITHOUT THEIR NATURAL SCIENTIFIC COMPLEMENT. WE ARE NEGLECTING THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, HISTORY IS PEDANTIC, ECONOMICS IS HIDING IN JUNGLES OF HIGHER MATHEMATICS, AND THERE IS NOTHING THAT CAN BE CALLED A SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY. WE ARE AFRAID OF THESE: THEY INVOLVE OPINIONS, JUDGMENTS OF MEN, EXPOSURE OF THE CRIME OF WAR, AND CRIES FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, AND COURAGE TO SPEAK. WE RATHER STUDY EXPLOSIVES AND MURDER AND BUILDING, EVEN WHEN WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT OUR BUILDING IS FOR OR WHERE OUR BRIDGES LEAD OR WHAT OUR DAMS STOP, PARTICULARLY IN THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI VALLEYS.

-36-9-29

YOU OUGHT TO HAVE THE BRAINS TO REALIZE AND THE GUTS TO ADMIT THAT YOU ARE FACING THE GREATEST OF THE WORLD'S REVOLUTIONS; THAT IT IS YOUR BUSINESS AS CITIZENS OF ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, TO KNOW JUST AS MUCH ABOUT IT AS YOU CAN, TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE UTMOST FREEDOM, AND TO COME TO ANY CONCLUSIONS THAT YOU THINK TRUE; THAT ANY ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF SUCH INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AS DOMINATES THE WORLD TODAY AND WHICH WITH ALL ITS MIRACULOUS TRIUMPHS HAS BEEN GUILTY OF THE MOST AWFUL CRIMES, TO STOP YOUR THINKING AND CURTAIL YOUR SPEAKING WITH THREAT OF JAIL AND DISGRACE, IS A DEMAND TO WHICH NO FREE AMERICAN CITIZEN HAS ANY RIGHT TO dream OF SUBMITTING; AND THAT THOSE OF US WHO ARE BOWING TO THIS INSUFFERABLE TYRANNY WILL BE AND WILL DESERVE TO BE CALLED COWARDS AND TRAITORS TO OUR GREAT HERITAGE.

I CAN BEST CLOSE BY REPEATING THE WORDS OF ALEXANDER FADEYEV, A SOVIET NOVELIST, WHICH HE SPOKE IN NEW YORK IN 1949:

"THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION STAND FOR PEACE. IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER EVEN ONE UNPREJUDICED AMERICAN OR WESTERN EUROPEAN COULD BE FOUND WHO, COMING TO OUR

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COUNTRY, WOULD NOT FEEL THE HEALTHY, PEACEFUL PULSE OF LIFE IN THE ENTIRE ATMOSPHERE; IN THE PLAN FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSCOW PROJECTED FOR A PERIOD OF 25 YEARS; IN THE PLANS FOR THE PLANTING OF FORESTS ENCOMPASSING THE GIGANTIC STEPPE REGIONS OF THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE Soviet Union IN ORDER TO INSURE A RICH HARVEST; [redacted]; IN THE EXPERIMENT OF ACADEMICIAN LYSENKO FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF BUSHLIKE WHEAT; IN THE NEW PRODUCTIONS OF THE MOSCOW ART THEATRE; IN THE LIFE-LOVING, OPTIMISTIC MOOD OF OUR CITIZENS; IN THE PEACEFUL TONE OF THE PRESS; IN THE BRIGHT VOICES OF THE CHILDREN — SO MANY OF WHOM ARE BEING BORN IN OUR COUNTRY, AS A SIGN OF THE CONFIRMATION OF LIFE, ITS MOST BEAUTIFUL AND MOST HOPEFUL SYMBOL.

"THE SOVIET STATE IS FOR PEACE AS IT IS NATURAL FOR A GREAT SOCIALIST STATE TO BE. A STATE FULL OF CREATIVE PLANS, SURE OF ITS FUTURE; A STATE WHICH SPENDS ALMOST 40% OF ALL THE EXPENDITURES [redacted], ON THE RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ITS ECONOMY, 30% FOR CULTURAL UNDERTAKINGS, FOR THE EDUCATION OF 40 MILLION SCHOOL CHILDREN AND ALMOST 2 MILLION STUDENTS IN 1949...." I do not believe that this statement was less worthy of credence than those of other nations.

ALL THE NATIONS PRESENT ON THAT HISTORIC OCCASION INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY AND THE NATIONS OF ASIA, AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA JOINED IN SIMILAR STATEMENTS ASSERTING THEIR GOOD WILL, THEIR HATRED OF WAR, AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO STRIVE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. SUPPOSE THAT MANY OF THEM DID NOT BELIEVE ALL THAT WAS SAID THERE. NEVERTHELESS THERE WAS SURELY THE PLACE TO ASSERT FAITH, TO STRIVE FOR FRANK DEEDS AND TO UNITE MORE CLOSELY FOR COOPERATION AND STUDY. ON THE CONTRARY, THIS NATION, IN ITS GOVERNMENT AND ITS COMMERCIALIZED PRESS WAS INSULTING AND RUDE. SHOSTAKOVICH, THE GREAT SOVIET COMPOSER WAS REFUSED THE PRIVILEGE TO GIVE A CONCERT ON THE YALE CAMPUS TO WHICH HE HAD BEEN INVITED. NONE OF OUR GUESTS, SOME OF WORLD RENOWN, WAS ALLOWED TO SPEAK OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY. COLLEGES WHO HAD SHOWERED DEGREES ON SOLDIERS HAD NONE FOR PEACEMAKERS. THEY WOULD NOT EVEN LISTEN TO THEM. MEN OF UNBLEMISHED REPUTATION WERE OPENLY CALLED LIARS AND TRAITORS, NOT BECAUSE OF ACADEMIC INVESTIGATION OR STUDY, BUT BECAUSE AMERICAN BUSINESS FEARED THE COMPETITION OF COMMUNISM IN ASIA, AND WAS DETERMINED TO STOP IT BY WAR!

36-9-31

ASSERTION OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM TO KNOW, TO DISCUSS AND CONCLUDE, COULD THEN AND MAY EVEN NOW SAVE CIVILIZATION FROM SUICIDE. BUT IF SO, IT MUST START IN INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, AND AMONG STUDENTS LIKE THESE. IT MUST CEASE LONGER TO BE TRUE THAT MEETINGS LIKE THIS CAN BE BANNED OR SLANDERED JUST BECAUSE YOUTH LIKE YOU DEMAND THE RIGHT TO THINK AND TALK.

IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS LIES THE END OF WAR, THE BEGINNING OF PEACE, AND THE START OF PROGRESS TOWARD A WORLD WHERE MOST MEN ARE NOT POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK.

Canada not given

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WE CAN NOW SPEAK FOR PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY W.E.B. Du BOIS

DURING THE YEAR 1951/I WENT THROUGH AN UNUSUAL EXPERIENCE/IN THE UNITED STATES/ WHICH I HAVE BEEN ASKED/TO OUTLINE TO THIS AUDIENCE// WHICH AT LEAST PARTIALLY ESTABLISHED THE RIGHT/TO SPEAK FOR PEACE/WITHOUT BEING REGARDED AS FOREIGN AGENT.

¶ THIS RIGHT DID NOT/THIS YEAR PERMIT ME/TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED PEACE CONGRESS/AT RIO DE JANEIRO/WHICH AFTERWARDS WAS HELD/CLANDESTINELY IN MONTIVIDEO// THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TOLD ME/THAT MY PRESENCE THERE/WOULD NOT BE FOR THE BEST INTERESTS/OF THE UNITED STATES.

¶ PEACE ADVOCATES IN THE UNITED STATES/STILL HAVE DIFFICULTY/SECURING HALLS OR HOTELS WHERE PEACE MEETINGS CAN BE HELD,//AND IT IS NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR/AS TO WHETHER OR NOT I CAN SPEAK HERE TONIGHT/WITHOUT ARREST ON MY RETURN.// THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES/AND THE FORCES IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT/REGARD PEACE AS DANGEROUS.// MY EXPERIENCE IN 1951/IS NEVERTHELESS THE KIND/OF MORAL BATTLE AND VICTORY/CONCERNING WHICH YOU OUGHT TO HEAR.//FOR LITTLE OF THE NEWS OF IT/WAS PRINTED IN THE PRESS/OR SENT OUT BY THE NEWS SERVICES.// THE BOOK I HAVE WRITTEN/WITH THE FULL ACCOUNT/WILL APPEAR THIS SPRING,/ BUT

YOU PROBABLY/WILL NOT HEAR OF IT.

36-9-244

¶ MY INTEREST IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT/HAS BEEN LONGSTANDING.// AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION IN 1915/I TRIED TO GET THE PEACE SOCIETIES/IN THEIR CELEBRATION TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT/THE CONNECTION OF PEACE/WITH COLONIALISM.// I WAS NOT SATISFIED/IN HAVING/THE 19TH CENTURY AFTER 1815/CALLED THE "ERA OF PEACE"//BY THE DEVICE OF NOT TAKING NOTICE/OF SOME 200 COLONIAL WARS.//THE ST. LOUIS MEETING/PAID NO ATTENTION TO MY REQUEST.// HOWEVER, THEREAFTER/THE CONNECTION BETWEEN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/AND PEACE/ GREW IN MY OWN THOUGHT,/ AND MY FIGHT FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE COLOR LINE/EASILY BECAME TRANSMUTED/INTO THE WIDER FIGHT FOR PEACE.

¶ SOMETHING OF THIS SAME LINE OF THOUGHT/SPREAD IN THE WORLD/AND IT CAME TO BE RECOGNIZED/THAT THE FIRST WORLD WAR/HAD BEGINNINGS IN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.// THIS, THROUGH A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/HELD IN PARIS IN 1919,/I TRIED TO IMPRESS ON THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES,//AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE CAUSES/OF THE MANDATES COMMISSION.// SIMILAR

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES/FROM 1921 TO 1945/SOUGHT TO EMPHASIZE THIS POINT OF VIEW/WITH INDIFFERENT SUCCESS.

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¶ AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR/THE INTELLECTUALS [redacted] GRADUALLY BECAME AROUSED.// AS THE ASTONISHING WAR HYSTERIA/INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES/AFTER 1945,/A PROFESSOR OF ASTRONOMY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY/HARLOW SHAPLEY/IN 1949/SENT OUT A CALL/TO THE ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN/OF THE WORLD/TO MEET IN NEW YORK AND CONSULT TOGETHER.// HE SAID,/"YOUR WORK OF THE PAST,/PRESENT AND FUTURE/IS NOT GOING TO BE WORTH/ANYTHING AT ALL/IF THE PRESENT OMINOUS TRENDS/HERE AND ABROAD/LEAD US INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR."// THE PERSONS WHO JOINED/HARLOW SHAPLEY/IN THIS CALL FOR WORLD PEACE/INCLUDED MOST OF THE GREAT NAMES OF AMERICA/AND THE CIVILIZED WORLD.// THE MEETING,/HELD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL,/MARCH 25, 26, AND 27, 1949,/BROUGHT TOGETHER/REPRESENTATIVES AND THE LEADING THINKERS/FROM [redacted] THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS/AND THE LANDS BEYOND/THE SO-CALLED "IRON CURTAIN"/FROM [redacted] GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY,/AND OTHER GREAT COUNTRIES/OF THE WORLD/

AND FROM ALL PARTS OF AMERICA.

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THE RECEPTION/WHICH THIS MEETING/HAD IN THE UNITED STATES/SHOULD HAVE WARNED US.// THERE WAS A DELIBERATE/AND CONCERTED EFFORT/FROM HIGH SOURCES,/BACKED BY MONEY AND INFLUENCE,/TO DISCREDIT OUR MOTIVES/AND FRIGHTEN OUR SUPPORTERS.// OUR AIM WAS DISTORTED BY [redacted] DAILY PAPERS,/THE RADIO AND OTHER ORGANS OF PUBLIC OPINION.// OUR WORK WAS BELITTLED.// SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS/WERE REFUSED VISAS./ PERSONS OF WORLD REPUTATION/WHO ATTENDED [redacted] WERE INSULTED/ MOST WERE REFUSED PERMISSION/TO TRAVEL OR SPEAK OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY.// EVEN SHOSTAKOVICH WAS NOT ALLOWED/TO GIVE A CONCERT ON THE YALE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS// WORSE THAN THAT,/A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS/WHO HAD JOINED IN THE CALL FOR THE MEETING/WERE SO FRIGHTENED/AT THE APPARENT ATTITUDE/OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS PEACE/THAT THEY BECAME SILENT/AND HAVE BEEN SILENT EVER SINCE.

¶ I WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY IMPRESSED// WITH 60 OR 70 OTHER CITIZENS/OF THE UNITED STATES,/I EAGERLY ACCEPTED THE INVITATION/TO JOIN IN THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS/HELD IN PARIS/IN APRIL OF THE SAME YEAR.// THIS MEETING SEEMED TO ME THE GREATEST

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WHICH I HAD EVER ATTENDED. AND WAS A MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF THE WISH OF THE WORLD FOR PEACE. I SAW ONE AFTERNOON OVER 500,000 PERSONS MARCH FOR PEACE.

IN 1950 THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ANNOUNCED A RUSSIAN PEACE MEETING IN MOSCOW, AND INVITED 25 UNITED STATES CITIZENS OF PROMINENCE TO ATTEND. FOR REASONS WHICH I DO NOT YET KNOW, I WAS THE ONE AMERICAN WHO RESPONDED AND ATTENDED AND SPOKE AT THAT MEETING.

ON MY RETURN FROM THESE CONGRESSES I WAS EAGER TO JOIN SOME ORGANIZATION TO HELP THE PEACE MOVEMENT. BUT WE HAD AT THAT TIME, SOME PECULIAR LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THE SO-CALLED MCCARRAN BILL, WHICH REQUIRED PUBLIC REGISTRATION OF ANY ORGANIZATION WHICH REPRESENTED OR AS AGENT DISSEMINATED IDEAS HELD BY ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR GROUP. IN ORDER TO AVOID RUNNING INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH THIS LAW, WHICH REQUIRED NOT ONLY REGISTRATION BUT PERIODIC REPORTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES AND THE STAMPING OF ALL LITERATURE ISSUED, WE DETERMINED NOT TO ATTEMPT TO FORM A PEACE COUNCIL BUT INSTEAD TO FORM A PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU WHICH WOULD DISSEMINATE

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NEWS OF THE INCREASING PEACE MOVEMENT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND THUS INDUCE THE VARIOUS PEACE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES TO COOPERATE OR FEDERATE OR FORM A NEW ORGANIZATION.

THIS WE DID, AND FOR SEVERAL MONTHS DISTRIBUTED INFORMATION IN WHAT WE CALLED "PEACEGRAMS". AND PARTICULARLY WE REPRINTED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL FOR WHICH WE ASKED SIGNATURES. WE WERE ATTACKED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WITH WIDELY DISSEMINATED RELEASES TO THE PRESS CALLING THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL A "COMMUNIST TRICK", AND INTIMATING THAT WE WERE DUPES, OR WORSE, OF AN ATTEMPT TO DISARM OUR COUNTRY IN TIME OF DANGER.

THEN, AFTER MORE THAN SIX MONTHS OF OUR WORK, WHEN THE SIGNATURES TO THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL WAS NEARNG THE TWO MILLION MARK, WE WERE ORDERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO REGISTER AS A "FOREIGN AGENT". WE IMMEDIATELY SENT LAWYERS AND LETTERS TO WASHINGTON EXPLAINING OUR POSITION. I ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONSULTATION WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. THIS WE WERE DENIED, AND TO OUR ASTONISHMENT, IN FEBRUARY, 1951, FIVE OF THE OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WERE INDICTED BY A GRAND JURY

SITTING IN WASHINGTON, D.C./ AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL"/WHO HAD REFUSED TO REGISTER ACCORDING TO LAW.// THE OTHER PERSONS/BESIDES MYSELF/INCLUDED THE FIRST EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,/ A GRADUATE OF SMITH COLLEGE/AND A TEACHER/ WHO HAD RESIGNED AFTER [redacted] OUR WORK/ AND WAS WELL STARTED [redacted] TO EUROPE/TO CONTINUE HER STUDIES OF EDUCATION.// THE SECRETARY WHO SUCCEEDED HER,/ A WORLD WAR VETERAN AND SOCIAL WORKER.// A YOUNG BUSINESS MAN/ /AND THE CLERK IN OUR OFFICE.

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¶ THE ACCUSATIONS/SEEMED SO ENTIRELY GROUNDLESS/THAT WE WERE SURE/THAT THE INDICTMENT WOULD EVENTUALLY/BE WITHDRAWN/WHEN THE TRUTH WAS KNOWN.// BUT WE HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY/IN GETTING OUR SIDE/IN THE NEWSPAPERS OR PERIODICALS/ [redacted]

¶ MEANTIME I HAD BEEN TEMPTED/BY MY FRIENDS/AND BY THE ORGANIZATION/TO WHICH I BELONGED,/ THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS,/ TO ACCEPT A PUBLIC DINNER/ON MY 83rd BIRTHDAY.// THIS WAS DESIGNED/AS A MEANS OF RAISING FUNDS/FOR THE COUNCIL,/ WHICH HAD BECOME UNPOPULAR IN THE COUNTRY/BECAUSE IT HAD SAID SHARP THINGS/ABOUT AFRICAN COLONIAL POLICIES/AND THEIR SUPPORT/BY AMERICAN INVESTORS.// AND ALSO BECAUSE PAUL ROBESON

WAS ITS CHAIRMAN.

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¶ THE DINNER WAS TO BE HELD/ON FEBRUARY 23,/ AT THE HOTEL ESSEX/FACING CENTRAL PARK.// NEARLY 500 TICKETS/AT $7.50 EACH/HAD BEEN SOLD/TO FILL THE CAPACITY/OF THE DINING ROOM/ WHEN THIS INDICTMENT APPEARED.// THE HOTEL CANCELLED OUR CONTRACT/AND RETURNED THE DEPOSIT OF $600.// WE WERE LEFT/WITH FIVE DAYS TO FIND ANOTHER DINING PLACE/ AND NOTIFY THE SUBSCRIBERS.// IMMEDIATELY,/ OUR CHIEF SPEAKERS,/INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY/AND RABBI SILVER OF CLEVELAND,/ DECLINED TO APPEAR/ AND THE WHOLE SITUATION/WAS MOST UNPLEASANT AND DISCOURAGING.// I WAS DISPOSED TO GIVE UP THE [redacted] EFFORT,/BUT MY FRIENDS PERSISTED,/FOUND A MAKE-SHIFT RESTAURANT IN HARLEM,/WHERE EVENTUALLY 700 PERSONS/DINED IN SOME DISCOMFORT/BUT GREAT ENTHUSIASM.

¶ THE CHIEF PROBLEM NOW,/ HOWEVER,/ WAS HOW TO MEET THE LEGAL ATTACK.// WE HAD DIFFICULTY/IN FINDING LAWYERS/WHO WERE WILLING TO TAKE THE CASE,// AND AN ALMOST COMPLETE REFUSAL/ON THE PART OF THE PRESS/TO GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY/TO EXPLAIN OUR SITUATION. THE NEW YORK NATION/AND THE NEW REPUBLIC,/ LIBERAL WEEKLIES/TO WHICH I HAD MANY TIMES

CONTRIBUTED,/REFUSED BEFORE THE TRIAL/TO SAY A SINGLE WORD.//AND THE DAILY PAPERS/WERE EITHER SILENT OR ABUSIVE.//WIDE EFFORT WAS MADE/BY OUR FRIENDS/TO HAVE THE INDICTMENT QUASHED/BECAUSE IT HAD NO BASIS IN FACT// BUT THE DEPARTMENT of Justice INSISTED/THAT IT HAD ABSOLUTE PROOF/OF OUR GUILT/AND MANY OF OUR FRIENDS/BEGAN TO WAVER.

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¶ AMONG THE DEFENDANTS/ THERE WERE NONE RICH ENOUGH/TO TAKE OVER THE LARGE EXPENSE OF TRIAL.//EX-CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO/OFFERED HIS SERVICES FREE/AS CHIEF COUNSEL; GLORIA AGRIN/BECAME OUR LEGAL EXPERT,/ AND WE FINALLY BUILT UP A LEGAL BODY/OF SEVEN LAWYERS,/THREE COLORED AND FOUR WHITE,/AND GOT READY FOR ARRAIGNMENT.

¶ IN THE MEANTIME/WE ARRANGED FOR AN OFFICE/AND STARTED RAISING FUNDS.// MRS. DU BOIS AND I/MADE TWO TRIPS ACROSS THE COUNTRY/FROM BOSTON AND NEW YORK TO SEATTLE/ SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES/FOR THAT PURPOSE/ WITH LECTURES AND APPEALS.// AND OTHERS HELPED. IN THIS WAY/WE RAISED THE COST OF THE LEGAL PROCESS/ WHICH WAS $35,600,/ NOT INCLUDING THE FEE/WHICH OUR CHIEF COUNSEL/REFUSED TO TAKE.// FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON/IN SEPTEMBER,/ WHERE FIRST OF ALL/WE WERE FACED BY THE FACT/THAT NEGROES ARE NOT THERE ADMITTED/TO FIRST-CLASS HOTELS,/ AND THAT

THE DEFENDANTS AND THE LAWYERS,/ BEING NEGROES AND WHITES,/ WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY CONSULTING TOGETHER.//WE WERE ARRAIGNED AND HELD FOR TRIAL,/AND PUT UNDER $1000 BAIL EACH.//THE PENALTY/IN CASE OF CONVICTION/WAS FIVE YEARS IN JAIL/AND $10,000 FINE.// I WAS TAKEN DOWN TO THE PLACE OF DETENTION,/SEARCHED, FINGER-PRINTED, AND HANDCUFFED// THEN I WAS ADMITTED TO BAIL AND RELEASED.

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MRS. MOOS,/WHO WAS ABSENT IN EUROPE,/ RETURNED VOLUNTARILY.// SHE IS A SMALL, WHITE-HAIRED WOMAN./ SHE WAS MET AT THE AIRPLANE/ HANDCUFFED,/AND NOT ALLOWED TO SEE HER SON.//SHE WAS LATER ARRAIGNED/AND ADMITTED TO BAIL.// A FIGHT OF SEVERAL MONTHS/THEN ENSUED TO OBTAIN TIME/FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE DEFENSE// FINALLY, IN NOVEMBER,/WE WERE TRIED OVER A PERIOD OF FOUR DAYS.// THE CHIEF WITNESS AGAINST US/WAS THE LAWYER ROGGE,/ WHO HAD INVITED ME TO THE PARIS CONGRESS,/ AND AT WHOSE HOME/THE MEETINGS/WHICH RESULTED IN THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER/WERE FIRST HELD.// THE JUDGE,/ AFTER HEARING THE PROSECUTION,/ AND WITHOUT SUBMITTING OUR SIDE/TO THE JURY/OR HEARING OUR DEFENSE/ DISMISSED THE INDICTMENT// HE

SAID/THAT WE MIGHT BE CONSPIRING/TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT./ BUT THAT NO PROOF OF THIS/HAD BEEN ADDUCED/BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

¶ WE WENT FREE./ BUT WE HAD LOST A YEAR OF WORK/ WE HAD BEEN HELD UP TO PUBLIC OBLOQUY,/AND, EXCEPT IN COURT,/ HAD BEEN GIVEN ALMOST NO CHANCE/TO DEFEND OURSELVES.// EVEN THE DISMISSAL OF THE CASE/RECEIVED BUT SCANT PUBLICITY.

36-9-253

¶ IT WAS, OF COURSE,/ A GREAT BUT COSTLY VICTORY.// IT DID ESTABLISH THE TRUTH, THAT WHEN A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES/TALKED ABOUT PEACE,/ HE WAS NOT NECESSARILY/THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION.//IT DID MAKE THE ADVOCACY/OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL/IN THE UNITED STATES/LEGAL.//ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THE CASE FRIGHTENED/SO MANY ORDINARY CITIZENS/FROM SAYING ANYTHING ABOUT PEACE/OR JOINING IN PEACE MOVEMENTS,/ THAT OUR VICTORY AFTER ALL/WAS ONLY PARTIAL.

¶ EVEN THIS PARTIAL VICTORY/WAS MADE POSSIBLE/ONLY BY THE ASTONISHING REACTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.// FROM ENGLAND TO NEW ZEALAND/ FROM FRANCE TO VIET-NAM,/ FROM RUSSIA TO NEW CHINA,/ THERE LITERALLY POURED/SUCH A FLOOD OF PROTEST/ON PRESIDENT TRUMAN/ THE

SECRETARY OF STATE,/AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,/ THAT THE F.B.I. WAS AFRAID TO PRESS ITS CASE/BY USING STOOL-PIGEONS AND SPIES.//AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/LET THE COURT FUNCTION/UNHAMPERED AND UNCOERCED.// THE VERY GAGGING OF THE PRESS HELPED US.// ACTUALLY SHANGHAI/KNEW MORE OF THE FACTS/OF THE CASE/THAN NEW YORK.

36-9-254

¶ THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER/HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED/BY THE PEACE CRUSADE./ WE HAVE HELD CONGRESSES AND MEETINGS/ HAVE ISSUED LITERATURE/AND GIVEN LECTURES WIDELY. CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITIES/OF OUR NATION,/ OUR WORK IS SMALL/AND POORLY SUSTAINED.// AND CAN COUNT ON/BUT SMALL FINANCIAL SUPPORT/FROM CHURCH OR STATE.// YET IT LIVES AND GROWS./

THE XXXXXXX STATE OF HYSTERIA/WHICH STILL OBTAINS IN THE UNITED STATES/MAKES IT VERY DIFFICULT/FOR THE GROWING FEELING AGAINST WAR/ TO EXPRESS ITSELF.// AND ALSO DIFFICULT/FOR US TO COOPERATE/WITH YOU/IN TRYING TO AVOID/THE CATASTROPHE OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.¶ THE UNITED STATES/HAS BEEN BUILT UP/OUT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.// OF JEW AND GENTILE,/ OF WHITE AND BLACK,/ OF ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANIARDS AND ITALIANS,// OF SLAVS AND NORDICS,/ OF ASIATICS AND AFRICANS./ THESE NATIONS/ HAVE NOT SENT US/THEIR RICH ARISTOCRATS

POOR AND NEEDY
BUT/WORKERS;/ ~~[redacted]~~ PAUPERS AND SLAVES//EVEN CRIMINALS AND PROSTITUTES,
//TO PROVE TO THE WORLD/WHAT THE OFF-SCOURINGS OF MANKIND/CAN DO/WHEN THEY HAVE A CHANCE.
//(THIS/WE HAVE DONE.//WE HAVE BUILT A GREAT, RICH NATION,/INGENIOUS AND INTELLIGENT/
AND THEN IN OUR DAY,/WHEN BY HELP OF THE SLAVES/WE HAVE EVEN SHED SLAVERY//AND BY THE
TOIL OF THE POOR/ARE READY TO CONQUER POVERTY,//WE HAVE BOWED/TO THE OLD TEMPTATION OF
ALL MANKIND/AND SEEK BY FORCE AND FRAUD/TO REENSLAVE THE WEAK/STEAL THE LABOR OF THE
WORKER,/AND TO RESTORE THAT OLD/MASTERY OF THE POOR BY THE RICH//AND WASTE THE SUBSTANCE
OF THE TOILING MASSES OF MANKIND/BY WORLD WAR.

36-9-255

WE BLACK FOLK/OF ALL THE AMERICAS,/25 MILLION STRONG,/ARE STRIVING TO JOIN
OUR MIGHT/TO THE THOUSAND MILLION BROWN,/BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS/WHO WILL NOT FIGHT THE
WARS/OF THE RICH/BUT STAND FOR PEACE AND SERVICE/TO HUMANITY.

MY FAMILY/HAS LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES/FOR 300 YEARS/AS WORKERS, CITIZENS
AND SOLDIERS.//SO THAT I COME HERE/TO REPRESENT THIS NATION/WHICH IS MINE BY SERVICE
AND HERITAGE/WITH DEEP APOLOGY/AT THE ROLE/WE ARE PLAYING TODAY/AS BOASTFUL WARMONGERS

AND BULLIES/IN A WORLD/PRAYING FOR PEACE/AND HUMBLE SERVICE TO MANKIND.

36-9-256

Canada not given

WE CAN NOW SPEAK FOR PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY W.E.B. Du BOIS

DURING THE YEAR 1951 I WENT THROUGH AN UNUSUAL EXPERIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO OUTLINE TO THIS AUDIENCE, this occurence WHICH AT LEAST PARTIALLY ESTABLISHED THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR PEACE WITHOUT BEING REGARDED AS FOREIGN AGENT. THIS RIGHT however DID NOT THIS YEAR PERMIT ME TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED PEACE CONGRESS AT RIO DE JANEIRO WHICH AFTERWARDS WAS HELD CLANDESTINELY IN MONTIVIDEO. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TOLD ME THAT MY PRESENCE THERE WOULD NOT BE FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. PEACE ADVOCATES IN THE UNITED STATES STILL HAVE DIFFICULTY SECURING HALLS OR HOTELS WHERE PEACE MEETINGS CAN BE HELD, AND IT IS NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR AS TO WHETHER OR NOT I CAN SPEAK HERE TONIGHT WITHOUT ARREST ON MY RETURN. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FORCES IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT REGARD PEACE AS DANGEROUS. MY EXPERIENCE IN 1951 IS NEVERTHELESS THE KIND OF MORAL BATTLE AND VICTORY CONCERNING WHICH YOU OUGHT TO HEAR, FOR LITTLE OF THE NEWS OF IT WAS PRINTED IN THE PRESS OR SENT OUT BY THE NEWS SERVICES. THE BOOK I HAVE WRITTEN WITH THE FULL ACCOUNT WILL APPEAR THIS SPRING, BUT

36-9-14

YOU PROBABLY WILL NOT HEAR OF IT.

MY INTEREST IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN LONGSTANDING. AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION IN 1913 I TRIED TO GET THE PEACE SOCIETIES IN THEIR CELEBRATION TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONNECTION OF PEACE WITH COLONIALISM. I WAS NOT SATSFIED IN HAVING THE 19TH CENTURY AFTER 1815 CALLED THE "ERA OF PEACE", BY THE DEVICE OF NOT TAKING NOTICE OF SOME 200 COLONIAL WARS. THE ST. LOUIS MEETING PAID NO ATTENTION TO MY REQUEST. HOWEVER, THEREAFTER THE CONNECTION BETWEEN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND PEACE GREW IN MY OWN THOUGHT, AND MY FIGHT FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE COLOR LINE EASILY BECAME TRANSMUTED INTO THE WIDER FIGHT FOR PEACE.

SOMETHING OF THIS SAME LINE OF THOUGHT SPREAD IN THE WORLD AND IT CAME TO BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE FIRST WORLD WAR HAD BEGINNINGS IN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. THIS, THROUGH A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS HELD IN PARIS IN 1919, I TRIED TO IMPRESS ON THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES, AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE CAUSES OF THE MANDATES COMMISSION. SIMILAR

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES FROM 1921 TO 1945 SOUGHT TO EMPHASIZE THIS POINT OF VIEW WITH INDIFFERENT SUCCESS.

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR THE INTELLECTUALS [redacted] GRADUALLY BECAME AROUSED. AS THE ASTONISHING WAR HYSTERIA INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1946, A PROFESSOR OF ASTRONOMY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HARLOW SHAPLEY IN 1949 SENT OUT A CALL TO THE ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN OF THE WORLD TO MEET IN NEW YORK AND CONSULT TOGETHER. HE SAID, "YOUR WORK OF THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IS NOT GOING TO BE WORTH ANYTHING AT ALL IF THE PRESENT OMINOUS TRENDS HERE AND ABROAD LEAD US INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR." THE PERSONS WHO JOINED HARLOW SHAPLEY IN THIS CALL FOR WORLD PEACE INCLUDED MOST OF THE GREAT NAMES OF AMERICA AND THE CIVILIZED WORLD. THE MEETING, HELD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, MARCH 25, 26, AND 27, 1949, BROUGHT TOGETHER REPRESENTATIVES AND THE LEADING THINKERS FROM [redacted] THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS AND THE LANDS BEYOND THE SO-CALLED "IRON CURTAIN", FROM GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, AND OTHER GREAT COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

36-9-16

AND FROM ALL PARTS OF AMERICA.

THE RECEPTION WHICH THIS MEETING HAD IN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HAVE WARNED US. THERE WAS A DELIBERATE AND CONCERTED EFFORT FROM HIGH SOURCES, BACKED BY MONEY AND INFLUENCE, TO DISCREDIT OUR MOTIVES AND FRIGHTEN OUR SUPPORTERS. OUR AIM WAS DISTORTED BY ALL DAILY PAPERS, THE RADIO AND OTHER ORGANS OF PUBLIC OPINION. OUR WORK WAS BELITTLED. SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS WERE REFUSED VISAS. PERSONS OF WORLD REPUTATION WHO ATTENDED IT WERE INSULTED; MOST WERE REFUSED PERMISSION TO TRAVEL OR SPEAK OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY. EVEN SHOSTAKOVICH WAS NOT ALLOWED TO GIVE A CONCERT ON THE YALE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS. WORSE THAN THAT, A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO HAD JOINED IN THE CALL FOR THE MEETING WERE SO FRIGHTENED AT THE APPARENT ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS PEACE THAT THEY BECAME SILENT AND HAVE BEEN SILENT EVER SINCE.

I WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY IMPRESSED. WITH 60 OR 70 OTHER CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, I EAGERLY ACCEPTED THE INVITATION TO JOIN IN THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS HELD IN PARIS IN APRIL OF THE SAME YEAR. THIS MEETING SEEMED TO ME THE GREATEST

WHICH I HAD EVER ATTENDED, AND WAS A MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF THE WISH OF THE WORLD FOR PEACE. I SAW one afternoon OVER 500,000 PERSONS MARCH FOR PEACE.

IN 1950 THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ANNOUNCED A RUSSIAN PEACE MEETING IN MOSCOW, AND INVITED 25 UNITED STATES CITIZENS OF PROMINENCE TO ATTEND. FOR REASONS WHICH I DO NOT YET KNOW, I WAS THE ONLY American WHO RESPONDED AND ATTENDED AND SPOKE AT THAT MEETING.

ON MY RETURN FROM THESE CONGRESSES I WAS EAGER TO JOIN SOME ORGANIZATION TO HELP THE PEACE MOVEMENT, BUT WE HAD AT THAT TIME, SOME PECULIAR LEGISLATION in the United States, THE SO-CALLED MCCARRAN BILL, WHICH REQUIRED PUBLIC REGISTRATION OF ANY ORGANIZATION WHICH REPRESENTED OR AS AGENT DISSEMINATED IDEAS HELD BY ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OR GROUP. IN ORDER TO AVOID RUNNING INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH THIS LAW, WHICH REQUIRED NOT ONLY REGISTRATION BUT PERIODIC REPORTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES, AND THE STAMPING OF ALL LITERATURE ISSUED, WE DETERMINED NOT TO ATTEMPT TO FORM A PEACE COUNCIL BUT INSTEAD TO FORM A PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU WHICH WOULD DISSEMINATE

36-9-16

increasing NEWS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND THUS INDUCE THE VARIOUS PEACE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES TO COOPERATE OR FEDERATE OR FORM A NEW ORGANIZATION.

THIS WE DID, AND FOR SEVERAL MONTHS DISTRIBUTED INFORMATION IN WHAT WE CALLED "PEACEGRAMS", AND PARTICULARLY WE REPRINTED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL FOR WHICH WE ASKED SIGNATURES. WE WERE ATTACKED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WITH WIDELY DISSEMINATED RELEASES to the press CALLING THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL A "COMMUNIST TRICK", AND INTIMATING THAT WE WERE DUPES, OR WORSE, OF AN ATTEMPT TO DISARM OUR COUNTRY IN TIME OF DANGER.

THEN, AFTER MORE THAN SIX MONTHS OF OUR WORK, WHEN THE SIGNATURES TO THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL WAS NEARNG THE TWO MILLION MARK, WE WERE ORDERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO REGISTER AS A "FOREIGN AGENT". WE IMMEDIATELY SENT LAWYERS AND LETTERS TO WASHINGTON EXPLAINING OUR POSITION. I ASKED FOR A PERSONAL CONSULTATION WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. THIS WE WERE DENIED, AND TO OUR ASTONISHMENT, IN FEBRUARY, 1951, FIVE OF THE OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WERE INDICTED BY A GRAND JURY

SITTING IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL" WHO HAD REFUSED TO REGISTER ACCORDING TO LAW. THE OTHER PERSONS BESIDES MYSELF INCLUDED THE FIRST EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, A GRADUATE OF SMITH COLLEGE AND A TEACHER, WHO HAD RESIGNED AFTER [redacted] OUR WORK WAS well started AND WENT TO EUROPE TO CONTINUE HER STUDIES OF EDUCATION; THE SECRETARY WHO SUCCEEDED HER, A WORLD WAR VETERAN AND SOCIAL WORKER; A YOUNG BUSINESS MAN; AND THE CLERK IN OUR OFFICE.

THE ACCUSATIONS SEEMED SO ENTIRELY GROUNDLESS THAT WE WERE SURE THAT THE INDICTMENT WOULD EVENTUALLY BE WITHDRAWN WHEN THE TRUTH WAS KNOWN. BUT WE HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY IN GETTING OUR SIDE IN THE NEWSPAPERS OR PERIODICALS, [redacted] MEANTIME I HAD BEEN TEMPTED BY MY FRIENDS AND BY THE ORGANIZATION TO WHICH I BELONGED, THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, TO ACCEPT A PUBLIC DINNER ON MY 83rd BIRTHDAY. THIS WAS DESIGNED AS A MEANS OF RAISING FUNDS FOR THE COUNCIL, WHICH HAD BECOME UNPOPULAR IN THE COUNTRY BECAUSE IT HAD SAID SHARP THINGS ABOUT AFRICAN COLONIAL POLICIES AND THEIR SUPPORT BY AMERICAN INVESTORS; AND ALSO BECAUSE PAUL ROBESON

36-9-17

WAS ITS CHAIRMAN.

THE DINNER WAS TO BE HELD ON FEBRUARY 25, AT THE HOTEL ESSEX FACING CENTRAL PARK. NEARLY 500 TICKETS AT $7.50 EACH HAD BEEN SOLD, enough TO FILL THE CAPACITY OF THE DINING ROOM, WHEN THIS INDICTMENT APPEARED. THE HOTEL CANCELLED OUR CONTRACT AND RETURNED THE DEPOSIT OF $600. WE WERE LEFT WITH FIVE DAYS TO FIND ANOTHER DINING PLACE AND NOTIFY THE SUBSCRIBERS. IMMEDIATELY, OUR CHIEF SPEAKERS, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY AND RABBI SILVER OF CLEVELAND, DECLINED TO APPEAR, AND THE WHOLE SITUATION WAS MOST UNPLEASANT AND DISCOURAGING. I WAS DISPOSED TO GIVE UP THE [redacted] EFFORT, BUT MY FRIENDS PERSISTED, FOUND A MAKE-SHIFT RESTAURANT IN HARLEM, WHERE EVENTUALLY 700 PERSONS DINED IN SOME DISCOMFORT BUT GREAT ENTHUSIASM.

THE CHIEF PROBLEM NOW, HOWEVER, WAS HOW TO MEET THE LEGAL ATTACK. WE HAD DIFFICULTY IN FINDING LAWYERS WHO WERE WILLING TO TAKE THE CASE, AND AN ALMOST COMPLETE REFUSAL ON THE PART OF THE PRESS TO GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN OUR SITUATION. THE NEW YORK NATION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC, LIBERAL WEEKLIES TO WHICH I HAD MANY TIMES

CONTRIBUTED, REFUSED BEFORE THE TRIAL TO SAY A SINGLE WORD, AND THE DAILY PAPERS WERE EITHER SILENT OR ABUSIVE. WIDE EFFORT WAS MADE BY OUR FRIENDS TO HAVE THE INDICTMENT QUASHED BECAUSE IT HAD NO BASIS IN FACT. BUT THE DEPARTMENT INSISTED THAT IT HAD ABSOLUTE PROOF OF OUR GUILT AND MANY OF OUR FRIENDS BEGAN TO WAVER.

AMONG THE DEFENDANTS THERE WERE NONE RICH ENOUGH TO TAKE OVER THE LARGE EXPENSE OF TRIAL. EX-CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO OFFERED HIS SERVICES FREE AS CHIEF COUNSEL; GLORIA AGRIN BECAME OUR LEGAL EXPERT, AND WE FINALLY BUILT UP A LEGAL BODY OF SEVEN LAWYERS, THREE COLORED AND FOUR WHITE, AND GOT READY FOR ARRIAGNMENT.

IN THE MEANTIME WE ARRANGED FOR AN OFFICE AND STARTED RAISING FUNDS. MRS. DU BOIS AND I MADE TWO TRIPS ACROSS THE COUNTRY FROM BOSTON AND NEW YORK TO SEATTLE, SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES FOR THAT PURPOSE, WITH LECTURES AND APPEALS, AND OTHERS HELPED. IN THIS WAY WE RAISED THE COST OF THE LEGAL PROCESS, WHICH WAS $35,000, NOT INCLUDING THE FEE WHICH OUR CHIEF COUNSEL REFUSED TO TAKE. FOUR OF US WERE ARRAIGNED IN WASHINGTON IN SEPTEMBER, WHERE FIRST OF ALL WE WERE FACED BY THE FACT THAT NEGROES ARE NOT THERE ADMITTED TO FIRST-CLASS HOTELS, AND THAT

36-9-18

THE DEFENDANTS AND THE LAWYERS, BEING NEGROES AND WHITES, WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY CONSULTING TOGETHER. WE WERE ARRAIGNED AND HELD FOR TRIAL, AND PUT UNDER $1000 BAIL EACH. THE PENALTY IN CASE OF CONVICTION WAS FIVE YEARS IN JAIL AND $10,000 FINE. I WAS TAKEN DOWN TO THE PLACE OF DETENTION, SEARCHED, FINGER-PRINTED, AND HANDCUFFED. THEN I WAS ADMITTED TO BAIL AND RELEASED.

MRS. MOOS, WHO WAS ABSENT IN EUROPE, RETURNED VOLUNTARILY. SHE IS A SMALL, WHITE HAIRED WOMAN. SHE WAS MET AT THE AIRPLANE, HANDCUFFED, AND NOT ALLOWED TO SEE HER SON. SHE WAS LATER ARRAIGNED AND ADMITTED TO BAIL. A FIGHT OF SEVERAL MONTHS THEN ENSUED TO OBTAIN TIME FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE DEFENSE. FINALLY, IN NOVEMBER, WE WERE TRIED OVER A PERIOD OF FOUR DAYS. THE CHIEF WITNESS AGAINST US WAS THE LAWYER ROGGE, WHO HAD INVITED ME TO THE PARIS CONGRESS, AND AT WHOSE HOME THE MEETINGS WHICH RESULTED IN THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WERE FIRST HELD. THE JUDGE, AFTER HEARING THE PROSECUTION, AND WITHOUT SUBMITTING OUR SIDE TO THE JURY OR HEARING OUR DEFENSE, DISMISSED THE INDICTMENT. HE

SAID THAT WE MIGHT BE CONSPIRING TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT NO PROOF OF THIS HAD BEEN ADDUCED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

WE WENT FREE. BUT WE HAD LOST A YEAR OF WORK, WE HAD BEEN HELD UP TO PUBLIC OBLOQUY, AND, EXCEPT IN COURT, HAD BEEN GIVEN ALMOST NO CHANCE TO DEFEND OURSELVES. EVEN THE DISMISSAL OF THE CASE RECEIVED BUT SCANT PUBLICITY.

IT WAS, OF COURSE, A GREAT BUT COSTLY VICTORY. IT DID ESTABLISH THE TRUTH, THAT WHEN A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES TALKED ABOUT PEACE, HE WAS NOT NECESSARILY THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT DID MAKE THE ADVOCACY OF THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL IN THE UNITED STATES LEGAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CASE FRIGHTENED SO MANY ORDINARY CITIZENS FROM SAYING ANYTHING ABOUT PEACE OR JOINING IN PEACE MOVEMENTS, THAT OUR VICTORY AFTER ALL WAS ONLY PARTIAL.

36-9-19

EVEN THIS PARTIAL VICTORY WAS MADE POSSIBLE ONLY BY THE ASTONISHING REACTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. FROM ENGLAND TO NEW ZEALAND, FROM FRANCE TO VIET-NAM, FROM RUSSIA TO NEW CHINA, THERE LITERALLY POURED SUCH A FLOOD OF PROTEST ON PRESIDENT TRUMAN, THE

SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, THAT THE F.B.I. WAS AFRAID TO PRESS ITS CASE BY USING STOOL PIGEONS AND SPIES, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE LET THE COURT FUNCTION UNHAMPERED AND UNCOERCED. THE VERY GAGGING OF THE PRESS HELPED US. ACTUALLY SHANGHAI KNEW MORE OF THE FACTS OF THE CASE THAN NEW YORK.

THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED BY THE PEACE CRUSADE. WE HAVE HELD CONGRESSES AND MEETINGS, HAVE ISSUED LITERATURE AND GIVEN LECTURES WIDELY. CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITIES OF OUR NATION, OUR WORK IS SMALL AND POORLY SUSTAINED, AND CAN COUNT ON BUT SMALL FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM CHURCH OR STATE. YET IT LIVES AND GROWS.

THE ~~EXXXXXX~~ STATE OF HYSTERIA WHICH STILL OBTAINS IN THE UNITED STATES MAKES IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE GROWING FEELING AGAINST WAR TO EXPRESS ITSELF, AND ALSO DIFFICULT FOR US TO COOPERATE WITH YOU IN TRYING TO AVOID THE CATASTROPHE OF A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN BUILT UP OUT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, OF JEW AND GENTILE, OF WHITE AND BLACK, OF ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANIARDS AND ITALIANS; OF SLAVS AND NORDICS, OF ASIATICS AND AFRICANS. THESE NATIONS HAVE NOT SENT US THEIR RICH ARISTOCRATS

poor and needy

BUT WORKERS; [redacted], PAUPERS AND SLAVES, EVEN CRIMINALS AND PROSTITUTES, TO PROVE TO THE WORLD WHAT THE OFF SCOURINGS OF MANKIND CAN DO WHEN THEY HAVE A CHANCE. THIS we HAVE DONE. WE HAVE BUILT A GREAT, RICH NATION, INGENIOUS AND INTELLIGENT. AND THEN IN OUR DAY, WHEN BY HELP OF THE SLAVES WE HAVE EVEN SHED SLAVERY, AND BY THE TOIL OF THE POOR ARE READY TO CONQUER POVERTY, WE HAVE BOWED TO THE OLD TEMPTATION OF ALL MANKIND AND SUNK BY FORCE AND FRAUD TO REENSLAVE THE WEAK, STEAL THE LABOR OF THE WORKER, AND TO RESTORE THAT OLD MASTERY OF THE POOR BY THE RICH, AND WASTE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TOILING MASSES OF MANKIND BY WORLD WAR.

WE BLACK FOLK OF ALL THE AMERICAS, 25 MILLION STRONG, ARE STRIVING TO JOIN OUR MIGHT TO THE THOUSAND MILLION BROWN, BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS WHO WILL NOT FIGHT THE WARS OF THE RICH BUT STAND FOR PEACE AND SERVICE TO HUMANITY.

MY FAMILY HAS LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR 300 YEARS AS WORKERS, CITIZENS AND SOLDIERS. SO THAT I COME HERE TO REPRESENT THIS NATION WHICH IS MINE BY SERVICE AND HERITAGE, WITH DEEP APOLOGY AT THE ROLE WE ARE PLAYING TODAY AS BOASTFUL WARMONGERS

36-9-20

AND BULLIES IN A WORLD PRAYING FOR PEACE AND HUMBLE SERVICE TO MANKIND.

Speech prepared for
Canadian Peace Congress

W E B DuBois

May 9, 1952

Phone 7 Toronto May 11, 1952

I DEEPLY REGRET/MY INABILITY/TO SPEAK TO YOU/FACE TO FACE.// RESPONDING TO YOUR KIND INVITATION/I AND MY WIFE/ ARRIVED IN TORONTO/LAST FRIDAY AT 12:30 Noon STANDARD TIME.// WE WERE EXAMINED/AT THE AIRPORT/BY TWO CUSTOMS OFFICIALS/AND EACH ASKED A FEW QUESTIONS/MOSTLY ROUTINE/AS TO AGE/ BIRTHPLACE/ ETC.// THERE WAS NO QUESTION/WHICH WE DID NOT/READILY ANSWER/AND WE RECEIVED NO INTIMATION/ THAT OUR ANSWERS/WERE UNSATISFACTORY/OR THAT FURTHER INFORMATION/WAS DESIRED;/ TWICE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL/LEFT THE ROOM/APPARENTLY FOR CONSULTATION.// WHEN HE FINALLY TOLD US/THAT WE WOULD NOT BE ADMITTED/I ASSUMED THAT HE WAS ANNOUNCING/THE DECISION OF HIS SUPERIORS/AND THAT THIS DECISION/WAS NOT BASED/ON ANY ANSWERS WE HAD MADE.//I THEREFOR MADE NO COMMENT/OR PROTEST/BUT SIMPLY ASKED/TO SPEAK WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES/WHOM WE HAD SEEN WAVING/AS WE ~~LEFT THE PLANE~~ arrived.// THIS WAS REFUSED. //WE WERE THEN KEPT WAITING/ IN THE LOCKED RECEPTION ROOM/FOR NEARLY A Half ~~AN~~ HOUR./ THERE WAS ~~AMPLE~~ TIME/FOR CLARIFICATION/OR FURTHER QUESTIONS/ NONE WERE ASKED./ FINALLY WE WERE ESCORTED/TO THE SAME PLANE/ON WHICH WE HAD ARRIVED/AND LEFT FOR NEW YORK/AT ONE THIRTY STANDARD TIME.

46-9-174

THIS PATTERN OF TREATMENT/FOR PERSONS OPPOSING WAR/IS FAMILIAR TO ME.// IN DEED/YOU HAD INVITED ME/TO COME TO THIS CONGRESS/TO TELL YOU OF MY OWN TREATment/LAST YEAR/IN THE UNITED STates/FOR DISTRIBUTING THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL/AND OTHER ACTIVITIES FOR PEACE// TOGETHER WITH FOUR OTHER OFFICIALS/OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER/ I WAS INDICTED IN FEBRUARY 1951,/ AS AGENT OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL AND THREATENED/WITH FIVE YEAR'S INPRISONMENT/AND $10,000, FINE./ WE COULD HAVE ESCAPED PROSECUTION/ IF WE HAD REGISTERED AS FOREIGN AGENTS/. THIS LIE WE REFUSED TO TELL./ THE GOVERNMENT ALLOWED/THE PUBLIC TO UNDERSTAND/ THAT IT HAD IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE/OF OUR GUILT.//(THE PRESS/ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION/ REFUSED US PUBLICITY//WE SPENT $35,600?/ WHICH OUR FRIENDS COLLECTED/FOR OUR DEFENSE.

WHEN THE CASE/CAME TO TRIAL LAST NOVEMBER/ THE JUDGE/WITHOUT HEARING OUR SIDE THREW IT OUT OF COURT/AND FREED US// WE BELIEVE THE CHIEF REASON/FOR THIS VIRDICT/WAS THE CHORUS OF INDIGNANT PROTEST/THAT POURED IN/ON THE PRESIFENT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE/AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE/FROM EVERY PART OF THE WORLD/INCLUDING CANADA/DEPLORING THE CRASS INJUSTICE/OF THE ACTION/MY BOOK WITH THE FULL STORY/OF THIS CASE/WILL APPEAR IN JULY/AFTER ALL THE LEADING PUBLISHING HOUSES/OF AMERICA/~~HAD~~ REFUSED TO HANDLE IT// I TRUST/YOU WILL BUY AND READ IT// I CAME TO TORONTO/TO RELATE THE MAIN FACTS/OF THIS STORY/AND TO WARN YOU/THAT EVEN NOW/WE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES/ARE NOT ENTIRELY FREE/TO OPPOSE WAR //THE WARNING WAS UNNECESSARY/YOU HAVE SEEN HOW YOUR IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS/ HAVE DELIBERATELY LIED/ABOUT OUR DEPORTATION ORDER/ AND BROADCAST THE LIE/TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.//MY WIFE AND I/STAND READY IN ANY

COURT OF LAW/TO SWEAR TO WHAT I HAVE RELATED//WE TRUST YOU WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT/TO REMOVE THE STIGMA/WHICH HAS BEEN PLACED ON OUR NAMES//YOU WILL I AM SURE/REALIZE TO WHAT DESPERATE LENGTHS/THE WARMONGERS OF AMERICA/WILL GO/IN IN ORDER TO STOP PEACE/AND PRESERVE/T HEIR HUGE INVESTMENT IN WAR// I THANK YOU SINCERELY/FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY/TO ADDRESS YOU/FROM AFAR/AND AM PARTICULARLY SORRY/NOT TO HEAR/THE MESSAGE OF DR ENDICOTT/ON CHINA/AFTER A VISIT/WHICH I MYSELF WAS NOT PERMITTED TO MAKE.

SE1-6-94

via phone to Toronto, May 11, 1952.

I deeply regret my inability to speak to you face to face. Responding to your kind invitation I and my wife arrived in Toronto last Friday at 12:30 Noon Standard Time. We were examined at the airport by two customs officials and each asked a few questions, mostly routine, as to age, birthplace, etc. There was no question which we did not readily answer, and we received no intimation that our answers were unsatisfactory, or that further information was desired. Twice the senior official left the room, apparently for consultation. When he finally told us that we would not be admitted, I assumed that he was announcing the decision of his superiors and that this decision was not based on any answers we had made. I therefore made no comment or protest, but simply asked to speak with your representatives, whom we had seen waving as we arrived. This was refused. We were then kept waiting in the locked reception room for nearly a half hour. There was time for clarification or further questions. None were asked. Finally we were escorted to the same plane on which we had arrived, and left for New York at one thirty standard time.

This pattern of treatment for persons opposing war is familiar to me. Indeed, you had invited me to come to this congress to tell you of my own treatment last year in the United States for distributing the Stockholm Appeal and other activities for Peace. Together with four other officials of the Peace Information Center I was indicted in February 1951, as agent of a foreign principal and threatened with five year's imprisonment and $10,000 fine. We could have escaped prosecution if we had registered as foreign agents. This lie we refused to tell. The government allowed the public to understand that it had irrefutable evidence of our guilt. The press almost without exception refused us publicity. We spent $35,000 which our friends collected for our defense. When the case came to trial last November the judge without hearing our side threw it out of court and freed us. We believe the chief reason for this verdict

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was the chorus of indignant protest that poured in on the President, the Department of State and the Department of Justice from every part of the world, including Canada, deploring the crass injustice of the action. My book with the full story of this case will appear in July, after all the leading publishing houses of America refused to handle it. I trust you will buy and read it. I came to Toronto to relate the main facts of this story and to warn you that even now we citizens of the United States are not entirely free to oppose war. The warning was unnecessary. You have seen how your immigration officials have deliberately lied about our deportation order and broadcast the lie to the Associated Press. My wife and I stand ready in any court of law to swear to what I have related.

36-9-13

We trust you will make every effort to remove the stigma which has been placed on our names. You will, I am sure, realise to what desperate lengths the warmongers of America will go in order to stop Peace and preserve their huge investment in war. I thank you sincerely for this opportunity to address you from afar, and am particularly sorry not to hear the message of Dr. Endicott on China, after a visit which I myself was not permitted to make.

Boston
May 41

COLONIAL PEOPLES DEMAND EQUAL STATUS

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "COLONY" HAS CHANGED SO IN MODERN TIMES THAT IT IS EASY FOR PERSONS DISCUSSING COLONIAL PROBLEMS TO MISS EACH OTHER'S MEANING. EARLY IN THIS CENTURY WE MEANT BY COLONY A NATION SUBJECT TO SOME RULING NATION THROUGH POLITICAL CONTROL: USUALLY WITHOUT SELF-GOVERNMENT OR CONTROL OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. WITH THIS WAS USUALLY COUPLED POVERTY, LACK OF EDUCATION AND DISEASE. THIS SITUATION WAS EXPLAINED AND EXCUSED BY THE SMALL NATURAL CAPACITY OF COLONIAL PEOPLES, their INABILITY TO GOVERN THEMSELVES, AND THE EFFORT OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY TO RAISE THEM TO SELF-GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS THEY SHOWED THE ABILITY. MEANTIME THE COLONY WAS SUPPOSED TO BENEFIT BY INVESTMENT AND INDUSTRY UNDER THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND BY MISSIONARY AND OTHER PHILANTHROPIC EFFORT. TYPICAL COLONIES OF THIS TYPE WERE THE BRITISH COLONIES OF INDIA, THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, MALAYA, BURMA AND THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS. most of AFRICA WAS IN COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP TO BRITAIN AND FRANCE. THE DUTCH HELD INDONESIA ON THIS STATUS. LARGE MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THESE COLONIES WAS FURNISHING EDUCATION AND PROSELYTING TO CHRISTIANITY.

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THERE WAS PROTEST from THESE COLONIES, ALLEGING SERFDOM OF LABOR, MONOPOLY OF LAND AND INDUSTRIAL SUBORDINATION TO THE MOTHER COUNTRIES. THIS PROTEST WAS USUALLY ATTRIBUTED TO HALF-EDUCATED NATIVE AGITATORS, AND LITTLE ATTENTION WAS PAID IT. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, OTHER SO-CALLED COLONIES, LIKE AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, CANADA AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, ALL MAINLY IN CONTROL OF WHITE ENGLISHMEN, WHO GRADUALLY CAME TO OBTAIN SELF-RULE AND VIRTUAL INDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE EMPIRE. THE DEPENDENT COLONIES ASPIRED TO SIMILAR GROWTH BUT WERE PREVENTED BY THE WIDE-SPREAD THEORY OF THE INFERIORITY OF THE DARKER RACES.

MOREOVER, THE WHITE COLONIES REPRESENTED AN OLDER IDEA OF COLONIAL STATUS, GOING BACK TO THE TIME OF THE GREEKS WHEN GROUPS SETTLED IN FOREIGN REGIONS AND LED INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE WITH THEIR OWN CULTURE. THESE AND THE LATER ROMAN COLONIES SOMETIMES CONQUERED THE INVADED REGIONS AND REDUCED THE INHABITANTS TO SUBJECTION. THIS WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE IDEA OF ECONOMIC CONTROL OF FOREIGN LANDS AND PEOPLES. FROM THIS CAME THE POLITICALLY CONTROLLED COLONY, AND ALSO THE TRANSFER OF LABOR

BY SLAVE TRADE. THUS THOUSANDS OF SLAVES WERE TRANSFERRED FROM NORTHERN EUROPE TO ROME, FROM EUROPE TO EGYPT, FROM ASIA TO AFRICA, FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE, AND FROM MONGOLIA TO CHINA. THE GREATEST AND MOST SYSTEMATIZED TRADE OF THIS SORT GREW UP IN THE 17TH, 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES FROM AFRICA TO THE AMERICAS.

FROM THESE COLONIES, BUT ESPECIALLY THOSE IN AFRICA AND ASIA, GREW THE VAST WEALTH AND POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND HOLLAND, IN THE 17TH, 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES. IN THE UNITED STATES, INSTEAD OF COLONIES, CHATTEL SLAVERY BUILT ON THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE CHANGED INTO SERFDOM ON WHICH COMMERCE GREW, BUT LED TO CIVIL WAR AND COLOR CASTE, AND TO ACCELERATED INDUSTRY IN THE NORTH. THAT COLONIES EXISTED FOR THE ENRICHMENT OF THE MOTHER COUNTRIES, AND THAT THIS WEALTH WAS SIMULTANEOUSLY FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES BECAME AN AXIOM IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY.

LEONARD WOOLF WRITES: "IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO VISUALIZE THE TOTAL EFFECT WHICH THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS AXIOM IN THE LAST SIXTY YEARS HAS HAD UPON THE WORLD. IT HAS TURNED WHOLE NATIONS INTO ARMIES, AND INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE INTO WEAPONS OF ECONOMIC WAR. IT HAS CAUSED MORE BLOODSHED THAN EVER RELIGION OR DYNASTIES CAUSED IN AN EQUAL NUMBER OF YEARS,

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WHEN GODS AND KINGS, RATHER THAN COMMERCE, WERE THE 'GREATEST OF POLITICAL INTERESTS'. IT WAS THE CHIEF CAUSE OF THE (FIRST WORLD) WAR WHICH WE HAVE JUST BEEN FIGHTING, AND WHICH IN ASIA MEN ALREADY TALK OF AS THE FIRST ACT IN THE PASSING OF THE CIVILIZATION OF EUROPE."

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM SUCCEEDED COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND SPRANG FROM THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. THIS REVOLUTION AROSE FROM THE BRITISH SEIZURE OF INDIA. "IT IS CLEAR THEN THAT THE 'INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION', THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH ENGLAND'S PROSPERITY WAS BUILT UP, WAS MADE POSSIBLE ONLY BY THE INFLUX OF INDIAN TREASURE, AND THAT BUT FOR THIS CAPITAL, NOT LOANED BUT TAKEN, AND BEARING NO INTEREST, THE ASCENDENCY OF THE STEAM ENGINE AND MECHANICAL APPLIANCES FOR MASS PRODUCTION MIGHT HAVE REMAINED UNUTILIZED. ENGLAND'S GAIN WAS INDIA'S LOSS -- A LOSS OF TREASURE MORE THAN ENOUGH TO STARVE HER INDUSTRIES AND RETARD THE PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE. NO COUNTRY, HOWEVER RICH OR RESOURCEFUL, COULD BEAR SUCH A DRAIN UNHARMED".

I DOUBT IF MOST PEOPLE REALIZE JUST WHAT THE CONTROL OF THE DARKER WORLD

BY CHRISTIAN EUROPE HAS MEANT DURING THE LAST 400 YEARS. WILLIAM HOWITT, IN HIS BOOK ON "COLONIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY", PUBLISHED IN 1838, HAS SOME STATEMENTS WORTH QUOTING TODAY. HE IS A DEVOUT ENGLISHMAN, AND SAYS OF OUR ATTEMPT TO TEACH CHRISTIANITY TO THE HEATHEN:

"IF THE REIGN OF SATAN, IN FACT, WERE COME, -- IF HE WERE LET LOOSE WITH ALL HIS LEGIONS, TO PLAGUE THE EARTH FOR A THOUSAND YEARS, WHAT WOULD BE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS PREVALENCE? TERRORS AND CRIMES; ONE WIDE PESTILENCE OF VICE AND OBSCENITY; ONE FEARFUL TORRENT OF CRUELTY AND WRATH, DECEIT AND OPPRESSION, VENGEANCE AND MALIGNITY; THE PASSIONS OF THE STRONG WOULD BE INFLAMED-- THE WEAK WOULD CRY AND IMPLORE IN VAIN!

"THE BARBARITIES AND DESPERATE OUTRAGES OF THE SO-CALLED CHRISTIAN RACE, THROUGHOUT EVERY REGION OF THE WORLD, AND UPON EVERY PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SUBDUE, ARE NOT TO BE PARALLELED BY THOSE OF ANY OTHER RACE, HOWEVER FIERCE, HOWEVER UNTAUGHT, AND HOWEVER RECKLESS OF MERCY AND OF SHAME, IN ANY AGE OF THE EARTH."

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THE HISTORIAN BRYAN EDWARDS SAYS: "AFTER READING THESE ACCOUNTS, WHO CAN HELP FORMING AN INDIGNANT WISH THAT THE HAND OF HEAVEN, BY SOME MIRACULOUS INTERPOSITION, HAD SWEPT THESE EUROPEAN TYRANTS FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, WHO LIKE SO MANY BEASTS OF PREY, ROAMED ROUND THE WORLD ONLY TO DESOLATE AND DESTROY; AND MORE REMORSELESS THAN THE FIERCEST SAVAGE, THIRSTED FOR HUMAN BLOOD WITHOUT HAVING THE IMPULSE OF NATURAL APPETITE TO PLEAD IN THEIR DEFENCE!"

GRADUALLY IN EUROPE THERE AROSE A DEEP RIVALRY AMONG THE HAVES AND HAVE NOTS IN COLONIAL WEALTH AND POWER. THE NEW GERMANY ENVIED BRITISH AND FRENCH COLONIAL WEALTH, AND ITALY WANTED HER LONG-SOUGHT SHARE IN AFRICA. FROM THIS COMPLICATED GREED AROSE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, AND THE PEOPLES OF THE DARKER COLONIES WERE CALLED IN TO HELP AND GAINED THEIR FIRST RECOGNITION BY THE FREEING OF INDIA. THEREUPON THE WORLD ASSUMED THAT ALL COLONIES WERE APPROACHING SELF-RULE AND THAT THE ERA OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WAS RAPIDLY COMING TO AN END. THE DOCTRINE OF RACE SUPERIORITY

THE HISTORIAN BRYAN EDWARDS SAYS: "AFTER READING THESE ACCOUNTS, WHO CAN HELP FORMING AN INDIGNANT WISH THAT THE HAND OF HEAVEN, BY SOME MIRACULOUS INTERPOSITION, HAD SWEPT THESE EUROPEAN TYRANTS FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, WHO LIKE SO MANY BEASTS OF PREY, ROAMED ROUND THE WORLD ONLY TO DESOLATE AND DESTROY; AND MORE REMORSELESS THAN THE FIERCEST SAVAGE, THIRSTED FOR HUMAN BLOOD WITHOUT HAVING THE IMPULSE OF NATURAL APPETITE TO PLEAD IN THEIR DEFENCE!"

WHAT WE HAD THEN IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES WERE TWO CONTRADICTORY CONCEPTIONS OF COLONIALISM: COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH CONCEIVED COLONIES AS POLITICAL PARTS OF LARGE NATIONS, DESTINED SOONER OR LATER TO COME INTO FULL INTEGRATION WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY; ALTHOUGH THIS EVENTUALITY IN THE CASE OF COLORED PEOPLES WAS NOT EXPECTED TO OCCUR FOR CENTURIES IF EVER. SIMULTANEOUSLY THERE EXISTED ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM, WHICH APPLIED NOT ONLY TO COLONIES BUT TO MANY COUNTRIES REGARDED AS POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT, BUT WHICH LIKE COLONIES WERE UNDER THE CONTROL OF IMPERIAL NATIONS THROUGH CAPITAL IN INVESTMENT AND CENTRALIZED CONTROL OF COMMERCE, MARKETS AND PRICES. SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES THUS WERE SUBJECT TO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA; AND WHEN INDIA WAS FREED POLITICALLY, IT REMAINED IN AT LEAST PARTIAL SUBJECTION TO BRITISH AND AMERICAN CAPITAL.

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AT THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CENTURY, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE WITH AMERICA AS JUNIOR PARTNER WERE IN CONTROL OF THE CHIEF COLONIAL REGIONS AND QUASI-COLONIAL NATIONS OF THE WORLD WHILE GERMANY AND ITALY WERE SEEKING A LARGER SHARE OF OWNERSHIP THAN THEY POSSESSED.

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BUT THIS MOVEMENT AND ITS PHILOSOPHERS DID NOT REALIZE THE CHANGING SIGNIFICANCE OF COLONIALISM IN MODERN TIMES. THE INNER REASON HAD CHANGED FROM GREEK MIGRATION, ROMAN CONQUEST AND EUROPEAN TRANSPORT OF LABOR TO MODERN POLITICAL CONTROL, AND CONTROL NOT FOR

ITS OWN SAKE BUT FOR CHEAP LABOR AND RAW MATERIALS. THESE MATERIALS HAD BECOME THE FOUNDATION OF EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN WEALTH AND COMFORT. POLITICAL CONTROL OF COLONIES THEREFORE WOULD BE SURRENDERED BY THE LEADING INDUSTRIAL NATIONS ONLY IF THEY COULD RETAIN THEIR CONTROL OF THESE PRICELESS MATERIALS. THIS, WHICH MAY BE CALLED ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM, OR INVESTMENT COLONIALISM, WAS SUCCEEDING THE OLDER COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND ITS MOTIVE WAS NOT POLITICAL RULE BUT ECONOMIC GAIN. INDEED, GAIN WAS ALWAYS THE OBJECT OF COLONIES, BUT UNDER COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IT WAS ATTAINED BY POLITICAL CONTROL; IN THE 20TH CENTURY IT COULD BE MADE CERTAIN BY INVESTMENT UNDER A WORLD COMMERCE AND WORLD CONTROL OF PRICES AND MARKETS. GAIN WAS VAST AND LAY IN CONTROL OF LAND, LABOR AND RAW MATERIALS SO NECESSARY TO EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. THE POLITICAL SETUP OF A COUNTRY

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WAS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE COMPARED WITH THIS ECONOMIC CONTROL.

THERE WAS [redacted] GREAT ECONOMIC GAIN TO BE HAD IN COUNTRIES NOT TECHNICALLY COLONIES BUT WHICH WERE UNDER SUCH DOMINATION BY CAPITAL INVESTED IN THEM BY THE GREAT IMPERIAL POWERS THAT POLITICAL RULE WAS NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE VAST PROFIT TO INVESTMENTS MADE IN THESE NATIONS. THIS PROFIT COULD BE USED TO PREVENT GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE OR LABOR REVOLT. THIS WAS THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, CUBA, ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA, AND HAITI; IN EGYPT, THE MIDDLE EAST, CHINA AND IN MOST OF ASIA.

THE VAST PROFIT POURING INTO THE LEADING INDUSTRIAL AND INVESTING NATIONS HAD GREATLY CHANGED THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL AND LABOR THERE, WHICH HAD DEVELOPED [redacted] WHAT WE CALL THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND WHICH CONCERNED THE DIVISION OF INCOME BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS. VARIOUS PLANS FOR MORE JUST AND RATIONAL DIVISION OF NATIONAL INCOME WERE SUGGESTED AND TRIED, MOST OF THEM INVOLVING WHAT WAS CALLED VAGUELY "SOCIALISM". BUT

WHICH TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY ASSUMED THE EXTREME FORM OF "COMMUNISM" FOLLOWING A SCIENTIFIC FORMULA PROPOSED BY KARL MARX.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT LED TO UNIONS, STRIKES AND HIGHER WAGES, TO much SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION, BUT TO FEW ATTEMPTS AT A COMPLETE SOCIALISTIC STATE. THIS WAS WARDED OFF AND LABOR UNREST LESSENED BY THE VAST INCOME FROM COLONIES. HERE LABOR WAS CHEAP AND LAND TO BE HAD FOR THE TAKING. FROM THE RESULTANT HIGH PROFITS THE WAGES IN EUROPEAN LANDS COULD BE RAISED WITHOUT LESSENING THE CURRENT RATE OF PROFIT. THIS, HOWEVER, INVOLVED A SERIES OF WARS IN WHICH THE LABORING CLASS MUST TAKE PART BY PAYING TAXES AND FIGHTING AGAINST COLONIAL PEOPLES. INTEREST IN HOME PROSPERITY MADE EUROPEANS FORGET THESE COLONIAL WARS AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY INDUCED THE HOME VOTERS NOT ONLY TO SUPPORT IMPERIALISM BUT TO FIGHT 300 WARS BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917.

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THIS PERIOD BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917 IS OFTEN CALLED A PERIOD OF PEACE. IT WAS A PERIOD OF COMPARATIVE PEACE AMONG EUROPEAN NATIONS. YET IN THIS TIME THERE WERE

FOUGHT 204 WARS, CHIEFLY FOR ACQUIRING OR RETAINING COLONIES AND CULMINATING IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THEREFORE, THE OBJECT OF THE LEADING NATIONS WHICH WERE IN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND THE WORLD MARKET WAS TO CONTINUE TO CONTROL LABOR, RAW MATERIALS AND THE WORLD MARKET IN SPITE OF NOMINAL POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IN NEW NATIONS LIKE CHINA AND THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

TWO CATASTROPHES INTERRUPTED THEM: FIRST THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM ITSELF IN THE THIRTIES, WHICH WAS NOT CAUSED BY SOCIALISM BUT WHICH CAUSED SOCIALISM IN BRITAIN, SCANDINAVIA, GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES; AND WHICH ESPECIALLY ENABLED REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA TO ESTABLISH THE FIRST ACTUAL MODERN ATTEMPT AT A COMPLETELY SOCIALISTIC STATE. SIXTEEN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, FLEW TO ARMS TO OVERTHROW THIS ATTEMPT, BUT FAILED BECAUSE WAR EXPENDITURE FORCED THEM INTO BANKRUPTCY, AND THEY HAD TO LET RUSSIA ALONE FOR TEN YEARS AND MORE. JUST AS THEY WERE READY TO RETURN TO THE TASK AND OVERTHROW THE NEW SOVIET UNION, A NEW THREAT AROSE IN GERMANY AND ITALY, WHERE DEPRESSION WAS

WORST AND WHERE THE CAPITALISTS UNITED TO FORM DICTATORSHIPS WHICH WOULD UNITE THEIR CAPITALISTS IN THE FORMATION OF A NEW WORLD CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, LABOR AND MATERIAL; AND WHICH WOULD DISPLACE THE BRITISH AND FRENCH EMPIRES AND THE RISING NEW AMERICAN ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM. ITALY SEIZED ETHIOPIA AND THREATENED ALL NORTH AFRICA; GERMANY PROPOSED TO DOMINATE EUROPE AS A STEPPING STONE TO RUSSIA AND ALL ASIA.

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN LOGICAL FOR WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA TO UNITE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY AND THEIR PLAN OF WORLD CONTROL. BUT MUCH AS THE WEST HATED FASCISM, THEY FEARED SOCIALISM MORE BECAUSE IT THREATENED TO MAKE IMPOSSIBLE OF REALIZATION NOT ONLY THE NAZI SCHEME BUT THEIR OWN PLAN FOR RESTORED ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM, BASED ON INDUSTRIAL CONTROL OF BACKWARD LANDS BY INVESTMENT AND MANIPULATION OF WORLD MARKETS. THEY HESITATED AND COMPROMISED AT MUNICH AND THEN THE FASCISTS, CERTAIN OF THE INACTION OF THE WEST, SEIZED FRANCE, CAME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOVIETS, THREATENED ENGLAND, AND THEN TURNED TO ANNIHILATE THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE FINALLY REDUCING EUROPE AND THE WORLD TO THEIR CONTROL.

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THE WEST, CONVINCED THAT THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED, MADE A SOVIET TREATY WHICH THEY HAD LONG REFUSED, SO AT LEAST TO SLOW THE PROCESS UP, AND AT BEST TO LET THE ANTAGONISTS KILL EACH OTHER OFF. THEY GAVE WEAK AND HALF-HEARTED HELP TO THE SOVIETS, STALLED ON A SECOND FRONT, AND THEN ATTACKED THROUGH NORTH AFRICA SO AS TO BE SURE OF THE EXPLOITATION OF THE BALKANS AND THE LIFE LINE TO INDIA IN ANY EVENT. THEN, TO THE ASTONISHMENT OF THE WORLD, THE SOVIET UNION SMASHED THE MIGHTY GERMAN WEHRMACHT AT STALINGRAD.

WHAT NOW WOULD BE THE STATUS OF THE COLONIAL AND QUASI-COLONIAL NATIONS? SHOULD THE SOVIET UNION SHARE CONTROL, OR SHOULD THE CONTROL OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA BE RE-ESTABLISHED? THE SOVIETS NOT ONLY HAD ESTABLISHED A STRONG GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA, BUT SPREAD THEIR INFLUENCE TO THE BORDERING STATES WHICH WESTERN EUROPE HAD ONCE SEIZED FOR A VANTAGE GROUND FROM WHICH TO RECONQUER RUSSIA. THE ALLIES COULD OFFER NO VALID, LOGICAL OR PHYSICAL OBJECTION TO THIS. NOR DID THE MASS OF INHABITANTS OBJECT.

THE BITTER OPPOSITION CAME FROM POLISH, CZECHOSLOVAKIAN AND OTHER BALKAN OFFICIALS AND LAND HOLDERS WHO LOST THEIR WEALTH AND POWER.

BUT WHEN THE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE BEGAN TO SPREAD SOUTH AND EAST AND WEST;

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AND WHEN IT FINALLY EMBRACED CHINA, WESTERN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM NOW LED BY THE UNITED STATES, TURNED TOWARD PLANNING WORLD WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EAST.

LET ME NOW TURN MY ATTENTION TO THE PROVERBIALLY "FORGOTTEN MAN" -- IN THIS CASE THE COLONIAL AND QUASI-COLONIAL NATIONS: THOSE NATIONS, LARGE AND SMALL, WHICH DURING THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES WERE DOMINATED BY WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA. QUITE APART FROM SOCIAL THEORY, WHAT DO THEY THINK ABOUT THE RESTORATION OF ANGLO-SAXON CONTROL OF THE WORLD? THE RECENT RELATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA FORM A SHAMEFUL RECORD. EUROPEAN TRADE WAS FORCED ON CHINA AND JAPAN; THE OPIUM TRADE CONSUMPTION WAS MAINTAINED BY ARMED POWER IN ORDER TO COMPEL TRADE WITH ENGLISH INDIA; THE CHINESE WERE REDUCED TO CASTE STATUS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY SO AS TO GIVE WHITES A SUPERIOR POSITION. WHEN THE CHINESE REBELLED THEY WERE COWED BY INTERNATIONAL INVASION AND CALCULATED INSULT. THEY WERE COMPELLED TO IMPORT EUROPEAN GOODS AND THEIR CUSTOMS SUPERVISED BY ENGLISHMEN. CHINESE TREASURE WAS STOLEN AND CHINESE INDUSTRIES

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DOMINATED BY FOREIGN INVESTORS WHO REDUCED WAGES TO STARVATION LEVELS AND ALLOWED NO LABOR REVOLT. CHINA WAS MARKED FOR DISMEMBERMENT BY EUROPE AND THE ACTUAL DECISION DELAYED ONLY BY DISAGREEMENT AS TO WHAT NATION SHOULD GET WHICH SHARE. GRADUALLY THE UNITED STATES BEGAN TO SURPASS ALL NATIONS BY ITS INVESTMENTS AND INFLUENCE, AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS SET TO ANNEX CHINA BY INVESTMENT CONTROL. SUN-YAT-SEN, WHO PLANNED THE REVOLUTION OF 1912, HAD ASKED RUSSIA FOR LEADERSHIP. AFTER HIS DEATH IN 1925, HIS LIEUTENANT, CHIANG-KAI-CHEK, TURNED TO AMERICA. WE GAVE HIM ARMS AND MILLIONS OF FUNDS. BUT HE CARRIED ON SO ROTTEN A REGIME THAT THE CHINESE PEASANTS TOOK CHARGE AND ESTABLISHED THE NEW COMMUNIST REPUBLIC IN 1949. NOT THE SOVIET UNION BUT THE UNITED STATES FORCED COMMUNISM ON CHINA.

INDIA, LED BY GHANDHI AND NEHRU, GAINED POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN, BUT NOT UNTIL BRITAIN HAD AROUSED RELIGIOUS FANATICISM AND RETAINED SO STRONG AN INVESTMENT INTEREST AS TO BIND INDIAN CAPITALISM CLOSELY WITH EUROPEAN INTERESTS. IT WILL

WILL BE A LONG STRUGGLE TO RAISE NATIONAL INDIAN LOYALTY ABOVE SECTARIAN RELIGION AND TO TRANSFER POLITICAL POWER FROM THE FOREIGN INVESTOR AND NATIVE OWNER AND

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EMPLOYER TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

AFRICA IS TORN APART. IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE SLAVE STATUS REMAINS; WITH WHITES POSSESSING NEARLY ALL POLITICAL POWER AND MOST OF THE LAND, AND WITH INVESTMENT CAPITAL FURNISHED FROM EUROPE AND INCREASINGLY FROM THE UNITED STATES, HOLDING BLACK LABOR TO WAGE SLAVERY OF THE LOWEST TYPE. LABOR UNIONS ARE PRACTICALLY BARRED FOR BLACKS, EDUCATION IS LIMITED AND OCCUPATIONS restricted BY COLOR CASTE. MALAN IS SET TO MAKE THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTHWEST AFRICA, THE PROTECTORATES, AND IF POSSIBLE THE RHODESIAS, A REGION OF WHITE MASTERS AND DISFRANCHISED, IMPOVERISHED, AND LARGELY ILLITERATE BLACK serfs, WITH SOME TRIBAL SOLIDARITY. THERE IS A SMALL GROUP OF EDUCATED LEADERS. BRITISH WEST AFRICA IS STRUGGLING WITH SOME SUCCESS TOWARD POLITICAL AUTONOMY, BUT IS BOUND BY BRITISH AND FOREIGN CAPITAL WITH PARTNERSHIP OF A FEW BLACK EMPLOYERS, BUT WITH A LAND-HOLDING PEASANTRY AND AN INCOMPLETE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. B

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BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES IS EGYPT WITH A LANDED ARISTOCRACY, BUILT ON EUROPEAN CAPITAL, AND RULING OVER A DEPRESSED AND LARGELY IGNORANT PEASANTRY. IT SEEKS ALSO

CONTROL OVER THE EIGHT MILLIONS OF THE SUDAN WHERE THE ENGLISH HAVE LARGE INVESTMENT IN COTTON PLANTATIONS AND TRADE FROM CAPE TO CAIRO, AND HAVE TRAINED A SMALL GROUP OF NATIVES FOR ADMINISTRATIVE WORK, AND WHERE A STRONG LABOR MOVEMENT HAS DEVELOPED. IN FRENCH AFRICA THERE IS A SMALL ENFRANCHISED AND EDUCATED NATIVE ELITE ALLIED WITH FRENCH CAPITAL, and A LARGE EXPLOITED PEASANTRY UNDER EUROPEAN CONTROL AND USED AS SOLDIERS IN EUROPE AND ASIA. IN EAST AFRICA LAND MONOPOLY AND LABOR EXPLOITATION PREVAILS IN KENYA, TANGANYIKA, AND PORTUGESE AFRICA; AND LABOR EXPLOITATION WITH NATIVE LANDHOLDING IN UGANDA. IN THE BELGIAN CONGO THERE IS COMPLETE DISFRANCHISEMENT, LABOR EXPLOITATION BY BRITISH, BELGIANS AND AMERICANS, AND LAND MONOPOLY UNDER BELGIAN CONTROL. THERE IS ONLY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND ADMISSION TO INDUSTRIAL SKILLS, BUT WITHOUT TRADE UNIONS. ABYSSINIA POLITICALLY IS INDEPENDENT, UNDER ENLIGHTENED FEUDALISM AND WITH A GROWING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. OUTSIDE CAPITAL IS CROWDING IN BUT IS NOT IN CONTROL. LIBERIA IS RAPIDLY BECOMING AN AMERICAN INVESTMENT COLONY UNDER INDUSTRIAL CONTROL OF THE LARGE CORPORATIONS. THERE IS ONLY AN INCOMPLETE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CAPITAL IS BRIBING THE FEUDAL TYRANTS WITH MILLIONS FOR OIL TO MAKE WAR SO AS TO FASTEN THEIR RULE ON IGNORANT, DISEASED AND POVERTY-STRICKEN PEASANTS.

GLANCING FURTHER EAST, WE FIND DESPERATE AWAKENING IN FRENCH ASIA, STUBBORNLY OPPOSED BY FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES; INCOMPLETE BUT INCREASING INDEPENDENCE IN INDONESIA, SHADOWED BY DUTCH, BRITISH AND AMERICAN CAPITALISM. BRITISH CAPITAL IS FIGHTING TO MAINTAIN ITSELF IN BURMA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.

TURNING TO AMERICA, WE FIND SOUTH AMERICA LARGELY DOMINATED BY UNITED STATES CAPITAL, EXCEPT FOR REVOLT IN THE ARGENTINE AND SOME STRUGGLES ELSEWHERE. AMERICAN HELP SUPPORTS DICTATORS, FIGHTS UNION LABOR, AND OWNS MINES AND OIL. MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES ARE IN MORE OR LESS OPEN REVOLUTION AGAINST THE POWER OF WESTERN CAPITAL, LOSING AND GAINING AS THE TIDE OF AUTONOMY EBBS AND FLOWS. CONDITIONS WILL GROW MORE CRITICAL AS TIME FLIES.

36-9-134

TO REPRESENT THIS COLONIAL WORLD AS COMMUNISTIC IS IDIOTIC. FEW OF THEM

HAVE ANY KNOWLEDGE OR CONCEPTION OF COMMUNISM. THEY DO HAVE VERY CLEAR AND CONSTANT KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT BRITISH AND UNITED STATES CAPITAL AND INDUSTRY PROPOSE TO DO TO THEM IN THE FUTURE, AND THEY ARE PREPARING AS FAST AS POSSIBLE TO FIGHT IT. HERE AND NOT IN THE SOVIET UNION WILL COME THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY OF THE DARK AND WHITE RACES. NOR ARE THESE PEOPLE FOOLED BY A POINT FOUR WHICH PRETENDS BY ALMS-GIVING TO SOFTEN THE PRESSURE OF LABOR AND LAND EXPLOITATION. THEY KNOW OR SOON WILL LEARN THAT NO WESTERN CAPITAL IS GOING TO TURN PHILANTHROPIC IN ITS DECREPITUDE, AND SURRENDER PROSPECTIVE SOURCES OF PROFIT TO PEOPLES WHO HAVE IN THE PAST FURNISHED THEM WEALTH AND POWER AND WHOM THEY PROPOSE TO KEEP AT THAT JOB.

ALL THESE PEOPLES THE CIVILIZED WORLD HAS LONG USED NOT ONLY FOR ITS SUPPORT AND LUXURY, BUT FOR ITS AMUSEMENT AND RECREATION; IT HAS THROWN THEM JOKES AND ALMS AND REGARDED THEM AS "HALF DEVIL AND HALF CHILD." IT WOULD BE WISE AND FARSIGHTED IF THIS ATTITUDE STOPPED AND STOPPED QUICKLY AND PERMANENTLY. BRITAIN HAS LONG BEEN HATED BY MANKIND, BUT TODAY NO NATION ON EARTH IS SO HATED, FEARED AND

DESPISED AS THE UNITED STATES. WE CAN DENY THIS AND TRY TO LAUGH IT OFF, BUT IT IS A SERIOUS FACT AND NO WORLD-WIDE PROPAGANDA SEEKING TO MAKE MANKIND HATE RUSSIA IS GOING TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF A THOUSAND MILLION "DARKIES", "CHINKS", OR "NIGGERS" OR POSTPONE PERMANENTLY THE DAY OF AWFUL RECKONING FOR AMERICA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SOCIALISM SUCCEEDS IN EUROPE AND THE COMMUNISM IN THE SOVIET UNION MAKES IN THE NEXT GENERATION THE PROGRESS WHICH IT HAS IN THIS, NO POWER OF PROPAGANDA, MILITARY FORCE, OR EVEN OF ATOM BOMB WILL STOP ITS SPREAD OVER THE WORLD. IT CAN ONLY BE HALTED IF BRITAIN AND AMERICA EVOLVE SOMETHING STRONGER THAN MILITARY MIGHT TO BETTER THE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

36-9-135

Boston -18- Colonies, (mark

LOGICALLY NOW, IN ORDER TO COMPLETE MY SURVEY OF COLONIES, I SHOULD CONSIDER EAST AFRICA, PORTUGESE AFRICA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO, THEN TURN TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE FAR EAST, AND RETURNING TO AMERICA, SURVEY THE DOMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES OVER THE REST OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT. BUT I FOREGO THIS IN ORDER TO CENTER ATTENTION ON TUNISIA, WHICH IS THE PARTICULAR SUBJECT OF THIS MEETING, AND ONE OF THE CENTERS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN AFRICA.

THERE ARE FEW REGIONS ON THIS TORTURED EARTH WHICH HAVE SEEN SUCH FANTASTIC CHANGE AS THE 50,000 SQUARE MILES OF NORTH AFRICA CALLED TUNISIA, RANGING UP FROM THE SAHARA DESERT TO THE LOVELY MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS WHICH THRUST THEMSELVES INTO THE MEDITTERANEAN AND POINT TOWARD ITALY. THIS WAS THE LAND AGAINST WHICH OVER TWO MILLENIUMS AGO CATO THUNDERED IN THE ROMAN SENATE: "CARTHAGE MUST BE DESTROYED!", FOR CARTHAGE WAS, THREE CENTURIES BEFORE CHRIST, OLDER, STRONGER AND GREATER THAN ROME. IT RULED NORTH AFRICA, SICILY AND SARDINIA, AND AGAINST IT FOR A CENTURY

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ROME LAUNCHED WAR. OUT OF CARTHAGE CAME THAT BLACK HANNIBAL WITH HIS ELEPHANTS, WHO FOR 15 YEARS FOUGHT ROME AND NEARLY OVERTHREW IT, UNTIL, CONQUERED AT ZAMA, HE KILLED HIMSELF. FIFTY YEARS LATER ROME PLOWED UP THE SITE OF CARTHAGE AND LEFT A WILDERNESS AROUND WHICH WAS BUILT THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

I REMEMBER THAT 2,090 YEARS LATER I AND MY STUDENT FRIENDS WERE STONED IN THE ROMAN FORUM BY LITTLE ITALIAN BOYS WHO THOUGHT US FRENCH, AND WHO RESENTED FOR THEIR FATHERS THE LOSS OF TUNISIA WHICH BISMARCK HAD THROWN TO FRANCE LIKE A BONE TO A DOG, TO SOOTHE HER PRIDE FOR SEDAN.

FIFTY YEARS LATER MUSSOLINI, SEEKING TO RESTORE THE ROMAN EMPIRE, USED TO END HIS HARANGUES BY HOWLING TO VAST AUDIENCES, "AND TUNISIA!" THE CROWDS SHRIEKED BACK, "IT BELONGS TO US!" THERE AND THEN STARTED THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

MEANTIME, TUNISIA HAD BEEN RULED BY EGYPTIANS, EUROPEANS AND TURKS: HAD BECOME THE SEAT OF THE BARBARY PIRATES, AND FINALLY SETTLED DOWN UNEASILY UNDER

NATIVE RULERS UNTIL IT BECAME SO ENMESHED IN DEBT THAT THE FRENCH TOOK CHARGE IN 1881. ITS PEOPLE ARE BERBERS, ARABS AND NEGROES; MOST OF THEM MOHAMMEDAN, WITH 50,000 JEWS; AND MORE ESPECIALLY, WITH 70,000 FRENCHMEN AND 90,000 ITALIANS. THESE FOREIGNERS WERE LANDLORDS AND MERCHANTS, RIVALS OF THE NATIVE FEUDAL MASTERS AND OF THE WANDERING NOMADS, IMPOVERISHED FARMERS AND IGNORANT, LOW-PAID WORKERS OF EVERY SORT.

THIS LAND IS RICH. GRAIN AND FRUIT, DATES AND OLIVE OIL ARE PLENTIFUL; AND IN THE EARTH ARE PHOSPHATES, ZINC AND MINERALS. TEXTILES AND LEATHER ARE MANUFACTURED, AND IN MANY WAYS TUNISIA IS A PARADISE FOR THE EXPLOITER. THIS IS THE REASON THAT TODAY THIS LAND, TORN BY THE RIVALRY OF FRENCH, ITALIAN AND BERBER OVERLORDS, IS TORN IN THEIR BATTLE FOR CONTROL. EVEN IF WE FORGET THE WRITHING MASS OF UNAWAKENED WORKERS BELOW, THIS IS A TYPICAL MODERN COLONY, ENSLAVED BY ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM.

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THE UNITED NATIONS HAS REFUSED TO LISTEN, NOT SIMPLY TO THE COMPLAINT OF THOSE WHO STRIVE FOR AUTHORITY AND PROFIT, BUT IS QUITE UNAWARE OF THE UNVOICED WOE OF THE THREE MILLION INHABITANTS OF TUNISIA, WHO TOIL IN POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. IT

WOULD BE IDIOTIC TO CHARGE THAT THE UNREST AND SUFFERING IN SUCH COLONIAL REGIONS OF THE WORLD TODAY IS CAUSED BY COMMUNISTIC PROPAGANDA.

Boston, May 17 **COLONIAL PEOPLES DEMAND EQUAL STATUS**

The meaning of the word "colony" has changed so in modern times that it is easy for persons discussing colonial problems to miss each other's meaning. Early in this century we meant by "colony" a nation subject to some ruling nation through political control; usually without self-government or control of relations with other governments. With this was usually coupled poverty, lack of education, and disease. This situation was explained and excused by the small natural capacity of colonial peoples, their inability to govern themselves, and the effort of the mother country to raise them to self-government as soon as they showed ability. Meantime the colony was supposed to benefit by investment and industry under the mother country and by missionary and other philanthropic effort. Typical colonies of this type were the British colonies of India, the British West Indies, Malaya, Burma and the South Sea Islands. Most of Africa was in colonial relationship to Britain and France. The Dutch held Indonesia on this status. Large missionary effort in these colonies was furnishing education and preselyting to Christianity.

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There was protest from these colonies, alleging serfdom of labor, monopoly of land, and industrial subordination to the mother countries. This protest was usually attributed to half-educated native agitators, and little attention was paid it. There were, however, other so-callled colonies, like Australia and New Zealand, Canada and the Union of South Africa, all mainly in control of white Englishmen , who gradually came to obtain self-rule and virtual independence within the Empire. The dependent colonies aspired to similar growth but were prevented by the wide-spread theory of the inferiority of the darker races.

Moreover, the white colonies represented an older idea of colonial status, going back to the time of the Greeks when groups settled in foreign regions and led independent existence with their own cultures. These and the later Roman colonies sometimes conquered the invaded regions and reduced the inhabitants to subjection. This was the beginning of the idea of economic control of foreign lands and peoples. From this came the politically controlled colony, and also

the transfer of labor by slave trade. Thus thousands of slaves were transferred from northern Europe to Rome, from Europe to Egypt, from Asia to Africa, from Africa to Europe, and from Mongolia to China. The greatest and most systematized trade of this sort grew up in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries from Africa to the Americas.

From these colonies, but especially those in Africa and Asia, grew the vast wealth and power of Great Britain, France and Holland, in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. In the United States, instead of colonies, chattel slavery built on the African slave trade changed into serfdom on which commerce grew, but led to Civil war and color caste, and to accelerated industry in the North. That colonies existed for the enrichment of the mother countries, and that this wealth was simultaneously for the best interests of the colonial people, became an axiom in the late 19th century.

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Leonard Woolf writes: "It is almost impossible to visualize the total effect which the acceptance of this axiom in the last sixty years has had upon the world. It has turned whole nations into armies, and industry and commerce into weapons of economic war. It has caused more bloodshed than ever religion or dynasties caused in an equal number of years, when gods and kings, rather than commerce, were the 'greatest of political interests'. It was the chief cause of the (First World) war which we have just been fighting, and which in Asia men already talk of as the first act in the passing of the civilization of Europe."

Economic imperialism succeeded colonial imperialism, and sprang from the industrial revolution. This revolution arose from the British seizure of India. "It is clear then that the 'industrial revolution', the foundation on which England's prosperity was built up, was made possible only by the influx of Indian treasure, and that but for this capital, not loaned but taken, and bearing no interest, the ascendency of the steam engine and mechanical appliances for mass

production might have remained unutilized. England's gain was India's loss -- a loss of treasure more than enough to starve her industries and retard the progress of agriculture. No country, however rich or resourceful, could bear such a drain unharmed."

I doubt if most people realise just what the control of the darker world by Christian Europe has meant during the last 400 years. William Howitt, in his book on "Colonisation and Christianity", published in 1838, has some statements worth quoting today. He is a devout Englishman, and says of our attempt to teach Christianity to the heathen:

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"If the reign of Satan, in fact, were come, -- if he were let loose with all his legions, to plague the earth for a thousand years, what would be the characteristics of his prevalence? Terrors and crimes; one wide pestilence of vice and obscenity; one fearful torrent of cruelty and wrath, deceit and oppression, vengeance and malignity, the passions of the strong would be inflamed -- the weak would cry and implore in vain!

"The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people that they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."

The historian Bryan Edwards says: "After reading these accounts, who can help forming an indignant wish that the hand of heaven, by some miraculous interposition, had swept these European tyrants from the face of the earth, who like so many beasts of prey, roamed round the world only to desolate and destroy; and more remorseless than the fiercest savage, thirsted for human blood without having the impulse of natural appetite to plead in their defence!"

What we had then in the 19th and 20th centuries were two contradictory conceptions of colonialism, colonial imperialism which conceived colonies as

political parts of large nations, destined sooner or later to come into full integration with the mother country; although this eventuality in the case of colored peoples was not expected to occur for centuries, if ever. Simultaneously there existed economic imperialism, which applied not only to colonies but to many countries regarded as politically independent, but which like colonies were under the control of imperial nations through capital in investment and centralized control of commerce, markets and prices. South America and the West Indies thus were subject to Europe and North America; and when India was freed politically, it remained in at least partial subjection to British and American capital.

36-9-4

At the opening of the 20th century, Great Britain and France, with America as junior partner, were in control of the chief colonial regions and quasi-colonial nations of the world, while Germany and Italy were seeking a larger share of ownership than they possessed.

Gradually in Europe then arose a deep rivalry among the haves and have nots in colonial wealth and power. The new Germany envied British and French colonial wealth, and Italy wanted her long-sought share in Africa. From this complicated greed arose the First World War, and the peoples of the darker colonies were called in to help, and gained their first recognition by the freeing of India. Thereupon many folk assumed that all colonies were approaching self-rule and that the era of colonial imperialism was rapidly coming to an end. The doctrine of race superiority began to be abandoned, and Viet Nam, Indonesia, British West Africa and West Indies began to agitate for increased independence.

But this movement and its philosophers did not realise the changing significance of colonialism in modern times. The inner reason had changed from Greek migration, Roman conquest and European transport of labor to modern political control, and control not for its own sake but for cheap labor and raw materials. These materials had become the foundation of European and North American wealth and comfort. Political control of colonies therefore would be surrendered by

the leading industrial nations only if they could retain their control of these priceless materials. This, which may be called economic imperialism, or investment colonialism, was succeeding the older colonial imperialism and its motive was not political rule but economic gain. Indeed, gain was always the object of colonies, but under colonial imperialism it was attained by political control; in the 20th century it could be made certain by investment under a world commerce and world control of prices and markets. Gain was vast and lay in control of land, labor and raw materials so necessary to European and North American industry and commerce. The political setup of a country was of minor importance compared with this economic control.

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There was great economic gain to be had in countries not technically colonies but which were under such domination by capital invested in them by the great imperial powers that political rule was not absolutely necessary for the vast profit to investments made in these nations. This profit could be used to prevent government interference or labor revolt. This was the situation in South America, Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Haiti; in Egypt, the Middle East, China and in most of Asia.

The vast profit pouring into the leading industrial and investing nations had greatly changed the problem of capital and labor there, which had developed what we call the Labor Movement, which concerned the division of income between employers and workers. Various plans for more just and rational division of national income were suggested and tried, most of them involving what was called vaguely "Socialism", but which toward the middle of the 19th century assumed the extreme form of "Communism" following a scientific formula proposed by Karl Marx.

The labor movement led to unions, strikes and higher wages, to much socialistic legislation, but to few attempts at a complete socialistic state. This was warded off and labor unrest lessened by the vast income from colonies. Here labor was cheap and land to be had for the taking. From the resultant high

profits the wages in European lands could be raised without lessening the current rate of profit. This, however, involved a series of wars in which the laboring class must take part by paying taxes and fighting against colonial peoples. Interest in home prosperity made the Europeans forget these colonial wars and the way in which they induced the home voters not only to support imperialism but to fight 200 wars between 1817 and 1917.

This period between 1817 and 1917 is often called a period of Peace. It was a period of comparative peace among European nations. Yet in this time there were fought 204 wars, chiefly for acquiring or retaining colonies and culminating in the First World War.

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After the First World War, therefore, the object of the leading nations which were in control of industry, commerce and the world market was to continue to control labor, raw materials and the world market in spite of nominal political independence in new nations like China and the peoples of South America.

Two catastrophes interrupted them: First the collapse of capitalism itself in the thirties, which was not caused by socialism but which caused socialism in Britain, Scandinavia, Germany and the United States; and which especially enabled revolution in Russia to establish the first actual modern attempt at a completely socialistic state. Sixteen nations, including the United States, flew to arms to overthrow this attempt, but failed because war expenditure forced them into bankruptcy, and they had to let Russia alone for ten years and more. Just as they were ready to return to the task and overthrow the new Soviet Union, a new threat arose in Germany and Italy, where depression was worst and where the capitalists united to form dictatorships which would unite their capitalists in the formation of a new world control of industry, labor and material; and which would displace the British and French empires and the rising new American economic imperialism. Italy

seized Ethiopia and threatened all North Africa; Germany proposed to dominate Europe as a stepping stone to Russia and all Asia.

It would have been logical for western Europe and America to unite with the Soviet Union against Germany and Italy and their plan of world control. But much as the West hated Fascism, they feared socialism more because it threatened to make impossible of realisation not only the Nazi scheme but their own plan for restored economic imperialism, based on industrial control of backward lands by investment and manipulation of world markets. They hesitated and compromised at Munich and then the Fascists, certain of the inaction of the West, seized France, came to an understanding with the Soviets, threatened England, and then turned to annihilate the Soviet Union before finally reducing Europe and the world to their control.

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The West, convinced that this could be accomplished, made a Soviet treaty which they had long refused, so at least to slow the process up, and at best to let the antagonists kill each other off. They gave weak and half-hearted help to the Soviets, stalled on a second front, and then attacked through North Africa so as to be sure of the exploitation of the Balkans and the life line to India in any event. Then, to the astonishment of the world, the Soviet Union smashed the mighty German Wehrmacht at Stalingrad.

What now would be the status of the colonial and quasi-colonial nations? Should the Soviet Union share control, or should the control of Western Europe and America be re-established? The Soviets not only had established a strong government in Russia, but spread their influence to the bordering states which western Europe had once seized for a vantage ground from which to reconquer Russia. The allies could offer no valid, logical or physical objection to this. Nor did the mass of inhabitants object. The bitter opposition came from Polish, Czechoslovakian and other Balkan officials and land holders who lost their wealth and power.

But when the communist influence began to spread south and east and west; and when it finally embraced China, Western colonial imperialism now led by the United States, turned toward planning world war against the Soviet Union and the East.

Let me now turn my attention to the proverbially "forgotten man" -- in this case the colonial and quasi-colonial nations: those nations, large and small, which during the 19th and early 20th centuries were dominated by western Europe and America. Quite apart from social theory, what do they think about the restoration of Anglo-Saxon control of the world? The recent relations of Europe and Asia form a shameful record. European trade was forced on China and Japan; The opium trade consumption was maintained by armed power in order to compel trade with English India; the Chinese were reduced to caste status in their own country so as to give whites a superior position. When the Chinese rebelled they were cowed by international invasion and calculated insult. They were compelled to import European goods and their customs supervised by Englishmen. Chinese treasure was stolen and Chinese industries dominated by foreign investors who reduced wages to starvation levels and allowed no labor revolt. China was marked for dismemberment by Europe and the actual decision delayed only by disagreement as to what nation should get which share. Gradually the United States began to surpass all nations by its investments and influence, and after the Second World War was set to annex China by investment control. Sun-Yat-Sen, who planned the revolution of 1912, had asked Russia for leadership. After his death in 1925, his lieutenant, Chiang-Kai-Chek, turned to America. We gave him arms and millions of funds. But he carried on so rotten a regime that the Chinese peasants took charge and established the new Communist Republic in 1949. Not the Soviet Union but the United States forced communism on China.

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India, led by Ghandhi and Nehru, gained political independence from Britain, but not until Britain had aroused religious fanaticism and retained so strong an

investment interest as to bind Indian capitalism closely with European interests. It will be a long struggle to raise national Indian loyalty above sectarian religion and to transfer political power from the foreign investor and native owner and employer to the working classes.

Africa is torn apart. In South Africa, the slave status remains, with whites possessing nearly all political power and most of the land, and with investment capital furnished from Europe and increasingly from the United States, holding black labor to wage slavery of the lowest type. Labor Unions are practically barred for blacks, education is limited and occupations restricted by color caste. Malan is set to make the Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa, the Protectorates, and if possible the Rhodesias, a region of white masters and disfranchised, impoverished, and largely illiterate black serfs, with some tribal solidarity. There is a small group of educated leaders. British West Africa is struggling with some success toward a political autonomy, but is bound by British and foreign capital with partnership of a few black employers, but with a land-holding peasantry and an incomplete educational system.

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Between these extremes is Egypt with a landed aristocracy, built on European capital, and ruling over a depressed and largely ignorant peasantry. It seeks also control over the eight millions of the Sudan where the English hsbr lsthr investment in cotton plantations and trade from Cape to Cairo, and have trained a small group of natives for administrative work, and where a strong labor movement has developed. In French Africa there is a small enfranchised and educated native elite allied with French capital, and a large exploited peasantry under European control and used as soldiers in Europe and Asia. In East Africa land monopoly and labor exploitation prevails in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Portugese Africa; and labor exploitation with native landholding in Uganda. In the Belgian Congo there is complete disfranchisement, labor

exploitation by British, Belgians and Americans, and land monopoly under Belgian control. There is only elementary education and admission to industrial skills, but without trade unions. Ethiopia politically is independent, under enlightened feudalism and with a growing educational system. Outside capital is crowding in but is not in control. Liberia is rapidly becoming an American investment colony under industrial control of the large corporations. There is only an incomplete system of education.

In the Middle East, European and American capital is bribing the feudal tyrants with millions for oil to make war so as to fasten their rule on ignorant, diseased and poverty-stricken peasants.

36-9-10

Glancing further east, we find desperate awakening in French Asia, stubbornly opposed by France and the United States; incomplete but increasing independence in Indonesia, shadowed by Dutch, British and American capitalism. British capital is fighting to maintain itself in Burma and Southeast Asia.

Turning to America, we find South America largely dominated by United States capital, except for revolt in the Argentine and some struggles elsewhere. American help supports dictators, fights union labor, and owns mines and oil. Mexico, Central America and the West Indies are in more or less open revolution against the power of western capital, losing and gaining as the tide of autonomy ebbs and flows. Conditions will grow more critical as time flies.

To represent this colonial world as Communistic is idiotic. Few of them have any knowledge or conception of Communism. They do have very clear and constant knowledge of what British and United States capital and industry propose to do to them in the future, and they are preparing as fast as possible to fight it. Here and not in the Soviet Union will come the fight for equality of the dark and white races. Nor are these people fooled by a Point Four which pretends by almsgiving to soften the pressure of labor and land exploitation. They know or soon

will learn that no western capital is going to turn philanthropic in its decrepitude, and surrender prospective sources of profit to peoples who have in the past furnished them wealth and power and whom they propose to keep at that job.

All these peoples the civilized world has long used not only for its support and luxury, but for its amusement and recreation; it has thrown them jokes and alms and regarded them as "half devil and half child". It would be wise and far-sighted if this attitude stopped and stopped quickly and permanently. Britain has long been hated by mankind, but today no nation on earth is so hated, feared and despised as the United States. We can deny this and try to laugh it off, but it is a serious fact and no world-wide propaganda seeking to make mankind hate Russia is going to divert the attention of a thousand million "darkies", "chinks", or "niggers" or postpone permanently the day of awful reckoning for America.

30-9-11

On the other hand, if Socialism succeeds in Europe and the Communism in the Soviet Union makes in the next generation the progress which it has in this, no power of propaganda, military force, or even of atom bomb will stop its spread over the world. It can only be halted if Britain and America evolve something stronger than military might to better the condition of mankind.

TO THE RECEPTION AT ST. CYPRIAN'S CHURCH, BOSTON, MAY 18, 1952

ON THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

I FIND THAT AUDIENCES ARE FOND OF ASKING SPEAKERS TO TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE, AND MOST SPEAKERS ARE ONLY TOO WILLING TO ACCEDE TO THIS REQUEST, SINCE THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE DANGER THAT THEIR PROPHESIES WOULD BE CONTRADICTED BY FACTS. USUALLY, HOWEVER, I AVOID THIS PROFERRED TEMPTATION, SINCE MY ATTEMPTS AT PROPHESIES IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY HAVE NOT BEEN CONSPICUOUSLY SUCCESSFUL. TODAY, THEREFORE, I AM NOT GOING TO TELL YOU WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE, BECAUSE I DO NOT KNOW. BUT I AM GOING TO EMPHASIZE CERTAIN PRESENT FACTS AND TENDENCIES OF WHICH I AM AFRAID YOU ARE NOT FULLY AWARE..

SOCIAL PROBLEMS CHANGE MORE OFTEN AND IN MORE WAYS THAN PHYSICAL PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF THE UNPREDICTABLE VARIATIONS IN HUMAN FEELINGS AND CHOICES. PROBABLY MOST OF THESE EMOTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ARE SUBJECT MORE OR LESS INDIRECTLY TO THE SAME PHYSICAL LAWS AS THOSE WHICH DOMINATE STICKS AND STONES. BUT THERE IS ENOUGH OF

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VOLITION TO MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR PERSONS WHO ARE STUDYING A HUMAN PROBLEM OR TRYING TO CONDUCT THEIR ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS PRESENT MANIFESTATIONS; TO MAKE THEM KEEP A WARY EYE ON CHANGES AND FACTS.

FOR INSTANCE, IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE YOUNG MANHOOD OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY. THERE WERE, OF COURSE, MINOR AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS OF OCCUPATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT THEY WERE ALL SUBJECTED TO THE MAIN PROBLEM OF HUMAN FREEDOM. THEN SUDDENLY, BETWEEN 1863 AND 1865 THE NEGRO PROBLEM BECAME A PROBLEM OF POLITICAL ENFRANCHISEMENT AND PARTY GOVERNMENT, WHICH RAPIDLY DESCENDED INTO RACE WAR, LEADING TO TEMPORARY ATTEMPTS TO GRAPPLE WITH PROBLEMS OF WORK AND EDUCATION; BUT FINALLY ENDING IN PRACTICAL DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO RACE IN 1876. FROM 1876 UNTIL OUR DAY, THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN PRIMARILY A STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE, CHANGING SLOWLY AND DEFINITELY TO A PROBLEM OF THE RIGHT TO WORK AND TO BE TRAINED FOR WORK AT ALL LEVELS; AND TO A STRUGGLE

FOR CIVIL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS.

MOST OF YOU, I THINK, ASSUME THAT THIS IS STILL THE NEGRO PROBLEM, BUT YOU MUST BE WARNED THAT IT IS NOT WHOLLY OR MAINLY THAT: AND THE REASON THAT IT IS NOT IS BECAUSE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES SPREADING OVER THE WHOLE WORLD. WHEREAS IN THE 18TH CENTURY THE WORLD THOUGHT THAT PROGRESS AND EMANCIPATION WAS COMING FROM POPULAR EDUCATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, WE NOW KNOW THAT MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THESE IMPORTANT RIGHTS IS THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD; THAT IS, THE WAY IN WHICH THE LABOR OF HUMAN BEINGS IS ORGANIZED TO SATISFY HUMAN NEEDS. THIS QUESTION IS SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT ALL OTHER QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL POWER, EDUCATION AND HUMAN HAPPINESS DEPEND UPON IT. THIS IS THE BASIC REASON FOR THE RISE OF SOCIAL REFORM, SOCIALISM, AND THE ATTEMPT AT COMPLETE REALIZATION OF SOCIALISM THROUGH COMMUNISM. IT IS IMMATERIAL WHETHER OR NOT YOU LIKE OR ACCEPT SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM -- THE ABSOLUTE COMPULSION OF YOUR FACING THE PROBLEM WHICH THEY TRY TO SOLVE IS INESCAPABLE.

26-9-155

WHILE I AM SURE MOST OF YOU REALIZE THIS WORLD WIDE CHANGE OF EMPHASIS, I DOUBT IF YOU SEE HOW THIS AFFECTS THE NEGRO PROBLEM, BECAUSE MOST AMERICAN NEGROES OF EDUCATION AND PROPERTY HAVE LONG SINCE OVER-SIMPLIFIED THEIR PROBLEM AND TRIED TO SEPARATE IT FROM ALL OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THEY CONCEIVE THAT THEIR FIGHT IS SIMPLY TO HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AS OTHER AMERICAN CITIZENS. THEY DO NOT FOR A MOMENT STOP TO QUESTION HOW FAR THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN AMERICA AFFECTS THEM, NOR DO THEY FOR A MOMENT CONCEIVE THAT THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA MAY HAVE FUNDAMENTAL INJUSTICES AND SHORTCOMINGS WHICH SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE WORLD.

JUST AS BOOKER WASHINGTON IN HIS DAY ASSUMED THAT AMERICAN IDEALS WERE COMPLETE AND RIGHT, AND THAT ALL WE HAD TO DO WAS TO FIGHT TO IMITATE AND ATTAIN THEM, SO TODAY WE ARE LARGELY QUITE SWEPT AWAY BY THE MIRACLES OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY, THE HUGE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH, AND THE CONSPICUOUS EXPENDITURE WHICH WE FIND ABOUT US. OUR IDEA OF HEAVEN IS TO BE RICH AND POWERFUL, TO MAKE THE KIND OF SHOW IN HOME, DRESS

AND AUTOMOBILES THAT IS SO POPULAR IN AMERICA, AND TO SUFFER, IN OUR EFFORT TO DO THESE THINGS, NO DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE OR COLOR.

THIS IS DANGEROUSLY SHORT-SIGHTED. WE AMERICAN NEGROES ARE PART OF THE WORKING FORCE OF THE WORLD. NOT ONLY DO WE REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS, BUT ALSO OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA AND OF THE OTHER AMERICAS. IN THIS RESPECT DO WE OCCUPY A STRATEGIC PLACE, IN THAT A LARGE AND GROWING SEGMENT HAVE ON THE WHOLE BETTER TRAINING THAN THE MASS OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS OUTSIDE OF EUROPE; AND SECONDLY BECAUSE WE ARE IN SUCH DIRECT TOUCH WITH THE WORLD' GREATEST INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION THAT WE CAN IMITATE ITS METHODS AND SHARE ITS GAINS.

WE MUST THEREFORE SEE OUR DUTY OF JOINING AND COOPERATING WITH THAT PART OF THE POPULATION WHICH IS GOING FORWARD TOWARD A BETTER ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, AND IN NOT YIELDING TO THE TEMPTATION OF JOINING OUR INTERESTS WITH THOSE WHO ARE USING THEIR POWER AND ADVANTAGES BY MAKING INDUSTRY SERVE THEIR OWN SELFISH INTERESTS AND DISTORTED IDEALS.

30-9-156

THIS THEN, IS THE SITUATION. YOU SEE ABOUT YOU AND ESPECIALLY IN AMERICA, THE RICH AND THE POOR; THE EMPLOYERS AND THE EMPLOYEES; THE PROFESSIONAL MEN AND THE LABORERS. IT HAS NATURALLY BEEN THE IDEAL OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHO WERE RISING IN THE WORLD TO BE COUNTED AMONG THE RICH, THE EMPLOYERS, AND THE PROFESSIONAL MEN; AND THEY HAVE MEASURED THEIR PROGRESS BY THE DEGREE WITH WHICH THEY SEPARATED THEMSELVES FROM THE POOR, THE EMPLOYEES, AND THE LABORERS. THIS, OF COURSE, HAS BEEN A WORLD-OLD PATTERN BUT TODAY WE SEE IT CHANGING, AND THE NEWER AND RISING IDEA IS THAT WORK FOR THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN NEEDS IS A SERVICE IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE MUST UNITE ACCORDING TO THEIR APTITUDES AND TRAINING; THAT THERE MUST COME INCREASING EQUALITY OF REWARD IN FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING; THAT THERE MUST BE THE WIDEST AND BEST EDUCATION TO FURNISH ABILITY FOR NECESSARY TASKS; AND THAT UNNECESSARY IDLENESS AND UNDUE LUXURY MUST BE ELIMINATED.

THIS IDEA HAS ALWAYS BEEN MORE OR LESS RECOGNIZED AMONG ALL PEOPLES, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY IN OUR DAY IT HAS GREATLY SPREAD AND CAN BE SEEN IN THE SOCIALISM OF BRITAIN,

AND SCANDINAVIA, AND IN THE INCREASED COMFORT AND WIDE EDUCATION IN AMERICA. NEVERTHELESS IT HAS BEEN FOUGHT BITTERLY, AND PERHAPS NEVER SO HARD AS TODAY. THE FACTS OF THIS BATTLE YOU MUST REALIZE, AND TAKE YOUR PLACE ACCORDINGLY, AND GUIDE YOUR CHILDREN IN CONFORMITY WITH THIS IDEAL. YOU MUST NOT BE DIVERTED FROM RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH BY APPEALS TO WAR AND HATRED OR EFFORTS OF DOMINATION OVER YOUR FELLOWMEN!

ESPECIALLY MUST YOU REFUSE TO BE DIVERTED OR DECEIVED BY LAWS AND DISTORTIONS CONCERNING THE SOVIET UNION. NOBODY, NOT EVEN THE RUSSIANS, PRETENDS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A PERFECT STATE, JUST AS BY NO FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION CAN WE CALL THE UNITED STATES PERFECT.

36-9-157

BUT IT IS AN INDISPUTABLE TRUTH, AND I CAN CONFIRM IT BY MY THREE VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION OVER A PERIOD OF A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, THAT THE ADVANCE IN INTELLIGENCE, WELL-BEING AND HEALTH MADE BY THE RUSSIAN PEASANT SINCE THE CZARIST REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN, HAS BEEN UNPARALLELED IN MODERN HISTORY. THAT SOVIET METHODS ARE APPLICABLE TO AMERICA IS NOT ASSERTED BY ANYONE THAT I KNOW, BUT THERE IS A DETERMINATION TO OBSCURE

THE FACTS BY DRIVING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE INTO BLIND HATRED AND FEAR OF RUSSIA, AND A DETERMINATION TO EITHER EXTERMINATE OR DOMINATE THEM, WHICH IS A SILLY, DANGEROUS IDEA, ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

THE WORLD-WIDE SPREAD OF EFFORTS TO RAISE THE WORKING CLASS DO NOT INCLUDE, AS YOU ARE OFTEN TOLD, REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE REWARDS FOR HARD WORK, DEPRIVING MEN OF JUSTLY EARNED WEALTH, OR COMPLETE DENIAL OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. IT DOES MEAN THAT PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENJOY WEALTH WHICH THEY DO NOT EARN, THAT PROPERTY IS A SOCIAL CONSIDERATION AND NOT A PRIVATE RIGHT, AND THAT WHEN A GROUP OF PEOPLE ENTER INTO AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHERE MOST OF THEM DO THE HARD WORK, A FEW DO THE THINKING, AND STILL FEWER ARE THE LEGAL OWNERS, THAT IT IS UNJUST AND NOT PERMISSIBLE THAT THERE SHOULD COME OUT OFTHIS PARTNERSHIP A MASS OF IGNORANT PAUPERS AND A FEW MILLIONAIRES.

I KNOW AND YOU KNOW NEGROES WHO TODAY ARE FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF WHITE PEOPLE IN EXACTLY THIS PATTERN OF LIFE. IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, A WELL-TO-DO

AND WELL EDUCATED NEGRO PHYSICIAN POINTED OUT TO ME THE TENEMENT HOUSES WHICH HE WAS RENTING TO POOR WORKERS AT HUGE PROFIT. IN ATLANTA I HAVE SEEN AN INSURANCE SOCIETY BOUGHT BY A NEGRO GROUP FROM WHITES, WHICH WAS CHEATING AND STEALING FROM THE WORKERS WITH EXACTLY THE SAME METHODS THAT THE WHITE COMPANY USED, AND PILING UP FORTUNES FOR YOUNG COLORED MEN. IN FACT, THE MORE WIDELY AND SUCCESSFULLY COLORED BUSINESS MEN FOLLOW THE METHODS OF WHITE BUSINESS MEN, THE MORE MANY OF US REGARD THEM AS UNUSUALLY SUCCESSFUL.

36-9-158

IN THE SAME WAY WE ARE FACED TODAY BY THE ASTONISHING SPECTACLE OF LEADING NEGRO PHYSICIANS OPPOSING SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, WHICH HAS PROVED SUCH A SUCCESS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA, AND WHICH WILL COME EVENTUALLY TO THE UNITED STATES, WHERE NO PEOPLE NEEDIT MORE THAN AMERICAN NEGROES.

ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECT AND MUST IN THE FUTURE MORE LARGELY THAN NOW, AFFECT WHAT WE CALL NOW THE NEGRO PROBLEM. AND ANY ASSESSMENT OF THE FUTURE ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM MUST TAKE THE MATTERS WHICH I HAVE EMPHASIZED INTO SERIOUS AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

Du Bois Parts of Speech of
St Cyprian
April 15

IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE YOUNG MANHOOD OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY. THERE WERE, OF COURSE, MINOR AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS OF OCCUPATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT THEY WERE ALL SUBJECTED TO THE MAIN PROBLEM OF HUMAN FREEDOM. THEN SUDDENLY, BETWEEN 1863 AND 1865 THE NEGRO PROBLEM BECAME A PROBLEM OF POLITICAL ENFRANCHISEMENT AND PARTY GOVERNMENT, WHICH RAPIDLY DESCENDED INTO RACE WAR, LEADING TO TEMPORARY ATTEMPTS TO GRAPPLE WITH PROBLEMS OF WORK AND EDUCATION; BUT FINALLY ENDING IN PRACTICAL DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO RACE IN 1876. FROM 1876 UNTIL OUR DAY, THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN PRIMARILY A STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE, CHANGING SLOWLY BUT DEFINITELY TO A PROBLEM OF THE RIGHT TO WORK AND TO BE TRAINED FOR WORK AT ALL LEVELS; AND TO A STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS.

35-10-77

MOST OF YOU, I THINK, ASSUME THAT THIS IS STILL THE NEGRO PROBLEM, BUT YOU MUST BE WARNED THAT IT IS NOT WHOLLY OR MAINLY THAT: AND THE REASON THAT IT IS NOT IS BECAUSE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES SPREADING OVER THE WHOLE WORLD. WHEREAS IN THE 18TH

CENTURY THE WORLD THOUGHT THAT PROGRESS AND EMANCIPATION WAS COMING FROM POPULAR EDUCATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, WE NOW KNOW THAT MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THESE IMPORTANT RIGHTS IS THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD; THAT IS, THE WAY IN WHICH THE LABOR OF HUMAN BEINGS IS ORGANIZED TO SATISFY HUMAN NEEDS. THIS QUESTION IS SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT ALL OTHER QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL POWER, EDUCATION AND HUMAN HAPPINESS DEPEND UPON IT. THIS IS THE BASIC REASON FOR THE RISE OF SOCIAL REFORM, SOCIALISM, AND THE ATTEMPT AT COMPLETE REALIZATION OF SOCIALISM THROUGH COMMUNISM. IT IS IMMATERIAL WHETHER OR NOT YOU LIKE OR ACCEPT SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM -- THE ABSOLUTE COMPULSION OF YOUR FACING THE PROBLEM WHICH THEY TRY TO SOLVE IS INESCAPABLE.

35-10-78

WHILE I AM SURE MOST OF YOU REALIZE THIS WORLD WIDE CHANGE OF EMPHASIS, I DOUBT IF YOU SEE HOW THIS AFFECTS THE NEGRO PROBLEM, BECAUSE MOST AMERICAN NEGROES OF EDUCATION AND PROPERTY HAVE LONG SINCE OVER-SIMPLIFIED THEIR PROBLEM AND TRIED TO SEPARATE IT FROM ALL OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THEY CONCEIVE THAT THEIR FIGHT IS SIMPLY TO HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AS OTHER AMERICAN CITIZENS. THEY DO NOT FOR

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35-10-79

JUST AS BOOKER WASHINGTON IN HIS DAY ASSUMED THAT AMERICAN IDEALS WERE COMPLETE AND RIGHT, AND THAT ALL WE HAD TO DO WAS TO FIGHT TO IMITATE AND ATTAIN THEM, SO TODAY WE ARE LARGELY QUITE SWEPT AWAY BY THE MIRACLES OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY, THE HUGE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH, AND THE CONSPICUOUS EXPENDITURE WHICH WE FIND ABOUT US. OUR IDEA OF HEAVEN IS TO BE RICH AND POWERFUL, TO MAKE THE KIND OF SHOW IN HOME, DRESS, AND AUTOMOBILES THAT IS SO POPULAR IN AMERICA, AND TO SUFFER, IN OUR EFFORT TO DO THESE THINGS, NO DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE OR COLOR.

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35-10-80

WE MUST THEREFORE SEE OUR DUTY OF JOINING AND COOPERATING WITH THAT PART OF THE POPULATION WHICH IS GOING FORWARD TOWARD A BETTER ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, AND IN NOT YIELDING TO THE TEMPTATION OF JOINING OUR INTERESTS WITH THOSE WHO ARE USING THEIR POWER AND ADVANTAGES BY MAKING INDUSTRY SERVE THEIR OWN SELFISH INTERESTS AND DISTORTED IDEALS.

THIS THEN, IS THE SITUATION. YOU SEE ABOUT YOU AND ESPECIALLY IN AMERICA, THE RICH AND THE POOR; THE EMPLOYERS AND THE EMPLOYEES; THE PROFESSIONAL MEN AND THE LABORERS. IT HAS NATURALLY BEEN THE IDEAL OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHO WERE RISING IN THE WORLD TO BE COUNTED AMONG THE RICH, THE EMPLOYERS, AND THE PROFESSIONAL MEN; AND THEY

HAVE MEASURED THEIR PROGRESS BY THE DEGREE WITH WHICH THEY SEPARATED THEMSELVES FROM THE POOR, THE EMPLOYEES, AND THE LABORERS. THIS, OF COURSE, HAS BEEN A WORLD-OLD PATTERN. BUT TODAY WE SEE IT CHANGING, AND THE NEWER AND RISING IDEALS THAT WORK FOR THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN NEEDS IS A SERVICE IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE MUST UNITE ACCORDING TO THEIR APTITUDES AND TRAINING; THAT THERE MUST COME INCREASING EQUALITY OF REWARD IN FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING; THAT THERE MUST BE THE WIDEST AND BEST EDUCATION TO FURNISH ABILITY FOR NECESSARY TASKS; AND THAT UNNECESSARY IDLENESS AND UNDUE LUXURY MUST BE ELIMINATED.

35-10-81

THIS IDEA HAS ALWAYS BEEN MORE OR LESS RECOGNIZED AMONG ALL PEOPLES, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY IN OUR DAY IT HAS [redacted] GREATLY SPREAD AND CAN BE SEEN IN THE SOCIALISM OF BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA, AND IN THE INCREASED COMFORT AND WIDE EDUCATION IN AMERICA. NEVERTHELESS IT HAS BEEN FOUGHT BITTERLY, AND PERHAPS NEVER SO HARD AS TODAY. THE FACTS OF THIS BATTLE YOU MUST REALIZE, AND TAKE YOUR PLACE ACCORDINGLY, AND GUIDE YOUR CHILDREN IN CONFORMITY WITH THIS IDEAL. YOU MUST NOT BE DIVERTED FROM RECOGNITION OF

THE TRUTH BY APPEALS TO WAR AND HATRED, OR EFFORTS OF DOMINATION OVER YOUR FELLOWMEN!

ESPECIALLY MUST YOU REFUSE TO BE DIVERTED OR DECEIVED BY LAWS AND DISTORTIONS CONCERNING THE SOVIET UNION. NOBODY, NOT EVEN THE RUSSIANS, PRETENDS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A PERFECT STATE, JUST AS BY NO FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION CAN WE CALL THE UNITED STATES PERFECT.

35-10-82

BUT IT IS AN INDISPUTABLE TRUTH, AND I CAN CONFIRM IT BY MY THREE VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION OVER A PERIOD OF A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, THAT THE ADVANCE IN INTELLIGENCE, WELL-BEING AND HEALTH MADE BY THE RUSSIAN PEASANT SINCE THE CZARIST REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN, HAS BEEN UNPARALLELED IN MODERN HISTORY. THAT SOVIET METHODS ARE APPLICABLE TO AMERICA IS NOT ASSERTED BY ANYONE THAT I KNOW, BUT THERE IS A DETERMINATION TO OBSCURE THE FACTS BY DRIVING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE INTO BLIND HATRED AND FEAR OF RUSSIA, AND A DETERMINATION TO EITHER EXTERMINATE OR DOMINATE THEM, WHICH IS A SILLY, DANGEROUS IDEA, ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

THE WORLD-WIDE SPREAD OF EFFORTS TO RAISE THE WORKING CLASS DO NOT INCLUDE,

AS YOU ARE OFTEN TOLD, REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE REWARDS FOR HARD WORK, DEPRIVING MEN OF JUSTLY EARNED WEALTH, OR COMPLETE DENIAL OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. IT DOES MEAN THAT PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENJOY WEALTH WHICH THEY DO NOT EARN, THAT PROPERTY IS A SOCIAL CONSIDERATION AND NOT A PRIVATE RIGHT, AND THAT WHEN A GROUP OF PEOPLE ENTER INTO AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHERE MOST OF THEM DO THE HARD WORK, A FEW DO THE THINKING, AND STILL FEWER ARE THE LEGAL OWNERS, THAT IT IS UNJUST AND NOT PERMISSIBLE THAT THERE SHOULD COME OUT OF THIS PARTNERSHIP A MASS OF IGNORANT PAUPERS AND A FEW MILLIONAIRES.

35-10-83

I KNOW AND YOU KNOW NEGROES WHO TODAY ARE FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF WHITE PEOPLE IN EXACTLY THIS PATTERN OF LIFE. IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, A WELL-TO-DO AND WELL EDUCATED NEGRO PHYSICIAN POINTED OUT TO ME THE TENEMENT HOUSES WHICH HE WAS RENTING TO POOR WORKERS AT HUGE PROFIT. IN ATLANTA I HAVE SEEN AN INSURANCE SOCIETY BOUGHT BY A NEGRO GROUP FROM WHITES, WHICH WAS CHEATING AND STEALING FROM THE WORKERS WITH EXACTLY THE SAME METHODS THAT THE WHITE COMPANY USED, AND PILING UP FORTUNES FOR YOUNG COLORED MEN. IN FACT, THE MORE WIDELY AND SUCCESSFULLY COLORED BUSINESS MEN

FOLLOW THE METHODS OF WHITE BUSINESS MEN, THE MORE MANY OF US REGARD THEM AS UNUSALLY SUCCESSFUL.

35-10-84

IN THE SAME WAY WE ARE FACED TODAY BY THE ASTONISHING SPECTACLE OF LEADING NEGRO PHYSICIANS, OPPOSING SOCIALIZED MEDICINE WHICH HAS PROVED SUCH A SUCCESS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA, AND WHICH WILL COME EVENTUALLY TO THE UNITED STATES, WHERE NO PEOPLE NEED IT MORE THAN AMERICAN NEGROES.

ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECT AND MUST IN THE FUTURE MORE LARGELY THAN NOW, AFFECT WHAT WE CALL NOW THE NEGRO PROBLEM. AND ANY ASSESSMENT OF THE FUTURE ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM MUST TAKE THE MATTERS WHICH I HAVE EMPHASIZED INTO SERIOUS AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

Applied May 27

36-9-138

THE NEGRO PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES

I AM GOING TO DISCUSS WITH YOU A SET OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS. I MEAN BY A SOCIAL PROBLEM A SERIES OF ACTIONS BY INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEINGS WHICH PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN UNDERSTANDING AND COORDINATION, IN QUESTIONS OF RIGHT AND WRONG AND OF HEALTH AND HAPPINESS FOR THE MASS OF MEN. SOME OF THESE ACTIONS ARE SO RELATED HISTORICALLY OR SO CLUSTERED AROUND CERTAIN PLACES AND INDIVIDUALS THAT THEY ARE NAMED AFTER THESE INDIVIDUALS OR PLACES OR INCIDENTS. THUS WE HAVE PROBLEMS OF FARM LIFE, PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, OR NEGRO PROBLEMS, WHICH ARE GROUPED ABOUT THE HISTORY AND CONDITION OF AMERICAN DESCENDENTS OF AFRICAN SLAVES. SUCH GROUPS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE BUT OVERLAP. NEGRO PROBLEMS ARE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION, AND PROBLEMS OF HEALTH ARE ALSO PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN WHITES. THE NAMING OF A PARTICULAR GROUP OF PROBLEMS DEPENDS ON YOUR CURRENT INTEREST OF STUDY AND NOT ON THE FACT THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE SEPARATE FROM OTHER GROUPS OF PROBLEMS.

TWO CONSIDERATIONS MUST PRECEDE ALL PROFITABLE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS: FIRST THE HISTORICAL APPROACH AND SECONDLY THE ECONOMIC ASPECT. OTHER ASPECTS MUST NOT BE

FORGOTTEN BUT IN OUR DAY IT IS THE HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC THAT ARE APT TO BE SLURRED OVER. ACTIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE NEVER JUST PRESENT EVENTS. THEY ALWAYS FORM PART OF A CONTINUOUS STRING OF OCCURRENCES, ALL INFLUENCING AND CONDITIONING THE OTHER. A SOCIAL PROBLEM LIKE THAT OF THE NEGRO THEREFORE CAN NEVER BE CONSIDERED SIMPLY IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION. IT MUST BE TREATED HISTORICALLY SO THAT ITS DEVELOPMENT MAY BE SENSED. SO TOO WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT MOST OF THE TIME OF MOST MEN IS SPENT IN EARNING A LIVING, AND MUCH OF THEIR THOUGHT AND DREAM GOES TO THIS. WHATEVER THEN THEY DO MUST NECESSARILY BE GREATLY, INDEED OVERPOWERINGLY INFLUENCED BY MATTERS OF WORK, WAGE AND INCOME. AND THIS ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SOCIAL ACTIONS AND PROBLEMS MUST NEVER BE LOST SIGHT OF. THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE IMPORTANT FOR IF WE FORGET, OR DO NOT KNOW THE PAST, AND MAKE JUDGMENTS ON THE PRESENT: OR IF WE ASSUME THAT PERSONS ARE USUALLY ASKING "IS THIS RIGHT OR WRONG" WHEN IN TRUTH THEY MORE USUALLY ASK "WHAT IS THERE TO EAT", OR "HOW SHALL MY SON'S TUITION BE PAID"; IF WE FORGET HISTORY AND ECONOMICS WE WILL NOT STUDY SOCIAL PROBLEMS INTELLIGENTLY. FOR INSTANCE: IN THE 15th AND EARLY 16TH CENTURIES THE AMOUNT OF LAND IN

EUROPE UPON WHICH CROPS COULD BE RAISED WAS LIMITED BY FERTILITY AND BY THE USE WHICH WAS BEING MADE OF MOST LAND. THE GREATEST EVENT OF THE LATE 15TH CENTURY WAS THE DISCOVERY OF LARGE, ALMOST UNLIMITED AMOUNTS OF FERTILE LAND. THE SPANIARDS, FRENCH, AND ENGLISHMEN WHO EXPLORED THIS LAND DID NOT AT FIRST THINK SO MUCH ABOUT FERTILITY. THEY THOUGHT OF TREASURE TROVE, OF FINDING GOLD AND SILVER AND OTHER VALUABLE GOODS. BUT AFTER A FEW DECADES EUROPEANS BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW WORLD LAY IN THE NEW LAND, AND THAT THERE HAD BEEN ADDED TO THE POSSIBLE WEALTH OF EUROPE LAND WHICH WOULD GREATLY INCREASE THAT WEALTH. THIS WAS A CHANGE, AND ON THE WHOLE A RATHER SUDDEN CHANGE, FROM THE FIRST IDEA THAT EXPLORATION WAS GOING TO BRING THE TREASURE AND CONSUMERS GOODS OF INDIA AND AFRICA NEARER TO EUROPE. AS SOON AS EUROPE BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT THE REAL TREASURE OF AMERICA WAS LAND AND AGRICULTURE EVEN MORE THAN MINING, THEN THERE CAME A DEMAND FOR PERSONS TO WORK ON THE LAND. EUROPE WAS USED TO HAVING THE LAND TILLED BY PERSONS WHO DID NOT OWN THE LAND BUT WHO WERE FARMERS UNDER A CONTRACT WHICH INCLUDED THEIR TOIL AND THEIR MILITARY SERVICE IN RETURN FOR FOOD AND SHELTER. THE

36-9-139

DIFFICULTY WITH THE NEW WORLD, HOWEVER, WAS THAT THE INHABITANTS WHICH EUROPEANS FOUND THERE WERE COMPARATIVELY SMALL IN NUMBER AND ORGANIZED PRIMARILY FOR HUNTING RATHER THAN AGRICULTURE, AND FOR CARRYING ON THEIR LIFE ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN NEEDS AND NOT ACCORDING TO THE IDEAS OF THE EUROPEAN NEWCOMERS. THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES BEING LARGELY ADVENTURERS RATHER THAN LABORERS, DID NOT WANT TO WORK. SOMETIMES THEY WERE MADE TO WORK, AS IN THE CASE OF GOVERNOR JOHN SMITH IN VIRGINIA, BUT THEIR FIRST EFFORT WAS, AS SEEMED NATURAL TO THEM, TO MAKE THE INDIANS WORK IN FINDING TREASURE, IN MINING, BUT MORE PARTICULARLY IN AGRICULTURE. THIS SCHEME DID NOT GO WELL BECAUSE THE INDIANS DID NOT KNOW EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE, DID NOT LIKE THE WORK OF RAISING CROPS AND SAW NO REASON WHY THEY SHOULD PERFORM FOR OTHER PEOPLE THE KIND OF LABOR WHICH THEY WERE NOT USED TO PERFORMING EVEN FOR THEMSELVES.

36-9-140

IT WAS EASY UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES TO TURN TO A NEW SOURCE OF LABOR, AND THAT NEW SOURCE OF LABOR HAD REASON, BECAUSE OF THE CLASH OF THREE RELIGIONS, CHRISTIANITY, MOHAMMEDIANISM, AND PRIMITIVE HEATHENISM IN NORTH AFRICA. CULTURAL CLASH BROUGHT WAR,

AND WARS BETWEEN THESE THREE RELIGIONS FURNISHED THROUGH CAPTIVES LABOR FOR THE MARKET, WHICH COULD BE TRANSPORTED. THE LABORERS CAPTURED IN WAR, WHITE, BLACK AND BROWN, EUROPEAN, ASIATIC, AND AFRICAN, WERE TRANSPORTED TO LOCALITIES WHERE THEY COULD BE USED AS SERVANTS, AS ARTISANS, AS BURDEN BEARERS. THERE WAS LARGE TRANSPORTATION OF LABOR IN WHAT WE CALL THE MIDDLE EAST, IN NORTHERN AFRICA, AND IN SOUTHERN EUROPE, AND ESPECIALLY IN NATIONS LIKE SPAIN, ITALY AND GREECE. THIS TRANSPORTATION OF LABOR, BEGINNING IN THE MIDDLE AGES, WAS MORE OR LESS A REGULAR ARTICLE OF COMMERCE EVEN BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, AND THEN GREATLY INCREASED BECAUSE THERE WAS NEW WORK FOUND FOR THEM TO DO, WHICH WASN'T SIMPLY THE SUPPLYING OF LUXURY OR PERSONAL SERVICE, BUT THE SUPPLYING OF THINGS WHICH LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WANTED: A CHEAP SWEETENING THAT DID NOT DEPEND SOLELY UPON BEES; CLOTHING WHICH WAS CHEAPER THAN THE WOOL OF SHEEP, AND OTHER FOODS AND ARTICLES IN INCREASING DEMAND.

HERE YOU HAD THE REASON AND THE BASIC REASON FOR THE TRANSFER OF LABOR FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW WORLD, AND PARTICULARLY FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA. THE WANTS OF LARGER

AND LARGER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE BECAME TO BE SATISFIED BY THE WORK OF LARGER AND LARGER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE FROM AFRICA. AND THEY CAME FROM AFRICA BECAUSE THERE AT THE TIME, THE 16TH CENTURY, THE AFRICAN LABOR MARKET WAS GLUTTED, AND THEY CAME TO AMERICA BECAUSE IN THE 16TH CENTURY AND 17TH CENTURY THERE ROSE IN AMERICA WHAT WE MIGHT CALL THE SUGAR EMPIRE, AND AFTERWARD WHAT WE DID CALL THE COTTON KINGDOM.

36-9-141

NOW OUT OF THAT JUXTAPOSITION OF WORKERS IN AMERICA AND CONSUMERS IN EUROPE THERE DEVELOPED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT 300 YEARS WHAT WE CALL TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEGRO PROBLEM, AND THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THAT PROBLEM ARE THESE: THAT AMONG THE 150 MILLION AMERICANS THERE ARE A LITTLE LESS THAN 1/10TH OR 15 MILLION WHO ARE DESCENDENTS FROM THESE AFRICAN SLAVES. AND BEING DESCENDENTS OF THESE PEOPLE THEY DIFFER MORE OR LESS IN PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND ESPECIALLY IN COLOR OF SKIN. THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT ABSOLUTE. SOME OF THEM DIFFER STARTLINGLY WITH THEIR VERY DARK BROWN SKINS AND CLOSE-CURLED HAIR, AND SOME BEING DESCENDENT NOT SIMPLY FROM NEGROES BUT FROM VARIOUS GROUPS OF WHITES, DIFFER LITTLE IN APPEARANCE.

NOW A DIFFERENCE IN PERSONAL APPEARANCE MAY ALWAYS BECOME REASON FOR DIFFERENCE OF TREATMENT, SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE UNUSUALNESS OF THE SITUATION. IF THERE IS NO OUTSTANDING PHYSICAL DIFFERENCE THERE MAY BE DIFFERENCES IN RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OR IN CULTURAL PATTERNS, WHICH MAY GIVE RISE TO DIFFERENCE OF TREATMENT AND VARIOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. BUT OF THESE DIFFERENCES, THAT OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE IS ALWAYS THE MOST STRIKING AND IS MOST APT TO LEAD TO THE MOST DRASTIC REACTIONS.

SO THAT HERE WE HAVE IN THE UNITED STATES SOME 15 MILLION PEOPLE WHO ARE, MORE OR LESS, DIFFERENT IN PHYSICAL APPEARANCE FROM THEIR FELLOWS, BUT WHO ALSO HAVE OTHER DIFFERENCES WHICH ARE APT TO BE THOUGHT OF AS NATURALLY CONNECTED WITH THEIR DARK SKINS. FOR INSTANCE, FOR THE MOST PART THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE CONSIDERABLY POORER THAN [redacted] WHITE PEOPLE; WHICH DOES NOT MEAN NECESSARILY THAT EVERY NEGRO IS POORER THAN EVERY WHITE MAN. QUITE THE CONTRARY. BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT IF YOU COME ACROSS A FAMILY OR A GROUP OR A LOCALITY WHERE THE PROPORTION OF PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT IS LARGE, THE CHANCES ARE THESE PEOPLE WILL BE POOR, THEIR INCOME WILL BE LOW,

AND IN A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF CASES INSUFFICIENT FOR THEIR PROPER SUPPORT. AND THE APPARENT REASON FOR THIS POVERTY WILL BE THAT THE SALARY, WAGE AND INCOME OF PERSONS OF THIS GROUP WILL BE LOWER THAN THAT OF PERSONS IN WHITE GROUPS. ALSO, AND IN ABOUT THE SAME PROPORTION, THERE WILL BE A LARGER AMOUNT OF IGNORANCE AND A GREATER PREVALENCE OF DISEASE, LEADING TO SHORTER LIVES, PARTICULARLY AMONG CHILDREN. NOW, WHENEVER THERE IS IN A COMMUNITY A GROUP OF POOR, IGNORANT AND DISEASED PEOPLE, EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF EXCEPTIONS INVOLVED, THE GENERAL TREATMENT MORE OR LESS UNCONSCIOUSLY RESERVED FOR THIS GROUP WILL BE DISTRUST AND DISCRIMINATION, USUALLY RESULTING IN SEGREGATION, WHICH WILL BEAR DOWN WITH ESPECIAL PRESSURE UPON THE PARTS OF THE COLORED GROUP WHICH ARE ON THE MARGIN, -- COLORED PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT POOR, WHO ARE NOT IGNORANT, WHO ARE HEALTHY.

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THE PRESSURE UPON THESE PEOPLE WILL BE SUCH THAT THEY WILL RESIST, AND THEIR RESISTENCE WILL BE LOOKED UPON BY MANY AS USELESS AND IRRATIONAL, AND AS AN EFFORT TO STRIVE AGAINST OBVIOUS FACTS. THEN LATER AS THE NUMBER OF THE SO-CALLED EXCEPTIONAL INCREASES,

THERE WILL BE A TENDENCY IN THE ENVIRONING GROUP TO PRESS LESS UNYIELDINGLY UPON THE IMPRISONED GROUP, AND YOU WILL HAVE WHAT IS COMMON TODAY: CERTAIN SO-CALLED STEPS IN SOLVING THE RACIAL PROBLEM -- AT LEAST ITS WORST MANIFESTATIONS WILL TEND TO ABATE BUT IT WILL NOT IMMEDIATELY DISAPPEAR.

THE RESULTING SITUATION TODAY WHICH WE CALL LOOSELY THE NEGRO PRESENT PROBLEM MAY BE OUTLINED LIKE THIS: AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, NO MATTER WHAT HIS EDUCATION, WEALTH OR CHARACTER, IF HE SHOWS HIS NEGRO DESCENT OR EVEN IF IT IS NOT APPARENT BUT KNOWN, WILL SUFFER SOME DISCRIMINATION ANYWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES. IF HE LIVES IN THE 16 FORMER SLAVE STATES THE DISCRIMINATION WILL BE A MATTER OF LAW AND HARSH CUSTOM. HE MUST BE LIMITED AS TO WHERE HE LIVES; HE MUST GO TO A NEGRO SCHOOL WHICH WILL BE A POOR SCHOOL; SEWAGE AND GARBAGE CONTROL WILL BE BAD IN HIS NEIGHBORHOOD, AND POLICE WILL BE SCARCE AND ARBITRARY; HE WILL PLAY ONLY WITH CHILDREN OF HIS OWN GROUP; HE WILL SELDOM BE ACCORDED TITLES OF RESPECT. EVEN IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL, BALTIMORE, NO COLORED PATIENT IS CALLED "MRS." A NEGRO OFTEN CANNOT VISIT PUBLIC

LIBRARIES, PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS, OR ONLY ON SPECIAL TERMS. USUALLY HE CANNOT RIDE IN PUBLIC ELEVATORS OR ONLY IN CERTAIN ONES; HE OCCUPIES SEPARATE CARS AND POORER ONES ON RAILWAY TRAINS AND SEPARATE SEATS IN STREET CARS; HE CANNOT EAT IN MOST RESTAURANTS OR STOP IN MOST HOTELS; HE IS STRICTLY LIMITED IN THE KINDS OF WORK HE IS ALLOWED TO DO, AND USUALLY RECEIVES LOWER WAGES THAN WHITES FOR THE SAME WORK; ONLY MARRIAGES TO PERSONS ARE LEGAL; HE IS DAILY CONFRONTED IN PUBLIC PLACES BY SIGNS BARRING HIS USE AND ENTRANCE; IF ARRESTED HE IS MORE FREQUENTLY HURT AND INSULTED AND IF CONVICTED HE IS PUNISHED MORE SEVERELY AND LONGER THAN WHITES. THERE IS MUCH OPEN INSULT, VIOLENCE, MURDER AND SOME LYNCHING. COLORED GIRLS AND WOMEN ARE LIABLE TO INSULT, AND IT IS SELDOM THAT A WHITE MAN IS ARRESTED FOR RAPING ONE. MOST NEGROES DO NOT VOTE OR HOLD EVEN MINOR OFFICES IN THE SOUTH.

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IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES THERE IS LESS DISCRIMINATION THAN IS HERE INDICATED AND LESS RIGOROUS CASTE SYSTEM. IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN STATES NEGROES VOTE AND HOLD SOME OFFICES. USUALLY, BUT NOT ALWAYS, THEIR CHILDREN ARE NOT SEGREGATED IN

SCHOOL. BUT ALMOST EVERYWHERE IN THIS NATION THERE IS DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, CIVIC ACCOMMODATIONS, AVAILABLE WORK AND EQUAL WAGE, AND IN PUBLIC CONSIDERATION AND RESPECT.

KNOWN NEGRO DESCENT EVEN WHEN LEGAL IS MADE UNCOMFORTABLE OR WORSE; AND EVEN IN PLACES LIKE SCHOOLS WHERE NEGROES ARE ADMITTED THE TREATMENT BY THEIR FELLOWS OFTEN DRIVES THEM AWAY.

THIS IS THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THIS NATION. MOST AMERICANS FORGET IT ENTIRELY OR PAY LITTLE ATTENTION TO IT. THEY ARE SURPRISED WHEN IT IS BROUGHT TO THEIR ATTENTION AND OFTEN ALMOST DENY IT. THEY BOAST THAT THE UNITED STATES IS A FREE COUNTRY AND THAT IT FOLLOWS THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS CHRIST AND THE GOLDEN RULE. THEY ASSERT STOUTLY THAT NEGROES THEMSELVES DO NOT NOTICE ANYTHING WRONG OR UNJUST. WHEN THEY FIND THIS UNTRUE THEY RESENT SUCH NEGROES AND GET ANGRY. IF ASKED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS SITUATION THEY ARE SURE NOTHING CAN BE DONE.

NOW ALL THIS IS NOTHING NEW TO YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU, BUT WHAT IS MORE OR LESS UNCONSCIOUSLY CONCEALED IS THE PROCESS AND THE REASONS BY WHICH A DEMAND AND A NATURAL DEMAND FOR LABOR BECOMES IN TIME TRANSFORMED INTO A BITTER RACE PROBLEM, AND A RACE PROBLEM SO TENSE THAT IT CAUSES CIVIL WAR, THAT IT RESULTS IN CASTE AND SEGREGATION, AND THAT IT MAKES IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE ORDINARY PERSON OF GOODWILL TO LIVE AT PEACE

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IN HIS OWN NATION AND IN HIS OWN COMMUNITY. WHAT THEN WAS IT THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN THE FIRST IMPORTATION OF SLAVES AND THE DAY WHEN NEGRO STUDENTS, WITH SOME HESITATION AND DOUBT, WERE ADMITTED TO ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE? THAT OF COURSE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF OUR INQUIRY.

FIRST OF ALL YOU MUST REALIZE THAT JUST AS YOU HESITATE AT SOME OF THE SORTS OF TREATMENT THAT ARE GIVEN AMERICAN NEGROES, JUST SO THERE WERE FROM THE BEGINNING PEOPLE WHO HESITATED AT THE IMPORTATION AND USE OF NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. AND FOR THAT REASON THEY TURNED TO A NUMBER OF EXCUSES, SOME OF WHICH ARE QUITE FORGOTTEN. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SLAVE TRADE WHICH THE ENGLISH PARTICULARLY PUSHED ACROSS THE ATLANTIC BECAUSE THEY WERE VIRTUALLY MASTERS OF THE SEA, THERE WAS A FEELING THAT IT WAS NOT ALTOGETHER AN EXHIBITION OF THE HIGHEST FORM OF CHRISTIANITY TO SEIZE BY DECEIT OR FORCE A BLACK FAMILY IN WEST AFRICA AND TAKE IT TO THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA AND PUT IT TO WORK. BUT THERE WERE PERSONS WHO POINTED OUT THAT AFTER ALL, THIS MIGHT BE A VERY GREAT SERVICE TO THE WORLD, IN THAT PEOPLE WHO WERE HEATHEN WERE BROUGHT INTO A SITUATION

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WHERE THEY HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME CHRISTIANS, AND THAT THE REAL THOUGHT BEHIND SLAVERY WAS CONVERTING THE HEATHEN TO CHRISTIANITY. CHURCHMEN, MISSIONARIES, AND LEGISLATORS TURNED RATHER EAGERLY TO THIS EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY, FORGETTING MEANTIME THAT THIS EXCUSE WAS NOT REAL, THAT THE SLAVES WERE WANTED FOR WORK, BUT THAT IF THE OBTAINING OF LABOR WAS FORTUNATELY CROWNED WITH THE TRANSFER OF THE SOULS OF THE LABORERS, SO MUCH THE BETTER. HOWEVER, WHEN GREAT ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE ENGLISH SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AND SOME OF THE BROTHERHOODS, HEADS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, AND MISSIONARIES FROM THE NEW METHODIST AND BAPTIST SECTS, TOOK THIS EXCUSE LITERALLY AND TRIED TO ARGUE THAT SLAVERY BEING FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN, AS SOON AS THE HEATHEN SLAVE WAS CONVERTED HE SHOULD BE SET FREE, THAT WAS GOING TOO FAR, BECAUSE IT MEANT THAT THE NEW LABORERS FOR THE LAND OF THE NEW WORLD WERE EITHER GOING TO RETURN HOME OR WORK FOR THEMSELVES. CERTAINLY THEY WERE NOT GOING TO BUILD UP THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS OR LATER THE COTTON PLATATIONS, SO THAT THIS EXCUSE FOR THE ENSLAVING BLACKS WAS QUIETLY IN THE LAPSE OF YEARS SET ASIDE, AND THERE CAME IN ITS PLACE A NEW EXCUSE,

BUT A NEW EXCUSE WHICH WAS CONTEMPORARY WITH A NEW EFFICIENCY OF BLACK LABOR. THE LABORERS HAD BEEN BROUGHT IN UNTIL THEY COVERED WHAT WE CALL THE WEST INDIES ISLANDS, A CONSIDERABLE PART OF SOUTH AMERICA, A LARGE PART OF CENTRAL AMERICA, AND FINALLY, A LARGE PART OF SOUTHERN UNITED STATES.

NOW IN THE WEST INDIES THEIR WORK WAS CONCENTRATED UPON SUGAR CANE, AND PRETTY SOON ISLANDS LIKE HAITI BEGAN TO POUR INTO EUROPE AN AMOUNT OF SWEETENING IN THE SHAPE OF SYRUP AND SUGAR SUCH AS EUROPE HAD NEVER KNOWN. NOT SIMPLY THE RICH, BUT THE MIDDLE CLASS AND EVEN SOME OF THE POOR COULD AFFORD SWEETENING FOR THEIR FOOD, AND THE DEMAND FOR IT WAS TREMENDOUS. THOSE WHO OWNED THE LABOR AND THE LAND IN THE WEST INDIES BECAME FABULOUSLY RICH. COUNTRIES LIKE FRANCE AND SPAIN WERE REGARDED WITH THE GREATEST ENVY, BECAUSE ALONG WITH THE SUGAR OTHER THINGS LIKE DYE STUFFS AND FIBERS WERE RAISED, AND THE SOURCE OF FUTURE WEALTH, SO FAR AS EUROPE OF THE 18TH CENTURY WAS CONCERNED, SEEMED TO LIE IN THE BLACK LABOR USED IN THE WEST INDIES

NATURALLY THERE WAS NO USE TALKING TO THE MEN WHO OWNED THIS LAND AND LABOR

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ABOUT CONVERTING THE HEATHEN. NO MATTER HOW LOUDLY THE HEATHENS MIGHT EMBRACE RELIGION, THEY STILL HAD TO REMAIN SLAVES, OTHERWISE THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD WOULD BE OVERTHROWN, AND AS I HAVE EMPHASIZED BEFORE, IT IS THIS ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION THAT IS FUNDAMENTAL SO LONG AS MEN SPEND MOST OF THEIR TIME IN MAKING A LIVING.

BUT IT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF HUMAN BEINGS THAT THEY MUST EXCUSE THEIR ACTIONS. THEY MUST TRY TO FIND ETHICAL SANCTIONS FOR WHAT THEY WANT TO DO. FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW THIS IS COMMENDABLE BECAUSE IT SHOWS THAT MOST HUMAN BEINGS DO NOT WANT DELIBERATELY TO DO WRONG AND BRING HARM UPON OTHERS. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS PERHAPS SOMEWHAT TOO EASY TO FIND EXCUSES FOR WHAT YOU WANT TO DO, AND THIS CERTAINLY WAS TRUE IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURIES WITH REGARD TO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

ABOUT THE TIME THAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THIS NATION WERE SITTING IN PHILADELPHIA PLANNING REVOLUTION AND A FREE COUNTRY, A FEW PERSONS FRANKLY REMINDED THEM THAT IF THEY GLANCED OUT THE WINDOW EVERY FIFTH PERSON THEY SAW WAS A SLAVE, AND THAT

THIS DID NOT COMPORT SO WELL WITH THEIR LOFTY AIMS. SO FIRST THEY CUT OUT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SOME HARSH WORDS AGAINST THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR SENDING SLAVES, AND THEN ADMITTED SLAVERY MUST EVENTUALLY GO, BUT NOT IMMEDIATELY IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LABOR MARKET. AND THEN SOME WHISPERED: "STOP THE SLAVE TRADE; THE NEGROES ALREADY HERE BEING SICKLY WILL SOON DIE OUT AND THUS SLAVERY WILL DISAPPEAR." THE DIFFICULTY WAS THAT THE NEGROES DID NOT DIE OUT BUT BECAME INCREASINGLY VALUABLE IN RAISING COTTON IN THE FERTILE SOUTHWEST.

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THE ROLE OF NEGROES AS SLAVES WAS SHOWN IN LITTLE WAYS AND COMPARATIVELY UNIMPORTANT. MEN STOPPED USING THE CAPITAL LETTER WHEN THEY TALKED ABOUT NEGROES. THEY STOPPED INVITING NEGROES TO JOIN CERTAIN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS, BECAUSE THEY SAID "WE ARE DEALING HERE NOT WITH ORDINARY HUMAN BEINGS IN THE SAME SENSE THAT ENGLISHMEN, FRENCHMEN, AND DUTCHMEN ARE HUMAN BEINGS." "AS A MATTER OF FACT," MEN BEGAN TO SAY, "THERE ARE, AS WE ALL ARE AWARE, DIFFERENT KINDS OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND THESE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT ONLY INDIVIDUAL BUT RACIAL. THEY APPLY TO GROUPS IN THE WORLD. IF

YOU LOOK CAREFULLY YOU WILL FIND SOME GROUPS WHO ARE NATURALLY INTELLIGENT AND HEALTHY AND MORAL, AND YOU WILL FIND OTHER GROUPS WHO TEND TO SINK DOWN TOWARDS DISEASE, IGNORANCE AND IMMORALITY. NOW THIS IS UNFORTUNATE, NEVERTHELESS IT IS TRUE, AND THERE IS NO USE DENYING IT." AND ALSO, LATER, MEN SAID, "THE LOWER RACES AND DREGS OF MANKIND OUGHT TO BE MADE USEFUL BY THE SERVICE WHICH THEY RENDER VOLUNTARILY OR UNDER COMPULSION FOR THE WELL BEING OF THE MASTERS OF MEN". SO THAT THE ROLE OF THE ARISTOCRACY OF EUROPE OVER THE SERFS, JUST AS IT WAS DISAPPEARING, WAS VERY EASILY TRANSLATED INTO THE ROLE OF WHITE AMERICANS OVER BLACK AMERICANS AND MANY PERSONS WENT SO FAR AS TO POINT OUT WHERE SLAVERY AS BEING ONE OF THE MOST BENEFICENT OF MODERN ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTS.

CURIOUSLY ENOUGH THIS CAME TO BE A WIDELY ACCEPTED PHILOSOPHY OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM AT JUST ABOUT THE TIME, SAY 1820, WHEN THE COTTON KINGDOM BECAME A VERY PROFITABLE FIELD OF INDUSTRY, BOTH FOR RAISING FIBRE AND WEAVING AND SELLING CLOTH. THE COTTON KINGDOM, LIKE SO MANY ECONOMIC EXPEDIENTS, HAD RISEN AS MEN BEGAN TO NOTICE AND USE THE VEGETABLE FIBER OF THE COTTON PLANT; AND THEN WHEN THEY FOUND WAYS OF EASILY SEPARATING

THE FIBER FROM THE SEED, AND IN ADDITION TO THAT FOUND MORE AND MORE CUNNING WAYS OF TWISTING THIS FIBER INTO THREAD AND WEAVING IT INTO CLOTH. THE SPREAD OF THE USE OF COTTON CLOTH IS ONE OF THE GREAT PHENOMENA OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. THE WORLD TURNED FROM BEING CLOTHED IN SILK AND WOOL AND CONSEQUENTLY FOR THE MOST PART IN RAGS, TO CLOTHING THEMSELVES IN COTTON CLOTH. THAT MEANT THAT AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THE SUPREMACY OF SUGAR RAISING WAS GREATEST IN THE WORLD AND ITS SPREAD TO NEW FIELDS WAS TENDING TO UNDERMINE SOME OF THE OLDER SLAVE PLANTATIONS, THAT A NEW ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION DEPENDING UPON BLACK SLAVE LABOR BEGAN TO RISE IN SOUTHERN UNITED STATES.

AS I POINTED OUT, AT THE SAME TIME AND QUITE NATURALLY THERE AROSE THE EXCUSE FOR IT. SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH WAS A METHOD OF GETTING THE BEST SERVICE OUT OF MANKIND ACCORDING TO THEIR GIFTS. HERE AGAIN, HOWEVER, THERE WERE THOSE WHO FELT THE PINCH AND REPRESSION OF THIS ECONOMIC PHILOSPHY. THERE WERE AND HAD BEEN FROM EARLY DAYS BLACK MEN OF ABILITY AND NOTE IN THE WORLD. THE LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES IS FILLED WITH STORIES OF THEIR PROWESS. THE BLACK CIVILIZATION IN THE SUDAN WAS FOR A TIME QUITE

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EQUAL TO THAT OF EUROPE, AND MUTUAL INFORMATION AND VISITS WERE WIDELY ENTERTAINED. THE PHENOMENA OF THE SLAVE TRADE WAS NOT A MATTER OF SUPERIOR AND INFERIOR BREEDS OF MEN. IT WAS A MATTER OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITION AMONG CERTAIN GROUPS OF MEN AND WAS NOT IN THE BEGINNING CONFINED TO ANY ONE RACE.

BUT WHILE THE SERFS OF EUROPE CAME TO BE PROTECTED BY ORGANIZED RELIGION, THE MILITARY STATE, AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 18TH CENTURY IT WAS STILL NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO SEIZE AND TRANSPORT WHITE LABOR TO AMERICA. NEVERTHELESS BLACK LABOR IN AFRICA WAS CHEAPER. SO BLACK AND WHITE SERFDOM IN AMERICA SOON BECAME BLACK SLAVERY. ON THIS THE SUGAR AND COTTON INDUSTRY FLOURISHED UNTIL IN THE 19TH CENTURY YOU HAD A PHILOSOPHY OF RACE DIFFERENCES UPON WHICH THE SLAVE SYSTEM WAS FOUNDED.

THIS BECAME WHAT WAS PROBABLY THE MOST DIFFICULT SET OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS WITH WHICH AMERICA HAS BEEN FACED. THERE WAS FIERCE BELIEF AND DISBELIEF, SO THAT THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1850 TO 1880 WAS THE HISTORY OF THE ATTITUDE OF THIS PEOPLE

TOWARD BLACK FOLK AND THEIR FUTURE, WITH INCREASING WEALTH DEPENDENT ON CONTINUED SLAVERY. THE FEELING BECAME SO FIERCE THAT IT LED TO CIVIL STRIFE. THE NATION SAW BROTHERS MURDER BROTHERS, AND RELIGIOUS SECTS HATE EACH OTHER. THERE WAS, AS THE WORLD HAS SO OFTEN SEEN, THAT TERRIBLE HARVEST OF BLOOD, DEATH AND SUFFERING CALLED WAR.

THE FIGHTING, OF COURSE, IN ITSELF SETTLED NOTHING. THE SAME BLACK FOLK, THE SAME WHITE FOLK, WERE THERE AFTERWARD, SAVE THE DEAD. THE SAME PEOPLE HAD TO COOPERATE IN PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION. BUT IN LOOKING FORWARD TO A LIVABLE FUTURE CERTAIN PEOPLE FACED WHAT SEEMED TO THEM AN ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION. THE SOUTHERNER BEING BROUGHT UP TO BELIEVE THAT THE NEGRO WAS NOT ENTIRELY HUMAN COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF A FUTURE IN WHICH HE WAS TREATED AS HUMAN. THE NORTHERNER BROUGHT UP TO LOOK UPON THE NEGRO AS A PROFITABLE INSTRUMENT FOR THE MAKING OF WEALTH WAS NOT DISPOSED TO THINK OF HIM AS HAVING A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT; AND THE NEGRO HAVING WON HIS RIGHT TO FREEDOM WAS DISPOSED TO USE IT AFTER HE HAD WON IT.

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THIS PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IS APT TO BE FORGOTTEN. SOME OF

YOU MUST BE PUZZLED AT STORIES OF THE CIVIL WAR. THERE IS, FOR INSTANCE, NO DOUBT BUT THAT THE SOUTHERN WHITES OUTFOUGHT THE NORTHERN WHITES, NOT BY INHERENT FACILITY IN FIGHTING, BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE MORE OF THEM WERE TRAINED AS SOLDIERS AND WERE MORE USED TO PHYSICAL FORCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS. THE SOUTHERN WHITES OUTFOUGHT THE NORTHERNERS BECAUSE THE NORTHERNERS DID NOT WANT TO FIGHT AND HAD NOT BEEN TRAINED TO FIGHT. THEY WERE MOSTLY WORKERS. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS A PECULIAR SITUATION IN THE SOUTH. BLACK WORKERS WERE SUPPORTING WHITE SOLDIERS. EVERYONE KNEW THAT THE MOMENT THEY STOPPED SUPPORTING THE WHITE SOLDIERS THE SOUTHERN ARMIES WOULD HAVE TO STOP FIGHTING BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO EAT. BUT THE SOUTH HAD LONG BEEN PERSUADED THAT NEGROES COULD NOT FIGHT, THAT THEY WERE HAPPIER AS SLAVES THAN THEY COULD BE AS FREEMEN, AND THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE SOLDIERS THAT WERE FIGHTING FOR THEIR SLAVERY. THIS PROVED NOT TO BE TRUE. AT THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE NORTHERN SOLDIERS THE SOUTHERN SLAVES RAN AWAY WHENEVER THEY COULD INTO THE UNION LINES. AT FIRST THE NORTH TRIED TO RETURN THE

RUNAWAY SLAVES, AND THEN THEY COMPLAINED THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH THEM: THEN FINALLY TO THEIR OWN SURPRISE, THEY PUT ARMS IN THE HANDS OF THE NEGROES AND 200,000 OF THEM IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR BECAME SOLDIERS FIGHTING AGAINST SLAVERY, AND 300,000 BECAME LABORERS HELPING UNION ARMIES.

NOR WAS THAT ALL. IT WAS SIMPLY A MATTER OF TIME WHEN THE NORTHERN ARMIES WOULD HAVE MORE BLACK SOLDIERS. THEY COULD ENLIST A MILLION BLACKS AND THESE NEGROES WOULD FIGHT, AS THEY DID. THAT IS WHY A BLACK REGIMENT LED THE UNION ARMY INTO RICHMOND: IT WAS THEN THAT THE CIVIL WAR ENDED. THERE WAS ONLY ONE POSSIBLE END TO THE WAR AND THAT WAS FREEING OF THE SLAVES. FOR A BRIEF MOMENT THE SOUTH ITSELF TRIED TO SEE IF THEY COULD NOT GET THEIR SLAVES TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN SLAVERY, BUT THIS THOUGHT WAS NONSENSE EVEN FROM THE BEGINNING. LEE, WHOSE OWN IDEA THIS WAS, GAVE UP THE IDEA AND SURRENDERED.

NOW CAME THE REAL DIFFICULTY. WHAT WAS TO BE DONE WITH THESE FREED

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MEN? [illegible] THERE WAS BUT ONE THING TO DO AND THAT WAS TO INCORPORATE THE FREED MEN INTO THE BODY POLITIC, GIVE THEM THE VOTE, AND REORGANIZE THE NATION ON A BASIS OF REAL DEMOCRACY SUCH AS THE FOUNDING FATHERS CONTEMPLATED. FOR THIS, OF COURSE, FREE LAND AND EDUCATION WAS INDISPENSABLE. BUT THE FORMER SLAVE HOLDERS AND THE NON-

SLAVE HOLDERS WHO HAD BEEN TAUGHT BY THE SLAVE PHILOSOPHY WERE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH DEMOCRACY COULD ARISE OR CONTINUE TO EXIST. THEY WERE NOT GOING TO ARGUE ABOUT IT. ON THE VERY FACE OF IT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. NOT ONLY WERE THEY PERSUADED BUT THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES REALLY AGREED WITH THEM. THEY HAD NO IDEA WHEN THEY BEGAN THE CIVIL WAR THAT THE END OF IT WAS GOING TO BE EMANCIPATION. SO IT WAS NOT DIFFICULT IN THE FACE OF THE FACT THAT MOST NEGROES WERE STILL POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK, TO PERSUADE THE RICH INDUSTRIAL NORTH AND THE CONQUERED IMPOVERISHED SOUTH TO COME TOGETHER IN AN UNDERSTANDING, AND THAT UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT IN SPITE OF THE LETTER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AS NEWLY WRITTEN, NEGROES WERE TO BE DISFRANCHISED AND KEPT ON WORK UNDER THE COLOR CASTE SYSTEM, WHILE THERE WAS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE DEMOCRACY AMONG THE WHITE VOTERS.

IT WAS JUST THERE OF COURSE THAT THE MORAL DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WE FIND PERSISTING UNTO THIS DAY. THE CHEATING AND STEALING AND MISREPRESENTATION

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WHICH IS NOW GOING ON IN THIS COUNTRY BEGAN IN THE DAYS OF RECONSTRUCTION WHEN THE NATION NORTH AND SOUTH TRIED TO CHEAT THE NEGRO OUT OF HIS LEGAL VOTE, TO DEPRIVE HIM OF A DECENT INCOME, AND TO GIVE HIM AS SMALL A SURPLUS AS POSSIBLE TO SPEND FOR EDUCATION AND HEALTH. IT WAS A NATION-WIDE EFFORT WHICH MEANT MORAL DISASTER.

IT HAS BEEN THE ORGANIZATION OF NEGROES WITHIN THEIR OWN RANKS WHICH HAS ON THE OTHER HAND DONE MOST TO RESTORE THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY TO THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED BECAUSE CURIOUSLY ENOUGH WITH ALL OF WHAT WE ARE SAYING THE AVERAGE WHITE AMERICAN DOES NOT QUITE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE IN LETTING THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DECIDE AS TO JUST WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO AND WHO SHOULD BE CHOSEN TO CARRY OUT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

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IN THIS ELECTION WHICH IS PENDING, WE ARE HAMPERED IN THE FIRST PLACE BY THE VERY FACT THAT OUR CONSTITUTION DOES NOT PERMIT A DIRECT CHOICE OF THE PRESIDENT WITH HIS TREMENDOUS POWER. THIS PROVISO WENT INTO THE CONSTITUTION IN THE DAYS OF SLAVERY AND WAS AN EXPRESSION OF THE DISTRUST WHICH THE RICH HAD FOR THE POOR. WHEN IN THE REIGN

OF ANDREW JACKSON THIS ARISTOCRACY OF PROPERTY WAS PARTLY OVERTHROWN, IN ITS PLACE CAME THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE SLAVE OWNER WHO NOT ONLY HAD A MONOPOLY OF RICH LAND IN THE SOUTH BUT ALSO AN UNUSUAL AMOUNT OF POLITICAL POWER BASED ON THE VERY SLAVES WHICH HE OWNED.

IN OUR DAY, THEREFORE, WE HAVE DIFFICULTY NOT ONLY IN SELECTING REPRESENTATIVES WHO SPEAK FOR US, BUT IN GETTING AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE FOR THE POLICIES WHICH WE WANT, BECAUSE THESE POLICIES ARE DICTATED BY THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH DIRECTS THE POLICIES OF THE NATION. AND THEY DIRECT THESE POLICIES AGAIN BECAUSE OUR ATTENTION IS NOT TURNED TOWARD THE MATTER OF WORK AND WAGE AND INCOME. IT IS TURNED, PARTICULARLY TODAY, TO AN ENTIRELY EXTRANEOUS MATTER, AND THAT IS THE METHOD IN WHICH A VAST AND GROWING COUNTRY OVER SEAS IS ADOPTING IN ORDER TO CARRY ON ITS GOVERNMENT AND ITS IDEALS OF WORK AND WEALTH. IT MAY WELL BE THAT YONDER COUNTRY IS WRONG AND WE ARE RIGHT, BUT THAT IS ABSOLUTELY NO EXCUSE FOR US NOT TO BE ATTENDING TO OUR BUSINESS AT LEAST LONG ENOUGH TO DEVELOP HERE THAT IDEAL OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT UPON WHICH THE UNITED STATES ONCE TRIED TO FOUND ITSELF. THAT WE ARE NOT DOING. WE, ON THE CONTRARY, ARE SPENDING THE

LARGEST PART OF OUR INCOME, THAT IS, OF THE RESULT OF OUR WORK AND SACRIFICE, FOR DESTRUCTION, INSTEAD OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPING FOR SATISFYING THE WANTS OF OURPEOPLE.

WHAT IS IT, FOR INSTANCE, THAT WE NEED TODAY? ABOVE ALL WE NEED TO EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE SO THAT ASPECTS OF THE TRUTH SUCH AS I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO PUT BEFORE YOU COULD BE COMMONLY LAID BEFORE THE MASS OF YOUNG AMERICANS, SO THAT THEY COME TO KNOW WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE PAST AND WHAT MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE. BUT IN ADDITION TO THAT, THEY SHOULD HAVE A VERY CLEAR CONCEPTION THAT WORK AND EFFORT ARE FOR THE SATISFACTION OF THE WANTS OF MEN, NOT MERELY FOR SATISFYING THE WANTS OF A FEW MEN OR A CERTAIN RACE, BUT OF ALL MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, BECAUSE THEY ARE JOINT INHERITORS OF THE BOUNTY OF NATURE; AND THAT IF THE RESULT OF THE INDUSTRY OF A COUNTRY IS TO MAKE A FEW MEN RICH AND MOST MEN POOR, THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG ABOUT THAT ORGANIZATION AND IT OUGHT TO BE CHANGED. AND THAT INSOFAR AS ONE SET OF PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE NEGRO PROBLEM IS ALLOWED TO DIVERT ATTENTION AND BECOME A PUZZLING AND INSOLUBLE PROBLEM OF HUMAN ACTION, WHEN AS A MATTER OF FACT IT IS OF MUCH LESS IMPORTANCE THAN THE GREATER QUESTIONS

36-9-153

OF WORK AND WAGE, THEN WE ARE ALLOWING OURSELVES TODAY TO BE FOOLED, JUST AS PEOPLE DID IN THE PAST WHEN THEY THOUGHT THAT SELLING BLACK SLAVES WAS WORKING FOR THE GLORY OF GOD!

Testimonial

June 11 1952

I AM GOING TO READ TO YOU /A SKETCH/WRITTEN JUST AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR// MY SEVEREST CRITIC/ON HEARING IT/FOR THE FIRST/LAST NIGHT// EXPRESSED NO GREAT ETHUSIASM.//SHE SAID/AMONG OTHER THINGS,/ WHAT DOES IT MEAN.// I SAID THAT I WAS NOT SURE.// I WAS NOT SURE IN 1919/WHEN I WROTE IT// I AM EVEN LESS SURE NOW.//ALL I KNOW /IS THAT IT HAS NO LOGICAL CONNECTION/WITH THIS OCCASION/AND FOR THAT VERY REASON/PERHAPS SHOULD BE THE MORE WELCOME.//ANOTHER COMMENDATION IS/THAT IT IS SHORT// SO HERE IT IS/AND IT IS CALLED /

THE PRINCESS OF THE HITHER ISLES

46-9-38

HER SOUL WAS BEAUTIFUL,/ WHEREFORE SHE KEPT IT VEILED/ IN LIGHTLY-LACED HUMILITY AND FEAR,/ OUT OF WHICH PEERED ANXIOUSLY/AND ANON/THE WHITE AND BLUE/AND PALE-GOLD OF HER FACE,/-- BEAUTIFUL AS DAYBREAK/OR AS THE LAUGHING OF A CHILD.// SHE SAT/IN THE HITHER ISLES,/WELL-WALLED BETWEEN/THE THIS AND NOW,/ UPON A LOW AND SILVER THRONE, /AND LEANED UPON ITS ARMPOSTS,/ SADLY LOOKING UPWARD/TOWARD THE SUN.// NOW THE HITHER ISLES/ARE FLAT AND COLD AND SWAMPY,/ WITH DREAR-DRAB LIGHT/AND ALL MANNER/OF SLIMY, CREEPING THINGS,//AND PILES OF DIRT/AND CLOUDS OF FLYING DUST/AND SORDID SCRAPING/AND FEEDING AND NOISE.

SHE HATED THEM/AND EVER AS HER HANDS/AND BUSY FEET/SWEPT BACK THE DUST AND SLIME/HER SOUL SAT SILVER-THRONED,/STARING TOWARD THE GREAT HILL/TO THE WESTWARD,/ WHICH SHONE SO BRILLIANT-GOLDEN/BENEATH THE SUNLIGHT/AND ABOVE THE SEA.

THE SEA MOANED/AND WITH IT MOANED/THE PRINCESS' SOUL,/FOR SHE WAS LONELY, -- VERY, VERY LONELY.// AND FULL WEARY OF THE MONOTONE OF LIFE.//SO SHE WAS GLAD/TO SEE A MOVING/ IN YONDER KINGDOM/ON THE MOUNTAINSIDE,/WHERE THE SUN SHONE WARM,//AND WHEN THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM,/ SILKEN IN ROBE/AND GOLDEN-CROWNED/AND WARDED BY HIS HOUND,

WAS GLAD: SHE WAS TO MARRY HIM

WALKED DOWN/ALONG THE RESTLESS WATERS/AND SAT BESIDE THE ARMPOST/OF HER THRONE,/ SHE BUT SHE WONDERED/WHY SHE COULD NOT LOVE HIM/AND FLY HAPPILY ~~WITH HIM~~/UP THE SHINING MOUNTAIN'S SIDE,/ OUT OF THE DIRT AND DUST/THAT NESTED BETWEEN/THE THIS AND NOW.//SHE LOOKED AT HIM AND TRIED TO BE HAPPY/ FOR HE WAS BONNY/AND GOOD TO LOOK UPON.//THIS KING OF YONDER KINGDOM,/-- TALL AND STRAIGHT,/THIN-LIPPED ~~AND WHITE~~ AND TAWNY.//SO, AGAIN,/THIS LAST DAY,/SHE STROVE TO BURN LIFE/INTO HIS SINGULARLY SODDEN CLAY, -- TO PUT HIS ICY SOUL AFLAME/WHEREWITH TO WARM HER OWN,//AND SET HIS SENSES SINGING.//VACANTLY HE HEARD/HER WINGED WORDS,/ STARING AND CURLING/HIS LONG MUSTACHES/WITH VAST THOUGHTFULNESS.// THEN HE SAID:

"WE'VE FOUND MORE GOLD/IN YONDER KINGDOM."

"HELL SEIZE YOUR GOLD!"/BLURTED THE PRINCESS.

"NO, --IT'S MINE,"/HE MAINTAINED STOLIDLY." I MUST NOT WASTE IT."

SHE RAISED HER EYES.// "IT BELONGS,"/SHE SAID,/"TO THE EMPIRE OF THE SUN."

"NAY,/-- THE SUN BELONGS TO US,"/SAID THE KING CALMLY/AS HE GLANCED TO

WHERE YONDER KINGDOM/ BLUSHED ABOVE THE SEA.// SHE GLANCED, TOO,/ AND A SOFTNESS CREPT INTO HER EYES./ For she knew/that blush was/BUT AN ECHO

"NO, NO," SHE MURMURED/AS WITH HESITATING PAUSE/SHE RAISED HER EYES ABOVE THE SEA/ ABOVE THE HILL/ UP INTO THE SKY/WHERE THE SUN HUNG/SILENT AND SPLENDID.// ITS ROBES WERE HEAVEN'S BLUE,/ LINED AND BROIDERED/IN LIVING FLAME.//AND ITS CROWN WAS ONE VAST JEWEL/ GLISTENING IN GLITTERING GLORY/THAT MADE THE SUN'S OWN FACE/A BLACKNESS,-- THE BLACKNESS OF UTTER LIGHT.// WITH BLINDED,/TEAR-FILLED EYES/SHE PEERED INTO THAT FORMLESS/BLACK AND BURNING FACE/AND SENSED IN ITS SOFT/ SAD GLEAM/UNFATHOMED UNDER-STANDING.// WITH SUDDEN, WILD ABANDON/SHE STRETCHED HER ARMS/TOWARD IT/APPEALING,/ BE-SEECHING,/ ENTREATING, AND LO! ———

"NIGGERS, CHINKS AND DAGOES,"/SAID THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM,/ GLANCING CARELESSLY BACKWARD/AND LIGHTING IN HIS LIPS/A CAREFULLY ROLLED WISP/OF FRAGRANT TOBACCO// SHE LOOKED BACK, TOO,/ BUT IN HALF-WONDERING TERROR/ FOR IT SEEMED -- / FORWARD AND BACK SHE LOOKE

A BEGGAR MAN/WAS CREEPING ACROSS THE SWAMP,/SHUFFLING THROUGH THE DIRT/AND

H6-9-41

SLIME.// HE WAS CROOKED AND BLACK,/ ROUGH-CLOTHED,/ SODDEN WITH DIRT, AND BENT WITH TOIL.// YET WITHAL/SOMETHING SHE SENSED ABOUT HIM,/AND IT SEEMED// SHE HAD SEEN HIM BEFORE//IT SEEMED// THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM/LOUNGED MORE COMFORTABLY/BESIDE THE SILVER THRONE/AND LET CURL A TINY TRAIL/ OF LIGHT-BLUE SMOKE.

"I HATE BEGGARS,"/HE SAID,/"ESPECIALLY YELLOW BROWN AND BLACK ONES."/ AND HE THEN POINTED/AT THE BEGGAR'S RETINUE/AND LAUGHED,/-- AN UNPLEASANT LAUGH,/ WELDED OF CONTEMPT AND AMUSEMENT.// THE PRINCESS LOOKED/AND SHRANK BACK ON HER THRONE.// HE, THE BEGGARMAN, WAS/-- WAS WHAT? / BUT HIS RETINUE,/-- THAT SQUALID, SORDID,/ PARTI-COLORED BAND/OF VACANT, DULL-FACED/FILTH AND VICIOUSNESS /- WAS WRITHING OVER THE LAND,/ AND HE AND THEY/SEEMED ALMOST CROUCHING/UNDERNEATH THE SCORPION LASH/OF ONE TALL SKELETON, THAT LOOKED LIKE DEATH,/ AND THE TWISTED WOMAN/WHOM MEN CALLED PAIN.//YET THEY ALL WALKED AS ONE.// HE WAS THE ONE.

H6-9-42

THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM LAUGHED, BUT THE PRINCESS SHRANK FURTHER BACK ON HER THRONE./ ~~AND~~

AND THE KING/ON SEEING HER THUS/TOOK A GOLD-PIECE/FROM OUT OF HIS PURSE/AND TOSSED IT CARELESSLY/TO THE PASSING THRONG.// SHE WATCHED IT/WITH FASCINATED EYES,/-- HOW IT ROSE AND SAILED/AND WHIRLED AND STRUGGLED/IN THE AIR.//THEN SEEMED TO BURST,/ AND UPWARD FLEW ITS LIGHT AND SHEEN/AND DOWNWARD DROPPED ITS ~~DROSS~~ DIRT.// SHE GLANCED IN WONDER AT THE KING,/ BUT HE WAS LIGHTING A MATCH./ SHE WATCHED THE DROSS/WALLOW IN THE SLIME.//BUT THE ~~SUN~~LIGHT FELL DOWN ON THE BACK/OF THE BEGGAR'S NECK,/ AND HE TURNED HIS HEAD.

THE BEGGAR PASSING AFAR/TURNED HIS HEAD//AND THE PRINCESS/STRAIGHTENED ON HER THRONE.// HE TURNED HIS HEAD/AND SHE SHIVERED FORWARD/ON HER SILVER SEAT;// HE LOOKED UPON HER FULL/AND SLOW AND SUDDENLY/SHE SAW WITHIN/THAT FORMLESS BLACK/AND BURNING FACE/ THE SAME SOFT,/ GLAD GLEAM/OF UTTER UNDERSTANDING,/ SEEN SO MANY TIMES BEFORE.//SHE SAW THE SUFFERING/OF ENDLESS YEARS/~~AND ENDLESS LOVE~~/THAT SOFTENED IT.// SHE SAW THE BURNING PASSION OF THE SUN/YET AND WITH IT/THE COLD, UNBENDING DUTY-DEEDS/OF UPPER AIR.// ALL SHE HAD SEEN/AND DREAMED OF SEEING/IN THE RISING, BLAZING SUN/SHE SAW NOW AGAIN,/AND WITH IT MYRIADS MORE/OF HUMAN TENDERNESS,/OF LONGING, AND OF LOVE.//SO THEN, SHE KNEW, AND

4-6-43

ROSE AS TO A DREAM COME TRUE,/ WITH SOLEMN FACE/AND WAITING EYES.

WITH HER ROSE/THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM,/ ALMOST EAGERLY.

"YOU'LL COME?" HE CRIED./ "YOU'LL COME AND SEE MY GOLD?"/ THEN IN SUDDEN GENEROSITY,/ HE ADDED: "YOU'LL HAVE A GOLDEN THRONE,/--UP THERE--/ WHEN WE MARRY."

BUT SHE,/ LOOKING UP AND ON/WITH RADIANT FACE/AND UNHEARING,/ ANSWERED SOFTLY:

"I COME."// SO DOWN AND UP AND ON/THEY MOUNTED,// -- THE BLACK BEGGAR MAN/AND HIS CAVALCADE/OF DEATH AND PAIN,/ AND THEN A SPACE;/AND THEN A LONE,/ BLACK HOUND,/ RED-EYED, THAT NOSED/AND WHIMPERED AS HE RAN//AND THEN A SPACE; AND THEN/THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM/ IN HIS CROWN AND ROBES/AND HIS SHINING SWORD/ AND THEN A SPACE;/AND LAST THE PRINCESS OF THE HITHER ISLES/ WITH FACE SET SUNWARD/AND LOVELIGHT IN HER EYES.

4-6-43

AND SO THEY MARCHED AND STRUGGLED ON/AND UP/THROUGH ENDLESS YEARS AND SPACES/ AND EVER/THE BLACK BEGGAR/LOOKED BACK/PAST DEATH AND PAIN/TOWARD THE MAID//AND EVER THE MAID/STROVE FORWARD WITH LOVELIT EYES.// BUT EVER/THE GREAT AND SILKEN SHOULDERS/OF THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM/AROSE BETWEEN THE PRINCESS/AND THE SUN/LIKE A CLOUD OF

STORMS.

NOW, FINALLY, THEY NEARED UNTO THE HILLSIDE'S TOPMOST SHOULDER AND THERE MOST EAGERLY THE KING BENT TO THE BOWELS OF THE EARTH AND BARED ITS GOLDEN ENTRAILS, -- ALL GREEN AND GRAY AND RUSTED // - WHILE THE PRINCESS STRAINED PITIFUL EYES ALOFT TO WHERE THE BEGGAR, SET 'TWIXT DEATH AND PAIN, WHIRLED HIS CROOKED BACK AGAINST THE GLORY OF THE SETTING SUN // AND STOOD SOMBER IN GRAVE MAJESTY, ENHALOED AND TRANSFIGURED, OUTSTRETCHING HIS LONG ARMS. // AND AROUND ALL HEAVEN GLITTERED JEWELS IN A CLOTH OF GOLD, FOR HIS BLACK FACE WAS THE SUN ITSELF.

A WHILE THE PRINCESS STOOD AND MOANED IN MAD AMAZE, THEN WITH ONE WILFUL WRENCH SHE BARED HER BREAST AND SNATCHING FORTH HER OWN RED HEART HELD IT WITH ONE HAND ALOFT WHILE WITH THE OTHER SHE GATHERED CLOSE HER ROBE AND POISED HERSELF.

THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM LOOKED UPWARD QUICKLY, CURIOUSLY, STILL FINGERING THE EARTH, AND SAW THE OFFER OF HER BLEEDING HEART.

"IT'S A NEGRO!" HE GROWLED DARKLY; "It MAY NOT BE."

4-6-45

THE WOMAN QUIVERED.

"IT'S A NIGGER!" HE REPEATED FIERCELY. "IT'S NEITHER GOD NOR MAN, BUT A NIGGER!"

THE PRINCESS STEPPED FORWARD.

THE KING GRIPPED HIS SWORD AND LOOKED NORTH AND EAST // HE RAISED HIS SWORD AND LOOKED SOUTH AND WEST.

"I SEEK THE SUN," THE PRINCESS SANG, AND STARTED INTO THE WEST.

"NEVER!" CRIED THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM. "FOR SUCH WERE BLASPHEMY AND DEFILEMENT AND THE MAKING OF ALL EVIL."

SO, RAISING HIS GREAT SWORD HE STRUCK WITH ALL HIS MIGHT, AND MORE // DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND BIT THAT LITTLE, HEART-HOLDING HAND UNTIL IT FLEW ARMLESS AND DISBODIED UP THROUGH THE SUNLIT AIR. // DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND CLOVE THE WHIMPERING HOUND UNTIL HIS LAST SHRIEK SHOOK THE STARS. // DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND IT RENT

4-6-45

THE EARTH.// THE EARTH SHUDDERED,/ FELL APART,/ AND YAWNED TO A CHASM/SPLITTING EARTH FROM HEAVEN,/ LEAVING A HOLE DEEP AS HELL,/ AND EMPTY, COLD, AND SILENT.

ON YONDER DISTANT SHORE/BLAZED THE EMPIRE OF THE SUN/ WARM IN BLISSFUL RADIANCE.// WHILE ON THIS SIDE,/ IN SHADOWS COLD AND DARK/ GLOOMED THE HILL THAT ONCE WAS GOLDEN,/ BUT NOW WAS GREEN AND SLIMY DROSS.// ALL BELOW/AROUND IT/HOWLS THE SAD AND MOANING SEA.// WHILE BETWEEN THE HERE AND THERE/FLEW THE SEVERED HAND/AND DRIPPED THE BLEEDING HEART.// AND DRIPPED THE HANDLESS ARM.

THEN UP FROM THE SOUL/OF THE PRINCESS/WELLED A CRY OF BLANK DESPAIR,/ -- SUCH A CRY/AS ONLY BABE-RAPED/MOTHERS KNOW/AND MURDERED LOVES.// POISED ON THE CRUMBLING EDGE OF THAT GREAT NOTHINGNESS/THE PRINCESS HUNG,/ HUNGERING WITH HER EYES/AND STRAINING WITH FAINTING EARS/AGAINST THE AWFUL SPLENDOR/OF THE SKY.

OUT FROM THE SLIME AND SHADOWS/GROPED THE KING,/ THUNDERING:// "BACK -- DON'T BE A FOOL!"

BUT DOWN THROUGH THE THIN ETHER/THRILLED THE THROBBING WARMTH/OF

46-9-44

HEAVEN'S SUN,/ WHISPERING "LEAP!"// CRYING " LEAP!"// PLEADING "LEAP!"

AND THE PRINCESS LEAPT.

46-9-48

June 1/52 Testimonial

36-9-117

HER SOUL WAS BEAUTIFUL, WHEREFORE SHE KEPT IT VEILED IN TIGHTLY-LACED HUMILITY AND FEAR, OUT OF WHICH PEERED ANXIOUSLY AND ANON THE WHITE AND BLUE AND PALE-GOLD OF HER FACE, -- BEAUTIFUL AS DAYBREAK OR AS THE LAUGHING OF A CHILD. SHE SAT IN THE HITHER ISLES, WELL WALLED BETWEEN THE THIS AND NOW, UPON A LOW AND SILVER THRONE, AND LEANED UPON ITS ARMPOSTS, SADLY LOOKING UPWARD TOWARD THE SUN. NOW THE HITHER ISLES ARE FLAT AND COLD AND SWAMPY, WITH DREAR-DRAB LIGHT AND ALL MANNER OF SLIMY, CREEPING THINGS, AND PILES OF DIRT AND CLOUDS OF FLYING DUST AND SORDID SCRAPING AND FEEDING AND NOISE.

SHE HATED THEM AND EVER AS HER HANDS AND BUSY FEET SWEPT BACK THE DUST AND SLIME HER SOUL SAT SILVER-THRONED, STARING TOWARD THE GREAT HILL TO THE WESTWARD, WHICH SHONE SO BRILLIANT-GOLDEN BENEATH THE SUNLIGHT AND ABOVE THE SEA.

THE SEA MOANED AND WITH IT MOANED THE PRINCESS' SOUL, FOR SHE WAS LONELY, -- VERY, VERY LONELY, AND FULL WEARY OF THE MONOTONE OF LIFE. SO SHE WAS GLAD TO SEE A MOVING IN YONDER KINGDOM ON THE MOUNTAINSIDE, WHERE THE SUN SHONE WARM, AND WHEN THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM, SILKEN IN ROBE AND GOLDEN-CROWNED AND WARDED BY HIS HOUND,

WALKED DOWN ALONG THE RESTLESS WATERS AND SAT BESIDE THE ARMPOST OF HER THRONE, SHE WONDERED WHY SHE COULD NOT LOVE HIM AND FLY WITH HIM UP THE SHINING MOUNTAIN'S SIDE, OUT OF THE DIRT AND DUST THAT NESTED BETWEEN THE THIS AND NOW. SHE LOOKED AT HIM AND TRIED TO BE GLAD, FOR HE WAS BONNY AND GOOD TO LOOK UPON, THIS KING OF YONDER KINGDOM, -- TALL AND STRAIGHT, THIN-LIPPED AND WHITE AND TAWNY. SO, AGAIN, THIS LAST DAY, SHE STROVE TO BURN LIFE INTO HIS SINGULARLY SODDEN CLAY, -- TO PUT HIS ICY SOUL AFLAME WHEREWITH TO WARM HER OWN, TO SET HIS SENSES SINGING. VACANTLY HE HEARD HER WINGED WORDS, STARING AND CURLING HIS LONG MUSTACHES WITH VAST THOUGHTFULNESS. THEN HE SAID:

"WE'VE FOUND MORE GOLD IN YONDER KINGDOM."

"HELL SEIZE YOUR GOLD!" BLURTED THE PRINCESS.

"NO, --IT'S MINE," HE MAINTAINED STOLIDLY.

SHE RAISED HER EYES. "IT BELONGS," SHE SAID, "TO THE EMPIRE OF THE SUN."

"NAY, -- THE SUN BELONGS TO US," SAID THE KING CALMLY AS HE GLANCED TO

WHERE YONDER KINGDOM BLUSHED ABOVE THE SEA. SHE GLANCED, TOO, AND A SOFTNESS CREPT INTO HER EYES.

"NO, NO," SHE MURMURED AS WITH HESITATING PAUSE SHE RAISED HER EYES ABOVE THE SEA, ABOVE THE HILL, UP INTO THE SKY WHERE THE SUN HUNG SILENT AND SPLENDID. ITS ROBES WERE HEAVEN'S BLUE, LINED AND BROIDERED IN LIVING FLAME, AND ITS CROWN WAS ONE VAST JEWEL, GLISTENING IN GLITTERING GLORY THAT MADE THE SUN'S OWN FACE A BLACKNESS,-- THE BLACKNESS OF UTTER LIGHT. WITH BLINDED, TEAR-FILLED EYES SHE PEERED INTO THAT FIRMLESS BLACK AND BURNING FACE AND SENSED IN ITS SOFT, SAD GLEAM UNFATHOMED UNDERSTANDING. WITH SUDDEN, WILD ABANDON SHE STRETCHED HER ARMS TOWARD IT APPEALING, BESEECHING, ENTREATING, AND LO!

"NIGGERS AND DAGOES," SAID THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM, GLANCING CARELESSLY BACKWARD AND LIGHTING IN HIS LIPS A CAREFULLY ROLLED WISP OF FRAGRANT TOBACCO. SHE LOOKED BACK, TOO, BUT IN HALF-WONDERING TERROR, FOR IT SEEMED --

A BEGGAR MAN WAS CREEPING ACROSS THE SWAMP, SHUFFLING THROUGH THE DIRT AND

36-9-118

SLIME. HE WAS LITTLE AND BALD AND BLACK, ROUGH-CLOTHED, SODDEN WITH DIRT, AND BENT WITH TOIL. YET WITHAL SOMETHING SHE SENSED ABOUT HIM AND IT SEEMED, --

THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM LOUNGED MORE COMFORTABLY BESIDE THE SILVER THRONE AND LET CURL A TINY TRAIL OF LIGHT-BLUE SMOKE.

"I HATE BEGGARS," HE SAID, "ESPECIALLY BROWN AND BLACK ONES." AND HE THEN POINTED AT THE BEGGAR'S RETINUE AND LAUGHED, -- AN UNPLEASANT LAUGH, WELDED OF CONTEMPT AND AMUSEMENT. THE PRINCESS LOOKED AND SHRANK ON HER THRONE. HE, THE BEGGAR MAN, WAS -- WAS WHAT? BUT HIS RETINUE, -- THAT SQUALID, SORDID, PARTI-COLORED BAND OF VACANT, DULL-FACED FILTH AND VICIOUSNESS-- WAS WRITHING OVER THE LAND, AND HE AND THEY SEEMED ALMOST CROUCHING UNDERNEATH THE SCORPION LASH OF ONE TALL SKELETON, THAT LOOKED LIKE DEATH, AND THE TWISTED WOMEN WHOM MEN CALLED PAIN. YET THEY ALL WALKED AS ONE.

THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM LAUGHED, BUT THE PRINCESS SHRANK ON HER THRONE,

AND THE KING ON SEEING HER THUS TOOK A GOLD-PIECE FROM OUT OF HIS PURSE AND TOSSED IT CARELESSLY TO THE PASSING THRONG. SHE WATCHED IT WITH FASCINATED EYES, -- HOW IT ROSE AND SAILED AND WHIRLED AND STRUGGLED IN THE AIR, THEN SEEMED TO BURST, AND UPWARD FLEW ITS LIGHT AND SHEEN AND DOWNWARD DROPPED ITS DROSS. SHE GLANCED AT THE KING, BUT HE WAS LIGHTING A MATCH. SHE WATCHED THE DROSS WALLOW IN THE SLIME, BUT THE SUNLIGHT FELL ON THE BACK OF THE BEGGAR'S NECK, AND HE TURNED HIS HEAD.

THE BEGGAR PASSING AFAR TURNED HIS HEAD AND THE PRINCESS STRAIGHTENED ON HER THRONE; HE TURNED HIS HEAD AND SHE SHIVERED FORWARD ON HER SILVER SEAT; HE LOOKED UPON HER FULL AND SLOW AND SUDDENLY SHE SAW WITHIN THAT FORMLESS BLACK AND BURNING FACE THE SAME SOFT, GLAD GLEAM OF UTTER UNDERSTANDING, SEEN SO MANY TIMES BEFORE, SHE SAW THE SUFFERING OF ENDLESS YEARS AND ENDLESS LOVE THAT SOFTENED IT. SHE SAW THE BURNING PASSION OF THE SUN AND WITH IT THE COLD, UNBENDING DUTY-DEEDS OF UPPER AIR. ALL SHE HAD SEEN AND DREAMED OF SEEING IN THE RISING, BLAZING SUN SHE SAW NOW AGAIN AND WITH IT MYRIADS MORE OF HUMAN TENDERNESS, OF LONGING, AND OF LOVE. SO THEN, SHE KNEW.

36-9-119

SHE ROSE AS TO A DREAM COME TRUE, WITH SOLEMN FACE AND WAITING EYES.

WITH HER ROSE THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM, ALMOST EAGERLY.

"YOU'LL COME?" HE CRIED. "YOU'LL COME AND SEE MY GOLD?" AND THEN IN SUDDEN GENEROSITY, HE ADDED: "YOU'LL HAVE A GOLDEN THRONE, --UP THERE-- WHEN WE MARRY."

BUT SHE, LOOKING UP AND ON WITH RADIANT FACE, ANSWERED SOFTLY: " I COME."

SO DOWN AND UP AND ON THEY MOUNTED, -- THE BLACK BEGGAR MAN AND HIS CAVALCADE OF DEATH AND PAIN, AND THEN A SPACE; AND THEN A LONE, BLACK HOUND THAT NOSED AND WHIMPERED AS HE RAN, AND THEN A SPACE; AND THEN THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM IN HIS ROBES, AND THEN A SPACE; AND LAST THE PRINCESS OF THE HITHER ISLES, WITH FACE SET SUNWARD AND LOVELIGHT IN HER EYES.

AND SO THEY MARCHED AND STRUGGLED ON AND UP THROUGH ENDLESS YEARS AND SPACES AND EVER THE BLACK BEGGAR LOOKED BACK PAST DEATH AND PAIN TOWARD THE MAID AND EVER THE MAID STROVE FORWARD WITH LOVELIT EYES, BUT EVER THE GREAT AND SILKEN SHOULDERS OF THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM AROSE BETWEEN THE PRINCESS AND THE SUN LIKE A CLOUD OF

STORMS.

NOW, FINALLY, THEY NEARED UNTO THE HILLSIDE'S TOPMOST SHOULDER AND THERE MOST EAGERLY THE KING BENT TO THE BOWELS OF THE EARTH AND BARED ITS GOLDEN ENTRAILS, -- ALL GREEN AND GRAY AND RUSTED -- WHILE THE PRINCESS STRAINED HER PITIFUL EYES ALOFT TO WHERE THE BEGGAR, SET 'TWIXT DEATH AND PAIN, WHIRLED HIS SLIM BACK AGAINST THE GLORY OF THE SETTING SUN AND STOOD SOMBER IN HIS GRAVE MAJESTY, ENHALOED AND TRANSFIGURED, OUTSTRETCHING HIS LONG ARMS, AND AROUND ALL HEAVEN GLITTERED JEWELS IN A CLOTH OF GOLD.

A WHILE THE PRINCESS STOOD AND MOANED IN MADE AMAZE, THEN WITH ONE WILFUL WRENCH SHE BARED THE WHITE FLOWERS OF HER BREAST AND SNATCHING FORTH HER OWN RED HEART HELD IT WITH ONE HAND ALOFT WHILE WITH THE OTHER SHE GATHERED CLOSE HER ROBE AND POISED HERSELF.

36-9-120

THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM LOOKED UPWARD QUICKLY, CURIOUSLY, STILL FINGERING THE EARTH, AND SAW THE OFFER OF HER BLEEDING HEART.

"IT'S A NEGRO!" HE GROWLED DARKLY; "IT MAY NOT BE."

THE WOMAN QUIVERED.

"IT'S A NIGGER!" HE REPEATED FIERCELY. "IT'S NEITHER GOD NOR MAN, BUT A NIGGER!"

THE PRINCESS STEPPED FORWARD.

THE KING GRASPED HIS SWORD AND LOOKED NORTH AND EAST; HE RAISED HIS SWORD AND LOOKED SOUTH AND WEST.

"I SEEK THE SUN," THE PRINCESS SANG, AND STARTED INTO THE WEST.

"NEVER!" CRIED THE KING OF YONDER KINGDOM, "FOR SUCH WERE BLASPHEMY AND DEFILEMENT AND THE MAKING OF ALL EVIL."

SO, RAISING HIS GREAT SWORD HE STRUCK WITH ALL HIS MIGHT, AND MORE. DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND IT BIT THAT LITTLE, WHITE, HEART-HOLDING HAND UNTIL IT FLEW ARMLESS AND DISBODIED UP THROUGH THE SUNLIT AIR. DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND IT CLOVE THE WHIMPERING HOUND UNTIL HIS LAST SHRIEK SHOOK THE STARS. DOWN HISSED THE BLOW AND IT RENT

THE EARTH. IT TREMBLED, FELL APART, AND YAWNED TO A CHASM WIDE AS EARTH FROM HEAVEN, DEEP AS HELL, AND EMPTY, COLD, AND SILENT.

ON YONDER DISTANT SHORE BLAZED THE MIGHTY EMPIRE OF THE SUN IN WARM AND BLISSFUL RADIANCE, WHILE ON THIS SIDE, IN SHADOWS COLD AND DARK, GLOOMED THE HITHER ISLES AND THE HILL THAT ONCE WAS GOLDEN, BUT NOW WAS GREEN AND SLIMY DROSS; ALL BELOW WAS THE SAD AND MOANING SEA, WHILE BETWEEN THE HERE AND THERE FLEW THE SEVERED HAND AND DRIPPED THE BLEEDING HEART.

THEN UP FROM THE SOUL OF THE PRINCESS WELLED A CRY OF DARK DESPAIR, -- SUCH A CRY AS ONLY BABE-RAPED MOTHERS KNOW AND MURDERED LOVES. POISED ON THE CRUMBLING EDGE OF THAT GREAT NOTHINGNESS THE PRINCESS HUNG, HUNGERING WITH HER EYES AND STRAINING HER FAINTING EARS AGAINST THE AWFUL SPLENDOR OF THE SKY.

36-9-121

OUT FROM THE SLIME AND SHADOWS GROPED THE KING, THUNDERING: "BACK-- DON'T BE A FOOL!"

BUT DOWN THROUGH THE THIN ETHER THRILLED THE STILL AND THROBBING WARMTH OF

HEAVEN'S SUN, WHISPERING "LEAP!"

AND THE PRINCESS LEAPT.

Keynote Address
W.E.B. DUBOIS
Progressive Party Convention
July 4, 1952

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY MAY BE REDUCED TO THESE PLANKS:

PEACE

STOP THE KOREAN WAR

OFFER FRIENDSHIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

RESTORE AND REBUILD THE UNITED STATES.

WAR IS A VICIOUS HUMAN HABIT, A THROW-BACK TO PRIMEVAL BARBARISM, AN ANACHRONISM WHICH SHAMES RELIGION AND RETARDS CIVILIZATION. BEFORE THIS CENTURY WAR MAY AT TIMES HAVE BEEN THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS. SINCE WORLD WARS HAVE COME AND THE ATOMIC AGE, THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WAR IS THE SUPREME DISASTER. THERE IS NOTHING WORSE.

46-9-49

WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO END WAR"? MORE WAR! WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY"? LESS DEMOCRACY. WHAT ARE WE GETTING FROM THIS "COLD WAR FOR FREEDOM"? LESS FREEDOM TO THINK AND MORE FREEDOM TO KILL.

WHAT WILL COME WHEN WAR IN KOREA BECOMES WAR AGAINST CHINA AND A THIRD WORLD WAR WITH JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ARMED ALLIES? THE END OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND A LONG RETURN TO BARBARISM! PEACE, THEN! PEACE NOW!

THIS AMERICA OF OURS, HOPE OF OUR DREAMS, REFUGE OF MANKIND, TODAY APPEARS AS THE GREATEST WARMONGER OF ALL HISTORY. NEVER BEFORE IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND HAS A NATION PLANNED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION ON THE SCALE NOW ENVISIONED BY THOSE WHO RULE THE UNITED STATES. WITH ONE BURST OF FLAME WE KILLED AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI 210,000 HUMAN BEINGS, AGED AND INFANTS; SICK AND HELPLESS; UNARMED AND UNWARNED; AN ATTACK AS HORRIBLE AS IT WAS NEEDLESS, A DEED WHICH CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER FORGET!

46-9-50

WHY IS THIS NATION/ THE MOST SECURE FROM FOREIGN ATTACK/OF ANY IN THE WORLD,/ BEING RUSHED TO WAR?// WHAT IS IT/THAT HAS LITERALLY SCARED US TO DEATH?/ NO FOREIGN FOE HAS TOUCHED OR THREATENED OUR SHORES;/NO NATION HAS PLANNED OUR DESTRUCTION./ OUR ECONOMY IS SOUND/UNLESS WE LET WAR UPSET IT;/OUR TECHNIQUE IS UNSURPASSED;/ OUR ABILITY AND TALENT HAVE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES/OF THE MOST FAVORED NATIONS OF MEN.// WHY THEN HAVE WE GONE/ COMPLETELY OUT OF OUR MINDS/AND EMBARKED ON A FANTASTIC PLAN/OF WORLD CONTROL/AT THE COST OF NATIONAL IMPOVERISHMENT,/MORAL RUIN/AND THE HATE OF MANKIND?

WE SEEK TO ASSURE OURSELVES/THAT OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA/IS CAUSED SOLELY BY THE DESIGNS OF THE UNION/OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.// A NATION SEPARATED FROM US/BY THE WIDTH OF THE WORLD,/ WHICH HAS NEVER ATTACKED US,/ NEVER TAKEN OUR TERRITORY,// BUT WHO, SOME OF US BELIEVE, (HAS FOUGHT BESIDE AS ALLY) IS SO DETERMINED TO RUIN US/THAT IN SHEER SELF DEFENSE/WE MUST RUIN OURSELVES!

46-9-56

THERE IS NO PROOF OF THIS/EVEN, DULLES, EISENHOWER, BRADLEY AND ACHESON/ADMIT BETWEEN WARNINGS/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/HAS AT PRESENT/NO PLANS FOR WAR.// LEADERS OF INDUSTRY/DURING THE PAST YEAR/HAVE QUESTIONED/THE IMMINENCE OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION. WHENCE THEN COMES THIS PUSH TOWARD WAR?

BACK OF THIS BELIEF/LIES THE PROPAGANDA/OF A GROUP OF BUSINESS MEN/IN AMERICA/WHO SEEK TO REVIVE/A SYSTEM OF WORLD INDUSTRY/LONG SINCE DOOMED TO EXTINCTION.// UNDER THIS SYSTEM,/ A CLASS WITHIN A NATION/ OR A WHOLE NATION,/ LIVED IN COMFORT/ LUXURY AND POWER ON THE LAND AND LABOR/OF OTHER CLASSES/OR PEOPLES/TOO POOR, TOO IGNORANT,/AND TOO SICK TO RESIST.

46-9-51

THIS SYSTEM, UNDER ITS VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE, CHATTEL SLAVERY, SERFDOM, CLASS STRUCTURE, COLONIALISM AND CENTRALIZED REGULATION OF PRICES AND MARKETS, HAS EXISTED SO LONG, YIELDED SUCH FABULOUS PROFITS, AND SUPPORTED SUCH HIGH CIVILIZATION AMONG A FAVORED FEW, THAT MANY MEN BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECTION OF MOST MEN TO A POWERFUL FEW IS INEVITABLE, AND THAT ITS DISAPPEARANCE WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE NOW KNOW IT.

46-9-52

THIS SYSTEM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL OF WORLD INDUSTRY REACHED ITS CULMINATION IN THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, AND ITS SPECTACULAR SUCCESS FIRED THE IMAGINATION AND ENVY OF ALL EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES// WE FORGOT THE REVOLT AGAINST IT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY.

WE IGNORED THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH INTRODUCED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND POPULAR EDUCATION AMONG WHITE WORKERS, AND WE IGNORED THE EFFORTS TO EXTEND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS OVER INDUSTRY, AND THE DREAMS OF INCLUDING THE MASS OF DARKER WORKERS AMONG THE ENFRANCHISED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

46-9-53

THE 20TH CENTURY DAWNED WITH FIVE WORLD-SHAKING EVENTS:

1. THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO REDISTRIBUTE COLONIES AMONG IMPERIAL POWERS.
2. REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.
3. THE COLLAPSE OF INDUSTRY IN EHHOPE AND AMERICA.
4. THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO STOP THE PLAN FOR A NEW IMPERIALISM.
5. THE REVOLT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES.

ALL THIS WAS LOGICAL; WIDE JEALOUSY OF THE NATIONS MONOPOLIZING LAND AND LABOR IN THE COLONIAL REGIONS, THE ATTEMPT TO REDISTRIBUTE THIS MONOPOLY BY WAR, AND THE OVERWHELMING COST OF THE STRUGGLE, BRINGING REVOLUTION, INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE AND THE ATTEMPT OF TWO DICTATORS TO MAKE A DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIAL AND POLITICAL CONTROL BY ANOTHER WAR; AND FINALLY THE NATURAL RISE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TO TAKE CHARGE OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

THE ATTEMPT OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, JOINED BY JAPAN, TO CHANGE THE FACE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, SO THREATENED THE WESTERN WORLD THAT WE WERE GLAD TO ACCEPT THE HELP OF THE NEW SOVIET UNION, WHICH WE HAD ONCE JOINED 15 OTHER NATIONS TO OVERTHROW. THE SOVIETS LAID DOWN 17 MILLION LIVES AND BILLIONS OF THEIR NEW INDUSTRY TO SAVE US FROM FASCISM.

HERE DAWNED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FACE A NEW WORLD; NOT NECESSARILY A WORLD OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM OR OF UNREGULATED PRIVATE CAPITALISM BUT A WORLD BASED ON GOOD WILL AND SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY INTO WORK AND INCOME AS AFFECTING HUMAN PROGRESS. THIS EFFORT, EARNESTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WAS OVERTURNED COMPLETELY BY HARRY TRUMAN AS THE TOOL OF BIG BUSINESS. IF A BUCHANAN BEFORE A LINCOLN WAS A NATIONAL CALAMITY, A TRUMAN AFTER A ROOSEVELT WAS A WORLD DISASTER.

WHY DID THIS HAPPEN? IT WAS BECAUSE THE GREAT POPULIST UPHEAVAL IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE 19TH CENTURY WAS CRUSHED BY TRUSTS AND MONOPOLY. THE PRESIDENCY BOUGHT BY HANNA FOR McKINLEY AND WAR, AND DEMOCRACY KILLED IN THE SOUTH AND WEST. FARMERS AND LABORERS, FOLLOWED LAFOLLETTE INTO NEW REVOLT IN 1924, BUT WERE SUBMERGED BY HARDING, COOLIDGE AND HOOVER UNTIL INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE BROUGHT THE NEW DEAL. DURING THIS DESCENT INTO HELL, PERSISTENT EFFORT WAS MADE TO CHANGE THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE LEADERSHIP OF EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS/— OF ARTISTS AND THINKERS —/ WAS SUPPLANTED BY THAT OF BUSINESS MEN;// OUR THOUGHT AND ACTION/BECAME COMMERCIALIZED AND MECHANICAL.

WE SAW LIFE AS BUYING AND SELLING,/AND AMERICA AS PUBLIC INDUSTRY/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. WE CEASED TO THINK/OF LABOR/IN TERMS OF HEALTH AND HAPPINESS/FOR ALL MEN./ BUT IN TERMS OF ACCUMULATED WEALTH,/ EVEN WHEN BUILT ON DECEIT AND THEFT.// WE REGARDED MONEY AS THE OBJECT OF LIFE, AND NOT LIFE AS THE REASON FOR MONEY./ WE TALKED LOUDLY OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, BUT BY FREEDOM WE MEANT FREEDOM FOR INDUSTRY/TO WIELD POWER/WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM GOVERNMENT.// AND WE RESISTED/ANY INCREASE OF DEMOCRACY/IN INDUSTRY.// WE INSISTED THAT INDUSTRY/MUST BE PRIVATELY OWNED/EVEN WHEN IT WAS INCREASINGLY/TAKING CONTROL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

46-9-57

THERE WERE TEACHERS/ WRITERS, FARMERS AND WORKERS/WHO PROTESTED/AND IT WAS AGAINST THE VOICE AND INFLUENCE/ OF SUCH MEN/ THAT THERE WAS LAUNCHED IN 1936/ THE MOST STUPENDOUS EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA/WHICH THIS WORLD EVER SAW.

IT WAS A DIRECT IMITATION/OF GOEBBELS AND HITLER, (THEN AT THE HEIGHT of their power) AND BASED ON THE LATEST ADVANCES IN THE SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY.// INDUSTRY BEGAN TO TAKE OVER/EDUCATION, RELIGION,/SCIENCE AND ART;/IT BOUGHT UP THE AGENCIES/FOR INFORMING AND INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION.// IT WAS FINANCED/BY THE UNITED BANKING AND COMMERCIAL FACILITIES/OF THE NATION/IN FIRM COOPERATION;/IT ENGAGED THE BEST TALENT/OF WRITERS, EDITORS, AND MANAGERS,/AND IT OFFERED THEM/ONLY A CHOICE BETWEEN LYING AND SILENCE.

46-9-58

THE UNITED STATES WHEELED INTO LINE/AS LEADER OF A RENEWED COLONIAL IMPERIALISM./ ALREADY IT HAD HAWAII/AND THE WEST INDIES;/IT DOMINATED CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA,/AND IT NOW TURNED TOWARD ASIA AND AFRICA.// ROOSEVELT HELD IT BACK.// from Depression to the 2nd world war

BUT OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENTS ROSE FROM TWO BILLIONS AT THE DAWN OF THE 20TH CENTURY TO 3½ BILLIONS AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 9 BILLIONS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND TODAY 15 BILLIONS! ADD TO THIS THE FAR LARGER DOMESTIC INVESTMENT IN WAR INDUSTRY, AND WE SEE THE HUGE PLEDGE WE HAVE IN A THIRD WORLD WAR.

TO BUTTRESS AND PROTECT THIS VAST INVESTMENT OUR LEADERS HAVE GRADUALLY ALLIED THIS NATION WITH TYRANTS AND SCOUNDRELS; WITH AMERICAN DICTATORS LIKE DIAZ AND TRUJILLO; WITH MUSSOLINI AND HITLER IN EUROPE; WITH CHIANG KAI CHEK, BAO DAI, AND SYNGMAN RHEE IN ASIA, WITH MALAN IN AFRICA.

46-9-59

BUT IT WAS OUR EXPERIENCE IN CHINA WHICH LED US TO THE VERGE OF A THIRD WORLD WAR. WE STARTED BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO SUPPLANT BRITAIN IN CHINA. WE ALLOWED JAPAN TO SPOIL AND RAPE HER. THEN WE BOUGHT HER HALF-DEAD CORPSE FROM CHIANG KAI CHEK FOR SIX BILLION DOLLARS, 1700 PLANES, 750 WAR VESSELS, AND ARMS AND AMMUNITION FOR 166 MILITARY DIVISIONS.

WE LET OUR TROOPS INVADE CHINA 40 TIMES AND HELPED BY TREATY TO SUBORDINATE CHINA TO FOREIGN CONTROLS.

WHEN CHINA AROSE MIRACULOUSLY FROM THE DEAD TRUMAN DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICAN SENATORS REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE NEW CHINA AS A NATION, PERMITTED CHIANG STILL TO SPEAK FOR HER, AND LET HIM SUPPORT A CHINA LOBBY ON OUR OWN FUNDS TO INFLUENCE CONGRESS. WE BOUGHT UP THE GREAT BUSINESS MONOPOLIES OF JAPAN AND THOSE WHICH THE JAPANESE HAD SEIZED IN KOREA. WE ENCOURAGED CIVIL WAR IM KOREA SO AS TO RECAPTURE LOST CHINA.

46-9-60

IN KOREA THE UNITED STATES HAS COMMITTED EVERY ATROCITY THAT MAN EVER DID TO MAN. WE HAVE DESTROYED INDUSTRY, FARMS AND HOMES, POURED MILLIONS OF GALLONS OF FLAMING GASOLINE ON SHRIEKING MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND TURNED A HELPLESS NATION INTO A STINKING DESERT.

A STUPID AND CALLOUS ADMINISTRATION/WITH A CARELESS WAVE OF THE HAND/MURDERS AND CRIPPLES/100,000 YOUNG AMERICANS/WITHOUT CONSENT OF CONGRESS,/ WITH NO POPULAR VOTE, AS "A LITTLE POLICE ACTION"/ TO RECAPTURE CHINA/ TO WARN THE SOVIET UNION,/ TO HELP ENSLAVE ASIA AND AFRICA/FOR THE PROFIT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL.

FACING A WORLD-WIDE UPSURGE OF LABOR,/ A REVOLT OF THE DARKER RACES,/AND A REFUSAL TO BELIEVE/ THAT THE MAJORITY OF MEN MUST BE POOR/ IGNORANT AND SICK/IN ORDER THAT INDUSTRY AND CIVILIZATION/MAY PROGRESS,/ THE UNITED STATES HAS APPARENTLY PLACED ITSELF AT THE HEAD OF REACTION.// IS THERE ANY REAL THREAT/WHICH JUSTIFIES THIS?/ THERE IS NOT.

BUT NEVER IN MODERN HISTORY/HAS IT BEEN SO DIFFICULT/FOR THE AVERAGE CITIZEN TO OBTAIN/AN HONEST PICTURE OF MANKIND/AND ITS DEEDS/AS TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA// FACED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY NUMBER/OF LIARS, TRAITORS AND PROFESSIONAL INFORMERS AND BY DISTORTIONS/AND OMISSIONS/ IN ALL THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC OPINION/ IT IS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT/ FOR THE AVERAGE HONEST CITIZEN/TO KNOW THE TRUTH.

46-9-61

NO AMERICAN TODAY/CAN RISE FROM HIS MORNING NEWSPAPER/, MUCH LESS HIS EVENING TABLOID,/ WITHOUT FEELING SICK AND DISGUSTED/ NOT MERELY WITH WHAT IS HAPPENING,/ BUT WITH WHAT HE DOES NOT KNOW/AND CANNOT FIND OUT.

FIRST OF ALL, IT IS CLEAR/THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE MILITARY HIERARCHY/ THE POLITICAL REACTION/AND THE BUSINESS INTERESTS/ DO NOT WANT WAR./ MOREOVER, IT IS CLEAR/ THAT WE CANNOT HAVE WAR/AND SURVIVE AS A PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY/FOR THE SIMPLE REASON/THAT WAR COSTS TOO MUCH.//THERE ARE CERTAIN THINGS WHICH THIS NATION NEEDS TO DO/AND TO DO NOW./ AND THEY COST MONEY// BOAST AS WE WILL,/ OUR STANDARD OF LIVING IS FALLING.

WE NEED TO RAISE THE GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES/AND MAINTAIN EMPLOYMENT/ BY LOWERING AND EQUALIZING TAXATION/AND CONTROLLING PRICES./ WE NEED TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR OLD AGE/AND FOR THE UNEMPLOYED,/ AND TO DO THIS/WITHOUT PUTTING THESE UNFORTUNATES IN JAIL

46-9-62

AS EISENHOWER ONCE ADVISED// WE NEED SOCIAL MEDICINE/ AND HEALTH CONSERVATION FOR ALL, AND INSURANCE AT COST,/ NOT FOR PROFIT.// WE NEED HOUSING AND SLUM CLEARANCE/ UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL./ WE NEED HELP FOR AGRICULTURE BY SCIENTIFIC GUIDANCE/ AND WE NEED POWER AND FLOOD CONTROL/ TO STOP OUR ANNUAL RUIN OF FARMS AND HOMES.// WE NEED TO RESCUE EDUCATION FROM ITS RAPID DETERIORATION:/ ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, FREE AND COMPULSORY,/ WITHOUT THE INEXCUSABLE WASTE OF SEPARATE RACIAL SCHOOLS.

WE NEED TRAINING/ FOR INDUSTRIAL SKILLS/ AND FOR THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS,/ AND WIDE ADULT EDUCATION FOR ALL.// WE NEED EDUCATION IN SCIENCE AND ART;/ WE NEED PHILANTHROPIC GUIDANCE/ TO CONTROL CRIME AND DELINQUENCY/ AND TO DEFEND THE ACCUSED;// WE NEED PUBLIC RECREATION/ WITH ART AND DRAMA,/ NOT SOLELY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/ BUT FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

46-9-63

ALL THIS CALLS/ FOR THE USE OF LAND AND ITS MATERIALS,/ THE CONTROL OF MONOPOLIES AND INVENTIONS,/ AND THE CONCEPTION/ OF THE RESOURCES OF THE NATION/ AS THE PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE/ WHO LIVE IN IT.

[redacted] THIS WILL GIVE TIME/ FOR KNOWLEDGE, EXPERIMENT AND THOUGHT/ FOR OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS:/ THE FAMILY; THE NEIGHBORHOOD;/ TRANSPORTATION AND ROADS;/ COMMUNICATION BY TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH, RADIO AND TELEVISION.// WE CAN FACE OUR NEGRO PROBLEM/ AND STOP THE RELICS OF HUMAN SLAVERY/ IN MOB VIOLENCE,/ DISCRIMINATION AND REPRESSION.// WE CAN STOP THE BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF THE FOREIGN BORN AND OTHER MINORITIES.// WE CAN REALIZE THAT THE ORGANIZED FIGHT ON UNION LABOR/ IS A FIGHT ON DEMOCRACY/ AND MEANS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF OUR CIVIL RIGHTS/ AND OUR LOSS OF THE RIGHT TO KNOW,/ TO ASSEMBLE AND TALK.

46-9-64

IT IS RIDICULOUS TO ASSUME/ THAT IF WE THUS FACE/ THE INESCAPABLE PUBLIC DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/ OF WEALTH AND CORPORATIONS,/ WE LIMIT FREE ENTERPRISE AND INITIATIVE. ON THE CONTRARY,/ WE VASTLY ENLARGE THEM/ FROM THEIR PRESENT IMPRISONMENT/ AND DISCOURAGEMENT/ AND PRIVATE DICTATION.

THIS IS OUR JOB./ AS A NATION WE CANNOT ESCAPE IT./ NO MODERN NATION IS ESCAPING IT. IT WILL COST MONEY,/ MUCH MONEY,/ BUT WE CAN GET SUFFICIENT MONEY/ IF WE STOP WAR AND PLANS FOR WAR./ THE PRESENT CONGRESS HAS APPROPRIATED BILLIONS OF DOLLARS,/ AND 85% IS FOR WAR./ AND ONLY 5 BILLIONS/ FOR ALL THE USES I HAVE POINTED OUT.// STOP WAR AND START SPENDING 85% OF OUR INCOME/ FOR HUMAN UPLIFT/ AND NOT FOR MURDER.

57-6-46

THIS IS THE DAY OF ALL DAYS/ WHEN WE NEED THE LEADERSHIP OF SCIENCE/ IN HISTORY, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY./ AND THIS IS THE DAY/ THAT MOST SOCIAL SCIENTISTS ARE DEAF AND DUMB./ COLLEGE PRESIDENTS CAN BE DEPENDED UPON/ TO RENDER SERVICE TO ANY CAUSE/ FROM UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE/ TO OUSTING PROFESSORS WHO DARE THINK/ AT THE COMMAND OF THE INDUSTRIAL LEADERS/ WHO DOMINATE THEIR TRUSTEE BOARDS.

OUR GRANDCHILDREN,/ LOOKING BACK ON THESE DAYS OF DISGRACE,/ WILL USE FAR HARSHER WORDS THAN MINE/ TO DESCRIBE THIS AGE/ AS THE MOST SHAMEFUL IN ALL OUR HISTORY,/ THE MOST INEXCUSABLE, UNJUST AND HATEFUL,/ AS A TIME WHEN WE SACRIFICED OUR OWN SELF-RESPECT/ IN ORDER TO GET RICH.

THIS IS OUR PLIGHT./ WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?/ WE CAN VOTE./ THE UNITED STATES/ NO MATTER HOW CURTAILED OUR RIGHTS ARE BECOMING,/ STILL RETAINS SOME POWERS OF DEMOCRACY.

99-6-46

I KNOW/HOW MANY OF YOU/HAVE STOPPED GOING TO THE POLLS/IN SHEER DISGUST.// BUT COME WITH US THIS TIME./ YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS THIS YEAR/ THE 25 MILLION VOTERS/WHO ANNUALLY FAIL TO VOTE/IN ORDER TO BALANCE THE GAMBLERS/ THE BRIBED AND BOUGHT,/AND THE CONGENITAL COWARDS/WHO WILL BE OUT IN FORCE.// THE FLIMSIEST EXCUSE FOR VOTING WRONG IS THAT THE RIGHT CANNOT WIN./ THE RIGHT HAS WON/IN THE PAST/AND WILL WIN IN THE FUTURE./ IT LOSES ONLY WHEN YOU LET IT LOSE.

* LET US LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES./ IF YOU WANT PEACE,/DO NOT ELECT TO THE PRESIDENCY A MAN TRAINED FOR WAR./ IF YOU WANT WAR/ ELECT EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT/BECAUSE WAR IS ALL HE KNOWS./ DESPITE HIS GENIAL EFFORT/TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN./ EISENHOWER SHOWS IN EVERY WORD/ HIS LAMENTABLE IGNORANCE/OF THE MEANING OF THE MODERN WORLD.// AND WITH HIS BACKING,/THE ONE THING HE WILL NOT/AND CANNOT PROMISE/IS PEACE.

9-6-62

WE SEE IN MODERN CORPORATE WEALTH/THE MOST DANGEROUS POWER/EVER LOOSED ON MANKIND./ IT IS ABOVE AND BEYOND THE LAW./ IT FLOUTS THE LEGISLATURE,/ THE COURTS AND THE EXECUTIVE./ IT PLANS PRODUCTION,/ ORDERS DISTRIBUTION,/ESCAPES FAIR TAXATION, MAKES WAR AND STOPS PEACE.//ROBERT TAFT REPRESENTS CORPORATE WEALTH,/BOTH AS LAWYER AND AS PROPERTY OWNER./ HIS INHERITED WEALTH/IS BASED ON CITY LAND VALUES,/ THE LEAST DEFENSIBLE METHOD/OF ACCUMULATING PRIVATE PROPERTY.//AS A CORPORATION LAWYER,/HIS CONTEMPT FOR THE MASS OF AMERICANS/LEADS HIM IMPUDENTLY/TO CONTRADICT HIMSELF/TIME AFTER TIME/WITHOUT APOLOGY AND WITHOUT REASON// IF THIS IS THE TYPE OF MAN/YOU DECIDE TO GIVE THE VAST POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY,/YOU MIGHT AS WELL REPLACE CONGRESS/WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS/AND DECLARE THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT EMPLOYERS/HAVE THE RIGHT TO FIX WAGES,/AND THAT ALL PROPERTY IS THE GIFT OF GOD.

9-6-62

WHO ELSE CAN YOU ELECT? / WHO, WHAT, AND WHY IS STASSEN? / DO WE WANT TELEVISION VAUDEVILLE IN KEFAUVER, OR SHALL RUSSELL REPRESENT THE PRO-SLAVERY SOUTH / AND THE GEORGIA LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY? // COMPLETE THE SORRY LIST / WITH WARREN AND HIS NEVER FULFILLED PROMISES / TO AGE AND LABOR; / KERR DONE IN OIL; / STEPHENSON, COY AND SILENT; / AND HARRIMAN, / HEIR OF RAILWAY MANIPULATION, / WHO HELPED EUROPEAN CAPITAL REGAIN ITS GRIP ON LABOR, / AND AMERICAN CAPITAL TO FASTEN ITS CLAWS ON EUROPE. // AND FINALLY, THE UNSPEAKABLE MENACE / OF MORE TRUMAN(/ OR EVEN OF THAT OLD SOLDIER / WHO IS DEAD AND DOES NOT KNOW IT!

46-9-69

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY / IS YOUR ONLY ALTERNATIVE / FOR DOING WHAT THE WORLD MUST DO, AND THAT IS, / STOP WAR / AND CONTROL THE POWER OF CORPORATE WEALTH / OVER THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS / AND OVER TELLING THE TRUTH.

LET LIARS FEAR. / LET COWARDS SHRINK,
LET TRAITORS TURN AWAY.
WHATEVER / WE HAVE DARED TO THINK,
THAT / DARE WE / ALSO SAY!

46-9-70

THIS YEAR VOTE FOR VINCENT HALLINAN, / A LAWYER AND LABOR LEADER / WHO IS IN JAIL BECAUSE TODAY / PRISON IS THE HIGHEST DECORATION / THIS NATION CAN BESTOW ON ITS HEROES: // AND FOR CHARLOTTA BASS / WHO REPRESENTS BLACK AMERICA / AND AMERICAN WOMANHOOD. / AS IF ONE CROWN OF THORNS WERE NOT ENOUGH, / SHE DARES WEAR TWO!

THIS YEAR NO SPRING HAS COME TO AMERICA; / NO DAFFODILS HAVE BLOOMED / NOR TULIPS REDDENED THE SUNRISE.

ALL WE SAW WAS DEATH, PRISONERS IN KOREA,/ ATOM BOMBS IN ARIZONA/ WAR IN THE WORLD, AND LITTLE CHILDREN HIDING UNDER DESKS./// WE HAILED DEATH AND TOOK LIFE/ AND THANKED GOD/ THAT WE ARE RICHER THAN THE POOR/ AND SAFER THAN THE DAMNED!/// Yet WE ARE NOT DEVILS. WE DO NOT WILL EVIL./ MOST AMERICANS DEMAND THE END/ AND THE END NOW OF THIS SENSELESS WAR IN KOREA./ OUR LABOR UNIONS ARE BEGINNING TO SPEAK OUT./ THE AMERICAN NEGROES ARE DECLARING/ THAT WAR DESTROYS CIVIL RIGHTS/ LOWERS WAGES AND STOPS HOUSING.// OUR PLATFORM AND OURS ALONE/ STANDS FOR SECURITY./ WE SAY TO AMERICAN BUSINESS/ PEACE BE STILL.// WE CRY ALOUD/ TO THOSE SLEEPING IN THE WILDERNESS./ AWAKE, AWAKE, PUT ON THY STRENGTH/ O ZION, PUT ON THY BEAUTIFUL ROBES!

# # # # #

14-b-9h

✓ Hantz
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W.E.B. Du Bois

early copy

JULY 4, 1952

The platform of the Progressive Party may be reduced to these planks:

PEACE
STOP THE KOREAN WAR
OFFER FRIENDSHIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
RESTORE AND REBUILD THE UNITED STATES

War is a vicious human habit; a throw-back to primeval barbarism; an anachronism which shames religion and retards civilization; a crime which kills bodies and cripples souls. Before this century war may at times have been the lesser of two evils. Since world wars have come and the Atomic Age, this is no longer true. War is the supreme disaster. There is nothing worse.

36-9-74

~~The very power of our culture lets war bring us less than nothing.~~ What did we get from the "War to End War"? More War! What did we get from the "War to Preserve Democracy"? Less Democracy! What are we getting from this "Cold War for Freedom"? Less freedom to think and more freedom to kill. What will come when war in Korea becomes war against China and flames into a Third World War? The end of European culture and a long return to barbarism. Peace, then! Peace now! Peace forever! ~~NO MORE WAR!~~

This America of ours, hope of our dreams, refuge of mankind, ~~land of peace and freedom~~, has before our very eyes and under the skill of our hands ~~and ideals of our souls~~, become the greatest warmonger of all history. Never before in the annals of mankind has a nation planned death, disease and destruction on the scale now envisioned by the United States of America. With one burst of flame we killed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki 200,000 human beings, aged and infants; sick and helpless; unarmed and unwarned; -- an attack as horrible as it was needless, -- a deed which civilization will never forgive!

~~Today we are spending a billion dollars a year on preparation for similar attacks. Last year merely for asking Americans to protest against~~

36-9-76

further use of the barbaric atomic bomb, I barely escaped five years in prison. We are deliberately planning greater means of death. Thirty-five leading powers of the world signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 against bacterial warfare. Only Japan and the United States refused. Our military leaders have defended and experimented in germ warfare and ask of Congress next year $17 million for experiments in spreading the most horrible diseases among helpless mankind. We announce the approaching perfection of the Hydrogen Horror.

Neither Egypt under Ramses II, nor the Roman Empire; not Spain at her height of power, nor France of the 14th Louis; not even the British Empire when it ruled the world, ever planned death and destruction for mankind on the scale which we plan today, as we set aside seventy billion dollars for military might, join France and Britain seeking to dominate Asia, furnish Malan funds to enslave Africa, and force Europe to re-arm for universal war.

Out of the pockets of a nation unable to pay decent living wages to steel workers and miners; without funds to maintain our system of education; who annually let the crops, farms and homes of a million Americans be destroyed by floods which we find no money to prevent; who cannot build decent housing even for our crippled war veterans; this rich and successful nation of ours spent more for war in this past decade than we spent for schools, churches and social uplift in the last century!

why is This nation, the most secure from foreign attack of any in the world; the most protected from natural disaster; the most skilled in industry, and for years the best paid and best clothed; -- ~~why are we~~ rushing to War? What

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is it that has literally scared us to death [~~and driven us insane~~]? No foreign foe has touched or threatened our shores; no nation has planned our destruction. Our economy is sound unless we let War upset it; our technique is unsurpassed; our ability and talent have all the possibilities of the most favored nations of men. Why then have we gone completely out of our minds and embarked on a fantastic plan of world control at the cost of national impoverishment, moral ruin and the hate of mankind?

We seek to assure ourselves that our present hysteria is caused solely by the designs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a nation separated from us by the width of the world, which has never attacked us, never taken our territory, never killed an American citizen, but who some of us believe is so determined to ruin us that in sheer defense we must ruin ourselves!

Many Americans believe this threat. But others, ~~many others,~~ do not believe it. They see back of this belief the propaganda of a group of business men in America, who seek to revive a system of world industry doomed to extinction. Under this system, a class within a nation or a whole nation ~~or group of nations~~ lived in comfort, luxury and power on the land and labor of other classes or peoples too poor, ignorant, and sick to resist. This system, under its various forms of slave trade, chattel slavery, serfdom, class structure, colonialism and centralized regulation of prices and markets, has existed so long, yielded such fabulous profits, and supported such high civilization among a favored few, that many men believe that the subjection of most men to a powerful few is inevitable, and that its disappearance would mean the end of civilization as we now know it.

This system of human government and control of world industry reached its culmination in the colonial imperialism of the British Empire during the Nineteenth Century, and its spectacular success fired the imagination and envy of all Europe and particularly of the United States. ~~British culture, British literature, British law and order, and particularly British Industry and Commerce, influenced peoples all over the earth and completely dominated American thought and imagination at the dawn of the century.~~ We forgot the moral revolt which had brought the suppression of the slave trade and the abolition of chattel slavery; we ignored the labor movement which introduced universal suffrage and popular education among many European and North American workers, and we ignored the efforts to extend democratic control of the workers over industry and ~~even~~ the dreams of including the mass of darker workers among the enfranchised workers of the world.

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All this America forgot or ignored. After our Civil War, caused by human slavery, there arose in the United States a tremendous growth and integration of industry. With unlimited resources and unrivaled technique, we started to build the greatest industrial and commercial organization the world ever saw, and we made the British Empire our model. When a World War broke the vast power of that Empire, organized industry in the United States prepared to replace the British Empire in world power.

Curtailing the power of our own democracy by racial caste, the use of money in politics, and intricate political manipulation, we Americans assumed that the world was going to be ruled in the future as in the past, and quite ignored the rise and spread of Socialism in every modern nation. The so-called socialism of the 19th century was vague and uncertain and

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aimed at the control of industry and wealth by democratic methods. Yet there was no modern nation which by 1900 had not attempted some such control: by factory laws and poor relief; by wage control and child labor laws; by building roads, regulating or owning railroads, telegraph lines and telephones. Some thinkers went further and asked actual ownership of capital and wider planning of production and distribution; but until the First World War, no nation had successfully attempted a completely socialistic state.

Such an attempt, in the face of the growing power of commerce which arose from the union of finance capital and industrial monopoly, was bound to come sooner or later, yet it was almost by accident that the attempt was made in Russia, and it was made when its most sincere advocates were least prepared for the experiment and in a nation where conditions were least favorable for success.

The effect of the Russian Revolution on the world was extraordinary. The liberal world welcomed it with joy. Here in America, despite fervent disclaimer today, there was scarce a man of vision or an independent thinker who was not overjoyed and eager with sympathy and applause. There were others who, while they rejoiced at the emancipation of the Russian peasant and worker, did not believe that the ensuing proposal of a socialist state was practical... They did not think it wrong, nor the attempt to establish it, evil. They merely regarded it as impracticable.

But other thinkers were of a different mind. They represented industry and were still swayed by the vision of restoring colonial imperialism. This induced America to follow Britain and fourteen other nations in

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launching an attack on Russia to prevent any attempt to establish a communist state. This war waged from 1918 to 1928, with the excuse of defending the Russian people against inner oppression, was stopped by three unexpected events:

The Collapse of Capitalism
The Revolt of Colonies
The Rise of China

None of these world-shaking events were due to the Russian Revolution. The collapse of the capitalist world followed the expense and industrial upheaval of the First World War, and that war resulted from rivalry over control of colonial wealth. The colonial revolt followed the long brewing unrest of the chief victims of colonial imperialism and resulted eventually in the independence of India. The third was the direct result of the American attempt in China to restore the doomed Colonial Imperialism.

The collapse of capitalism in the Great Depression relieved the armed pressure on the Soviet Union and gave this experiment in socialism an opportunity to become an independent state owning all capital and planning all industry. It did not collapse from inner stresses, but in many respects began to prosper.

There followed the wide charge that the new Soviet government was grievously oppressing the mass of the Russian people. It was firmly believed that the Russian people needed only opportunity and some help from without to overthrow the Communist tyranny. This belief persisted until in the Second World War, launched by Germany, Italy and Japan in order to restore Colonial Imperialism for their benefit instead of that of Great

36-9-80

Britain. The West in that crisis had to rely on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to overthrow Hitler. United like one great fist, the Soviets laid down 17 million of their lives and billions of their new industry in this unprecedented effort. The result was the freedom of India and revolt in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Here dawned the opportunity to face a new world: not necessarily a world of complete socialism or of private capitalism, but a world based on scientific study of every earnest effort at human progress, using the menace of Fascism as incentive to world unity and ~~forwarding~~ implementing the complete disappearance of Colonial Imperialism. But this effort, earnestly undertaken by Franklin Roosevelt was overturned completely by Harry Truman. If a Buchanan before a Lincoln was a national calamity, a Truman after a Roosevelt was a world disaster which a thousand years may not retrieve.

Why did this happen? It was because in the years between 1900 and 1950 the character of the American people changed. The leadership of educators and scientists, of artists and thinkers, was supplanted by that of business men; our thought and action became commercialized and we saw life as buying and selling and America as Industry and Profit. Wealth took over education, science, art and literature; it bought up the news-gathering agencies, the publishing houses and radio and theatre. Back of this lay a perverted attitude toward Work and Wealth, born of our very prosperity. We ceased to think of Labor in terms of health and happiness for all men, but in terms of accumulated wealth, even when built on poverty; and of goods for sale rather than for food and shelter. We regarded Money as the object of life, and not life as the reason for money. We talked loudly

of Freedom and Democracy, but by Freedom we meant freedom of industry to make money and wield power without interference from government, and we resisted any increase of democracy in industry. We insisted that industry must be privately owned even when it was increasingly taking control of public affairs by every method, legitimate and illegitimate, it could devise.

The revolt against this philosophy of industry which had swept Europe long before the Russian Revolution and which helped spread socialism over all the world never penetrated American business philosophy. It was true that this materialistic philosophy of private profit and public rule by those who control wealth did not convince all America; there were teachers, writers and thinkers who protested, and it was against the voice and increasing influence of such men that there was launched about 1936 in this nation the most stupendous effort at propaganda which this world ever saw. It was a direct imitation of Goebbels and Hitler, and based on the latest advances in the science of psychology already widely used in advertising and salesmanship. It was financed by the united banking and industrial facilities of the nation in firm union; it engaged the best talent of writers, thinkers and managers which was for sale, and it forced thousands of trained men out of their current employment by making that employment impossible or dangerous, and offering only a choice between lying or silence.

36-9-81

The real basic reason of the enmity of American business against the Soviet Union was that its success withdrew from American investment a vast area of land and labor where Britain and France had long reaped

profits of fifty percent, and where America was set to share both there and in the Balkans. Americans had profitable investments in the other Americas and saw other millions of profits in Asia and Africa. Our foreign investments arose from two billions at the dawn of the 20th century to 3½ billions at the opening of the First World War, 9 billions after the Second World War, and today 15 billions on the threshhold of the Third World War.

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To buttress and protect this huge investment we have allied this nation with tyrants and scoundrels: with South American dictators, with Mussolini and Hitler; with Bao Dai and Syngman Rhee. Our consul to the Union of South Africa reported in 1950: "This country has a greater future than almost any young country in the world. It is definitely going places. Capital investments and loans are not made by mere philanthropists, but by astute and far-seeing American financiers and business executives." Thus today it is American capital which is enabling Malan and two million whites to force slavery on ten million colored folk in South Africa.

But it was our experience in China which led us into war: the Korean War, the war against China and the threat of a Third World War. We started before the First World War to supplant Britain in China. We allowed Japan to spoil and rape her. Then we bought her half-dead corpse from Chiang-Kai-Chek for six billion dollars, 1700 planes, 750 war vessels, and arms and ammunitions for 166 military divisions. Our troops invaded China 40 times, and we helped by treaties to subordinate China to foreign controls.

When China, rising from the dead, found refuge in Communism, we laid the blame on the Soviet Union, refused to recognize New China as a nation, permitted Chiang still to speak for her and to support a China Lobby on our

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funds to influence Congress. We bought up the great business monopolies of Japan and encouraged civil war in Korea so as to recapture lost China.

The Korean War was the most indefensible attack on a people ever concocted. It has never been proven that the Soviet Union either started or wanted it. It is more probable that John Foster Dulles and his friend Syngman Rhee, backed by the American New Development Company which was buying the trusts of Japan, started this war, and now stubbornly refuses to stop it.

We have committed in Korea every atrocity that man ever did to man. We pour millions of gallons of flaming gasoline on shrieking Korea to turn one helpless little land into a stinking desert. A stupid and callous administration with a careless wave of the hand murders 100,000 young Americans and a half million Koreans without consent of Congress, with no popular vote, as "a little Police Action" to scare the Soviet Union, to re-capture China, to enslave Asia and Africa for the profit of American Capital in its mad rampage to rule the world and to supplant the dying British Empire with an American slavery.

~~The United States is the only country which has ever used the atomic bomb on human beings. It is the only nation which has ever employed germ warfare and it is the only nation which has refused to sign the international convention to outlaw the use of these weapons.~~

In order to align public opinion in the United States predominantly behind a program so repugnant to our traditions, ~~organised~~ business propaganda organized a new attack on the Soviet Union and Communism. Turning from the first argument that a socialist state could not be made to work; and

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passing beyond the charge that the Russian people were not in support of the Soviet Union, the attack was now concentrated on the charge that the Soviet Union was a conspiracy against civilization and that communism in itself was inherently so evil that it could not share the same world with Americans.

Here was the opportunity for a real America. If it is true that the Soviet Union by its very existence threatens civilization, a crusade to extermination may be our only resort; but is this true and how has this been proven?

What is the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Was the testimony of Trotsky reliable? Was the punishment for treason justifiable or tyrannous? Was the reannexation of the Baltic states and the close alliance with Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans a communist colonial imperialism or the expropriation of landlords and aristocracies supported by western capital? Above all was communistic imperial expansion the cause of civil war in Korea and China and other parts of Asia?

That there may be two opposite and strongly contradictory opinions on these controversial matters is all too clear. But what we are today asked and ordered to believe about the Soviet Union are not conclusions based on calm scientific inquiry and conclusion. Our newspapers and periodicals, our present government, most of our universities and churches, paint the Soviet Union as a tyranny, enslaving labor, allowing no freedom of opinion, without democracy, under dictatorship, and preparing for world-wide mastery by war.

On the contrary there is another picture, not painted by idiots, of

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a nation, oppressed and exploited for years, which in a generation has abolished illiteracy, fed and housed its people; raised the status of women and protected family life. The Soviet Union gave the lives of 17 million of its children to protect the world from Hitler; it has built factories and controlled rivers; it has driven from power an evil, corrupt and superstitious church and established one of the best systems of free popular education on earth. It has launched war on no nation but has offered the world Peace.

Those who deny all this and regard the Soviet Union as anti-Christ, as threatening war and confiscation; as enslaving labor and preaching Hate, have a right to their belief, if the proof in their hands satisfies them. But they have no moral right or scientific justification to enforce this belief on others by arrest, inquisition, unjust punishment, loss of jobs, mobs and jail.

The United States, facing a world-wide revolt of labor, an upsurge of the darker races which was foreshadowed by the Negro problem in this land; and a refusal of most men to believe that the majority of mankind must submit to poverty, ignorance and disease in order that industry and civilization progress, has first of all poisoned the sources of popular information. Great newsgathering and press associations can and do utterly distort truth in every part of the world at the order of monopolized directors of public opinion. A press controlled by Big Business is ready to suppress, distort and invent news or falsehood at the command of its owners, at any time, any place, under any circumstances. Book publishers and booksellers follow the orders of organized factory

~~owners and manufacturers as to what can be published and read.~~ Let us concede that some newspapers today at times try to tell the truth; that the Associated Press often transmits unbiased news; that radio commentators and lecturers can sometimes repeat their own beliefs; it still remains true that never in modern history has a national press dealt so brazenly in lies; never ~~has the news been so distorted and suppressed;~~ never has it been so impossible for the average citizen to obtain an honest picture of mankind and its deeds as today in the United States of America. No American today can rise from his morning newspaper, much less his evening tabloid, without feeling sick and disgusted, not merely with what is happening, but with what he does not know and cannot find out.

36-9-86

Why do investment bankers like the House of Morgan want to own a Saturday Review of Literature? Have they suddenly become fond of Shakespeare, or do they want to be sure that Literature does not interfere with their profits in South Africa? What interest does the Ford Motor Company have in higher education? Do they plan to study Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason, or are they determined that American reason shall never interfere with American profits in automobiles?

We have so mechanized and commercialized our whole philosophy of life that we are trying to turn art into advertising, science into manufacture of arms, religion into defense of property, and education into moneymaking. We have gone completely money-mad.

This is the day of all days when we need the leadership of Science in History, Economics, and Sociology, and this is the day they are all with one accord, deaf and dumb, or at best, furtive. Professors, teachers and college presidents can be depended upon to keep silent or render service to

any cause from universal military service to ousting honest professors who dare think, at command of the industrial leaders who dominate their trustee boards.

Authors, writers, lecturers, actors, broadcasters, and columnists, whose brains and talents can be bought and used in return for income, popularity and power, have sold themselves, while liberal and radical thinkers are silenced.

> In Babylon, dark Babylon
> Who takes the wage of shame?
> The scribe and singer, one by one,
> That toil for gold and fame.
> They grovel to their masters' mood.
> The blood upon the pen
> Assigns their souls to servitude --
> Yea, and the souls of men!

36-9-87

We are helping to drive Britain into bankruptcy. We are driving France into dictatorship; we are impoverishing Italy; we are embracing Franco; and have torn Germany in two. When Acheson marches home, leaving the world on the brink of a Third World War, it would be Harry Truman who greets him for launching a last blow for peace!

This picture may be disputed in some details and excused and defended, but every honest American must admit it is in the main true, and if so is a caricature and contradiction of all that America once stood for. It is sheer insanity and crazy distortion of our own souls, of our widely professed religion, and grim betrayal of democracy and freedom, and our grandchildren, looking back on these days of disgrace, will use far harsher words than mine to describe this age as the most shameful in all our history, the most inexcusable, unjust and hateful; a time when we sacrificed our own

decency and self-respect in order to help ruin civilization.

Our current waste of wealth is frightening; our waste of life and health is sickening. But far worse than these is our waste of ability, of talent, and genius; our discouragement of the young, punishment of original thought, and crucificion of the rebel and the prophet. We are furiously pounding the brains of a nation into flat gray uniformity and dogmatic submission. This is shown in our literature, our sculpture and painting; on the stage, in the new art of radio and television. Our schools are filled with frightened students taught by silent, evasive teachers. Our science is turned to mass murder and endless destruction; our preaching is sterile dogma. We have not only killed a hundred thousand bodies of our youth in Korea, but murdered right here many a million souls.

36-9-88

We are boasting to the world of our democracy as peculiarly American, and place at the head of a congressional committee to ferret out un-American activities, first a convicted thief and now John Wood from Georgia, whose district has 150,000 voters. Wood has been elected to Congress six times. In no single election have more than a fifth of the voters dared go to the polls, and not a single vote has ever been cast against him. Wood has been publicly accused of misuse of public funds, but the Department of Justice has been too busy with the Peace Information Center ever to prosecute him.

This is our plight. What can we do about it? We can vote. Do not laugh. The United States is still a democracy, no matter how curtailed our rights are becoming. I know how many of you have stopped going

to the polls in sheer disgust. But come with us this time -- your country needs the 50 million voters who annually fail to vote, in order to balance the gamblers, the bribed and bought and the congenital cowards who will be out in force. The flimsiest excuse for voting wrong is that the Right cannot win. The right has won in the past and will win in the future. It loses only when you let it lose.

Let us look at the candidates. If you want peace, do not elect to the presidency a man trained for war. If you want war, elect Eisenhower as president because war is all he knows. Despite his effort to be reasonable and likable, Eisenhower shows in every word his lamentable ignorance of modern progress and inability to grasp the meaning of the modern world. All he knows is war and the one thing he will not and cannot promise is peace.

36-9-89

We see in the modern anonymous incorporation of wealth the most dangerous power ever loosed on mankind. It is above and beyond the law. It flouts the Legislature and the Executive. It plans production, orders distribution, makes war and stops peace. Corporate wealth in the United States carries out the secret plans of those who control industry, so that even men who own and receive the profits do not and cannot know how the profit is made, and can be blamed only for not insisting upon the knowledge which is withheld. Corporate wealth, under the most astute law advice, escapes taxation and shifts its burden.

Robert Taft represents this corporate wealth, both as lawyer and as owner. He inherited wealth accumulated by the least defensible method of sequestering land values due to population and not to work. He is a corporation lawyer, and his contempt for the brains of the mass of Americans

leads him impudently to contradict himself time after time, without apology and without excuse. If this is the type of man you decide to give the vast power of the presidency, you might as well replace Congress with the National Association of Manufacturers and declare these truths to be self-evident that all business men have the right to set wages and that property however gotten is the gift of God.

Who else can you elect? Who, what, and why is Stassen? Do we want television vaudeville in Kefauver, or shall Russell represent Negro slavery and the Georgia Light and Power Company? Complete the sorry list with Warren and his never fulfilled promises; Kerr etched in oil; Stephenson, coy and silent; and Harriman, heir of Railway manipulation who has helped European capital regain its grip on labor, and American capital to fasten its claws on Europe. And finally, the unspeakable menace of more Truman!

The Progressive Party is your only alternative for doing what the world must do, and that is, increasingly control the power of corporate wealth over the production and distribution of goods -- a task which we would have even if the Soviet Union had never existed.

In 1948 we sought a great leader on a noble platform. He got frightened and ran out on us to bathe in the blood of Korea. But the platform did not run. It stands and lives and grows and by the eternal God shall yet triumph. This year vote for Vincent Hallinan, a lawyer and labor leader who is in jail because today prison is the highest accolade this nation can bestow on its heroes; and for Charlotte Bass who represents black America and American womanhood. As if one crown of thorns were not enough she dares wear two!

This year there has been no Spring in America; no daffodils have bloomed nor tulips reddened the morning. All we saw was death and waiting prisoners in Korea, atom bombs in Arizona, and war in the world. We hail death and take life and thank God that we are richer than the poor and safer than the damned.

Yet we are not devils; we do not will evil; only today we are distraught, misled, and for a season quite insane. We can be cured. We can cure ourselves if only we will. If once we but turn our backs on ghosts and shadows, on witches and fears, and look up and out. If we can once again believe in humanity and close our ears and hearts to lies; and say to American Industry of which once we were so proud -- so foolishly and inordinately proud -- Peace! be still! And cry to the world:

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, 'Thy God reigneth!'"

36-9-91

CHICAGO

JULY 4, 1952

[EARLY COPY]

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY MAY BE REDUCED TO THESE PLANKS:

PEACE
STOP THE KOREAN WAR
OFFER FRIENDSHIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
RESTORE AND REBUILD THE UNITED STATES

WAR IS A VICIOUS HUMAN HABIT: A THROW-BACK TO PRIMEVAL BARBARISM; AN ANACHRONISM WHICH SHAMES RELIGION AND RETARDS CIVILIZATION. BEFORE THIS CENTURY WAR MAY AT TIMES HAVE BEEN THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS. SINCE WORLD WARS HAVE COME AND THE ATOMIC AGE, THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WAR IS THE SUPREME DISASTER. THERE IS NOTHING WORSE.

WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO END WAR"? MORE WAR; WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY"? LESS DEMOCRACY; WHAT ARE WE GETTING FROM THIS "COLD WAR FOR FREEDOM?" LESS FREEDOM TO THINK AND MORE FREEDOM TO KILL. WHAT WILL COME WHEN WAR IN KOREA BECOMES WAR AGAINST CHINA AND A THIRD WORLD WAR WITH

41-2-24

-2-

JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ARMED ALLIES? THE END OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND A LONG RETURN TO BARBARISM. PEACE, THEN; PEACE NOW; PEACE FOREVER;

THIS AMERICA OF OURS, HOPE OF OUR DREAMS, REFUGE OF MANKIND, HAS BEFORE OUR VERY EYES BECOME THE GREATEST WARMONGER OF ALL HISTORY. NEVER BEFORE IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND HAS A NATION PLANNED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION ON THE SCALE NOW ENVISIONED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. WITH ONE BURST OF FLAME WE KILLED AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI 200,000 HUMAN BEINGS, AGED AND INFANTS; SICK AND HELPLESS; UNARMED AND UNWARNED; — AN ATTACK AS HORRIBLE AS IT WAS NEEDLESS, — A DEED WHICH CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER FORGET;

OUT OF THE POCKETS OF A NATION UNABLE TO PAY LIVING WAGES TO MOST OF THE WORKERS; WITHOUT FUNDS TO MAINTAIN OUR SCHOOLS; WHO LET THE CROPS, FARMS AND HOMES OF A MILLION AMERICANS ANNUALLY BE DESTROYED BY FLOODS WHICH WE FIND TOO LITTLE MONEY TO PREVENT; WHO CANNOT BUILD DECENT HOUSING EVEN FOR CRIPPLED WAR VETERANS; THIS RICH AND SUCCESSFUL NATION OF OURS SPENT MORE FOR WAR IN THE PAST DECADE

THAN WE SPENT FOR SCHOOLS, CHURCHES AND SOCIAL UPLIFT IN THE WHOLE OF THE LAST CENTURY!

WHY IS THIS NATION, THE MOST SECURE FROM FOREIGN ATTACK OF ANY IN THE WORLD, RUSHING TO WAR? WHAT IS IT THAT HAS LITERALLY SCARED US TO DEATH? NO FOREIGN FOE HAS TOUCHED OR THREATENED OUR SHORES; NO NATION HAS PLANNED OUR DESTRUCTION. OUR ECONOMY IS SOUND UNLESS WE LET WAR UPSET IT; OUR TECHNIQUE IS UNSURPASSED; OUR ABILITY AND TALENT HAVE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MOST FAVORED NATIONS OF MEN. WHY THEN HAVE WE GONE COMPLETELY OUT OF OUR MINDS AND EMBARKED ON A FANTASTIC PLAN OF WORLD CONTROL AT THE COST OF NATIONAL IMPOVERISHMENT, MORAL RUIN AND THE HATE OF MANKIND?

41-3-25

WE SEEK TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA IS CAUSED SOLELY BY THE DESIGNS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, A NATION SEPARATED FROM US BY THE WIDTH OF THE WORLD, WHICH HAS NEVER ATTACKED US, NEVER TAKEN OUR TERRITORY, BUT WHO SOME OF US BELIEVE IS SO DETERMINED TO RUIN US THAT IN SHEER DEFENSE WE MUST RUIN OURSELVES!

-4-

OTHERS DO NOT BELIEVE THIS. THEY SEE BACK OF THIS BELIEF THE PROPAGANDA OF A GROUP OF BUSINESS MEN IN AMERICA, WHO SEEK TO REVIVE A SYSTEM OF WORLD INDUSTRY LONG SINCE DOOMED TO EXTINCTION. UNDER THIS SYSTEM, A CLASS WITHIN A NATION, OR A WHOLE NATION, LIVED IN COMFORT, LUXURY AND POWER ON THE LAND AND LABOR OF OTHER CLASSES OR PEOPLES TOO POOR, TOO IGNORANT, AND TOO SICK TO RESIST. THIS SYSTEM, UNDER ITS VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE, CHATTEL SLAVERY, SERFDOM, CLASS STRUCTURE, COLONIALISM AND CENTRALIZED REGULATION OF PRICES AND MARKETS, HAS EXISTED SO LONG, YIELDED SUCH FABULOUS PROFITS, AND SUPPORTED SUCH HIGH CIVILIZATION AMONG A FAVORED FEW, THAT MANY MEN BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECTION OF MOST MEN TO A POWERFUL FEW IS INEVITABLE, AND THAT ITS DISAPPEARANCE WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE NOW KNOW IT.

THIS SYSTEM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL OF WORLD INDUSTRY REACHED ITS CULMINATION IN THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE 19th

CENTURY, AND ITS SPECTACULAR SUCCESS FIRED THE IMAGINATION AND ENVY OF ALL EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE FORGOT THE REVOLT AGAINST IT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY; WE IGNORED THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH INTRODUCED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND POPULAR EDUCATION AMONG WHITE WORKERS, AND WE IGNORED THE EFFORTS TO EXTEND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS OVER INDUSTRY, AND THE DREAMS OF INCLUDING THE MASS OF DARKER WORKERS AMONG THE ENFRANCHISED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

CURTAILING THE POWER OF OUR OWN DEMOCRACY BY RACIAL CASTE, BY THE USE OF MONEY IN POLITICS, AND BY INTRICATE POLITICAL MANIPULATION, WE AMERICANS ASSUMED THAT THE WORLD WAS GOING TO BE RULED IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST, AND QUITE IGNORED THE RISE AND SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN EVERY MODERN NATION. THE SO-CALLED SOCIALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY WAS VAGUE AND UNCERTAIN AND AIMED AT INCREASING THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND WEALTH BY POPULAR DEMOCRACY. YET THERE WAS NO MODERN NATION WHICH HAD NOT BY 1900 ATTEMPTED SOME SUCH CONTROL: BY FACTORY LAWS AND

POOR RELIEF; BY WAGE CONTROL AND CHILD LABOR LAWS; BY BUILDING ROADS, REGULATING RAILROADS AND OWNING TELEGRAPH LINES AND TELEPHONES. SOME THINKERS WENT FURTHER AND ASKED ACTUAL OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL, AND THE FOLLOWERS OF KARL MARX SOUGHT SCIENTIFIC PLANNING OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION; BUT UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR, NO NATION HAD SUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED A COMPLETELY SOCIALISTIC STATE.

HOWEVER, IN THE FACE OF THE GROWING POWER OF INDUSTRY ARISING FROM THE UNION OF FINANCE CAPITAL AND COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY, SUCH AN ATTEMPT WAS BOUND TO COME SOONER OR LATER; YET IT WAS ALMOST BY ACCIDENT THAT THE ATTEMPT WAS MADE IN RUSSIA, AND MADE WHEN ITS MOST SINCERE ADVOCATES WERE LEAST PREPARED FOR THE EXPERIMENT; AND IN A NATION WHERE CONDITIONS WERE LEAST FAVORABLE FOR SUCCESS.

THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WAS EXTRAORDINARY. THE LIBERAL WORLD WELCOMED IT WITH JOY. HERE IN AMERICA, DESPITE PERVENT DISCLAIMER TODAY, THERE WAS SCARCE A MAN OF VISION WHO WAS NOT EAGER WITH SYMPATHY AND APPLAUSE.

THERE WERE SOME WHO DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ENSUING PROPOSAL OF A SOCIALIST STATE WAS PRACTICAL. THEY DID NOT THINK IT WRONG, NOR REGARD THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH IT AS EVIL. THEY MERELY THOUGHT IT IMPRACTICABLE.

HOWEVER, THE WORLD OWNERS OF INDUSTRY WERE OF A DIFFERENT MIND. THEY SAW THIS RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT REMOVING FROM INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES, LANDS AND LABOR WHICH HAD BEEN YIELDING 80% OR MORE OF PROFITS TO BRITAIN AND FRANCE, AND INTO WHICH AMERICAN INVESTORS LIKE HERBERT HOOVER WERE BEGINNING TO ENTER. THEREUPON WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS OR PUBLIC OPINION, THIS NATION BECAME ONE OF 15 OTHERS TO FOLLOW WINSTON CHURCHILL INTO WAR AGAINST THE NEW RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

41-3-27

THIS WAR, WAGED FROM 1918 TO 1928, WAS STOPPED BY FOUR UNEXPECTED EVENTS:

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM
THE SECOND WORLD WAR
THE REVOLT OF COLONIES
THE RISE OF CHINA

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION RELIEVED THE ARMED

PRESSURE ON THE SOVIET UNION AND GAVE THIS EXPERIMENT IN SOCIALISM AN OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME AN INDEPENDENT STATE OWNING ALL CAPITAL AND PLANNING ALL INDUSTRY.

THERE FOLLOWED THE WIDE CHARGE THAT THE NEW SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD PREVAILED BY GRIEVOUSLY OPPRESSING THE MASS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. IT WAS FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE NEEDED ONLY HELP FROM WITHOUT TO OVERTHROW A COMMUNIST TYRANNY. THIS BELIEF PERSISTED AND WAS ABOUT TO BE IMPLEMENTED BY A NEW ATTACK - WHEN GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN WED TO BUILD A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND THE WEST HAD TO CALL ON THE HELP OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO OVERTHROW HITLER IN A SECOND WORLD WAR. THE SOVIETS LAID DOWN MILLIONS OF LIVES AND BILLIONS OF THEIR NEW INDUSTRY NOT ONLY TO OVERTHROW FASCISM BUT TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE FREEDOM OF INDIA AND ENCOURAGE REVOLT AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN CHINA.

HERE DAWNED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FACE A NEW WORLD: NOT NECESSARILY A WORLD OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM OR OF UNREGULATED PRIVATE CAPITALISM; BUT A WORLD BASED ON

SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY INTO WORK AND INCOME AS AFFECTING HUMAN PROGRESS. THIS EFFORT, EARNESTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WAS OVERTURNED COMPLETELY BY HARRY TRUMAN AS THE TOOL OF BIG BUSINESS. IF A BUCHANAN BEFORE A LINCOLN WAS A NATIONAL CALAMITY, A TRUMAN AFTER A ROOSEVELT WAS A WORLD DISASTER WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS MAY NOT RETRIEVE.

WHY DID THIS HAPPEN? IT WAS BECAUSE IN THE YEARS BETWEEN 1900 AND 1930 THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CHANGED. THE LEADERSHIP OF EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS, OF ARTISTS AND THINKERS, WAS SUPPLANTED BY THAT OF BUSINESS MEN; OUR THOUGHT AND ACTION BECAME COMMERCIALIZED. WE SAW LIFE AS BUYING AND SELLING, AND AMERICA AS PUBLIC INDUSTRY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. BACK OF THIS LAY A PERVERTED ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK AND WEALTH, BORN OF OUR VERY PROSPERITY. WE CEASED TO THINK OF LABOR IN TERMS OF HEALTH AND HAPPINESS FOR ALL MEN, BUT IN TERMS OF ACCUMULATED WEALTH, EVEN WHEN BUILT ON DEBRIT AND THEFT. WE REGARDED MONEY AS THE OBJECT OF LIFE, AND NOT LIFE AS THE REASON FOR MONEY. WE TALKED LOUDLY OF FREEDOM AND

DEMOCRACY, BUT BY FREEDOM WE MEANT FREEDOM OF INDUSTRY TO WIELD POWER WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM GOVERNMENT, AND WE RESISTED ANY INCREASE OF DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY. WE INSISTED THAT INDUSTRY MUST BE PRIVATELY OWNED EVEN WHEN IT WAS INCREASINGLY TAKING CONTROL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE REVOLT AGAINST THIS PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRY ~~WHICH HAD SWEPT EUROPE LONG BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION~~ NEVER PENETRATED AMERICAN BUSINESS PHILOSOPHY. IT WAS TRUE THAT THERE WERE TEACHERS, WRITERS AND THINKERS WHO PROTESTED, AND IT WAS AGAINST THE VOICE AND INFLUENCE OF SUCH MEN THAT THERE WAS LAUNCHED IN 1936 THE MOST STUPENDOUS EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA WHICH THIS WORLD EVER SAW.

IT WAS A DIRECT IMITATION OF GOEBBELS AND HITLER, AND BASED ON THE LATEST ADVANCES IN THE SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY. INDUSTRY BEGAN TO TAKE OVER EDUCATION, RELIGION, SCIENCE AND ART; IT BOUGHT UP THE AGENCIES FOR INFORMING AND INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION. IT WAS FINANCED BY THE UNITED BANKING AND COMMERCIAL FACILITIES

OF THE NATION IN FIRM COOPERATION; IT ENGAGED THE BEST TALENT OF WRITERS, EDITORS AND MANAGERS, AND IT OFFERED THEM ONLY A CHOICE BETWEEN LYING AND SILENCE.

THE UNITED STATES WHEELED INTO LINE AS LEADER OF A RENEWED COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. ALREADY IT HAD HAWAII AND THE WEST INDIES; IT DOMINATED CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND IT NOW TURNED TOWARD ASIA AND AFRICA.

OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENTS ROSE FROM TWO BILLIONS AT THE DAWN OF THE 20TH CENTURY TO 3½ BILLIONS AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 9 BILLIONS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND TODAY 15 BILLIONS. ADD TO THIS THE FAR LARGER DOMESTIC INVESTMENT IN WAR INDUSTRY, AND WE SEE THE HUGE PLEDGE IN A THIRD WORLD WAR.

TO BUTTRESS AND PROTECT THIS HUGE INVESTMENT WE HAVE GRADUALLY ALLIED THIS NATION WITH TYRANTS AND SCOUNDRELS: WITH AMERICAN DICTATORS LIKE DIAZ AND TRUJILLO; WITH MUSSOLINI AND HITLER IN EUROPE; WITH CHIANG, BAO DAI AND SYNGMAN RHEE IN ASIA, WITH MALAN IN AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES CONSUL TO SOUTH AFRICA REPORTED IN 1950, THAT THIS UNION "HAS A GREATER FUTURE THAN ALMOST ANY YOUNG COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. IT IS DEFINITELY GOING PLACES. CAPITAL INVESTMENTS AND LOANS ARE NOT MADE BY MERE PHILANTHROPISTS, BUT BY ASTUTE AND FAR-SEEING AMERICAN FINANCIERS AND BUSINESS

41-3-29

EXECUTIVES". THUS TODAY IT IS AMERICAN CAPITAL WHICH IS ENABLING MALAN AND TWO MILLION WHITES TO FORCE SLAVERY ON TEN MILLION COLORED FOLK IN SOUTH AFRICA, WITH 15 MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES LOOKING ON.

IT WAS OUR EXPERIENCE IN CHINA WHICH LED US TO THE VERGE OF A THIRD WORLD WAR. WE STARTED BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO SUPPLANT BRITAIN IN CHINA. WE ALLOWED JAPAN TO SPOIL AND RAPE HER. THEN WE BOUGHT HER HALF-DEAD CORPSE FROM CHIANG-KAI-CHEK FOR SIX BILLION DOLLARS, 1700 PLANES, 760 WAR VESSELS, AND ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS FOR 166 MILITARY DIVISIONS. WE LET OUR TROOPS INVADE CHINA 40 TIMES, AND HELPED BY TREATIES TO SUBORDINATE CHINA TO FOREIGN CONTROLS.

WHEN CHINA, RISING MIRACULOUSLY FROM THE DEAD, ~~FOUND REFUGE IN COMMUNISM, WE LAID ALL THE BLAME ON THE SOVIET UNION.~~ WE REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE NEW CHINA AS A NATION, PERMITTED CHIANG STILL TO SPEAK FOR HER, AND LET HIM SUPPORT A CHINA

LOBBY OR OUR OWN FUNDS TO INFLUENCE CONGRESS. WE BOUGHT UP THE GREAT BUSINESS MONOPOLIES OF JAPAN AND THOSE WHICH THE JAPANESE HAD SEIZED IN KOREA. WE ENCOURAGED CIVIL WAR IN KOREA SO AS TO RECAPTURE LOST CHINA.

IN KOREA WE HAVE COMMITTED BY FAR ATROCITY THAT MAN EVER DID TO MAN. WE HAVE DESTROYED INDUSTRY, FARMS AND HOMES, POURED MILLIONS OF GALLONS OF FLAMING GASOLINE ON SHRIEKING MEN AND WOMEN AND TURNED A HELPLESS NATION INTO A STINKING DESERT. A STUPID AND CALLOUS ADMINISTRATION WITH A CARELESS WAVE OF THE HAND MURDERS 100,000 YOUNG AMERICANS AND A HALF MILLION KOREANS WITHOUT CONSENT OF CONGRESS, WITH NO POPULAR VOTE, AS "A LITTLE POLICE ACTION" TO SCARE THE SOVIET UNION, TO RE-CAPTURE CHINA, TO HELP ENSLAVE ASIA AND AFRICA FOR THE PROFIT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL.

IN ORDER TO ALIGN PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES PREDOMINANTLY BEHIND A PROGRAM SO REPUGNANT TO OUR TRADITIONS, ORGANIZED BUSINESS PROPAGANDA ORGANIZED A NEW LINE OF ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM. TURNING FROM THE

FIRST ARGUMENT THAT A SOCIALIST STATE COULD NOT BE MADE TO WORK; AND PASSING BEYOND THE CHARGE THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WERE NOT IN SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE ATTACK WAS NOW CONCENTRATED ON THE CHARGE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS A CONSPIRACY AGAINST CIVILIZATION; AND THAT COMMUNISM IN ITSELF WAS INHERENTLY SO EVIL AND LED BY SUCH DISHONORABLE MEN THAT IT COULD NOT SHARE THE SAME WORLD WITH AMERICANS.

TRUMAN LAID DOWN A WORLD PLAN TO LIMIT COMMUNISM; BUT NOW REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ENTRUST DULLES WITH A PROPOSAL FOR ITS UTTER DESTRUCTION. OUR NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT, MOST OF OUR UNIVERSITIES AND CHURCHES, OUR PRESS, PERIODICALS, PLATFORMS, THEATRE, CINEMA AND RADIO PAINT THE SOVIET UNION AS A TYRANNY, ENSLAVING LABOR, ALLOWING NO FREEDOM OF OPINION, WITHOUT DEMOCRACY, UNDER DICTATORSHIP, AND PREPARING FOR WORLD-WIDE MASTERY BY WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS ANOTHER PICTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION, NOT PAINTED BY IDIOTS, OF A NATION, OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED FOR YEARS, WHICH IN A GENERATION

HAS ABOLISHED ILLITERACY, FED AND HOUSED ITS PEOPLE; RAISED THE STATUS OF WOMEN AND PROTECTED FAMILY LIFE; WHICH GAVE THE LIVES OF 17 MILLION OF ITS CHILDREN TO PROTECT THE WORLD FROM HITLER; BUILT FACTORIES AND CONTROLLED RIVERS; WHICH HAS DRIVEN FROM POWER AN EVIL, CORRUPT AND SUPERSTITIOUS CHURCH AND ESTABLISHED ONE OF THE BEST SYSTEMS OF FREE POPULAR EDUCATION ON EARTH.

THOSE WHO DENY ALL THIS HAVE A RIGHT TO THEIR BELIEF, IF THE PROOF IN THEIR HANDS SATISFIES THEM. BUT THEY HAVE NEITHER MORAL RIGHT NOR SCIENTIFIC JUSTIFICATION TO ENFORCE THIS BELIEF ON OTHERS BY INQUISITION AND UNJUST PUNISHMENT. IT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR TO HONEST AMERICANS THAT OUR KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNISM AND THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT BASED ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND UNBIASED INQUIRY, BUT IS FORCED ON THE PUBLIC BY CONFESSED TRAITORS, LIARS AND INFORMERS; DISGRUNTLED LANDHOLDERS AND DISPOSSESSED OFFICIALS; THAT OUR ORGANS OF INFORMATION POUR THIS UPON THE PUBLIC CONTINUOUSLY, AND SUPPRESS NEARLY EVERY FACT WHICH CONTRADICTS THIS PICTURE.

J1-3-31

FACING A WORLD-WIDE UPSURGE OF LABOR, A REVOLT OF THE DARKER RACES, AND A REFUSAL OF MOST MEN TO BELIEVE THAT THE MAJORITY OF MEN MUST BE POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK IN ORDER THAT INDUSTRY AND CIVILIZATION MAY PROGRESS, THE UNITED STATES HAS PLACED ITSELF AT THE HEAD OF REACTION. WE TRY TO PLAY DOWN THE PROBLEM OF AMERICAN NEGROES BY BRINGING SOME OF THEM TO TRAVEL ABROAD AND LIE ABOUT OUR VIOLENCE, DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND DISCRIMINATION; WE CONCEAL OUR CONCERTED ATTACK ON UNION LABOR AND OUR TREATMENT OF THE FOREIGN-BORN. TODAY FASCISM LIVES AGAIN UNDER OUR LEADERSHIP.

NEVER IN MODERN HISTORY HAS IT BEEN SO DIFFICULT FOR THE AVERAGE CITIZEN TO OBTAIN AN HONEST PICTURE OF MANKIND AND ITS DEEDS AS TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. NO AMERICAN TODAY CAN RISE FROM HIS MORNING NEWSPAPER, MUCH LESS HIS EVENING TABLOID, WITHOUT FEELING SICK AND DISGUSTED, NOT MERELY WITH WHAT IS HAPPENING, BUT WITH WHAT HE DOES NOT KNOW AND CANNOT FIND OUT.

THIS IS THE DAY OF ALL DAYS WHEN WE NEED THE LEADERSHIP OF SCIENCE IN HISTORY, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY, AND THIS IS THE DAY THAT MOST SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, WITH ONE ACCORD, ARE DEAF AND DUMB. COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CAN BE DEPENDED UPON TO RENDER SERVICE TO ANY CAUSE, FROM UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE TO OUSTING PROFESSORS WHO DARE THINK, AT THE COMMAND OF THE INDUSTRIAL LEADERS WHO DOMINATE THEIR TRUSTEE BOARDS.

THIS PICTURE MAY BE DISPUTED IN SOME DETAILS, BUT OUR GRAND-CHILDREN, LOOKING BACK ON THESE DAYS OF DISGRACE, WILL USE FAR HARSHER WORDS THAN MINE TO DESCRIBE THIS AGE AS THE MOST SHAMEFUL IN ALL OUR HISTORY, THE MOST INEXCUSABLE, UNJUST AND HATEFUL; AS A TIME WHEN WE SACRIFICED OUR OWN SELF-RESPECT IN ORDER TO GET RICH.

BOASTING OF OUR DEMOCRACY, WE PLACE AT THE HEAD OF A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE IT FROM UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, FIRST, A CONVICTED THIEF, AND NOW JOHN STEPHENS WOOD OF GEORGIA. HIS DISTRICT, WITH 150,000 VOTERS, HAS SENT

HIM TO CONGRESS SIX TIMES, BUT IN NO SINGLE ELECTION HAVE MORE THAN A FIFTH OF THE VOTERS DARED GO TO THE POLLS, AND NOT A SINGLE VOTE HAS EVER BEEN CAST AGAINST HIM. WOOD HAS BEEN PUBLICLY ACCUSED OF MISUSE OF PUBLIC FUNDS, BUT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS BEEN SO BUSY TRYING TO PUT ME IN JAIL FOR PREACHING PEACE THAT IT HAS FOUND NO TIME TO PROSECUTE WOOD.

THIS IS OUR PLIGHT. WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT? WE CAN VOTE. DO NOT LAUGH. THE UNITED STATES, NO MATTER HOW CURTAILED OUR RIGHTS ARE BECOMING, STILL RETAINS SOME POWERS OF DEMOCRACY. I KNOW HOW MANY OF YOU HAVE STOPPED GOING TO THE POLLS IN SHEER DISGUST. BUT COME WITH US THIS TIME -- YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS THIS YEAR THE 50 MILLION VOTERS WHO ANNUALLY FAIL TO VOTE, IN ORDER TO BALANCE THE GAMBLERS, THE BRIBED AND BOUGHT, AND THE CONGENITAL COWARDS WHO WILL BE OUT IN FORCE. THE FLIMSIEST EXCUSE FOR VOTING WRONG IS THAT THE RIGHT CANNOT WIN. THE RIGHT HAS WON IN THE PAST AND WILL WIN IN THE FUTURE. IT LOSES ONLY WHEN YOU LET IT LOSE.

LET US LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES. IF YOU WANT PEACE, DO NOT ELECT TO THE PRESIDENCY A MAN TRAINED FOR WAR. IF YOU WANT WAR, ELECT EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT BECAUSE WAR IS ALL HE KNOWS. DESPITE HIS GENIAL EFFORT TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN, EISENHOWER SHOWS IN EVERY WORD HIS LAMENTABLE IGNORANCE OF THE MEANING OF THE MODERN WORLD. AND WITH HIS BACKING THE ONE THING HE WILL NOT AND CANNOT PROMISE IS PEACE.

WE SEE IN MODERN CORPORATE WEALTH THE MOST DANGEROUS POWER EVER LOOSED ON MANKIND. IT IS ABOVE AND BEYOND THE LAW. IT PLOTS THE LEGISLATURE AND THE EXECUTIVE. IT PLANS PRODUCTION, ORDERS DISTRIBUTION, ESCAPES FAIR TAXATION, MAKES WAR AND STOPS PEACE. ROBERT TAFT REPRESENTS THIS CORPORATE WEALTH, BOTH AS LAWYER AND AS PROPERTY OWNER. HIS INHERITED WEALTH IS BASED ON CITY LAND VALUES, THE LEAST DEFENSIBLE METHOD OF ACCUMULATING PRIVATE PROPERTY. AS A CORPORATION LAWYER, HIS CONTEMPT FOR THE BRAINS OF THE MASS OF AMERICANS LEADS HIM IMPUDENTLY TO CONTRADICT HIMSELF TIME AFTER TIME, WITHOUT APOLOGY AND WITHOUT REASON. IF THIS IS THE TYPE

41-3-33

OF MAN YOU DECIDE TO GIVE THE VAST POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY, YOU MIGHT AS WELL REPLACE CONGRESS WITH THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS AND DECLARE THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT THAT ALL BUSINESS MEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO SET WAGES, AND THAT PROPERTY HOWEVER GOTTEN IS THE GIFT OF GOD.

WHO ELSE CAN YOU ELECT? WHO, WHAT, AND WHY IS STASSEN? DO WE WANT TELEVISION VAUDEVILLE IN KEFAUVER, OR SHALL RUSSELL REPRESENT THE PRO-SLAVERY SOUTH AND OPPOSITION TO NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS? COMPLETE THE CORNY LIST WITH WARREN AND HIS NEVER FULFILLED PROMISES TO AGE AND LABOR: KERR DOWN IN OIL; STEPHENSON, COY AND SILENT: AND HARRIMAN, HEIR OF RAILWAY MANIPULATION, WHO HELPED EUROPEAN CAPITAL REGAIN ITS GRIP ON LABOR, AND AMERICAN CAPITAL TO FASTEN ITS CLAWS ON EUROPE. AND FINALLY, THE UNSPEAKABLE MENACE OF MORE TRUMAN! OR EVEN OF THAT SOLDIER WHO IS DEAD AND DOES NOT KNOW IT!

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IS YOUR ONLY ALTERNATIVE FOR DOING WHAT THE WORLD MUST DO, AND THAT IS, INCREASINGLY TO CONTROL THE POWER OF CORPORATE WEALTH OVER

THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS — A TASK WHICH WE WOULD HAVE, IF THE SOVIET UNION HAD NEVER EXISTED.

IN 1948 WE SOUGHT A GREAT LEADER ON A NOBLE PLATFORM. HE GOT FRIGHTENED AND RAN OUT ON US TO BE BAPTIZED IN THE BLOOD OF KOREA. BUT THE PLATFORM DID NOT RUN. IT STANDS AND LIVES AND GROWS AND BY THE ETERNAL GOD SHALL YET TRIUMPH!

THIS YEAR VOTE FOR VINCENT HALLINAN, A LAWYER AND LABOR LEADER WHO IS IN JAIL BECAUSE TODAY PRISON IS THE HIGHEST ACCOLADE THIS NATION CAN BESTOW ON ITS HEROES; AND FOR CHARLOTTE BASS WHO REPRESENTS BLACK AMERICA AND AMERICAN WOMANHOOD. AS IF ONE CROWN OF THORNS WERE NOT ENOUGH SHE DARES WEAR TWO!

41-3-34

THIS YEAR THERE HAS BEEN NO SPRING IN AMERICA; NO DAFFODILS HAVE BLOOMED NOR TURIPS REDDENED THE SUNRISE. ALL WE SAW WAS DEATH AND PRISONERS IN KOREA, ATOM BOMBS IN ARIZONA, WAR IN THE WORLD, AND LITTLE CHILDREN PLAYING WITH GUNS. WE HAIL DEATH AND TAKE LIFE AND THANK GOD THAT WE ARE RICHER THAN THE POOR AND SAFER THAN THE DAMNED!

YET WE ARE NOT DEVILS; WE DO NOT WILL EVIL; ONLY TODAY WE ARE MISLED,

AND FOR A SEASON QUITE INSANE. WE CAN BE CURED. WE CAN CURE OURSELVES IF ONLY WE WILL. IF WE CAN ONCE AGAIN BELIEVE IN HUMANITY AND CLOSE OUR EARS TO LIES; AND WE CAN SAY TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY OF WHICH ONCE WE WERE SO PROUD — SO FOOLISHLY EVEN PROUD — PEACE! BE STILL!

August 14, 1952

BALDWIN

OUR GUEST OF HONOR TONIGHT/HAS THE UNIQUE DISTINCTION/OF BEING THE ONLY AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADER/IN THIS CENTURY/WHO HAS GUIDED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT THROUGH TWO SUCCESSIVE CAMPAIGNS.// DURING THE 19TH CENTURY/THREE TIMES PARTIES/HAVE LASTED THROUGH TWO CONSECUTIVE CAMPAIGNS.//AND THE CHIEF INSTANCE/WAS IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,/- IN 1856 AND 1860. //THIS DOES NOT MEAN/THAT REVOLT AGAINST DOMINANT PARTIES/HAS NOT EXISTED OVER LONG PERIODS,/ BUT IT ILLUSTRATES VIVIDLY/THE BITTER AND CONCENTRATED OPPOSITION/TO ANY CHALLENGE TO THEIR POWER/WHICH THE TWO LEADING PARTIES/HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO BRING TO BEAR/AND SO TO CONCENTRATE/ON CURRENT LEADERHIP/ THAT IT WAS DRIVEN INTO OBLIVION/BY THREAT AND DISGRACE,/UNTIL IT WITHDREW/AND NEW LEADERSHIP TOOK OVER/AND TRIED TO RENEW/THE SAME OPPOSITION. ON THE OTHER HAND 2 CAMPAIGNS SEEMS TO INSURE ULTIMATE VICTORY TO SOME IDEAS.

46-9-72

THUS FOR TWENTY YEARS/THE IRREPRESSIBLE OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY FOUND EXPRESSION/IN THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS. THE SENTIMENT BACK OF THE LIBERTY PARTY

-2-

APPEARED FOR TWO CAMPAIGNS/IN 1840 and 1844// BUT REAPPEARED IN 1848//AS THE ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT/FREE SOIL MOVEMENT.// TWO CAMPAIGNS KILLED THAT PARTY/ AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY/APPEARED IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1856/WITH A MODIFIED VERSION OF FREE-SOIL IDEAS,/UNDER NEW LEADERS.// IT TRIUMPHED IN 1860/WHEN THE MILLION VOTES/WHICH THE DIXIECRATS OF THAT DAY WITHDREW FROM THE DEMOCRATS/PERMITTED THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN/AS A MINORITY PRESIDENT.// EACH TIME IN OUR HISTORY/WHEN THE TWO DOMINANT PARTIES/HAVE UNITED ON A SINGLE PLATFORM THE EFFORT TO PREVENT ANY ACTUAL CONCENTRATION OF OPPOSITION/INTO A RECOGNIZED THIRD PARTY/HAS BEEN BITTER AND ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE.// LEADERS OF SUCH EFFORTS/HAVE BEEN REVILED, THEIR MOTIVES MISREPRESENTED,/AND EVERY EFFORT MADE/TO STIGMATIZE SUCH MOVEMENTS/AS UNPATRIOTIC AND EVEN CRIMINAL.

46-9-73

THE FACT THAT BEANIE BALDWIN/HAS BEEN THE ONE MAN OF OUR ERA/TO FIGHT THIS TACTIC SUCCESSFULLY/IS A RARE DISTINCTION,/EARNED AT A COST WHICH FEW,/EVEN OF HIS FRIENDS/

REALIZE./ THIS DINNER, THEREFORE,/IS MORE THAN A TRIBUTE/TO THE LEADER OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/IN ITS SECOND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.// IT IS EVEN MORE/OR OUGHT TO BE/ A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE/OF THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE/OF THE UNITED STATES/TO INSTIGATE X THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS/AND PERMIT THEM TO FUNCTION/WHENEVER A GROUP OF CITIZENS/BELIEVE THEM NECESSARY/FOR THE REORIENTATION OF OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.// IF SUCH A RIGHT/HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED IN 1840/WE WOULD HAVE NEEDED/NO CIVIL WAR TO ABOLISH HUMAN SLAVERY.// IF IT IS RECOGNIZED IN 1952/WE CAN HAVE PEACE/AND SOCIAL CONTROL OF PREDATORY WEALTH/WITHOUT THE SUICIDE/OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.// FEW PEOPLE REALIZE HOW DESPERATE/AND CRIMINAL/THE OPPOSITION/TO ALLOWING A THIRD PARTY TO SPEAK FREELY AND FUNCTION PUBLICLY/CAN BE//TODAY ESPECIALLY/WHEN BOTH MAJOR PARTIES/ ADVOCATE WAR/AND WIDE PREPARATION FOR WAR/AND OPPOSE THE INCREASE OF CONTROL OF INDIVIDUAL OR CORPORATE WEALTH.// WHAT THIS NATION MUST FIGHT FOR/AND WHAT OUR GUEST HAS BEEN FIGHTING FOR/IS OUR RIGHT TO VOICE OPPOSITION/TO THIS PROGRAM/AND SUGGEST A REMEDY/WITHOUT BEING OSTRACIZED AS FOOLS OR CRUCIFIED AS CRIMINALS.

46-9-74

August 13, 1952

BALDWIN

OUR GUEST OF HONOR TONIGHT HAS THE UNIQUE DISTINCTION OF BEING THE ONLY AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADER IN THIS CENTURY WHO HAS GUIDED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT THROUGH TWO SUCCESSIVE CAMPAIGNS. DURING THE 19TH CENTURY THREE TIMES PARTIES HAVE LASTED THROUGH TWO CONSECUTIVE CAMPAIGNS, AND THE CHIEF INSTANCE WAS IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,- IN 1856 AND 1860. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT REVOLT AGAINST DOMINANT PARTIES HAS NOT EXISTED OVER LONG PERIODS, BUT IT ILLUSTRATES VIVIDLY THE BITTER AND CONCENTRATED OPPOSITION TO ANY CHALLENGE TO THEIR POWER WHICH THE TWO LEADING PARTIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO BRING TO BEAR AND SO TO CONCENTRATE ON CURRENT LEADERSHIP THAT IT WAS DRIVEN INTO OBLIVION BY THREAT AND DISGRACE, UNTIL IT WITHDREW AND NEW LEADERSHIP TOOK OVER AND TRIED TO RENEW THE SAME OPPOSITION.

36-9-115

THUS FOR TWENTY YEARS THE IRREPRESSIBLE OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY FOUND EXPRESSION IN THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS. THE SENTIMENT BACK OF THE LIBERTY PARTY

APPEARED FOR TWO CAMPAIGNS IN 1840 AND 1844, BUT REAPPEARED IN 1848 AS THE ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FREE SOIL MOVEMENT. TWO CAMPAIGNS KILLED THAT PARTY AND THE REPUBLICAN APPEARED IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1856 WITH A MODIFIED VERSION OF FREE-SOIL IDEAS, UNDER NEW LEADERS. IT TRIUMPHED IN 1860 WHEN THE MILLION VOTES WHICH THE DIXIECRATS OF THAT DAY WITHDREW FROM THE DEMOCRATS PERMITTED THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN AS A MINORITY PRESIDENT. EACH TIME IN OUR HISTORY WHEN THE TWO DOMINANT PARTIES HAVE UNITED ON A SINGLE PLATFORM, THE EFFORT TO PREVENT ANY ACTUAL CONCENTRATION OF OPPOSITION INTO A RECOGNIZED THIRD PARTY HAS BEEN BITTER AND ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE. LEADERS OF SUCH EFFORTS HAVE BEEN REVILED, THEIR MOTIVES MISREPRESENTED, AND EVERY EFFORT MADE TO STIGMATIZE SUCH MOVEMENTS AS UNPATRIOTIC AND EVEN CRIMINAL.

THE FACT THAT BEANIE BALDWIN HAS BEEN THE ONE MAN OF OUR ERA TO FIGHT THIS TACTIC SUCCESSFULLY IS A RARE DISTINCTION, EARNED AT A COST WHICH FEW, EVEN OF HIS FRIENDS

REALIZE. THIS DINNER, THEREFORE, IS MORE THAN A TRIBUTE TO THE LEADER OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN ITS SECOND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. IT IS EVEN MORE OR OUGHT TO BE A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO INSTIGATE THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS AND PERMIT THEM TO FUNCTION WHENEVER A GROUP OF CITIZENS BELIEVE THEM NECESSARY FOR THE REORIENTATION OF OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. IF SUCH A RIGHT HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED IN 1840 WE WOULD HAVE NEEDED NO CIVIL WAR TO ABOLISH HUMAN SLAVERY. IF IT IS RECOGNIZED IN 1952 WE CAN HAVE PEACE AND SOCIAL CONTROL OF PREDATORY WEALTH WITHOUT THE SUICIDE OF A THIRD WORLD WAR. FEW PEOPLE REALIZE HOW DESPERATE AND CRIMINAL THE OPPOSITION TO ALLOWING A THIRD PARTY TO SPEAK FREELY AND FUNCTION PUBLICLY CAN BE.C TODAY ESPECIALLY WHEN BOTH MAJOR PARTIES ADVOCATE WAR AND WIDE PREPARATION FOR WAR AND OPPOSE THE INCREASE OF CONTROL OF INDIVIDUAL OR CORPORATE WEALTH, WHAT THIS NATION MUST FIGHT FOR AND WHAT OUR GUEST HAS BEEN FIGHTING FOR IS OUR RIGHT TO VOICE OPPOSITION TO THIS PROGRAM AND SUGGEST A REMEDY WITHOUT BEING OSTRACIZED AS FOOLS OR CRUCIFIED AS CRIMINALS.

36-9-116

DU BOIS

I.U.Mine, Mill & Smelter

SEPT 9, 1952

35-10-122

TRADE UNIONS AND COLONIES

IT IS A SINGULAR FACT THAT UNTIL RECENTLY LABOR UNIONS HAVE FELT NO INTEREST IN COLONIAL PROBLEMS. THE REASONS ARE OBVIOUS. COLONIAL PEOPLES ARE STRANGERS TO THE AVERAGE AMERICAN OR BRITISH WORKER: THEY ARE STRANGE IN APPEARANCE, IN COLOR AND HAIR; STRANGER IN CULTURE + IN CLOTHES AND HOMES; IN LANGUAGE AND RELIGION; IN FOLKWAYS. THEY EASILY APPEAR AS CURIOSITIES AND CARICATURES. THIS IS THE REASON THAT WHEN LABOR CAME INTO POLITICAL CONTROL OF GREAT BRITAIN LITTLE CHANGE WAS REFLECTED IN THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE EMPIRE. IT WAS STILL BASED ON IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND DISEASE FOR BLACK AND BROWN OUT OF WHICH CAME LUXURY for the rich, POWER AND HIGH WAGE FOR WHITE LABOR.

I REMEMBER WHEN IN 1923 RAMSAY MCDONALD, THE GREAT LABOR LEADER, HAD TO BREAK HIS ENGAGEMENT TO SPEAK FOR ME AT THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN LONDON BECAUSE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH MADE HIM PRIME MINISTER THE FOLLOWING YEAR.

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I EXPECTED MUCH FROM HIS ADMINISTRATION, BUT COLONIES RECEIVED SCANT ATTENTION. SO LATER WHEN ERNEST BEVIN BECAME BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER AGAIN THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WAS NO DIFFERENT FROM THE CONSERVATIVE. INDEED, IT IS SAID THAT CHURCHILL REMARKED AFTER BEVIN'S FIRST STATEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, "HOW FAT EDEN HAS GROWN," CONTRASTING BEVIN WITH HIS thin TORY PREDECESSOR.

IN THE UNITED STATES, THE MILLIONS OF YELLOW, BROWN AND COLORED WORKERS OF COLONIAL COUNTRIES HAVE HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON THOUGHT OR POLICIES. WHEN THE AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS WITHDREW FROM THE WORLD FEDERATION, FEW OF THEIR MEMBERS KNEW THAT ONE UNDERLYING REASON WAS BECAUSE THE WHITE BRITISH UNIONS WANTED to CONTROL AND SPEAK FOR THE COLORED UNIONS, WHILE THE AFRICANS WANTED INDEPENDENT VOICE AND ACTION. WE JOINED BRITAIN IN REJECTING THIS DEMAND. HOWEVER, IN OUR OWN NATION, AN ANALOGOUS DEMAND THAT NEGROES, LIVING THEN CHIEFLY IN THE SOUTH, BE EITHER DENIED UNION MEMBERSHIP OR SEGREGATED, BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR BEFORE NEGRO

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MIGRATION NORTH/AND THEIR ENTRANCE INTO INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION/WITH WHITE WORKERS. THEN CAME THE DISCOVERY/THAT NEGROES WERE MEN/AS GOOD OR BAD/AS OTHER MEN/AND AS WORTHY OF UNION BROTHERHOOD.

BUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT/NOW COMES TO ANOTHER PHASE/OF THIS SAME PROBLEM AND THAT IS/THEIR FUTURE RELATION/TO OTHER COLORED WORKERS/AROUND THE WORLD. AND THIS IS NO ACADEMIC PROBLEM/OF NO IMMEDIATE INTEREST// WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS OF THE WORLD/ARE STILL SEPARATED AND UNACQUAINTED/ BUT NOT NEARLY SO WIDELY AS 100 YEARS AGO// THE FIRST TIME I WENT TO EUROPE/TRAVEL TOOK TWO WEEKS;/THE LAST TIME/IT TOOK 18 HOURS// WHEN I WENT TO AFRICA IN 1923,/ IT REQUIRED A MONTH OF TRAVEL// I COULD MAKE THE TRIP TOMORROW/IN 48 HOURS.// BUT IF PHYSICAL DISTANCE HAS THUS LESSENED/ INDUSTRIAL TIES OF WORK AND WAGE,/ OF TRADE AND COMMERCE,/HAVE EQUALLY/CLAMPED THE IMPERIAL POWERS/AND THE COLONIAL WORLD TOGETHER.// THIS IS TRUE IN FOOD SUPPLY AND CLOTHING/ BUT ESPECIALLY IN METALS.//METALS ARE THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION// PRIMITIVE MAN USED STONE,/ WOOD AND BONE/FOR TOOLS AND WEAPONS,/ BUT

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STARTED ON THE ROAD TO CIVILIZATION/WHEN COPPER AND IRON/ GOLD AND SILVER,/BRONZE AND BRASS/CAME INTO KNOWLEDGE AND USE// THEIR DISCOVERY AND USE MADE HISTORY.// ALEXANDER BECAME GREAT ON THE MINES OF THRACE// CARTHAGE DOMINATED THE MEDITERRANEAN THROUGH THE MINES OF NORTH AFRICA/AND SPAIN//AND ROME CONQUERED CARTHAGE/TO SECURE HER MINERAL WEALTH.// THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE/WAS BUILT ON THE SPANISH CONTROL/OF THE MINES AND MINERALS/OF THE AMERICAS.

TODAY METALS ARE INDISPENSABLE FOR THREE USES// STRUCTURE AS IN THE CASE OF IRON;/TRANSMISSION OF POWER/AS IN THE CASE OF COPPER;/ AND CHEMICALS/AS IN THE CASE OF PETROLEUM OIL.// THE INCREASE/IN THE USE OF THESE MATERIALS/DURING THIS CENTURY/HAS BEEN AMAZING:// PIG IRON HAS INCREASED IN USE/FROM A HALF MILLION TONS/ IN 1900/TO OVER 100 MILLION TODAY//COPPER FROM 18,000 TONS/TO TWO MILLION://THIS SHOWS/NOT ONLY MIRACULOUS INCREASE/IN THE INDUSTRIAL USE OF METALS/FROM WELLS AND MINES,/ BUT THE WAY IN WHICH/A NEW WORLD OF INDUSTRY AND LABOR/IS THREADED TOGETHER.

//OF THE BONDS OF INDUSTRY/YOU ARE MORE OR LESS AWARE -- TEN GROUPS CONTROL THE

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COPPER OF THE WORLD.// DESPITE OWNING OUR OWN IRON MINES/ WE IMPORTED THREE MILLION TONS IN 1930/ AND MUCH MORE IN 1950.// WE IMPORT MINERALS OF EVERY KIND/ WHICH LABORERS OF OTHER NATIONS AND CONTINENTS/ MINE, DIG AND PROCESS.// THOSE LABORERS ARE YOUR COLLEAGUES AND FELLOW WORKERS.// WHAT YOU EARN/ DEPENDS ON WHAT THEY EARN. THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING INDIRECTLY DETERMINE YOURS.// THE GREATEST RESERVES OF COPPER IN THE WORLD/ ARE IN AFRICA;/ THE IRON AROUND LAKE SUPERIOR/ IS 50% PURE,/ BUT THE IRON/ WHICH WE ARE JUST BEGINNING TO IMPORT/ FROM LIBERIA/ IS 70% PURE AND THE LEDGE/ FROM WHICH ITS FABULOUS SUPPLY COMES/ IS LEASED FOR 80 YEARS TO AN AMERICAN CORPORATION.// NEGROES WHO MINE THIS IRON/ GET LESS THAN A DOLLAR A DAY/ AND HAVE NO UNION.// THE COPPER MINERS OF RHODESIA/ HAVE A SMALL UNION AND RECENTLY STRUCK FOR $2 A DAY/ AND WON ONLY A PART OF THEIR BATTLE.// OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA,/ WHICH OUR CONSUL IN 1950/ CALLED THE MOST PROMISING NATION OF THE WORLD,/ NEGROES WORKING UNDER PRISON CONDITIONS/ FURNISH THE WORLD/ WITH GOLD AND DIAMONDS/ AT LESS THAN A DOLLAR A DAY.// OUR VAST OIL RESERVES/ ARE BEING DEPLETED,/ BUT THE OIL OF VENEZUELA

AND MOST OF THE NEAR EAST/ BELONGS TO AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN,/ AND WE ARE GAMBLING DESPERATELY/ FOR THE OIL OF IRAN,/ WHERE THE WORKERS ARE IGNORANT,/ DISEASED AND MISERABLY POOR.

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ALL THIS IS YOUR PROBLEM.// ONCE THE TRADE UNIONS/ OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD THOUGHT/ THAT THEY HAD NO INTEREST IN COLONIES/ AND COLONIAL PEOPLES.// AS PART OF THE WHITE IMPERIAL WORLD/ THEY THOUGHT TO SHARE THE PROFITS/ WHICH ORGANIZED INDUSTRY/ SUCKED OUT OF THESE UNFORTUNATES/ BY LOW WAGES, UNDERPRICED MATERIALS/ AND NO EXPENSE/ FOR EDUCATION OR SUPPRESSION OF DISEASE.// EVEN THEN,/ THE WAGE OF WORKERS IN BRITAIN/ AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN AMERICA/ WERE PAID FOR BY WAR AND TAXES.// IN THE 100 YEARS/ BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917/ THERE TOOK PLACE IN THE WORLD/ 204 WARS.// THE VICTIMS OF THOSE WARS -- THE KILLED, CRIPPLED AND INSANE;/ THE IMPOVERISHED AND HOPELESS,/ WERE MAINLY FROM THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD,/ AND THE REASONS FOR THE FIGHTING/ WERE MAINLY GREED, AVARICE, CUPIDITY/ OR RUTHLESS DESIRE FOR PRIVATE GAIN/ AT ANY COST TO PUBLIC WELFARE. LOOK AT THESE WARS:

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THE NAMES/OF THE WARS/SHOW IN PART THEIR OBJECT.// THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE;/ THE CRIMEAN WAR TO CONTROL THE BALKANS;/ THE CIVIL WAR OVER SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES/ THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR/FOR LEADERSHIP IN EUROPE/ THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR FOR CONTROL OF THE NEAR EAST;/ THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR/BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA;/ THE FIRST WORLD WAR/FOR RE-ASSORTMENT OF COLONIES.// THESE WERE THE GREATER CONFLICTS./ BUT THERE WERE OTHERS.// THE 1830 REVOLUTION IN POLAND;/ CIVIL WARS IN SPAIN;/ THE SERIES OF BRITISH WARS IN INDIA;/ THE OPIUM WAR TO FORCE CHINA TO BUY BRITISH OPIUM;/ THE WIDE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848;/ THE REVOLT IN CHINA;/ WARS AGAINST DENMARK;/ KAFFIR WARS IN AFRICA;/ REPEATED WARS AGAINST INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES;/ MUTINY IN INDIA;/ THE AUSTRIAN WAR AGAINST SARDINIA;/ THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND MEXICO;/ THE SEVEN WEEKS WAR/OF GERMAN JUNKERS IN EUROPE;/ THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO;/ THE ZULU WARS AND THE BOER WARS IN AFRICA;/ THE WARS OF THE MAHDI IN THE SUDAN;/ THE MATABELE WARS IN SOUTH AFRICA;/ THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR;/ THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR;/ THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA;/ THE WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND TURKEY;

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ALL THESE/AND 100 SMALLER CONFLICTS/WHICH CAME AFTER THE FALL OF NAPOLEON AND BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/ IN AN ERA/WHICH IS OFTEN CALLED/THE HUNDRED YEARS OF EUROPEAN PEACE!

THE OBJECT OF THESE WARS/ WAS TO CONTROL THE LABOR OF MANKIND;/ TO KEEP THE WAGES OF MOST MEN/DOWN TO THE STARVATION LEVEL;/ TO KEEP MOST MEN IGNORANT;/ TO LET THE MASS OF MEN/PERISH FROM CURABLE DISEASE.

TO ILLUSTRATE WHAT I AM SAYING,/ LET ME CENTER YOUR ATTENTION/ON ONE CONTINENT;/ AFRICA; AND ONE PART OF THAT CONTINENT;/ THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA./ I MENTION THESE/BECAUSE TODAY/AS YOU AND THE WORLD KNOW,/ THIS AREA IS ~~NOW~~ IN INCREASING UPHEAVAL./ AND THIS UPHEAVAL/IS ONLY TOO NATURAL WHEN YOU THINK OF THE PAST.// DIAMONDS/WERE DISCOVERED IN SOUTH AFRICA/IN 1867,/AND IN 1885/GOLD.// THIS SEALED THE FATE/OF THE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLES/WHO LIVED IN THAT LAND.// FOR MOST OF THEM/IT WAS NO BLESSING/BUT A CURSE.// IN 1899/CAME WAR BETWEEN THE BOERS AND THE ENGLISH TO CONTROL THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS,/AND TEN YEARS LATER/THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

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BECAME A NATION.

THEN FOLLOWED/AN EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY/OF OPPRESSION AND REVOLT,/TO ACHIEVE WEALTH/OUT OF CHEAP LABOR.// GOLD AND DIAMONDS/CHARACTERIZE THE MODERN CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM.//DIAMONDS FOR SHOW,/LUXURY AND EXTRAVAGANCE,/AND MORE RECENTLY/FOR MECHANICAL TECHNIQUES.// GOLD HAS LONG BEEN A MEASURING ROD/FOR MODERN WEALTH,/AND A VEHICLE OF MODERN TRADE AND COMMERCE.

THE ORGANIZATION THEREFORE/OF THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES/OF SOUTH AFRICA BECAME A WORLD PATTERN.//BLACK LABORERS/WERE BROUGHT FROM ALL PARTS OF AFRICA/BY FORCE, FRAUD AND PROMISE.// THEY WERE HELD IN THE MINES,/WORKED UNDER FORCE,/WHIPPED,/AND PAID 25¢ A DAY.//THEIR FAMILY LIFE/THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA/AND EVEN CENTRAL AFRICA/WAS BROKEN UP.// ALL EFFORTS TO UNIONIZE THESE WORKERS/WERE OPPOSED/NOT SIMPLY BY THE MINE OWNERS/BUT BY THE WHITE WORKERS,/ SINCE ~~BECAUSE~~ THE WHITE WORKERS RECEIVED HIGH WAGES/AND A PRIVILEGED POSITION/BECAUSE THE WAGES OF THE BLACKS/WERE SO LOW.//TRADE UNIONS/NOT ONLY REFUSED TO ADMIT NEGROES/ BUT AGITATED TO

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KEEP NEGRO UNIONS/FROM BEING FORMED/OR LEGALLY RECOGNIZED.//IN 1922/THE WHITE UNIONS STRUCK/TO PREVENT NEGROES/FROM DOING SKILLED WORK.//THEY MARCHED ~~FROM~~ IN JOHANNESBURG/WITH BANNERS INSCRIBED:/"WORKERS OF THE WORLD/FIGHT AND UNITE/FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICA."//THE RESULT TODAY/IS A FANTASTIC WAGE SITUATION,/WHICH A BRITISH BRICKLAYER/RECENTLY CALLED "A MONOPOLY OF STUPIDITY".// A WHITE SKILLED LABORER HAS FOUR NATIVE HELPERS./ THE WHITE MAN IS PAID $56 A WEEK/WHILE THE FOUR NATIVES each GET $10 A WEEK/AND DO ES ALL THE WORK.//THE WHITE BOER FARMERS/HOLD 2¼ MILLION AFRICANS/PRACTICALLY IN SLAVERY/AND PAY THEM $2.40 A MONTH IN CASH/WITH SCANT RATIONS. R IN THE CITIES EUROPEANS/LIVE IN HOMES/ALONG BROAD STREETS/WITH TROPICAL VEGETATION, PARKS AND BEACHES;//WHILE OUTSIDE THE CITY/SQUAT THOUSANDS OF AFRICANS/IN CROWDED TIN SHACKS.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY/IN CAPE COLONY/ONE OF THE FOUR STATES FORMING THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,/ALL RACES HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE.// IN THE OTHER THREE PROVINCES/THEY HAD NO VOTE// IN 1926 HERTZOG BEGAN TO ATTACK THE RIGHT OF

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THE NATIVES IN CAPE COLONY TO VOTE.// UNTIL IN 1936/ THEY WERE DISFRANCHISED,/ AFTER HAVING HAD THE VOTE FOR 80 YEARS// THEIR NAMES WERE TRANSFERRED TO A SEPARATE LIST/WHERE THEY COULD ELECT THREE WHITE MEMBERS TO REPRESENT THEM/IN A LEGISLATIVE BODY OF 153 MEMBERS.

FINALLY IN 1950/ALL PERSONS OF SOUTH AFRICA/ WERE CLASSIFIED AS WHITE, NATIVE OR COLORED/ AND AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE/TO SEPARATE THEM COMPLETELY/ EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF SERVANTS AND CITY WORKERS// THESE IN ORDER TO MOVE TO WORK/ ARE ORDERED TO CARRY/AS MANY AS 16 DIFFERENT WRITTEN PASSES// AS A RESULT SOUTH AFRICA/HAS MORE ARRESTS/THAN ANY CIVILIZED NATION// OUT OF A TOTAL POPULATION OF 12½ MILLION,/ THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA/HAS 1½ MILLION VOTERS/ OF WHOM 50,000 ARE COLORED/AND NONE ARE NATIVE.// IT IS NOW PROPOSED/TO DISFRANCHISE THE COLORED VOTERS.

NATURALLY/THE NEGROES HAVE PROTESTED.// 25 YEARS AGO KADALIE FORMED A TRADE UNION/WHICH WAS CALLED COMMUNIST/BUT WHICH STRUGGLED BRAVELY/FOR NEGRO RIGHTS UNTIL KADALIE WAS DRIVEN OUT.

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IN 1946/FIFTY THOUSAND NEGRO GOLD MINERS/STRUCK AND WERE SUBDUED BY MACHINE GUNS,/ TEAR GAS AND HAND GRENADES.// IN 1949 A RIOT IN JOHANNESBURG/DROVE THE POLICE OUT/BUT THEY RETURNED WITH TEAR GAS/AND ARRESTED 600 MEN AND WOMEN.// THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEGRO/NATIONAL CONGRESS/ORGANIZED IN 1921/HAS REPEATEDLY AND CAREFULLY ORGANIZED PROTESTS.// THIS CONGRESS RECENTLY SAID:/ "AS IS WELL-KNOWN,/ THE GOVERNMENT/THROUGH ITS REPRESSIVE POLICY/OF TRUSTEESHIP, and SEGREGATION/AND THROUGH LEGISLATION/THAT CONTINUES TO INSULT AND DEGRADE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE/BY DEPRIVING THEM OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS../..HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED OUR OFFER OF COOPERATION./ THE CONSEQUENCE HAS BEEN/THE GRADUAL WORSENING OF THE SOCIAL,/ ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POSITION/OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE/AND A RISING TIDE OF RACIAL BITTERNESS/AND TENSION.//THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT/THIS LEGISLATION HAS/IS TO CRUSH THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES/ TO DESTROY THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE PEOPLE/ AND TO CREATE A RESEVOIR OF CHEAP LABOR/FOR THE FARMS AND GOLD MINES,/ TO PREVENT

~~THE~~ UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT/OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE/TOWARD FULL NATIONHOOD,/AND TO HUMILIATE THEM/IN A HOST OF OTHER WAYS." THE CONGRESS THEREFORE DETERMINED/TO DEMAND/A CHANGE IN THESE LAWS/OR TO DEFY THEM BEGINNING THE FIRST OF APRIL, 1952./

~~TODAY HUNDREDS OF~~ NATIVES AND INDIANS/~~ARE BEING DAILY~~ HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND EMPRISONED/ SINCE JULY, 4000 for defying SEGREGATION

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IT IS EASY TO SEE/HOW THIS MASS/OF MORE THAN 8 MILLION WORKERS/HAVE BEEN PUT IN PRACTICAL SLAVERY/TO 1½ MILLION WHITE EXPLOITERS/AND PAID WAGES VARYING FROM 10¢ TO $1 A DAY.// ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WHITE PEOPLE OF AFRICA/ ARE NOT THE SOLE EXPLOITERS.// IN 1949 THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA/RECEIVED 90 MILLION DOLLARS as a LOAN FROM THE UNITED STATES,/ AND THE WALL STREET JOURNAL PREDICTS/ THAT IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS/THE UNITED STATES WILL FURNISH/A BILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS/FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MINING AND INDUSTRY.// THE MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS/HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA/FOR A LONG TIME.// THE FORD INTERESTS BEGAN INVESTING 25 YEARS AGO./ GENERAL MOTORS HAS RECENTLY BUILT/A 20 MILLION DOLLAR PLANT THERE./ GENERAL LUCIUS CLAY,/ RECENTLY HEAD OF THE "FREEDOM" MOVEMENT/IN THE

UNITED STATES,/IS DIRECTOR OF ~~THE~~ a CORPORATION/WHICH IN THREE YEARS/MADE 9 MILLION DOLLARS PROFITS/IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.// FIRESTONE, GOODYEAR, GENERAL ELECTRIC,/ HAVE ALL BEEN INCREASING THEIR INVESTMENTS/SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR/UNTIL TODAY/MOST OF THE INVESTED CAPITAL/OF SOUTH AFRICA/COMES FROM AMERICA.

35-10-135

THE UNITED STATES/Consul GENERAL/IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA/SAID IN AUGUST, 1950,/ "THIS COUNTRY HAS A GREATER FUTURE/THAN ALMOST ANY YOUNG COUNTRY/IN THE WORLD".// THE VICE-PRESIDENT/OF THE GENERAL STEEL-CASTING CORPORATION,/ ONE OF THE LARGEST MANUFACTURERS/OF RAILWAY EQUIPMENT/IN THE UNITED STATES/ HAS VISITED SOUTH AFRICA/THREE TIMES/IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS./ HE SAID IN AUGUST, 1950/ THAT HE CONSIDERED SOUTH AFRICA/HAD UNLIMITED POTENTIALITY FOR DEVELOPMENT./ "I CAN SEE IT GOING AHEAD/WITH GREAT SPEED/FOR IT IS SO RICH/IN SO MANY KINDS OF RAW MATERIALS./ THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE A GREAT PEOPLE".

THE PRESENT COLD WAR,/ THE KOREAN WAR,/ AND THE IMMINENT THIRD WORLD WAR/

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ARE SIMPLY ATTEMPTS/TO REDUCE THE LABOR OF THE WORLD/AND ITS MATERIALS/TO THE CONTROL OF AMERICAN BUSINESS/AND THUS TO PUT AMERICAN LABOR/INTO COMPETITION WITH THE CHEAPEST/AND MOST IGNORANT unorganized LABOR/OF THE WORLD/AND TO KEEP THE MOST INTELLIGENT LABOR/OF THIS ERA/STOPPED FROM ANY GREAT IMPROVEMENT/OF ITS CONDITION/BY COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE,/INCREASING TAXATION,/INFLATED PRICES,/and THE DETERIORATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, HOUSING AND SOCIAL SERVICES.

LABOR WAS ONCE LED TO BELIEVE/THAT THE IGNORANCE AND INEFFICIENCY/OF COLORED LABOR/WAS NATURAL AND INCURABLE/AND THAT WHITE LABOR/HAD A RIGHT AND DUTY/TO RIDE ON THEIR BACKS.// TODAY THIS THEORY/HAS BEEN PROVEN FALSE. /DEGRADATION OF BLACK LABOR/DOES NOT INCREASE THE WAGE/OR STRENGTHEN THE POSITION/OF WHITE LABOR; ON THE CONTRARY/IT IS THE CAUSE/OF THE INABILITY OF WHITE LABOR/PERMANENTLY TO BETTER ITS CONDITION/AND MAKE LABOR/AS SUCH RESPECTABLE AND DECENT/CAPABLE OF HIGH EDUCATION,/CONTRIBUTING TO CIVILIZATION,/ART AND SCIENCE.// THE PLIGHT OF THE WORKINGMAN IN CHINA,/AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES/IS YOUR PROBLEM AS WELL AS ~~HIS~~, theirs -

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YOUR DUTY EVEN MORE THAN ~~HIS~~ theirs, FOR YOU STAND/ON THE RAMPARTS OF A NEW WORLD/OF INFINITE POSSIBILITIES/WHILE HE CLIMBS OUT/OF ITS STAGGERING FOUNDATIONS/WHICH HAVE BEEN ERECTED/ON THE CORPSES OF HIS FATHERS.

BUT THERE IS ANOTHER/AND A MORE FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHT/WHICH LABOR IN THE MODERN WORLD/MUST CONSIDER.// THEY MUST GET RID/OF THE ANCIENT IDEA/THAT CERTAIN KINDS OF LABOR,/ESPECIALLY THAT OF MINERS AND SMELTERS/AND THOSE WHO DO THE HARD AND DIRTY WORK/IN STEEL MILLS AND BUILDING OPERATIONS/AND PARTICULARLY HIRED HELP IN HOMES AND ON FARMS,/- THAT THIS KIND OF WORK/IS IN ITSELF DISGRACEFUL/AND DESERVING OF SOCIAL CONDEMNATION/AND LOW WAGE.// CONSEQUENTLY FATHERS AND MOTHERS/WHO DO THIS WORK FOR A LIVING/WANT AT ALL COSTS/TO HAVE THEIR CHILDREN ESCAPE IT. ALMOST UNIVERSALLY,/THEREFORE, WE SEE THE WORKING CLASS/OF THE WORLD/LOOKING UPON MOST WORK/AS SOMETHING TO BE AVOIDED/AND REGARDING ESCAPE/FROM THE STATUS OF LABORER AS THE MAIN OBJECT/OF THEIR EFFORTS/ THROUGH TRADE UNIONS.

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THIS BRINGS US FACE TO FACE/WITH A FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION.// THE HARD AND DIRTY WORK OF THE WORLD/ HAS GOT TO BE DONE.// THE BETTER IT IS DONE,/ THE MORE CAREFULLY AND EFFECTIVELY,/ THE BETTER THE WORLD WILL BE.// WHATEVER WORK IS NECESSARY/AND BENEFICIAL/SHOULD BE PERFORMED/BECAUSE AND ONLY BECAUSE/THE WORLD NEEDS IT AND THE REWARD OF THE LABORER/ SHOULD BE WHAT HE NEEDS/IN ORDER TO BE A HEALTHY,/ INTELLIGENT AND WELL-ROUNDED MAN,/ NO MORE, NO LESS.// UNNECESSARY WORK SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED/AND REWARD BEYOND REASONABLE NEED/AS WELL AS STARVATION WAGE/SHOULD BE ILLEGAL.

WHAT, THEN, THE WORLD WANTS/AND WHAT GRADUALLY/IT IS COMING TO REALIZE/AS ITS IDEAL,/ IS A DISTRIBUTION OF THE NECESSARY WORK/ OF THE WORLD/AMONG MEN/CAREFULLY PREPARED/IN MIND AND BODY/TO DO THIS WORK/AND TO DO THIS WORK/FOR THE BENEFIT OF A BETTER AND HIGHER MANHOOD/AND NOT SIMPLY/AS THEIR SOLE MEANS OF SURVIVAL. WHEN THIS STAGE IS REACHED/ THERE MUST BE NO SOCIAL DEGRADATION/OR COMPULSORY POVERTY,/ IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/ATTACHED TO THE PERFORMANCE OF NECESSARY WORK.// BECAUSE,

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INDEED,/ THERE ARE SINGULAR LIKENESSES TODAY/BETWEEN KINDS OF WORK/WHICH ARE VERY DIFFERENTLY REWARDED.// BETWEEN THE DENTIST AND THE MINER,/ FOR INSTANCE,/ THERE IS NO FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE.// THEY BOTH DIG AND EXTRACT,/ BUT THE ONE IS GIVEN EDUCATION,/ TRAINING/AND A REWARD WHICH FURNISHES HIM/LEISURE TO ENJOY LIFE,/ WITH RECOGNITION FROM HIS FELLOW-MEN.// WHILE THE MINER IS FORTUNATE/IF HE GETS INSUFFICIENT FOOD/AND POOR CLOTHES/AND THE DISESTEEM OF HIS OWN FAMILY.// THE PHYSICIAN ENCOUNTERS AS MUCH DIRT AND WASTE/AS THE SMELTER.// THE LAWYER COMES IN CONTACT WITH CRIME AND SHAME/MORE CLOSELY/THAN THE SCAVENGER.// BUT WHILE THE PROFESSIONAL MAN CAN ATTEND THE OPERA,/ THE LOWEST OF THE WORKERS/HARDLY GETS A CHANCE TO SLEEP.// SO THAT MEN/MUST COME TO REALIZE/THAT IT IS NOT THE KIND OF WORK/THAT A MAN DOES WHICH SHOULD SETTLE HIS SOCIAL STATUS,/ BUT THE NECESSITY OF THE WORK,/ THE TRAINING FOR DOING IT WELL,/ AND THE REWARD/WHICH ALL HONEST, NECESSARY WORK DESERVES.

WHEN BY INVENTION AND MACHINE/HARD TOIL, LIFTING AND DIGGING,/ AND REPULSIVE CONDITIONS/CAN BE AVOIDED,/ THE RESULTS OF SUCH INVENTION/SHOULD GO TO ALL

WORKERS /AND NOT BE THE MONOPOLY OF THE FEW.// THE RESULT OF LESSENED NEED OF TOIL / SHOULD NOT BE UNEMPLOYMENT/ BUT BETTER PAID WORK/ FOR THE MASS./ EDUCATION FOR ALL; HIGHER TRAINING FOR THE GIFTED;// LEISURE FOR HUMAN BEINGS, / IS POSSIBLE NOW /AND WHERE THESE ARE LACKING/ SOMETHING IS WRONG/ WITH OUR INTELLIGENCE AND ORGANIZATION.

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THIS IDEAL IS ABROAD IN THE WORLD,/ BUT IT IS BEING HELD BACK/ AND KEPT DOWN/ BY THE STATUS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES/ WHO HAVE BEEN/ MORE THAN WORKERS IN CIVILIZED LANDS/ OPPRESSED AND DISTORTED/ BY POVERTY, IGNORANCE, AND DISEASE.// NO FIGHT FOR THE EVENTUAL IMPROVEMENT/ ~~IN EQUALITY~~ OF THE WORKERS/ IN THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, AND GREAT BRITAIN,/ WILL BE SUCCESSFUL/ UNTIL THEY CEASE TO BE PULLED DOWN AND KEPT BACK/ BY THE CONDITIONS IN AFRICA, ~~[redacted]~~ ASIA, and the WEST INDIES

Sept. 13, 1952 [INCOMPLETE] Boston, Phila, etc.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PEACE

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CALLS FOR PEACE AND PEACE NOW. // IT DEMANDS THAT THE FIGHTING IN KOREA STOP IMMEDIATELY // AND THAT ALL UNSETTLED QUESTIONS BE CONSIDERED AT THE COUNSEL TABLE. // WE DEMAND THAT KOREA NO LONGER BE A REHEARSAL GROUND FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR AND AN EXPERIMENT STATION IN METHODS AND MEANS OF WAR.

36-9-217

¶ OURS IS THE ONLY PARTY IN THIS CAMPAIGN WHICH IS MAKING THIS OBVIOUSLY JUST DEMAND; // AND THE REASON FOR SUCH DEMAND IS THE ABSOLUTE INSANITY OF OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD WARS SINCE 1914. // NOT TO MENTION THE ~~THREE~~ 2 HUNDRED WARS OF THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES.

¶ IT HARDLY SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT THE WORLD OF INTELLIGENT AMERICANS, WITH OUR HUNDREDS OF UNIVERSITIES, THOUSANDS OF CITIES AND MILLIONS OF CHURCH-GOERS, HAVE FORGOTTEN THE BARBAROUS TOLL OF WAR IN THIS CENTURY. // IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 65 MILLION SOLDIERS STRUGGLED TO KILL 16 MILLION AND WOUND AND MAIM 21 MILLION. // IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR 80 MILLION FOUGHT TO KILL 22 MILLION AND WOUND 34 MILLION. // THE COSTS OF THESE TWO WARS HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT FIVE TRILLION DOLLARS // A SUM SO VAST

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AS TO BE BEYOND ORDINARY CONCEPTION. // WE CAN PERHAPS REMEMBER THAT A BILLION IS A THOUSAND MILLION AND THAT THE WAR COSTS HAVE BEEN OVER 5000 TIMES THAT SUM.

¶ YET BEYOND THE DEAD AND THE HALF-DEAD, THE WOUNDED, CRIPPLED AND INSANE, BEYOND ALL THE HURT AND HORROR, LIES THE NEAR SUICIDE OF OUR HIGHEST HUMAN CULTURE.

¶ WE ARE A FRIGHTENED, HAG-RIDDEN PEOPLE, SCARED TO THINK, TOO SCARED TO ACT. // WE ARE COWERING AND HIDING. // THE VOICES OPPOSING WAR ARE HUSHED ALMOST TO WHISPERS. // WHAT ARE OUR GREAT UNIVERSITIES DOING TO SOUND A CLEAR NOTE OF SCIENTIFIC ADVICE AND GUIDANCE? // WHAT TRUMPET NOTE OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE HAS BEEN RAISED BY THE CHURCHES OF ANY OR ALL SECTS?

¶ TODAY WE TALK OF A THIRD AND GREATER WAR CARELESSLY, ALMOST GAILY. // HISTORIANS OF THE FUTURE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THE EFFORT OF CIVILIZATION IN OUR ERA TO SETTLE THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BY FORCE, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. // IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT SANE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TODAY COMPEL

36-9-219

THE NATIONS/ AND THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR/ TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF OBTAINING WORLD PEACE/ AND BETTERING WORLD CONDITIONS/ BY OVERWHELMING FORCE/ OR BY HEADING A CRUSADE TO MAKE ~~COMPEL~~ THE WORLD/ ~~to~~ ADOPT OUR IDEAS AND POLICIES/ NO MATTER HOW GOOD/ WE CONCEIVE THESE IDEAS TO BE.

IF THE WAR IN KOREA/ STOPS IMMEDIATELY// AND IF WE STOP FURNISHING WAR MATERIALS/ TO OTHER FIGHTING NATIONS// AND COMPELLING PEOPLE/ TO FIGHT AGAINST THEIR WILL, THERE IS NO ~~REASON~~ Argument/ WHY WE CANNOT SETTLE/ TERMS OF PEACE/ BY CONFERENCE AND PERSUASION. THERE ARE NO MATTERS IN DISPUTE/ WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED/ IN ACCORDANCE WITH REASON// IN KOREA/ FOR INSTANCE,/ THE BOUNDARIES HAVE BEEN PRACTICALLY AGREED ON.// THE UNITED STATES AT FIRST/ PROMISED TO EXCHANGE PRISONERS/ ACCORDING TO THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY OF GENEVA;/ IF NOW WE CHANGE OUR MINDS/ AND WISH TO ALLOW PRISONERS/ TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WILL BE RETURNED OR NOT,/ THAT TOO CAN BE SETTLED/ BY COMPROMISE AND CONSULTATION. THE RESTORATION OF DESTROYED AREAS/ AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF KOREA/ ARE MATTERS TO BE DECIDED/ AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE/ AND NOT ON THE BATTLE FIELD.

36-9-220

MODERN CIVILIZATION IS FACING A CRISIS,/ BESIDE WHICH THE DECLINE OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE,/ THE FALL OF BABYLON/ THE BREAKING UP OF GRECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION,/ AND THE EUROPEAN WARS/ OF THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES,/ PALE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE.

THESE ARE UNDISPUTED FACTS.// BUT PERHAPS THE MOST ARRESTING/ FACT OF ALL/ IS THAT THE MAJORITY/ OF OUR LEADERS OF CIVILIZATION// FITTED FOR THAT ROLE/ BY HERITAGE, NATURAL GIFT AND EDUCATION,/ ARE TODAY SILENT/ AND ARE REFUSING TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNCTION.

~~BUT~~ INSTEAD of/ CLEARLY INDICATED/ PLANS OF INVESTIGATION,/ TEACHING AND LEARNING,/ WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED,/ PARTICULARLY IN THIS COUNTRY,/ A PROGRAM OF FEAR/ SO THAT EVERY THOUGHT AND EFFORT FOR PEACE/ AND SOCIAL UPLIFT/ IS MET TODAY BY DIRECTED HATRED/ OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM,/ AND BY PLANS FOR FORCIBLE SUBJECTION/ OF NATIONS AND LEADERS/ WHO FOLLOW THIS LINE OF THOUGHT.

IT MUST BE CLEAR/ TO ALL THINKING PEOPLE/ THAT NO HUMAN REFORM/ CAN BE INSTITUTED/ AND CARRIED OUT IN THIS WAY.// AND THAT NO MATTER/ WHAT OUR PERSONAL BELIEFS ARE/ WE MUST FACE REALITY.// THE UNITED STATES MUST BEGIN/ WITH A STUDY OF ITS RELATIONS

36-9-221

TO ASIA/AND OF OUR FUTURE ATTITUDE/TOWARD THE ASIATIC PEOPLES.// WE CANNOT BE MASTERS OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA/IN THE FUTURE/AS WE WERE PARTLY IN THE PAST.// NOR CAN WE BE PERMANENT PURVEYORS OF CHARITY,/ TAKEN FROM THE POCKETS/OF OUR WORKERS.

FOR INSTANCE,/ IT IS INEVITABLE/THAT IN THE END/KOREANS WILL RULE KOREA/AND WILL THEMSELVES/SETTLE THEIR WAY OF/LIFE;// THAT THE CHINESE MUST RULE CHINA,/ AND THAT HISTORICALLY/THE ISLAND OF FORMOSA/IS PART OF CHINA.// THAT THE JAPANESE/CANNOT BE REGARDED/AS AN AMERICAN MILITARY OUTPOST,/ AND NEVER WILL WILLINGLY ADOPT THAT ROLE.// WE MUST STOP AIDING WAR/OF OTHER NATIONS IN INDO-CHINA;// AND WE MUST COME TO RECOGNIZE/THE PEOPLES OF INDIA/AS OUR EQUALS AND NOT OUR WARDS.

WE MUST UNSHACKLE/THE TRADE OF THE WORLD/FOR OUR OWN GOOD/AS WELL AS THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND.// WORLD TRADE/BETWEEN EAST EUROPE AND WEST/CANNOT BE STOPPED, AND SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED/AS THE BEST PATH/TO PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING.// FREE TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN/IS NEEDED TO RESTORE AND UPBUILD ASIA.// AND IT IS A PARODY ON ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS/TO DREAM THAT WE CAN CONTINUE/TO PRODUCE GOODS FOR THE WORLD/

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UNLESS WE BUY GOODS/FROM THE WORLD.// KNOWING THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLES/OF THE WORLD/ ARE POOR/ SICK AND IGNORANT/AND HAVE BEEN FOR AGES,/ WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS AND NOT REST CONTENT/WITH CALLING THIS/THE CAUSE OF THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM.// IF THIS IS TRUE/LET THIS TRUTH SPUR US/NOT TO WORLD WAR,/ BUT TO WAYS OF CURING/THE DEGRADATION OF MAN.// WAR IN KOREA AND INDO-CHINA,/AND PREPARATION FOR WAR IN EUROPE/WILL CONVINCE NOBODY/OF OUR AIMS TO UPLIFT MANKIND.// SO FAR/OUR POINT 4 PROGRAM/IS NOTHING/BESIDE OUR OVERALL PLANS/FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/AND OUR REFUSAL TO CONTEMPLATE A PROGRAM OF CONFERENCE,/ REASON AND GOODWILL.

WE MUST RE-ASSESS/OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA.// MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION/IN THE WORLD,// EVEN MORE THAN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,/ WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF AFRICA/BECAUSE OF THREE CENTURIES OF SLAVE TRADING/ON WHICH AMERICAN WEALTH AND PROSPERITY/ORIGINALLY WAS BUILT;// BECAUSE OF OUR PART/IN BUILDING UP/OF THE WORLD COLOR BAR;/AND BECAUSE/OF OUR PRESENT INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA/~~AND OUR REPRESSIVE ATTITUDE/TOWARD AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT.~~

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(in the Union of South Africa) -7-

IT IS EASY TO SEE THAT THIS MASS/OF MORE THAN 8 MILLION, WORKERS/~~IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA~~/ HAVE BEEN PUT IN PRACTICAL SLAVERY/ TO 1½ MILLION WHITE EXPLOITERS// AND PAID WAGES/ VARYING FROM 10¢ TO $1 A DAY.// ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THE WHITE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA/ ARE NOT THE SOLE EXPLOITERS.// IN 1949/ THE UNION RECEIVED /90 MILLION DOLLARS/ AS A LOAN FROM THE UNITED STATES,/ AND THE WALL STREET JOURNAL PREDICTS/ THAT IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS/ THE UNITED STATES/ WILL FURNISH A BILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS/ FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MINING AND INDUSTRY.// THE MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS/ HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA/ FOR A LONG TIME./ THE FORD INTERESTS BEGAN INVESTING 25 YEARS AGO./ GENERAL MOTORS/ HAS RECENTLY BUILT/ A 20 MILLION DOLLAR PLANT THERE.// GENERAL LUCIUS CLAY,/ RECENTLY HEAD OF THE "FREEDOM" MOVEMENT/ IN THE UNITED STATES,/ IS DIRECTOR OF A COROPORATION/ WHICH IN THREE YEARS/ MADE 9 MILLION DOLLARS PROFIT/ IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.// FIRESTONE, GOODYEAR,/ GENERAL ELECTRIC,/ HAVE ALL BEEN INCREASING THEIR INVESTMENTS/ SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ UNTIL TODAY MOST OF THE INVESTED CAPITAL/ OF SOUTH AFRICA/ COMES FROM AMERICA.// That makes America responsible for what is happening in South Africa today.

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ABOVE ALL,/ THE UNITED STATES/ OUGHT TO RE-ASSESS ITS ATTITUDE/ TOWARD EUROPE, BOTH TOWARD THE EAST/ AND WEST OF EUROPE.// THERE IS NO CALL FOR US/ TO OVER-EMPHASIZE OR DISTORT/ OUR RELATION TO EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.// IN MOST CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS,/ EUROPE STILL STANDS /FAR AHEAD OF THE UNITED STATES:// IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT; IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION;/ IN SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART.// EVEN THE DISASTER/ AND CATASTROPHE OF REPEATED WAR /HAS NOT YET OBLITERATED/ THIS EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP.// WE MUST THEREFORE CHANGE/ OUR RECENT ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE,/ OUR BULLYING AND CONTEMPT,/ OUR FORGETFULNESS/ OF WHAT WE HAVE INHERITED/ FROM BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY,/ AND WHAT EASTERN EUROPE TODAY/ IS SHOWING US IN SOCIAL/ AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.// WE MUST REMEMBER THAT WE CANNOT MAKE GERMANY/ OUR VASSAL STATE./ IN THE END/ GERMANS WILL NEVER CONSENT.

36-9-224

// WE CAN NEITHER RULE FRANCE/ NOR DESPISE THIS GREATEST CENTER/ OF MODERN CULTURE.// WE CANNOT CONTINUE/ TO TREAT GREAT BRITAIN/ AS JUNIOR PARTNER,/ AND WE MUST LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE/ OF THE SOVIET UNION/ AND THE 75 MILLION INHABITANTS/ OF HER SISTER STATES.

ABOVE ALL THIS,/ OUR CHIEF DUTY/TOWARD THE WORLD/LIES WITHIN OUR OWN BOUNDARIES.// WE ARE NOT THE WORLD'S NATURAL LEADERS/NEITHER BY INHERENT GIFT/NOR TEMPORARY TECHNICAL MASTERY,/NOR AT THE WORLD'S REQUEST.// THE GREATEST BENEFIT/WHICH WE CAN BESTOW ON MANKIND/IS TO SOLVE DECENTLY AND EFFICIENTLY/ THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE.// AND THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS AGAINST WAR/AND OUR EXTRAORDINARY AND INCONCEIVABLE/PREPARATIONS FOR WAR/IS THAT THIS PROGRAM/IS BOUND TO RUIN./ IF IT HAS NOT ALREADY RUINED,/ THE CHANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/TO PLAN A GREAT AND SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY// AND TO ACHIEVE REAL WORLD LEADERSHIP/NOT BASED ON MURDER/BUT BUILT ON TRUTH AND JUSTICE.// NO NATION/THAT IS SPENDING 70 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS/ A YEAR/FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/HAS EITHER THE RESOURCES/OR THE ABILITY/OR THE MENTAL BALANCE/TO CURE ITS OWN FESTERING WOUNDS/AND STOP ITS OWN DECADENCE.

WE NEED/FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:/ LOWER TAXATION/MORE EQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED/ACCORDING TO INCOME.// THE TAX BURDEN/WHICH WE CARRY IN THE UNITED STATES/IS NOT ONLY A DISGRACE IN ITSELF/ A WASTE OF HUMAN EFFORT/AND MISUSE OF WEALTH,

36-9-225

BUT IT STOPS US/ FROM THE VERY ACTIVITIES/WHICH WE MUST HAVE FOR SURVIVAL.// FLOOD CONTROL/AND THE ORDERING OF RIVER SYSTEMS/FOR IRRIGATION AND MANUFACTURE OF POWER;/ REFORESTRATION AND CONSERVATION OF SOIL,/ ARE A GROUP OF ACTIVITIES/CALLING FOR LONG AND CAREFUL PLANNING/AND LARGE EXPENDITURES.// UNLESS WE ARE WILLING/TO STRETCH A SAHARA DESERT/OVER A ONCE FRUITFUL LAND,/AND TO INCREASE THE MONOPOLY AND MISUSE/OF OUR ONCE VAST NATURAL RESOURCES.

36-9-226

THESE NATURAL RESOURCES/INCLUDING FORESTS, LANDS,/ MINES AND OIL WELLS,/ MUST INCREASINGLY/AND ACCORDING TO PLANS/BASED ON JUSTICE AND FORESIGHT/ BE CONTROLLED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD/AND NOT SURRENDERED TO ~~PRIVATE~~ MONOPOLY/AND USED MAINLY TO INCREASE PRIVATE PROPERTY/AND OLIGARCHICAL POWER.// THIS USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES/FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD DOES NOT STEM/FROM CURRENT SOCIALISM/OR COMMUNISM/BUT HAS BEEN FORESEEN/AND PUT INTO PARTIAL PRACTICE/FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF MAN.// IT IS NOW/OUR DESPERATE NEED/TO PLAN THE PRODUCTION,/ USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/ON A NATIONAL SCALE/AND TO CARRY IT OUT/DESPITE THE POWERFUL/AND SHORT-SIGHTED SELFISH OPPOSITION.

36-9-227

THE CHANGE/IN THE CONTROL OF WEALTH/FROM INDIVIDUALS TO CORPORATIONS/IS SO ~~RECENT~~ GRADUAL/AND TREMENDOUS IN SIGNIFICANCE/THAT MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS/DO NOT YET GRASP IT.// THEY STILL ASSUME/THAT INDIVIDUALS/IN FREE ASSOCIATION/CAN GUIDE THE MAIN FORM/AND DIRECTION/OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY;//THAT PRIVATE PROPERTY/AND FREE CONTRACT/STILL FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY/FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD;//THAT THE MASS OF WORKERS/ARE EQUAL IN BARGAINING POWER/WITH THE EMPLOYERS;// THAT COMPETITIVE PRICES/AND FREE MARKETS SECURE THE BEST DISTRIBUTION/OF PRODUCTS.//IN A DAY/WHEN THE WORK OF THE WORLD/IS BEING DIRECTED/AND CONTROLLED/MAINLY BY CORPORATIONS/AND NOT BY INDIVIDUALS OR FIRMS,/ MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS/ARE USING THE THOUGHT AND PHRASEOLOGY/OF A DISAPPEARING ERA.

FOR INSTANCE,/ ALL THE ELECTRICITY AND GAS/MANUFACTURED FOR THIS NATION/~~IS~~ ARE (PAPER, RUBBER & LEATHER) (The Oil DUG & CARRIED) DONE EXCLUSIVELY BY CORPORATIONS.// CORPORATIONS CONDUCT/BY FAR THE GREATER PART/OF OUR MINING, MANUFACTURING,/ TRANSPORTATION AND BANKING.//AND THE MAIN TRANSACTIONS OF COMMERCE AND TRADE/IN, WHISKEY, (SOFT DRINKS) TOBACCO AND MILK,/ FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER. CHEMICALS, PUBLISHING & PRINTING, and soon, the Farming.

36-9-228

A CORPORATION/CANNOT BE TREATED/NOR REGULATED LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL.// IT IS AN ARTIFICIAL BODY/CREATED BY LAW.// IT HAS NO MORAL RESPONSIBILITY./ IT CANNOT BE PUNISHED NOR EDUCATED./ IT IS NOT HUMAN/BUT AN INHUMAN CREATION OF MAN/FOR MAN'S CONVENIENCE/AND MUST BE DESTROYED/WHEN IT NO LONGER SERVES ~~ITS~~ that PURPOSE.//YET -- AND THIS IS THE CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX OF OUR ERA -/ THE GIANT AND POWERFUL CORPORATIONS/WHICH TODAY RULE MANKIND/ARE CONDUCTED/ BY MORALLY RESPONSIBLE HUMAN BEINGS.// THESE MEN/WHO PERSONALLY/WOULD NOT LIE, STEAL NOR MURDER; WHO HEAD OUR CHURCHES AND CHARITIES;//STAND AT THE HEAD OF CORPORATIONS/WHICH COMMIT EVERY CRIME/ON THE CALENDAR.// THEY CHEAT AND STEAL;/ THEY ENSLAVE AND DEGRADE;/ THEY STARVE AND RAPE;/THEY DEGRADE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.//THEY CANNOT BE TREATED AS INDIVIDUALS/BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT INDIVIDUALS;/BUT INDIVIDUALS CONDUCT THEM/AND WE ~~DO~~ can NOT HOLD THESE OWNERS AND MANAGERS/RESPONSIBLE FOR A NEW KIND OF CRIME/WHICH OUR LAWS DO NOT YET RECOGNIZE.// WE HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CHANGING OUR LAW/AND FITTING IT/ TO A NEW KIND OF CRIME/BECAUSE CORPORATIONS LARGELY CONTROL OUR LEGISLATURES,/ INFLUENCE OUR COURTS,/ AND OWN THE GREAT MASS OF OUR PROPERTY.// THE

STATES CREATE CORPORATIONS/ AND THESE CORPORATIONS/ ARE OFTEN RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL/ THAN THE STATES/ WHICH CREATE THEM.// THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ THIRTY CORPORATIONS/ WITH PROPERTY WORTH OVER A BILLION DOLLARS EACH;// THERE ARE ONLY TEN STATES OUT OF THE 48/ WHICH HAVE PROPERTY AND RESOURCES/ LARGER THAN THIS GROUP OF GIANT CORPORATIONS.// AS THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ADMITS,/ THE ASSETS OF THE GREAT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES/ ALONE REPRESENT/ A FIRST MORTGAGE/ ON THE TOTAL BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY/ OF THE WHOLE NATION.// TO PRETEND/ THAT THE CONTROL/ OF THESE VAST AGGREGATIONS OF WEALTH/ AND POWER/ CAN BE DONE/ BY FREE ENTERPRISE/ AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE/ IS IDIOTIC.

36-9-229

TO COPE/ WITH THIS NEW ECONOMIC SITUATION/ WE NEED KNOWLEDGE, LEADERSHIP AND EXPERIMENT.// WAR AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR/ STOP THOUGHT,/ CONFERENCE AND EFFORT/ IN THIS LINE,/ NOT ONLY FOR LACK OF FUNDS/ BUT TODAY FOR FEAR/ OF BEING CALLED SUBVERSIVE.// AND/ ANY CRITICISM/ OF CURRENT BUSINESS METHOD/ IS CALLED TREASON.// YET IN THE MODERN CIVILIZED WORLD,/ EVERY NATION/ HAS TO SOME DEGREE/ TRIED TO CURB INDUSTRY AND CORPORATE ACTIVITY/ BY THE SOCIAL ACTIVITY/ OF THE STATE.// MOST NATIONS/ OWN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

AND COMMUNICATIONS;/ SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES/ AND OTHER ORGANS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION;// THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF HEALTH AND MEDICINE;/ THE PLANNING OF SHELTER AND HOUSING;/ AND SOME CONTROL/ OVER WAGES,/ CONDITIONS OF WORK AND PRICES;/ AND OVER MANY PHASES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE.// WE, TOO, HAVE FOLLOWED THIS INEVITABLE TREND;/ YET ITS FURTHER PROGRESS/ IS NOW CALLED SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM,/ AND STOPPED BY SLANDER,/ IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH.

36-9-230

OUR POWERFUL CORPORATIONS/ ARE TAKING over THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE ITSELF./ ADOLPH BERLE,/ NOW PROFESSIONAL RED-BAITER/ AND WITCH-HUNTER/ HAS TOLD US,/ "THE RISE OF THE MODERN CORPORATION/ HAS BROUGHT A CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER/ WHICH CAN COMPETE ON EQUAL TERMS/ WITH THE MODERN STATE. ECONOMIC POWER VERSUS POLITICAL POWER,/ EACH STRONG IN ITS OWN FIELD.// THE STATE SEEKS/ IN SOME ASPECTS/ TO REGULATE THE CORPORATION, WHILE THE CORPORATION,/ STEADILY BECOMING MORE POWERFUL,/ MAKES EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID SUCH REGULATION.// WHERE ITS OWN INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED,/ IT EVEN ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE THE STATE.// THE FUTURE MAY SEE/ THE ECONOMIC ORGANISM,/ NOW TYPIFIED BY THE CORPORATION,

NOT ONLY ON AN EQUAL PLANE/ WITH THE STATE,/ BUT POSSIBLY EVEN SUPERCEDING IT/ AS THE DOMINANT FORM/ OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION."

AND REMEMBER/ THAT IN THESE CORPORATIONS/ THERE IS NO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL./ THEY ARE RULED/ BY KINGS OR OLICHARCHIES/ AND THEY FIGHT/ ~~THE INTRUSION OF~~ SHARING POWER WITH THE STATE OR WITH THE LABORERS/ WHO DO THEIR WORK.

36-9-231

LOBBIES/ REPRESENTING ALL THE MAJOR BUSINESS INTERESTS/ MANNED BY WELL-PAID MEN/ OF HIGH ABILITY/ AND SOCIAL AND BUSINESS CONNECTIONS,/ ARE IN CONSTANT ATTENDANCE ON LEGISLATIVE/ AND CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS,// AND IN CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACT/ WITH THE MEMBERS,// QUITE OVERWHELMING THE FEW/ AND INTERMITTENT DELEGATIONS/ REPRESENTING FROM TIME TO TIME/ SOME SECTIONS/ OF THE NATION'S ELECTORATE.// THE CONSEQUENT COST OF PROMOTING LEGISLATION/ HAS REACHED SUCH FIGURES/ THAT ONLY CORPORATIONS CAN AFFORD THEM.

// THE COST OF CAMPAIGNS/ FOR PUBLIC OFFICE/ IS PROHIBITIVE/ FOR THE ORDINARY CANDIDATE. ONLY SOME PERSON/ CHOSEN BY A HUGE AND WELL-ORGANIZED MACHINE,/ WITH MILLIONS TO SPEND, CAN THINK OF RUNNING FOR HIGH OFFICE.// FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CORPORATIONS/ TO

GIVE A SENATOR LIKE NIXON/ "EXPENSES"/ IS STANDARD PROCEDURE/ IN AMERICAN POLITICS, / THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN/ WILL COST $250 MILLION DOLLARS,/ MOST OF IT PAID/ DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY/ BY CORPORATIONS.// WHO THEN WILL OWN/ THE PRESIDENT ELECTED?// THE ONLY PARTY/ WHO WILL GET NONE OF THIS SLUSH FUND/ IS THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY.// THE ONLY UNBOUGHT CANDIDATE/ IS VINCENT HALLINAN.

36-9-232

WITH CORPORATE WEALTH AND METHODS/ THUS DOMINATING OUR POLITICAL LIFE,/ WHAT BECOMES OF OUR CLAIM/ TO BE A DEMOCRACY/ AND THUS LEADING THE "FREE WORLD?"// THIS CLAIM IS OLD/ AND HAS AT TIMES APPROACHED TRUTH.// IT IS NOT TRUE TODAY./ FOR DEMOCRACY,/ WHILE LOGICAL IN THEORY,/ IS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE/ AND MAINTAIN IN PRACTICE.// THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES/ IN OUR HISTORY/ WHEN THE PUBLIC OPINION/ OF THE MASS OF CITIZENS/ LARGELY DETERMINED OUR POLICIES.// THERE HAVE BEEN REGIONS/ LIKE 19TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND/ WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC TOWN MEETING/ WAS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL/ OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.// BUT OVER MOST OF OUR HISTORY,/ DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN STRICTLY LIMITED,/ NOW BY RELIGION AND STATUS,/ NOW by race, now BY OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY.// LATER BY THE SLAVE SYSTEM,/ THEN BY LEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT,/ AND TODAY BY THE POWER OF CORPORATE WEALTH.

SINCE THE FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER/ WHICH RULED THE NATION/ BY THAT OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND LABOR/ NECESSARY TO THE VALUABLE COTTON CROP// THE NATION, TURNING SHARPLY FROM DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/ BY FREEDMEN AND IMMIGRANTS/ YIELDED CONTROL/ GRADUALLY BUT DEFINITELY/ TO CORPORATE WEALTH.// CONGRESS LOST ITS REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER/ BY THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF VOTERS // NEGROES BY LAW, WHITE LABOR/ BY THREAT OF ECONOMIC REPRISAL.// ~~AND LATELY ENFRANCHISED WOMEN/ BY DOMINANT CULTURE PATTERNS.~~// UNITS OF REPRESENTATION/ BECAME STARTLINGLY UNEQUAL/ SO THAT 5,000 VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA/ HAD THE SAME POLITICAL POWER/ AS 100,000 IN ~~MASSACHUSETTS.~~ N.Y.// AND 36,000 VOTES/ GIVE THE REACTIONARY MCCARRAN OF NEVADA/ THE SAME POWER/ AS DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS WHO RECEIVED TWO MILLION VOTES.

36-9-233

THUS/ THE CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES/ TODAY/ HAS SMALL CONTROL/ OVER CANDIDATES/ OR OVER THE ISSUES/ WHICH WILL BE VOTED ON.// THE MAIN DECISIONS/ IN NATIONAL POLICIES/ WILL REST IN THE HANDS/ OF THOSE BUSINESS INTERESTS/ WHICH ARE TODAY/ IN THE CONTROL/ OF A HUGE OLIGARCHY/ STRIVING TO BELT THE WORLD.// THESE ARE THE REASONS/ WHY

OUR CLAIM/ TO CHAMPION DEMOCRACY/ IN THE WORLD/ IS NOT VALID/ AND CANNOT BE PROVEN BY HONEST INQUIRY.

36-9-234

IF OUR DEMOCRACY IS THUS VITIATED/ AT THE SOURCE,/ WHAT HAPPENS TO EDUCATION, HEALTH, CIVIL RIGHTS AND FREE PRESS?/ THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION/ IN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE A MATTER OF INTENSE ANXIETY.// OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM/ HAS DETERIORATED DURING THE 20TH CENTURY/ AND IS WORSENING TODAY,/ DESPITE ANY MANIPULATION OF FIGURES/ OR MULTIPLICATION OF BRICKS AND MORTAR.// OUR TEACHING FORCE/ IS DECLINING IN EFFICIENCY/ ~~BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT PROPERLY TRAINED,/ ARE~~ is NOT SUPPORTED BY PUBLIC OPINION,/ AND ARE NOT PAID DECENT WAGES.// OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FACILITIES/ BOTH IN HOUSING, RECREATION AND TEACHING MATERIALS,/ ARE NOT IMPROVING,/ ~~AND~~ PARTICULARLY/ IN THE THIRD OF THE NATION/ WHERE DOUBLE SYSTEMS OF SCHOOLS/ BASED ON RACE/ ~~ARE LEGALLY REQUIRED,/ THE CHANCE FOR MILLIONS OF CHILDREN TO LEARN TO READ, WRITE AND COUNT ACCURATELY/ IS NOT AS GOOD TODAY/ AS IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO.~~ DOUBLE THE COSTS OF SCHOOLS SHARED// WE ARE STILL HELD BACK/ BY THE FEELING THAT EDUCATION OF YOUTH/ IS A PRIVATE, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY/ AND THAT GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY/ IS DANGEROUS.// NOTHING

IS MORE INDICATIVE/OF OUR CULTURAL DECADENCE.// THE RESTORATION AND PROGRESS/OF OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION/CALLS FOR MONEY/AND LARGE SUMS OF MONEY,/ AND THIS MONEY CANNOT BE OBTAINED/IF OUR PRESENT PREPARATION FOR WAR/CONTINUES.

36-9-235

THERE IS A DEMAND/AND WILL BE INCREASING DEMAND/ FOR BETTER MEDICAL CARE/ OF THE HEALTH OF THE NATION.// WE ARE NOT TRAINING/A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS/ AND NURSES,/ AND THEY ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED/WITH FANTASTIC DISREGARD/ OF THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.// A NEW NATIONAL PLAN/ OF MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALS, NO MATTER UNDER WHAT NAME IT PARADES,/ IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY // AND THE MONEY TO SUPPORT IT/IS BEING WORSE THAN WASTED/ON MORROCCO AIRFIELDS/TO ATTACK THE SOVIETS.// THE THREAT TO OUR HEALTH/ IS GREATLY INCREASING/BECAUSE OF OUR LACK OF DECENT HOUSING/AND THE PREVALENCE OF SLUM AREAS./ WE MAKE OUR SONS FIGHT/FOR BIG BUSINESS ABROAD/AND GIVE THEM NO PLACE/ TO LIVE WHEN THEY RETURN HOME.// WE SHOULD NOT BE LULLED TO SLEEP/ BY THE KNOWLEDGE/THAT MANY IF NOT MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD/HAVE POORER HOUSING/THAN WE HAVE.// THE POINT IS/THAT WITHOUT UNDUE EXERTION/ON OUR PART/AND WITH ORDINARY REASONABLE PLANNING/ WE COULD

HAVE DECENT HOUSING/AND THE ELIMINATION/OF NESTS OF CRIME/IF SO MUCH OF OUR INCOME DID NOT GO TO WAR!

36-9-236

IN OUR RECENT NATIONAL EFFORT/TO MAKE PEOPLE THINK ALIKE/AND TO AGREE WITH CERTAIN DOGMAS/AND TO HATE PEOPLE/BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN,/ WE HAVE LET THE CIVIL RIGHTS/UNDER WHICH WE HAVE LIVED/AND WHICH WE HAVE INHERITED/FROM MAGNA CARTA, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,/ AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE CONSTITUTION,/ BE INVADED AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED.// IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE/THAT IN AMERICA/OF ALL LANDS,/ IT IS DANGEROUS TO HOLD A PEACE MEETING;/ TO DEFEND THE RIGHT OF TEACHERS/TO THINK;/ TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM BEING JAILED/ON UNKNOWN TESTIMONY/ AND BY ACCUSERS/WHO ARE NOT NAMED!// THERE IS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ALMOST NO FREE PLATFORM/OF DISCUSSION/ AND THERE IS CERTAINLY/NO FREE PRESS.// OUR NEWS-GARTHERING AGENCIES/AND OUR NEWSPAPERS/ARE UNDER THE CONTROL/ OF GREAT BUSINESS COMBINES/WHO ALSO OWN MOST OF THE MAGAZINES,/ AND CONTROL BOOK PUBLISHING/ RADIO, SCREEN AND TELEVISION.// IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE/TO GET PUBLICITY/FOR ANYBODY/WHO DARES DEFEND COMMUNISM,/ SOCIALISM, SOCIAL

MEDICINE, OR EVEN WHAT WE USED TO CALL LIBERALISM. IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET BOOKS PUBLISHED WHICH CRITICIZE OR DO NOT OVER-PRAISE AMERICA. AND WHICH DO NOT BLAST BRITISH SOCIALISM. OUR FICTION AND CINEMA AND RADIO BROADCASTS MUST DESCRIBE ALL COMMUNISTS AS VILLAINS AND BY INFERENCE PAINT JUDAS ISCARIOT AS A HERO. WE ARE USING KNOWN LIARS, HIRED SPIES AND PROFESSIONAL INFORMERS TO BUILD UP OUR SECRET POLICE METHODS.

ESPECIALLY, OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR 15 MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES IN WORK, WAGE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, HAVE BEEN RETARDED, AND THE SLOW PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT ONLY HIGHLIGHTS WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE IF AMERICAN NEGROES HAD HAD THE SCHOOLS AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE LAST GENERATION. CONGRESS CANNOT EVEN VOTE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND MOB VIOLENCE!

THOSE PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO WANT TO CHECK FASCISM, TO PUT DOWN RACE HATRED AND GROUP HOSTILITY; WHO SEE IN THE NEWEST SOUTH A GROWING AND THREATENING MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES, REDUCTION OF WAGES AND ACCUMULATION OF ~~INDIVIDUAL~~ PRIVATE WEALTH, HAVE BEEN DRIVEN INTO FEARFUL SILENCE. WHAT THE NATION NEEDS IS A NEW HUMILITY

100-9-237

TO REPLACE HER BOASTING AND FIGHTING; A FREE PRESS AND FREE FORUMS FOR DISCUSSION; A TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION; THE FREEING OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS FOR INVESTIGATION INSTEAD OF CHAINING THEM TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS FOR WAR; ENCOURAGEMENT FOR LITERATURE AND ART; AND THE USE OF SCREEN, RADIO AND TELEVISION FOR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL UPLIFT INSTEAD OF MAKING THEM CARRIERS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION.

~~May I turn now for a few minutes to the position of American Negroes in this election~~

MAY I TURN NOW FOR A FEW MINUTES TO THE POSITION OF AMERICAN NEGROES IN THIS ELECTION

100-9-238

(20-1) THERE ARE TODAY/4½ MILLION NEGROES IN THE NORTH,/9½ MILLION IN THE SOUTH, AND A LITTLE LESS THAN A MILLION/IN THE WEST.// MOST SOUTHERN NEGROES/ARE STILL DISFRANCHISED.//WHILE A MILLION/MAY VOTE THIS YEAR,/ THESE VOTES WILL BE CAST/IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY/AND THUS WILL HAVE NO EFFECT/ON THE NATIONAL RESULT.//IN THE NORTH, ~~PERHAPS~~ HOWEVER 2,750,000 NEGROES WILL VOTE,/MOSTLY IN THE LARGE CITIES/~~OF MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, OHIO, NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, CONNECTICUT, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, MARYLAND AND CALIFORNIA.~~ ~~THESE~~ of 11 STATES/(which) CAST NEARLY HALF/THE ELECTORAL VOTES/FOR PRESIDENT.// THE DIFFERENCE IN THE VOTING STRENGTH/OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES/IN THESE STATES/VARIES FROM ZERO TO ~~F~~OUR PER CENT,/ WHILE THE NEGRO POPULATION/RANGES FROM THREE TO 16%.// THUS THE NEGRO VOTE HERE/CAN DECIDE/WHETHER EISENHOWER OR STEVENSON/WILL BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

THIS THE DEMOCRATS/AND REPUBLICANS/ KNOW RIGHT WELL.// AND THEY ARE ARRANGING THEIR CAMPAIGN/ACCORDINGLY/-- WHICH INVOLVES/CONSIDERABLE SUMS OF MONEY/TO INFLUENCE NEGRO OPINION;// TO ORGANIZE CLUBS/AND SPEAKING BUREAUS.// INDIRECTLY, to ADVISE ADVERTISERS,/INFLUENCE PREACHERS/AND TO PUT PRESSURE/ON EMPLOYERS/ IN FEDERAL, STATE AND CITY SERVICE.//ALL THIS,/ IN THESE DAYS OF HYSTERIA/AND WITCH-HUNTING/WILL ADD UP.// THEN THERE IS THE POLITICAL PATRONAGE;// OFFICES AND PROMISES/PLAY A LARGE ROLE;

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//TODAY THE PROMISE OF JUDICIAL/OR FOREIGN SERVICE POSITIONS/IS BEING WAVED/BEFORE COLORED MEN OF PROMINENCE.

36-9-240

THESE INFLUENCES,/BY NO MEANS CONFINED TO NEGROES/ PLAY A LARGER PART IN A GROUP LIKE ~~THEIRS~~ OURS/WHOSE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION/IS LESS SECURE/THAN THAT OF THE WHITE POPULATION. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In the recent past!

~~THEN CAME~~ INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION/AND THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT/FROM 1933 TO 1945/, ~~THE NEGRO VOTE~~ SWUNG Negroes/~~SWUNG~~ COMPLETELY OVER/TO THE NEW DEAL.// THEY DID NOT GET COMPLETE JUSTICE/BUT THEY GOT ECONOMIC HELP/IN THEIR DIRE DISTRESS,/A SHARE IN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION,/AND UNPRECEDENTED RECOGNITION/NOT ONLY IN POLITICS/BUT IN THE FEPC/AND IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. ~~LANDON GOT NO NEGRO SUPPORT, AND WILLKIE ONLY SMALL.~~

~~AND~~ THEN, IN 1948,/CAME TRUMAN.// THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/APPEALED STRONGLY TO NEGROES,/ BUT TRUMAN TOOK THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM/AND PROMISED MORE THAN HE EVER MEANT TO FULFIL/OR EVER REALLY TRIED.// THE BULK OF THE NEGRO VOTE/SUPPORTED

HIM, AND ~~WITH DIXIECRAT OPPOSITION~~, HE SQUEEZED THROUGH TO BECOME A MINORITY PRESIDENT.

NOW COMES 1952 - AND THE NEGRO VOTER IS FACED BY THE GREATEST DILEMMA IN HIS POLITICAL LIFE. // TRUMAN IS GOING TO REPEAT HIS VAUDEVILLE ACT FOR NEGROES, AND BELIEVES THAT THEY ARE FOOLS ENOUGH TO FALL FOR HIM A SECOND TIME. // THEY ARE NOT THAT DUMB, BUT THEY ASK, WHAT ELSE? // THE REPUBLICANS ARE READY WITH MONEY, APPOINTMENTS, AND FLATTERING PUBLICITY. // BUT ALSO WITH NIXON, WAR, AND NO CIVIL RIGHTS.

VOTE THEN, BUT FOR WHOM? // IN 1928 NEGRO VOTERS COULD CHOOSE ONLY BETWEEN THE DEVIL OF HOOVER AND THE DEEP SEA OF TAMMANY AND THE SOUTH. // SO TODAY COMES THE SECOND PROPOSAL TO NEGRO VOTERS. // "THE LESSER EVIL". // VOTE FOR TRUMAN. HE TRIED. // (DID HE?) // VOTE FOR STEVENSON, HE MAY TRY. (WILL HE?) // YOU CAN'T GET WHAT YOU WANT, THEREFORE SETTLE FOR WHAT YOU CAN GET. // THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT AMERICAN PREJUDICE WOULD LOVE TO HAVE YOU DO // WHAT IT HAS ADVISED FOR 75 YEARS. // IF YOU FOLLOW THIS PATH, THE NEGRO AMERICAN WILL NEVER REACH FREEDOM. // HE'LL ALWAYS SETTLE FOR SOMETHING LESS.

TODAY THERE IS NO SUCH NECESSITY. // THERE IS THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY, OFFERING

In the face of Stevenson Warning the Confederate bloc & Shameless vote against Negro rights

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[REMAINING PAGES MISSING]

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NEGROES/ EVERYTHING THEY ASK.// REACTION, NORTH AND SOUTH,/ IS SCARED STIFF/LEST THE NEGRO/WILL HAVE SENSE ENOUGH/TO ACCEPT THIS OFFER.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/IS PLEDGED/TO A COMPLETE PROGRAM/OF CIVIL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS;/ IS HEADED BY A DEFENDER/OF THE RIGHTS OF WORKING PEOPLE/AND A 64 A NEGRO WOMAN.

IP AT FIRST BLUSH/ONE WOULD SAY:/ HOW CAN A SINGLE NEGRO VOTER/FAIL TO VOTE/FOR THIS PARTY.//IF ONLY TO SERVE NOTICE/ON ALL FUTURE PARTIES/THAT IF THEY FAIL/TO MEET THE LEGITIMATE DEMANDS/OF NEGROES THEY/LOSE THREE MILLION VOTES/IN THE NORTH AND WEST, AND EVENTUALLY/FIVE MILLION MORE IN THE SOUTH/WHEN THE ~~LAND~~ SOUTH BECOMES/ A FREE DEMOCRACY INSTEAD OF/A FRAUDULENT IMITATION/IN 12 STATES?

THUS FOR A NEGRO/WITH ORDINARY COMMON SENSE/ THERE IS NO REAL DILEMMA/IN THIS ELECTION// VOTE,/ AND VOTE FOR THE ONLY PARTY/WHICH SUPPORTS YOUR JUST DEMANDS//

IT WILL NOT MAKE/A PARTICLE OF DIFFERENCE/TO NEGROES/WHETHER EISENHOWER OR STEVENSON/ WINS//IT WILL MAKE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE/IF THE DEFEATED CANDIDATE/OWES HIS DEFEAT TO YOU/

YOUR POSITION IS SUCH/THAT IT WOULD BE TOO RISKY/FOR YOU PUBLICLY/ TO ANNOUNCE YOUR POLITICAL CHOICE/ SAY NOTHING AND VOTE SECRETLY,/ AS IS YOUR RIGHT// YOU NEED TELL

" I rather vote for What + not get it
than vote for what I don't want
+ get it " Deb.

Sept. 13, 1952 Du Bois Easton Boston, Phila, etc.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PEACE

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CALLS FOR PEACE AND PEACE NOW. IT DEMANDS THAT THE FIGHTING IN KOREA STOP IMMEDIATELY, AND THAT ALL UNSETTLED QUESTIONS BE CONSIDERED AT THE COUNSEL TABLE. WE DEMAND THAT KOREA NO LONGER BE A REHEARSAL GROUND FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR AND AN EXPERIMENT STATION IN METHODS AND MEANS OF WAR. OURS IS THE ONLY PARTY IN THIS CAMPAIGN WHICH IS MAKING THIS OBVIOUSLY JUST DEMAND; AND THE REASON FOR SUCH DEMAND IS THE ABSOLUTE INSANITY OF OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD WARS SINCE 1914, NOT TO MENTION THE THREE HUNDRED WARS OF THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES.

IT HARDLY SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT THE WORLD OF INTELLIGENT AMERICANS, WITH OUR HUNDREDS OF UNIVERSITIES, THOUSANDS OF CITIES AND MILLIONS OF CHURCH-GOERS, HAVE FORGOTTEN THE BARBAROUS TOLL OF WAR IN THIS CENTURY. IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 65 MILLION SOLDIERS STRUGGLED TO KILL 16 MILLION AND WOUND AND MAIM 21 MILLION. IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR 80 MILLION FOUGHT TO KILL 22 MILLION AND WOUND 34 MILLION. THE COSTS OF THESE TWO WARS HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT FIVE TRILLION DOLLARS, A SUM SO VAST

35-10-54

AS TO BE BEYOND ORDINARY CONCEPTION. WE CAN PERHAPS REMEMBER THAT A BILLION IS A THOUSAND MILLION AND THAT THE WAR COSTS HAVE BEEN OVER 5000 TIMES THAT SUM.

YET BEYOND THE DEAD AND THE HALF-DEAD, THE WOUNDED, CRIPPLED AND INSANE, BEYOND ALL THE HURT AND HORROR, LIES THE NEAR SUICIDE OF OUR HIGHEST HUMAN CULTURE. WE ARE A FRIGHTENED, HAG-RIDDEN PEOPLE, SCARED TO THINK, TOO SCARED TO ACT. WE ARE COWERING AND HIDING. THE VOICES OPPOSING WAR ARE HUSHED ALMOST TO WHISPERS. WHAT ARE OUR GREAT UNIVERSITIES DOING TO SOUND A CLEAR NOTE OF SCIENTIFIC ADVICE AND GUIDANCE? WHAT TRUMPET NOTE OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE HAS BEEN RAISED BY THE CHURCHES OF ANY OR ALL SECTS?

TODAY WE TALK OF A THIRD AND GREATER WAR CARELESSLY, ALMOST GAILY. HISTORIANS OF THE FUTURE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THE EFFORT OF CIVILIZATION IN OUR ERA TO SETTLE THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BY FORCE, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT SANE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TODAY COMPEL

THE NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF OBTAINING WORLD PEACE AND BETTERING WORLD CONDITIONS BY OVERWHELMING FORCE OR BY HEADING A CRUSADE TO COMPEL THE WORLD TO ADOPT OUR IDEAS AND POLICIES NO MATTER HOW GOOD WE CONCEIVE THESE IDEAS TO BE.

IF THE WAR IN KOREA STOPS IMMEDIATELY AND IF WE STOP FURNISHING WAR MATERIALS TO OTHER FIGHTING NATIONS AND COMPELLING PEOPLE TO FIGHT AGAINST THEIR WILL, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE CANNOT SETTLE TERMS OF PEACE BY CONFERENCE AND PERSUASION. THERE ARE NO MATTERS IN DISPUTE WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH REASON. IN KOREA, FOR INSTANCE, THE BOUNDARIES HAVE BEEN PRACTICALLY AGREED ON. THE UNITED STATES AT FIRST PROMISED TO EXCHANGE PRISONERS ACCORDING TO THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY OF GENEVA; IF NOW WE CHANGE OUR MINDS AND WISH TO ALLOW PRISONERS TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WILL BE RETURNED OR NOT, THAT TOO CAN BE SETTLED BY COMPROMISE AND CONSULTATION. THE RESTORATION OF DESTROYED AREAS AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF KOREA ARE MATTERS TO BE DECIDED AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND NOT ON THE BATTLE FIELD.

35-10-55

MODERN CIVILIZATION IS FACING A CRISIS, BESIDE WHICH THE DECLINE OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE, THE FALL OF BABYLON, THE BREAKING UP OF GRECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION, AND THE EUROPEAN WARS OF THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES, PALE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE.

THESE ARE UNDISPUTED FACTS, BUT PERHAPS THE MOST ARRESTING FACT OF ALL IS THAT THE MAJORITY OF OUR LEADERS OF CIVILIZATION, FITTED FOR THAT ROLE BY HERITAGE, NATURAL GIFT AND EDUCATION, ARE TODAY SILENT AND ARE REFUSING TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNCTION.

FOR CLEARLY INDICATED PLANS OF INVESTIGATION, TEACHING AND LEARNING, WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED, PARTICULARLY IN THIS COUNTRY, A PROGRAM OF FEAR SO THAT EVERY THOUGHT AND EFFORT FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL UPLIFT IS MET TODAY BY DIRECTED HATRED OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM, AND BY PLANS FOR FORCIBLE SUBJECTION OF NATIONS AND LEADERS WHO FOLLOW THIS LINE OF THOUGHT.

IT MUST BE CLEAR TO ALL THINKING PEOPLE THAT NO HUMAN REFORM CAN BE INSTITUTED AND CARRIED OUT IN THIS WAY, AND THAT NO MATTER WHAT OUR PERSONAL BELIEFS ARE WE MUST FACE REALITY. THE UNITED STATES MUST BEGIN WITH A STUDY OF ITS RELATIONS

TO ASIA AND OF OUR FUTURE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ASIATIC PEOPLES. WE CANNOT BE MASTERS OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA IN THE FUTURE AS WE WERE PARTLY IN THE PAST; NOR CAN WE BE PERMANENT PURVEYORS OF CHARITY, TAKEN FROM THE POCKETS OF OUR WORKERS.

FOR INSTANCE, IT IS INEVITABLE THAT IN THE END KOREANS WILL RULE KOREA AND WILL THEMSELVES SETTLE THEIR WAY OF LIFE; THAT THE CHINESE MUST RULE CHINA, AND THAT HISTORICALLY THE ISLAND OF FORMOSA IS PART OF CHINA; THAT THE JAPANESE CANNOT BE REGARDED AS AN AMERICAN MILITARY OUTPOST, AND NEVER WILL WILLINGLY ADOPT THAT ROLE. WE MUST STOP AIDING WAR OF OTHER NATIONS IN INDO-CHINA; AND WE MUST COME TO RECOGNIZE THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AS OUR EQUALS AND NOT OUR WARDS.

35-10-52

WE MUST UNSHACKLE THE TRADE OF THE WORLD FOR OUR OWN GOOD AS WELL AS THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND. WORLD TRADE BETWEEN EAST EUROPE AND WEST CANNOT BE STOPPED, AND SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AS THE BEST PATH TO PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. FREE TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN IS NEEDED TO RESTORE AND UPBUILD ASIA, AND IT IS A PARODY ON ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS TO DREAM THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO PRODUCE GOODS FOR THE WORLD

UNLESS WE BUY GOODS FROM THE WORLD. KNOWING THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT AND HAVE BEEN FOR AGES, WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS AND NOT REST CONTENT WITH CALLING THIS THE CAUSE OF THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM. IF THIS IS TRUE LET THIS TRUTH SPUR US NOT TO WORLD WAR, BUT TO WAYS OF CURING THE DEGRADATION OF MAN. WAR IN KOREA AND INDO-CHINA, AND PREPARATION FOR WAR IN EUROPE WILL CONVINCE NOBODY OF OUR AIMS TO UPLIFT MANKIND. SO FAR OUR POINT 4 PROGRAM IS NOTHING BESIDE OUR OVERALL PLANS FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION AND OUR REFUSAL TO CONTEMPLATE A PROGRAM OF CONFERENCE, REASON AND GOODWILL.

WE MUST RE-ASSESS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA. MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD, EVEN MORE THAN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF AFRICA BECAUSE OF THREE CENTURIES OF SLAVE TRADING ON WHICH AMERICAN WEALTH AND PROSPERITY ORIGINALLY WAS BUILT; BECAUSE OF OUR PART IN BUILDING UP OF THE WORLD COLOR BAR; AND BECAUSE OF OUR PRESENT INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA AND OUR REPRESSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT.

IT IS EASY TO SEE THAT THIS MASS OF MORE THAN 8 MILLION WORKERS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN PUT IN PRACTICAL SLAVERY TO 1½ MILLION WHITE EXPLOITERS AND PAID WAGES VARYING FROM 10¢ TO $1 A DAY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WHITE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE NOT THE SOLE EXPLOITERS. IN 1949 THE UNION RECEIVED 90 MILLION DOLLARS AS A LOAN FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND THE WALL STREET JOURNAL PREDICTS THAT IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS THE UNITED STATES WILL FURNISH A BILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MINING AND INDUSTRY. THE MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR A LONG TIME. THE FORD INTERESTS BEGAN INVESTING 25 YEARS AGO. GENERAL MOTORS HAS RECENTLY BUILT A 20 MILLION DOLLAR PLANT THERE. GENERAL LUCIUS CLAY, RECENTLY HEAD OF THE "FREEDOM" MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, IS DIRECTOR OF A CORPORATION WHICH IN THREE YEARS MADE 9 MILLION DOLLARS PROFIT IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. FIRESTONE, GOODYEAR, GENERAL ELECTRIC, HAVE ALL BEEN INCREASING THEIR INVESTMENTS SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR UNTIL TODAY MOST OF THE INVESTED CAPITAL OF SOUTH AFRICA COMES FROM AMERICA.

35-10-57

ABOVE ALL, THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO RE-ASSESS ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE, BOTH TOWARD THE EAST AND WEST OF EUROPE. THERE IS NO CALL FOR US TO OVER-EMPHASIZE OR DISTORT OUR RELATION TO EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. IN MOST CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS, EUROPE STILL STANDS FAR AHEAD OF THE UNITED STATES: IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT; IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION; IN SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART. EVEN THE DISASTER AND CATASTROPHE OF REPEATED WAR HAS NOT YET OBLITERATED THIS EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP. WE MUST THEREFORE CHANGE OUR RECENT ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE, OUR BULLYING AND CONTEMPT, OUR FORGETFULNESS OF WHAT WE HAVE INHERITED FROM BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY, AND WHAT EASTERN EUROPE TODAY IS SHOWING US IN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT WE CANNOT MAKE GERMANY OUR VASSAL STATE. IN THE END GERMANS WILL NEVER CONSENT. WE CAN NEITHER RULE FRANCE NOR DESPISE THIS GREATEST CENTER OF MODERN CULTURE. WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO TREAT GREAT BRITAIN AS JUNIOR PARTNER, AND WE MUST LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE 75 MILLION INHABITANTS OF HER SISTER STATES.

ABOVE ALL THIS, OUR CHIEF DUTY TOWARD THE WORLD LIES WITHIN OUR OWN BOUNDARIES. WE ARE NOT THE WORLD'S NATURAL LEADERS NEITHER BY INHERENT GIFT NOR TEMPORARY TECHNICAL MASTERY, NOR AT THE WORLD'S REQUEST. THE GREATEST BENEFIT WHICH WE CAN BESTOW ON MANKIND IS TO SOLVE DECENTLY AND EFFICIENTLY THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE. AND THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS AGAINST WAR AND OUR EXTRAORDINARY AND INCONCEIVABLE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IS THAT THIS PROGRAM IS BOUND TO RUIN, IF IT HAS NOT ALREADY RUINED, THE CHANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PLAN A GREAT AND SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY, AND TO ACHIEVE REAL WORLD LEADERSHIP NOT BASED ON MURDER BUT BUILT ON TRUTH AND JUSTICE. NO NATION THAT IS SPENDING 70 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION HAS EITHER THE RESOURCES OR THE ABILITY OR THE MENTAL BALANCE TO CURE ITS OWN FESTERING WOUNDS AND STOP ITS OWN DECADENCE.

35-10-58

WE NEED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES: LOWER TAXATION MORE EQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO INCOME. THE TAX BURDEN WHICH WE CARRY IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ONLY A DISGRACE IN ITSELF, A WASTE OF HUMAN EFFORT AND MISUSE OF WEALTH,

BUT IT STOPS US FROM THE VERY ACTIVITIES WHICH WE MUST HAVE FOR SURVIVAL. FLOOD CONTROL AND THE ORDERING OF RIVER SYSTEMS FOR IRRIGATION AND MANUFACTURE OF POWER; REFORESTRATION AND CONSERVATION OF SOIL, ARE A GROUP OF ACTIVITIES CALLING FOR LONG AND CAREFUL PLANNING AND LARGE EXPENDITURES, UNLESS WE ARE WILLING TO STRETCH A SAHARA DESERT OVER A ONCE FRUITFUL LAND, AND TO INCREASE THE MONOPOLY AND MISUSE OF OUR ONCE VAST NATURAL RESOURCES.

THESE NATURAL RESOURCES INCLUDING FORESTS, LANDS, MINES AND OIL WELLS, MUST INCREASINGLY AND ACCORDING TO PLANS BASED ON JUSTICE AND FORESIGHT BE CONTROLLED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD AND NOT SURRENDERED TO PRIVATE MONOPOLY AND USED MAINLY TO INCREASE PROPERTY AND OLIGARCHICAL POWER. THIS USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD DOES NOT STEM FROM CURRENT SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM BUT HAS BEEN FORESEEN AND PUT INTO PARTIAL PRACTICE FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF MAN. IT IS NOW OUR DESPERATE NEED TO PLAN THE PRODUCTION, USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH ON A NATIONAL SCALE AND TO CARRY IT OUT DESPITE THE POWERFUL AND SHORT-SIGHTED SELFISH OPPOSITION.

THE CHANGE IN THE CONTROL OF WEALTH FROM INDIVIDUALS TO CORPORATIONS IS SO RECENT AND TREMENDOUS IN SIGNIFICANCE THAT MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS DO NOT YET GRASP IT. THEY STILL ASSUME THAT INDIVIDUALS IN FREE ASSOCIATION CAN GUIDE THE MAIN FORM AND DIRECTION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY; THAT PRIVATE PROPERTY AND FREE CONTRACT STILL FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD; THAT THE MASS OF WORKERS ARE EQUAL IN BARGAINING POWER WITH THE EMPLOYERS; THAT COMPETITIVE PRICES AND FREE MARKETS SECURE THE BEST DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS. IN A DAY WHEN THE WORK OF THE WORLD IS BEING DIRECTED AND CONTROLLED MAINLY BY CORPORATIONS AND NOT BY INDIVIDUALS OR FIRMS, MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS ARE USING THE THOUGHT AND PHRASEOLOGY OF A DISAPPEARING ERA.

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FOR INSTANCE, ALL THE ELECTRICITY AND GAS MANUFACTURED FOR THIS NATION IS DONE EXCLUSIVELY BY CORPORATIONS. CORPORATIONS CONDUCT BY FAR THE GREATER PART OF OUR MINING, MANUFACTURING, TRANSPORTATION AND BANKING, AND THE MAIN TRANSACTIONS OF COMMERCE AND TRADE IN WHISKEY, TOBACCO AND MILK, FOOD CLOTHING AND SHELTER.

A CORPORATION CANNOT BE TREATED NOR REGULATED LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL. IT IS AN ARTIFICIAL BODY CREATED BY LAW. IT HAS NO MORAL RESPONSIBILITY. IT CANNOT BE PUNISHED NOR EDUCATED. IT IS NOT HUMAN BUT AN INHUMAN CREATION OF MAN FOR MAN'S CONVENIENCE AND MUST BE DESTROYED WHEN IT NO LONGER SERVES ITS PURPOSE. YET -- AND THIS IS THE CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX OF OUR ERA -- THE GIANT AND POWERFUL CORPORATIONS WHICH TODAY RULE MANKIND ARE CONDUCTED BY MORALLY RESPONSIBLE HUMAN BEINGS. THESE MEN WHO PERSONALLY WOULD NOT LIE, STEAL NOR MURDER; WHO HEAD OUR CHURCHES AND CHARITIES; STAND AT THE HEAD OF CORPORATIONS WHICH COMMIT EVERY CRIME ON THE CALENDAR: THEY CHEAT AND STEAL; THEY ENSLAVE AND DEGRADE; THEY STARVE AND RAPE; THEY DEGRADE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY CANNOT BE TREATED AS INDIVIDUALS BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT INDIVIDUALS; BUT INDIVIDUALS CONDUCT THEM, AND WE DO NOT HOLD THESE OWNERS AND MANAGERS RESPONSIBLE FOR A NEW KIND OF CRIME WHICH OUR LAWS DO NOT YET RECOGNIZE. WE HAVE DIFFICULTY IN CHANGING OUR LAW AND FITTING IT TO A NEW KIND OF CRIME BECAUSE CORPORATIONS LARGELY CONTROL OUR LEGISLATURES, INFLUENCE OUR COURTS, AND OWN THE GREAT MASS OF OUR PROPERTY. THE

STATES CREATE CORPORATIONS AND THESE CORPORATIONS ARE OFTEN RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL THAN THE STATES WHICH CREATE THEM. THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY THIRTY CORPORATIONS WITH PROPERTY WORTH OVER A BILLION DOLLARS EACH; THERE ARE ONLY TEN STATES OUT OF THE 48 WHICH HAVE PROPERTY AND RESOURCES LARGER THAN THIS GROUP OF GIANT CORPORATIONS. AS THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ADMITS, THE ASSETS OF THE GREAT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES ALONE REPRESENT A FIRST MORTGAGE ON THE TOTAL BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY OF THE WHOLE NATION. TO PRETEND THAT THE CONTROL OF THESE VAST AGGREGATIONS OF WEALTH AND POWER CAN BE DONE BY FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IS IDIOTIC.

TO COPE WITH THIS NEW ECONOMIC SITUATION WE NEED KNOWLEDGE, LEADERSHIP AND EXPERIMENT. WAR AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR STOP THOUGHT, CONFERENCE AND EFFORT IN THIS LINE, NOT ONLY FOR LACK OF FUNDS BUT TODAY FOR FEAR OF BEING CALLED SUBVERSIVE, AND ANY CRITICISM OF CURRENT BUSINESS METHOD IS CALLED TREASON. YET IN THE MODERN CIVILIZED WORLD, EVERY NATION HAS TO SOME DEGREE TRIED TO CURB INDUSTRY AND CORPORATE ACTIVITY BY THE SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF THE STATE. MOST NATIONS OWN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

35-10-59

AND COMMUNICATIONS; SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER ORGANS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION; THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF HEALTH AND MEDICINE; THE PLANNING OF SHELTER AND HOUSING; AND SOME CONTROL OVER WAGES, CONDITIONS OF WORK AND PRICES; AND OVER MANY PHASES OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE. WE, TOO, HAVE FOLLOWED THIS INEVITABLE TREND; YET ITS FURTHER PROGRESS IS NOW CALLED SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, AND STOPPED BY SLANDER, IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH.

OUR POWERFUL CORPORATIONS ARE TAKING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE ITSELF. ADOLPH BERLE, NOW PROFESSIONAL RED-BAITER AND WITCH-HUNTER HAS TOLD US, "THE RISE OF THE MODERN CORPORATION HAS BROUGHT A CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER WHICH CAN COMPETE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH THE MODERN STATE -- ECONOMIC POWER VERSUS POLITICAL POWER, EACH STRONG IN ITS OWN FIELD. THE STATE SEEKS IN SOME ASPECTS TO REGULATE THE CORPORATION, WHILE THE CORPORATION, STEADILY BECOMING MORE POWERFUL, MAKES EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID SUCH REGULATION. WHERE ITS OWN INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, IT EVEN ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE THE STATE. THE FUTURE MAY SEE THE ECONOMIC ORGANISM, NOW TYPIFIED BY THE CORPORATION,

NOT ONLY ON AN EQUAL PLANE WITH THE STATE, BUT POSSIBLY EVEN SUPERCEDING IT AS THE DOMINANT FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION."

AND REMEMBER THAT IN THESE CORPORATIONS THERE IS NO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL. THEY ARE RULED BY KINGS OR OLICHARCHIES AND THEY FIGHT THE INTRUSION OF THE STATE OR THE LABORERS WHO DO THEIR WORK.

LOBBIES REPRESENTING ALL THE MAJOR BUSINESS INTERESTS, MANNED BY WELL-PAID MEN OF HIGH ABILITY AND SOCIAL AND BUSINESS CONNECTIONS, ARE IN CONSTANT ATTENDANCE ON LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS, AND IN CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE MEMBERS,- QUITE OVERWHELMING THE FEW AND INTERMITTENT DELEGATIONS REPRESENTING FROM TIME TO TIME SOME SECTIONS OF THE NATION'S ELECTORATE. THE CONSEQUENT COST OF PROMOTING LEGISLATION HAS REACHED SUCH FIGURES THAT ONLY CORPORATIONS CAN AFFORD THEM. THE COST OF CAMPAIGNS FOR PUBLIC OFFICE IS PROHIBITIVE FOR THE ORDINARY CANDIDATE. ONLY SOME PERSON CHOSEN BY A HUGE AND WELL-ORGANIZED MACHINE, WITH MILLIONS TO SPEND, CAN THINK OF RUNNING FOR HIGH OFFICE. FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CORPORATIONS TO

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GIVE A SENATOR LIKE NIXON "EXPENSES" IS STANDARD PROCEDURE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN WILL COST $250 MILLION DOLLARS, MOST OF IT PAID DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY CORPORATIONS. WHO THEN WILL OWN THE PRESIDENT ELECTED? THE ONLY PARTY WHO WILL GET NONE OF THIS SLUSH FUND IS THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY. THE ONLY UNBOUGHT CANDIDATE IS VINCENT HALLINAN.

WITH CORPORATE WEALTH AND METHODS THUS DOMINATING OUR POLITICAL LIFE, WHAT BECOMES OF OUR CLAIM TO BE A DEMOCRACY AND THUS LEADING THE "FREE WORLD?" THIS CLAIM IS OLD AND HAS AT TIMES APPROACHED TRUTH. IT IS NOT TRUE TODAY. FOR DEMOCRACY, WHILE LOGICAL IN THEORY, IS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN IN PRACTICE. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN OUR HISTORY WHEN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE MASS OF CITIZENS LARGELY DETERMINED OUR POLICIES. THERE HAVE BEEN REGIONS LIKE 19TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC TOWN MEETING WAS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. BUT OVER MOST OF OUR HISTORY, DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN STRICTLY LIMITED, NOW BY RELIGION AND STATUS, NOW by race, now BY OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, LATER BY THE SLAVE SYSTEM, THEN BY LEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND TODAY BY THE POWER OF CORPORATE WEALTH.

SINCE THE FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER WHICH RULED THE NATION BY THAT OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND LABOR NECESSARY TO THE VALUABLE COTTON CROP, THE NATION, TURNING SHARPLY FROM DEMOCRATIC CONTROL BY FREEDMEN AND IMMIGRANTS, YIELDED CONTROL GRADUALLY BUT DEFINITELY TO CORPORATE WEALTH. CONGRESS LOST ITS REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER BY THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF VOTERS — NEGROES BY LAW, WHITE LABOR BY THREAT OF ECONOMIC REPRISAL, AND LATELY ENFRANCHISED WOMEN BY DOMINANT CULTURE PATTERNS. UNITS OF REPRESENTATION BECAME STARTLINGLY UNEQUAL, SO THAT 5,000 VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA HAD THE SAME POLITICAL POWER AS 100,000 IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND 36,000 VOTES GIVE THE REACTIONARY MCCARRAN OF NEVADA THE SAME POWER AS DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS WHO RECEIVED TWO MILLION VOTES.

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THUS THE CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY HAS SMALL CONTROL OVER CANDIDATES OR OVER THE ISSUES WHICH WILL BE VOTED ON. THE MAIN DECISIONS IN NATIONAL POLICIES WILL REST IN THE HANDS OF THOSE BUSINESS INTERESTS WHICH ARE TODAY IN THE CONTROL OF A HUGE OLIGARCHY STRIVING TO BELT THE WORLD. THESE ARE THE REASONS WHY

OUR CLAIM TO CHAMPION DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD IS NOT VALID AND CANNOT BE PROVEN BY HONEST INQUIRY.

IF OUR DEMOCRACY IS THUS VITIATED AT THE SOURCE, WHAT HAPPENS TO EDUCATION, HEALTH, CIVIL RIGHTS AND FREE PRESS? THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE A MATTER OF INTENSE ANXIETY. OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS DETERIORATED DURING THE 20TH CENTURY AND IS WORSENING TODAY, DESPITE ANY MANIPULATION OF FIGURES OR MULTIPLICATION OF BRICKS AND MORTAR. OUR TEACHING FORCE IS DECLINING IN EFFICIENCY BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT PROPERLY TRAINED, ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY PUBLIC OPINION, AND ARE NOT PAID DECENT WAGES. OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FACILITIES BOTH IN HOUSING, RECREATION AND TEACHING MATERIALS, ARE NOT IMPROVING, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE THIRD OF THE NATION WHERE DOUBLE SYSTEMS OF SCHOOLS BASED ON RACE ARE LEGALLY REQUIRED, THE CHANCE FOR MILLIONS OF CHILDREN TO LEARN TO READ, WRITE AND COUNT ACCURATELY IS NOT AS GOOD TODAY AS IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO. WE ARE STILL HELD BACK BY THE FEELING THAT EDUCATION OF YOUTH IS A PRIVATE, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY IS DANGEROUS. NOTHING

IS MORE INDICATIVE OF OUR CULTURAL DECADENCE. THE RESTORATION AND PROGRESS OF OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION CALLS FOR MONEY AND LARGE SUMS OF MONEY, AND THIS MONEY CANNOT BE OBTAINED IF OUR PRESENT PREPARATION FOR WAR CONTINUES.

THERE IS A DEMAND AND WILL BE INCREASING DEMAND FOR BETTER MEDICAL CARE OF THE HEALTH OF THE NATION. WE ARE NOT TRAINING A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS AND NURSES, AND THEY ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED WITH FANTASTIC DISREGARD OF THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. A NEW NATIONAL PLAN OF MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALS, NO MATTER UNDER WHAT NAME IT PARADES, IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY -- AND THE MONEY TO SUPPORT IT IS BEING WORSE THAN WASTED ON MORROCCO AIRFIELDS TO ATTACK THE SOVIETS. THE THREAT TO OUR HEALTH IS GREATLY INCREASING BECAUSE OF OUR LACK OF DECENT HOUSING AND THE PREVALENCE OF SLUM AREAS. WE MAKE OUR SONS FIGHT FOR BIG BUSINESS ABROAD AND GIVE THEM NO PLACE TO LIVE WHEN THEY RETURN HOME. WE SHOULD NOT BE LULLED TO SLEEP BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT MANY IF NOT MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE POORER HOUSING THAN WE HAVE. THE POINT IS THAT WITHOUT UNDUE EXERTION ON OUR PART AND WITH ORDINARY REASONABLE PLANNING WE COULD

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HAVE DECENT HOUSING AND THE ELIMINATION OF NESTS OF CRIME IF SO MUCH OF OUR INCOME DID NOT GO TO WAR!

IN OUR RECENT NATIONAL EFFORT TO MAKE PEOPLE THINK ALIKE AND TO AGREE WITH CERTAIN DOGMAS AND TO HATE PEOPLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, WE HAVE LET THE CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER WHICH WE HAVE LIVED AND WHICH WE HAVE INHERITED FROM MAGNA CARTA, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE CONSTITUTION, BE INVADED AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED. IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE THAT IN AMERICA OF ALL LANDS, IT IS DANGEROUS TO HOLD A PEACE MEETING; TO DEFEND THE RIGHT OF TEACHERS TO THINK; TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM BEING JAILED ON UNKNOWN TESTIMONY AND BY ACCUSERS WHO ARE NOT NAMED! THERE IS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY ALMOST NO FREE PLATFORM OF DISCUSSION, AND THERE IS CERTAINLY NO FREE PRESS. OUR NEWS-GARTHERING AGENCIES AND OUR NEWSPAPERS ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF GREAT BUSINESS COMBINES WHO ALSO OWN MOST OF THE MAGAZINES, AND CONTROL BOOK PUBLISHING, RADIO, SCREEN AND TELEVISION. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO GET PUBLICITY FOR ANYBODY WHO DARES DEFEND COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM, SOCIAL

MEDICINE, OR EVEN WHAT WE USED TO CALL LIBERALISM; IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET BOOKS PUBLISHED WHICH CRITICIZE OR DO NOT OVER-PRAISE AMERICA, AND WHICH DO NOT BLAST BRITISH SOCIALISM. OUR FICTION AND CINEMA AND RADIO BROADCASTS MUST DESCRIBE ALL COMMUNISTS AS VILLAINS AND BY INFERENCE PAINT JUDAS ISCARIOT AS A HERO. WE ARE USING KNOWN LIARS, HIRED SPIES AND PROFESSIONAL INFORMERS TO BUILD UP OUR SECRET POLICE METHODS.

ESPECIALLY, OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR 15 MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES IN WORK, WAGE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, HAVE BEEN RETARDED, AND THE SLOW PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT ONLY HIGHLIGHTS WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE IF AMERICAN NEGROES HAD HAD THE SCHOOLS AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE LAST GENERATION. CONGRESS CANNOT EVEN VOTE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND MOB VIOLENCE!

THOSE PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO WANT TO CHECK FASCISM, TO PUT DOWN RACE HATRED AND GROUP HOSTILITY; WHO SEE IN THE NEWEST SOUTH A GROWING AND THREATENING MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES, REDUCTION OF WAGES AND ACCUMULATION OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH, HAVE BEEN DRIVEN INTO FEARFUL SILENCE. WHAT THE NATION NEEDS IS A NEW HUMILITY

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TO REPLACE HER BOASTING AND FIGHTING; A FREE PRESS AND FREE FORUMS FOR DISCUSSION; A TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION; THE FREEING OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS FOR INVESTIGATION INSTEAD OF CHAINING THEM TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS FOR WAR; ENCOURAGEMENT FOR LITERATURE AND ART; AND THE USE OF SCREEN, RADIO AND TELEVISION FOR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL UPLIFT INSTEAD OF MAKING THEM CARRIERS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION.

TOWARD THIS PROGRAM THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY LOOKS IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND IT STANDS ALONE. THERE IS NO PROGRAM FOR PEACE IN EITHER THE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS. THERE IS NO PLEA FOR TOLERANCE ON THE PART OF EITHER OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OR THE CANDIDATES FOR LOWER OFFICES. MEN LIKE MCCARRAN AND MCCARTHY ARE LEADING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION TODAY AND LEADING IT DOWN TO CERTAIN DISASTER AND DESTRUCTION UNLESS THE VOTERS IN THIS ELECTION CALL AN IMMEDIATE AND DECIDED HALT AND BEGIN THEIR CALL WITH THE DEMAND TO STOP THE FIGHTING IN KOREA AND TO STOP IT NOW !!!

Sept. 15, 1952 Boston, Phila.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PEACE

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CALLS FOR PEACE AND PEACE NOW. IT DEMANDS THAT THE FIGHTING IN KOREA STOP IMMEDIATELY, AND THAT ALL UNSETTLED QUESTIONS BE CONSIDERED AT THE COUNSEL TABLE. WE DEMAND THAT KOREA NO LONGER BE A REHEARSAL GROUND FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR AND AN EXPERIMENT STATION IN METHODS AND MEANS OF WAR. OURS IS THE ONLY PARTY IN THIS CAMPAIGN WHICH IS MAKING THIS OBVIOUSLY JUST DEMAND; AND THE REASON FOR SUCH DEMAND IS THE ABSOLUTE INSANITY OF OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD WARS SINCE 1914, NOT TO MENTION THE THREE HUNDRED WARS OF THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES.

IT HARDLY SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT THE WORLD OF INTELLIGENT AMERICANS, WITH OUR HUNDREDS OF UNIVERSITIES, THOUSANDS OF CITIES AND MILLIONS OF CHURCH-GOERS HAVE FORGOTTEN THE BARBAROUS TOLL OF WAR IN THIS CENTURY. IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 65 MILLION SOLDIERS STRUGGLED TO KILL 16 MILLION AND WOUND AND MAIM 21 MILLION. IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR 80 MILLION FOUGHT TO KILL 22 MILLION AND WOUND 54 MILLION. THE

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COSTS OF THESE TWO WARS HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT FIVE TRILLION DOLLARS, A SUM SO VAST AS TO BE BEYOND ORDINARY CONCEPTION. WE CAN PERHAPS REMEMBER THAT A BILLION IS A THOUSAND MILLION AND THAT THE WAR COSTS HAVE BEEN OVER 5000 TIMES THAT SUM. AND YET TODAY WE TALK OF A THIRD AND GREATER WAR, CARELESSLY, ALMOST GAILY. BEYOND THE DEAD AND HALF DEAD, BEYOND THE PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION, IS THE HURT AND HORROR, THE NEAR SUICIDE OF OUR HIGHEST HUMAN CULTURE. YET THE VOICES OPPOSING WAR ARE ALMOST WHISPERS. IN THIS CITY WHAT HAS HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND A DOZEN OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING DONE TO SOUND A CLEAR NOTE OF SCIENTIFIC ADVICE AND GUIDANCE? ONE OF THE GREATEST RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORLD HAS JUST MET HERE. WHAT TRUMPET NOTE OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE HAS IT RAISED?

HISTORIANS OF THE FUTURE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THE EFFORT OF CIVILIZATION IN OUR ERA TO SETTLE THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BY FORCE, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT SANE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TODAY COMPEL THE NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR

TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF OBTAINING WORLD PEACE AND BETTERING WORLD CONDITIONS BY OVERWHELMING FORCE OR BY HEADING A CRUSADE TO COMPEL THE WORLD TO ADOPT THE IDEAS AND POLICIES WHICH WE FAVOR NO MATTER HOW GOOD WE CONCEIVE THOSE IDEAS TO BE.

IF THE WAR IN KOREA STOPS IMMEDIATELY AND IF WE STOP FURNISHING WAR MATERIALS TO OTHER FIGHTING NATIONS AND COMPELLING PEOPLE TO FIGHT AGAINST THEIR WILL, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE CANNOT SETTLE TERMS OF PEACE BY CONFERENCE AND PERSUASION. THERE ARE NO MATTERS IN DISPUTE WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH REASON. IN KOREA, FOR INSTANCE, THE BOUNDARIES HAVE BEEN PRACTICALLY AGREED ON. THE UNITED STATES AT FIRST PROMISED TO EXCHANGE PRISONERS ACCORDING TO THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY OF GENEVA; IF NOW WE CHANGE OUR MINDS AND WISH TO ALLOW PRISONERS TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WILL BE RETURNED OR NOT, THAT TOO CAN BE SETTLED BY COMPROMISE AND CONSULTATION. THE RESTORATION OF DESTROYED AREAS AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF KOREA ARE MATTERS TO BE DECIDED AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND NOT IN THE BATTLE FIELD.

MODERN CIVILIZATION IS FACING A CRISIS, BESIDE WHICH THE [redacted] decline

OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE, THE FALL OF BABYLON, THE BREAKING UP OF GRECO-ROMAN CIVILIZATION, AND THE EUROPEAN WARS OF THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES, PALE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE. THESE ARE INDISPUTED FACTS, BUT PERHAPS THE MOST ARRESTING FACT OF ALL IS THAT THE MAJORITY OF OUR LEADERS OF CIVILIZATION, FITTED FOR THAT ROLE BY HERITAGE, NATURAL GIFT AND EDUCATION, ARE TODAY SILENT AND ARE REFUSING TO EXERCISE THEIR FUNCTION. FOR CLEARLY INDICATED PLANS OF INVESTIGATION, TEACHING AND LEARNING WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED, PARTICULARLY IN THIS COUNTRY, A PROGRAM OF [redacted] fear SO THAT EVERY THOUGHT AND EFFORT FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL UPLIFT IS MET TODAY BY DIRECTED HATRED [redacted] OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF COMMUNISM, AND BY PLANS FOR FORCIBLE EXTERMINATION OF NATIONS AND LEADERS WHO FOLLOW THIS LINE OF THOUGHT.

IT MUST BE CLEAR TO ALL THINKING PEOPLE THAT NO HUMAN REFORM CAN BE INSTITUTED AND CARRIED OUT IN THIS WAY, AND THAT NO MATTER WHAT OUR PERSONAL BELIEFS ARE WE MUST FACE THE FACTS. THE UNITED STATES MUST BEGIN WITH A STUDY OF ITS RELATIONS TO ASIA AND OF OUR FUTURE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ASIATIC PEOPLES. WE CANNOT

BE MASTERS OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA IN THE FUTURE AS WE WERE PARTLY IN THE PAST; NOR CAN WE BE PERMANENT PURVEYORS OF CHARITY, TAKEN FROM THE POCKETS OF OUR WORKERS. FOR INSTANCE, IT IS INEVITABLE THAT IN THE END KOREANS WILL RULE KOREA AND WILL THEMSELVES SETTLE THEIR WAY OF LIFE; THAT THE CHINESE MUST RULE CHINA, AND THAT HISTORICALLY THE ISLAND OF FORMOSA IS PART OF CHINA; THAT THE JAPANESE CANNOT BE REGARDED AS AN AMERICAN MILITARY OUTPOST, AND NEVER WILL WILLINGLY ADOPT THAT ROLE. WE MUST STOP AIDING WAR OF OTHER NATIONS IN INDO-CHINA; AND WE MUST COME TO RECOGNIZE THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AS OUR EQUALS AND NOT OUR WARDS. THERE MUST BE FREEDOM OF TRADE BETWEEN ASIATIC LANDS. JAPAN CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT THE TRADE OF CHINA, AND CHINA WILL PROSPER BEST BY USING THE LABOR AND SKILL OF JAPAN. IT IS NEITHER OUR OPPORTUNITY NOR DUTY TO INTERFERE WITH THIS TRADE.

WE MUST RE-ASSESS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA. MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD, EVEN MORE THAN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF AFRICA BECAUSE OF THREE CENTURIES OF SLAVE TRADING ON

WHICH AMERICAN WEALTH AND PROSPERITY ORIGINALLY WAS BUILT; BECAUSE OF OUR PART IN BUILDING UP OF THE WORLD COLOR BAR, AND BECAUSE OF OUR PRESENT INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA AND OUR REPRESSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT. IT IS EASY TO SEE HOW THIS MASS OF MORE THAN 8 MILLION WORKERS HAVE BEEN PUT IN PRACTICAL SLAVERY TO 1½ MILLION WHITE EXPLOITERS AND PAID WAGES VARYING FROM 10¢ TO $1 A DAY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WHITE PEOPLE OF AFRICA ARE NOT THE SOLE EXPLOITERS. IN 1949 THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA RECEIVED 80 MILLION DOLLARS AS A LOAN FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND THE WALL STREET JOURNAL PREDICTS THAT IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS THE UNITED STATES WILL FURNISH A BILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MINING AND INDUSTRY. THE MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR A LONG TIME. THE FORD INTERESTS BEGAN INVESTING 25 YEARS AGO. GENERAL MOTORS HAS RECENTLY BUILT A 30 MILLION DOLLAR PLANT THERE. GENERAL LUCIUS CLAY, RECENTLY HEAD OF THE "FREEDOM" MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, IS DIRECTOR OF A CORPORATION WHICH IN THREE YEARS MADE 9 MILLION DOLLARS PROFITS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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FIRESTONE, GOODYEAR, GENERAL ELECTRIC, HAVE ALL BEEN INCREASING THEIR INVESTMENTS SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR UNTIL TODAY MOST OF THE INVESTED CAPITAL OF SOUTH AFRICA COMES FROM AMERICA.

ABOVE ALL, THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO RE-ASSESS ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE, BOTH TOWARD THE EAST AND WEST OF EUROPE. THERE IS NO CALL FOR US TO OVER-EMPHASIZE OR DISTORT OUR RELATION TO EUROPEAN civilization. IN MOST CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS, EUROPE STILL STANDS FAR AHEAD OF THE UNITED STATES: IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT; IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION; IN SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART. EVEN THE DISASTER AND CATASTROPHE OF REPEATED WAR HAS NOT YET OBLITERATED THIS EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP. WE MUST THEREFORE CHANGE OUR RECENT ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE, OUR BULLYING AND CONTEMPT, OUR FORGETFULNESS OF WHAT WE HAVE INHERITED FROM BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY, AND WHAT EASTERN EUROPE IS SHOWING US IN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT WE CANNOT MAKE GERMANY OUR VASSAL STATE. IN THE END GERMANS WILL NEVER CONSENT. WE CAN NEITHER RULE FRANCE NOR DESPISE THIS GREATEST CENTER OF

MODERN CULTURE. WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO TREAT GREAT BRITAIN AS JUNIOR PARTNER, AND WE MUST LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE 75 MILLION INHABITANTS OF HER SISTER STATES.

WE MUST HELP TO UNSHACKLE THE TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE AND THE TRADE OF THE WORLD; REMEMBERING THAT MOST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WORLD ARE IGNORANT, SICK AND ON THE VERGE OF STARVATION, AND THAT THIS IS NOT BECAUSE THEY DESERVE SUCH A FATE, BUT BECAUSE OF FORCES HITHERTO BEYOND THEIR OR OUR CONTROL. BUT THERE EXISTS FORCES TODAY WHICH GIVES INCREASED CONTROL OVER THE ACTIONS OF MEN, AND INSTEAD OF TRYING TO GUIDE THIS CONTROL BY FORCE WE MUST TRY TO SUBSTITUTE REASON AND GOOD WILL.

BUT ABOVE ALL THIS, OUR CHIEF DUTY TOWARD THE WORLD LIES WITHIN OUR OWN BOUNDARIES. WE ARE NOT THE WORLD'S NATURAL LEADERS EITHER BY INHERENT GIFT OR TEMPORARY TECHNICAL MASTERY, OR AT THE WORLD'S REQUEST. THE GREATEST BENEFIT WHICH WE CAN BESTOW ON MANKIND IS TO SETTLE DECENTLY AND EFFICIENTLY THE PROBLEMS OF OUR

OWN GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE. AND THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS AGAINST WAR AND OUR EXTRAORDINARY AND INCONCEIVABLE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IS THAT THIS PROGRAM IS BOUND TO RUIN, IF IT HAS NOT ALREADY RUINED, THE CHANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PLAN A GREAT AND SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY, AND TO ACHIEVE REAL WORLD LEADERSHIP NOT BASED ON MURDER BUT BUILT ON TRUTH AND JUSTICE. NO NATION THAT IS SPENDING 70 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION HAS EITHER THE RESOURCES OR THE ABILITY OR THE MENTAL BALANCE TO CURE ITS OWN FESTERING WOUNDS AND STOP ITS OWN DECADENCE.

WE NEED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES: LOWER TAXATION MORE EQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO INCOME. THE TAX BURDEN WHICH WE CARRY IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ONLY A DISGRACE IN ITSELF, A WASTE OF HUMAN EFFORT AND DESTRUCTION OF WEALTH, BUT IT STOPS US FROM THE VERY THINGS AND ACTIVITIES WHICH WE MUST HAVE FOR SURVIVAL. FLOOD CONTROL AND THE ORDERING OF RIVER SYSTEMS FOR IRRIGATION AND MANUFACTURE OF POWER; REFORESTRATION AND CONSERVATION OF SOIL, ARE A

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GROUP OF ACTIVITIES CALLING FOR LONG AND CAREFUL PLANNING AND LARGE EXPENDITURES, UNLESS WE ARE WILLING TO STRETCH A SAHARA DESERT over OF A ONCE FRUITFUL LAND; AND TO INCREASE MONOPOLY AND MISUSE OF OUR ONCE VAST NATURAL RESOURCES.

THESE NATURAL RESOURCES INCLUDING FORESTS, LANDS, MINES AND OIL WELLS, MUST INCREASINGLY AND ACCORDING TO PLANS BASED ON JUSTICE AND FORESIGHT BE CONTROLLED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD AND NOT SURRENDERED TO PRIVATE MONOPOLY AND USED TO INCREASE PRIVATE WEALTH. THIS USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD DOES NOT STEM FROM CURRENT SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM BUT HAS BEEN FORSEEN AND PUT INTO PARTIAL PRACTICE FROM THE BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY. IT IS NOW OUR DESPERATE NEED TO PLAN IT ON A NATIONAL SCALE AND TO CARRY IT OUT DESPITE THE TREMENDOUS SELFISH OPPOSITION.

THE CHANGE IN THE CONTROL OF WEALTH FROM INDIVIDUALS TO CORPORATIONS IS SO RECENT AND TREMENDOUS IN SIGNIFICANCE THAT MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS DO NOT YET GRASP IT. THEY STILL ASSUME THAT INDIVIDUALS IN FREE ASSOCIATION CAN GUIDE THE MAIN FORM AND DIRECTION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY; THAT PRIVATE PROPERTY AND FREE

CONTRACTS STILL FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD; THAT THE MASS OF WORKERS ARE EQUAL IN BARGAINING POWER WITH THE EMPLOYERS; THAT OPEN PRICES AND FREE MARKETS SECURE THE BEST DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS. IN A DAY WHEN THE WORK OF THE WORLD IS BEING DIRECTED AND CONTROLLED BY CORPORATIONS AND NOT BY INDIVIDUALS OR FIRMS, MOST EVEN INTELLIGENT AMERICANS ARE USING THE THOUGHT AND PHRASEOLOGY OF A DISAPPEARING ERA.

FOR INSTANCE, THE ELECTRICITY AND GAS MANUFACTURED FOR THIS NATION IS DONE EXCLUSIVELY BY CORPORATIONS. CORPORATIONS CONDUCT BY FAR THE GREATER PART OF OUR MINING, MANUFACTURING, TRANSPORTATION AND BANKING, AND THE MAIN TRANSACTIONS OF COMMERCE AND TRADE IN WHISKEY, TOBACCO AND MILK. THE TREATMENT OF THE CORPORATION IN LAW AND MORALS MUST DIFFER FROM THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL. MEN OF HIGH STATION AND PERSONAL INTEGRITY WHO WOULD NOT STEAL NOR MURDER NOR CHEAT, ARE TODAY CONNECTED WITH CORPORATIONS AS OFFICIALS, CLERKS OR STOCKHOLDERS, AND THOSE CORPORATIONS CHEAT, KILL, WOUND AND BRIBE LEGALLY! IT IS DIFFICULT TO CURB THEM BY LAW, FOR THEY LARGELY CONTROL THE LEGISLATURES WHICH MAKE THE LAW AND INFLUENCE THE JUDGES WHO INTERPRET IT.

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THESE CORPORATIONS CONTROL MORE ASSETS THAN MOST of the STATES WHICH INCORPORATE THEM; INDEED, ONLY TEN STATES IN THE NATION HAVE PROPERTY AND RESOURCES LARGER THAN THE ASSETS OF THESE ARTIFICIAL COMPANIES, SO OF WHICH each OWN A BILLION DOLLARS OF RESOURCES [redacted]. AS THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ADMITS, THE ASSETS OF THE GREAT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES ALONE REPRESENT A FIRST MORTGAGE ON THE TOTAL BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY OF THE WHOLE NATION. TO PRETEND THAT THE CONTROL OF THESE VAST AGGREGATIONS OF WEALTH AND POWER CAN BE DONE BY FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IS IDIOTIC.

TO COPE WITH THIS NEW ECONOMIC SITUATION WE NEED KNOWLEDGE, LEADERSHIP AND EXPERIMENT. WAR AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR STOPS THOUGHT, CONFERENCE AND EFFORT IN THIS LINE NOT ONLY FOR LACK OF FUNDS BUT FOR FEAR OF BEING CALLED SUBVERSIVE. IF WE ATTEMPT TO CURE OUR ECONOMIC ILLS BY THE SUCCESSFUL METHODS OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND IF WE DARE CHALLENGE THE DESPOTIC RULE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS, THIS FIGHT ON MONOPOLY AND PRIVILEGE STARTED BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND CARRIED OUT WITH VARYING FORTUNES SINCE HIS ADMINISTRATION, HAS NOW BECOME ALMOST A SYNONYM FOR SUBVERSION! WE FACE A PERIOD OF NERVOUS TENSION AND HYSTERIA WHICH IS A LARGE PART OF THE TERRIBLE INCREASE

OF CRIME, OR ORGANIZED GAMBLING AND OF DISHONESTY SO WIDESPREAD THAT IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO LIST AND CHARACTERIZE IT.

IN 1904, THERE WERE ALREADY OVER 400 COMBINATIONS TO MONOPOLIZE THE NECESSATIES OF LIFE. THE CENSUS OF 1900 SHOWED THAT HALF OF THESE COMBINATIONS CONTROLLED ONE-THIRD OF THE MANUFACTURING RESOURCES OF THE NATION; BY 1908, THERE WERE 10,000 COMBINATIONS WITH $1 BILLIONS OF CAPITAL. IN THE 20TH CENTURY WHILE THE FARMERS' INCOME FELL AND WAGES STOOD STILL, INCOMES OF $10,000 AND UP ROSE 114% IN NINE YEARS. THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WITH INCOMES OF $100,000 UP INCREASED FROM 6,633 IN 1916; TO 14,816 IN 1929. HUGE CORPORATIONS REPLACED INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE, AND BUSINESS INCREASED TO VAST DIMENSIONS. BUT IN SUCH INTEGRATION, THERE WAS NOT ONLY NO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL, BUT AS ONE MILLIONAIRE SAID, IT WAS PERSONAL OR OLIGARCHIC RULE BY DIVINE RIGHT, IN THE HANDS OF MEN "TO WHOM GOD IN HIS WISDOM HAD ENTRUSTED THIS WEALTH."

BUT THESE CORPORATIONS, TO FUNCTION PROPERLY AND COMPLETELY HAD TO HAVE CERTAIN FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT: POLICE POWER, COURT INJUNCTIONS, EMINENT DOMAIN

IN ACQUIRING LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY, CONTROL OF MONEY AND CREDIT AND FIXING OF WAGES AND PROFITS. TO ATTAIN SUCH POWERS, THE CORPORATIONS WENT INTO POLITICS: FIRST TO PREVENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT FROM EXERCISING THESE FUNCTIONS AGAINST MONOPOLY BUSINESS; NEXT TO CONTROL THEIR EXERCISE BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF INDUSTRY. " THE RISE OF THE MODERN CORPORATION HAS BROUGHT A CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER WHICH CAN COMPETE ON EQUAL TERMS WITH THE MODERN STATE— ECONOMIC POWER VERSUS POLITICAL POWER, EACH STRONG IN ITS OWN FIELD. THE STATE SEEKS IN SOME RESPECTS TO REGULATE THE CORPORATION, WHILE THE CORPORATION STEADILY BECOMING MORE POWERFUL, MAKES EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID SUCH REGULATION. WHERE ITS OWN INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, IT EVEN ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE THE STATE. THE FUTURE MAY SEE THE ECONOMIC ORGANISM, NOW TYPIFIED BY THE CORPORATION, NOT ONLY ON AN EQUAL PLANE WITH THE STATE, BUT POSSIBLE EVEN SUPERCEDING IT AS THE DOMINANT FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION." (THIS QUOTATION, STRANGE TO SAY, IS FROM ADOLPHE BERLE).

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WE CLAIM THAT AMERICA LEADS IN DEMOCRACY. THIS CLAIM IS OLD AND HAS AT TIMES APPROACHED TRUTH. IT IS NOT TRUE TODAY. FOR DEMOCRACY, WHILE LOGICAL IN THEORY, IS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN IN PRACTICE. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN OUR HISTORY WHEN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE MASS OF CITIZENS LARGELY DETERMINED OUR POLICIES. THERE HAVE BEEN REGIONS LIKE 19th CENTURY NEW ENGLAND WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC TOWN MEETING WAS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. BUT OVER MOST OF OUR HISTORY, DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN STRICTLY LIMITED, NOW BY RELIGION AND STATUS, NOW BY RACE, NOW BY OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, LATER BY THE SLAVE SYSTEM, THEN BY LEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND TODAY BY THE POWER OF CORPORATE WEALTH.

SINCE THE FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER WHICH RULED THE NATION BY THAT OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND LABOR NECESSARY TO THE VALUABLE COTTON CROP, THE NATION, TURN* IN SHARPLY FROM DEMOCRATIC CONTROL BY FREEDMEN AND IMMIGRANTS, YIELDED CONTROL GRADUALLY BUT DEFINITELY TO CORPORATE WEALTH. CONGRESS LOST ITS REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER BY THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF VOTERS -- NEGROES BY LAW, WHITE LABOR BY THREAT

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OF ECONOMIC REPRISAL, AND LATELY ENFRANCHISED WOMEN BY DOMINANT CULTURE PATTERNS. UNITS OF REPRESENTATION BECAME STARTLINGLY UNEQUAL. SO THAT 5,000 VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA HAD THE SAME POLITICAL POWER AS 100,000 IN NEW YORK, AND 36,000 VOTES GIVE THE REACTIONARY MCCARRAN OF NEVADA THE SAME POWER AS THE LIBERAL DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS WHO RECEIVED TWO MILLION VOTES.

"WITH SUCH A BACKGROUND, LOBBIES REPRESENTING ALL THE MAJOR BUSINESS INTERESTS, MANNED BY WELL-PAID MEN OF HIGH ABILITY AND SOCIAL AND BUSINESS CONNECTIONS, ARE IN CONSTANT ATTENDANCE ON SESSIONS AND IN CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACT WITH MEMBERS, QUITE OVERWHELMING THE FEW AND INTERMITTENT DELEGATIONS REPRESENTING FROM TIME TO TIME SOME SECTIONS OF THE NATION'S ELECTORATE. THE CONSEQUENT COST OF PROMOTING LEGISLATION HAS REACHED SUCH FIGURES THAT ONLY CORPORATIONS CAN AFFORD THEM. THE COST OF CAMPAIGNS FOR PUBLIC OFFICE IS PROHIBITIVE FOR THE ORDINARY CANDIDATE. ONLY SOME PERSON CHOSEN BY A HUGE AND WELL ORGANIZED MACHINE, WITH MILLIONS TO SPEND, CAN THINK OF RUNNING FOR HIGH OFFICE.

"THUS THE CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY HAS SMALL CONTROL OVER CANDIDATES OR OVER THE ISSUES WHICH WILL BE VOTED ON. THE MAIN DECISIONS IN NATIONAL POLICIES WILL REST IN THE HANDS OF THOSE BUSINESS INTERESTS WHICH ARE TODAY IN THE CONTROL OF A HUGE OLIGARCHY STRIVING TO BELT THE WORLD. THESE ARE THE REASONS WHY OUR CLAIM TO CHAMPION DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD IS NOT VALID AND CANNOT BE PROVEN BY HONEST INQUIRY."

THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE A MATTER OF INTENSE ANXIETY. OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS DETERIORATED DURING THE 20TH CENTURY AND IS WORSENING TODAY, DESPITE ANY MANIPULATION OF FIGURES OR MULTIPLICATION OF BRICKS AND MORTAR. OUR TEACHING FORCE IS DECLINING IN EFFICIENCY BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT PROPERLY TRAINED, DO NOT RECEIVE PUBLIC BACKING, AND ARE NOT PAID DECENT WAGES. OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FACILITIES BOTH IN HOUSING, RECREATION AND TEACHING MATERIALS, ARE NOT INCREASING, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE THIRD OF THE NATION WHERE DOUBLE SYSTEMS OF SCHOOLS BASED ON RACE ARE LEGALLY REQUIRED, THE CHANCE FOR MILLIONS

OF CHILDREN TO LEARN TO READ, WRITE AND COUNT ACCURATELY IS NOT AS GOOD TODAY AS IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO. WE ARE STILL HELD BACK BY THE FEELING THAT EDUCATION OF YOUTH IS A PRIVATE, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY IS DANGEROUS. NOTHING IS MORE INDICATIVE OF OUR CULTURAL DECADENCE. THE RESTORATION AND PROGRESS OF OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION CALLS FOR MONEY AND LARGE SUMS OF MONEY, AND THIS MONEY CANNOT BE OBTAINED IF OUR PRESENT PREPARATION FOR WAR CONTINUES.

THERE IS A DEMAND AND WILL BE INCREASING DEMAND FOR BETTER MEDICAL

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THERE IS A DEMAND AND WILL BE INCREASING DEMAND FOR BETTER MEDICAL

CARE OF THE HEALTH OF THE NATION. WE ARE NOT TRAINING A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS AND NURSES, AND THEY ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED WITH FANTASTIC DISREGARD OF THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. A NEW NATIONAL PLAN OF MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALS, NO MATTER UNDER WHAT NAME IT PARADES, IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY — AND THE MONEY TO SUPPORT IT IS BEING WORSE THAN WASTED ON MORROCCO AIRFIELDS TO ATTACK THE SOVIETS. THE THREAT TO OUR HEALTH IS GREATLY INCREASING BECAUSE OF OUR LACK OF DECENT HOUSING AND THE PREVALENCE OF SLUM AREAS. WE MAKE OUR SONS FIGHT FOR BIG BUSINESS ABROAD AND GIVE THEM NO PLACE TO LIVE WHEN THEY RETURN HOME. WE SHOULD NOT BE LULLED TO SLEEP BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT MANY IF NOT MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE POORER HOUSING THAN WE HAVE. THE POINT IS THAT WITHOUT UNDUE EXERTION ON OUR PART AND WITH ORDINARY REASONABLE PLANNING WE COULD HAVE DECENT HOUSING AND THE ELIMINATION OF NESTS OF CRIME IF SO MUCH OF OUR INCOME DID NOT GO TO WAR!

IN OUR RECENT NATIONAL EFFORT TO MAKE PEOPLE THINK ALIKE AND TO AGREE WITH CERTAIN DOGMAS AND TO HATE PEOPLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, WE HAVE LET THE

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CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER WHICH WE HAVE LIVED AND WHICH WE HAVE INHERITED FROM THE MAGNA CARTA, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE CONSTITUTION, TO BE INVADED AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED. IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE THAT IN AMERICA OF ALL LANDS, IT IS dangerous TO HOLD A PEACE MEETING; TO DEFEND THE RIGHT OF TEACHERS TO THINK; TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM BEING JAILED ON UNKNOWN TESTIMONY AND BY ACCUSERS WHO ARE NOT NAMED; THERE IS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY ALMOST NO FREE PLATFORM OF DISCUSSION, AND THERE IS CERTAINLY NO FREE PRESS. OUR NEWS GATHERING AGENCIES AND OUR NEWSPAPERS ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF GREAT BUSINESS COMBINES WHO ALSO OWN MOST OF THE MAGAZINES AND CONTROL BOOK PUBLISHING, RADIO AND TELEVISION. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO GET PUBLICITY FOR ANYBODY WHO DARES DEFEND COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM, SOCIAL MEDICINE, OR EVEN WHAT WE USED TO CALL LIBERALISM; IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET BOOKS PUBLISHED WHICH DO NOT OVER-PRAISE AMERICA, AND BLAST BRITISH SOCIALISM; OR STORIES, PICTURES OR RADIO BROADCASTS WHICH DO NOT HAVE COMMUNISTS FOR VILLAINS AND DO NOT PAINT JUDAS ISCARIOT AS A HERO. WE ARE USING KNOWN LIARS, HIRED SPIES AND PROFESSIONAL

INFORMERS TO BUILD UP OUR SECRET POLICE METHODS.

ESPECIALLY, OUR EFFORT TO SECURE EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR 15 MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES IN WORK, WAGE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, HAVE BEEN retarded, AND THE SLOW PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT ONLY HIGHLIGHTS WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE IF AMERICAN NEGROES HAD HAD THE SCHOOLS AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE LAST GENERATION. CONGRESS CANNOT EVEN VOTE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND MOB VIOLENCE!

THOSE PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO WANT TO CHECK FASCISM, TO PUT DOWN RACE HATRED AND GROUP HOSTILITY; WHO SEE IN THE NEWEST SOUTH A GROWING AND THREATENING MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES, REDUCTION OF WAGES AND ACCUMULATION OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH, HAVE BEEN DRIVEN INTO FEARFUL SILENCE. WHAT THE NATION NEEDS IS A NEW HUMILITY TO REPLACE HER BOASTING AND FIGHTING; A FREE PRESS AND FREE FORUMS FOR DISCUSSION; A TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION; THE FREEING OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS FOR INVESTIGATION INSTEAD OF CHAINING THEM TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS FOR WAR;

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ENCOURAGEMENT FOR LITERATURE AND ART; AND THE USE OF RADIO AND TELEVISION FOR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL UPLIFT INSTEAD OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION.

TOWARD THIS PROGRAM THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY LOOKS IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND IT STANDS ALONE. THERE IS NO PROGRAM FOR PEACE IN EITHER THE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS. THERE IS NO PLEA FOR TOLERANCE ON THE PART OF EITHER OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OR THE CANDIDATES FOR LOWER OFFICES. MEN LIKE MCCARRAN AND MCCARTHY ARE LEADING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION TODAY AND LEADING IT DOWN TO CERTAIN DISASTER AND DESTRUCTION UNLESS THE VOTERS IN THIS ELECTION CALL AN IMMEDIATE AND DECIDED HALT AND BEGIN THEIR CALL WITH THE DEMAND TO STOP THE FIGHTING IN KOREA AND TO STOP IT NOW!

SPEECH OF DR. W. E. DuBOIS

PEACE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS, ANNUAL CONVENTION

September 14, 1952.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PEACE

The platform of the Progressive Party calls for peace and peace now. It demands that the fighting in Korea stop immediately, and that all unesttled questions be considered at the counsel table. We demand that Korea no longer be a rehearsal ground for a Third World War and an experiment station in methods and means of war. Ours is the only party in this campaign which is making this obviously just demand; and the reason for such demand is the absolute insanity of our program of world wars since 1914, not to mention the three hundred wars of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

It hardly seems possible that the world of intelligent Americans, with our hundreds of universities, thousands of cities and millions of church-goers have forgotten the barbarous toll of war in this century. In the First World War, 65 million soldiers struggled to kill 16 million and wound and maim 21 million. In the Second World War 80 million fought to kill 22 million and wound 34 million. The costs of those two wars has been estimated at five trillion dollars, a sum so vast as to be beyond ordinary conception. We can perhaps remember that a billion is a thousand million and that the war costs have been over 5000 times that sum. And yet today we talk of a third and greater war carelessly, almost gaily. Beyond the dead and half dead, beyond the physical destruction, is the hurt and horror, the near suicide of our highest human culture. Yet the voices opposing war are almost whispers. In this city what has Harvard University and a dozen other institutions of learning done to sound a clear note of scientific advice and guidance? One of the greatest religious organizations of the world has just met here. What trumpet note of the Prince of Peace has it raised?

Historians of the future will find it difficult if not impossible to explain the effort of civilization in our era to settle the problems of social development by force, murder and destruction. It is absolutely necessary that sane people of the world today compel the nations and the United States in particular to give up the idea of obtaining world peace and bettering world conditions by overwhelming force or by heading a crusade to compel the world to adopt the ideas and policies which we favor no matter how good we conceive our ideas to be.

If the war in Korea stops immediately and if we stop furnishing war materials to other fighting nations and compelling people to fight against their will, there is no reason why we cannot settle terms of peace by conference and persuasion. There are no matters in dispute which cannot be settled in accordance with reason. In Korea, for instance, the boundaries have been practically agreed on. The United States at first promised to exchange prisoners according to the international Treaty of Geneva; if now we change our minds and wish to allow prisoners to choose whether they will be returned or not, that too can be settled by compromise and consultation. The restoration of destroyed areas and the future government of Korea are matters to be decided at the conference table and not on the battle field.

Modern civilization is facing a crisis, beside which the declin of the Egyptian empire, the fall of Babylon, the breaking up of Greco-Roman civilization, and the European wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, pale into insignificance.

These are undisputed facts, but perhaps the most arresting fact of all is that the majority of our leaders of civilization, fitted for that role by heritage, natural gift and education, are today silent and are refusing to exercise their function.

For clearly indicated plans of investigation, teaching and learning we have substituted, particularly in this country, a program of fear so that every thought and effort for peace and social uplift is met today by directed hatred of the Soviet Union and of Communism, and by plans for forcible subjection of nations and leaders who follow this line of thought.

It must be clear to all thinking people that no human reform can be instituted and carried out in this way, and that no matter what our personal beliefs are we must face facts. The United States must begin with a study of its relations to Asia and of our future attitude toward the Asiatic peoples. We cannot be masters of the peoples of Asia in the future as we were partly in the past; nor can we be permanent purveyors of charity, taken from the pockets of our workers.

For instance, it is inevitable that in the end Koreans will rule Korea and will themselves settle their way of life: that the Chinese must rule China, and that historically the island of Formosa is part of China: that the Japanese cannot be regarded as an American military outpost, and never will willingly adopt that role. We must stop aiding war of other nations in Indo- China; and we must come to recognize the peoples of India as our equals and not our wards. There must be freedom of trade between Asiatic lands. Japan cannot live without the trade of China, and China will prosper best by using the labor and skill of Japan. It is neither our opportunity nor duty to interfere with this trade.

We must re-assess our attitude toward Africa. More than any other nation in the world, even more than Great Britain and France, we are responsible for the present plight of Africa because of three centuries of slave trading on which American wealth and prosperity originally was built; because of our part in building up of the world color bar, and because of our present investments in Africa and our repressive attitude toward African development. It is easy to see that this mass of more than 8 million workers have been put in practical slavery to 1 1/2 million white exploiters and paid wages varying from 10¢ to $1 a day. On the other hand, the white people of Africa are not the sole exploiters. In 1949 the Union of South Africa received 90 million dollars as a loan from the United States, and the Wall Street Journal predicts that in the next five years the United States will furnish a billion and a half dollars for South African mining and industry. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been investing in South Africa for a long time. The Ford interests began investing 25 years ago. General Motors has recently built a 20 million dollar plant there. General Lucius Clay, recently head of the "Freedom" movement in the United States, is director of a corporation which in three years made 9 million dollars profit in the Union of South Africa. Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric, have all been increasing their investments since the end of the Second World War until today most of the invested capital of South Africa comes from America.

Above all, the United States ought to re-assess its attitude toward Europe, both the East and West of Europe. There is no call for us to overemphasize or distort our relation to European civilization. In most cultural and social aspects, Europe still stands far ahead of the United States: in democratic government; in social organization; in science, literature and art. Even the disaster and catastrophe of repeated war has not yet obliterated this European leadership. We must therefore change our recent attitude toward Europe, our bullying and contempt. Our forgetfulness of what we have inherited from Britain, France and Italy, and what Eastern Europe today is showing us in social and industrial reform. We must remember that we cannot make Germany our vassal state. In the end, Germans will never consent. We can neither rule France nor despise this greatest center of modern culture. We cannot continue to treat Great Britain as junior partner, and we must live in peace with the 200 million people of the Soviet Union and the 75 million inhabitants of her sister states.

We must help to unshackle the trade between the United States and Europe and the trade of the world; remembering that most of the inhabitants of the world are ignorant, sick and on the verge of starvation, and that this is not because they deserve such a fate, but because of forces hitherto beyond their or our control. But there exist forces today which give increased control over the actions of men, and instead of trying to guide this control by force we must try to substitute reason and good will.

Above all this, our chief duty toward the world lies within our own boundaries. We are not the world's natural leaders either by inherent gift nor temporary technical mastery, not at the world's request. The greatest benefit which we can bestow on mankind is to settle decently and efficiently the problems of our own government and culture. And the chief arguments against war and our extraordinary and inconceivable preparations for war is that this program is bound to ruin, if it has not already ruined, the chance for the United States of America to play a great and successful democracy, and to achieve real world leadership not based on murder but built on truth and justice. No nation that is spending 70 thousand million dollars a year for murder and destruction

has either the resources or the ability or the mental balance to cure its own festering wounds and stop its own decadence.

We need for the people of the United States: lower taxation more equitably distributed according to income. The tax burden which we carry in the United States is not only a disgrace in itself, a waste of human effort and destruction of wealth, but it stops us from the very activities which we must have for survival. Flood control and the ordering of river systems for irrigation and manufacture of power, reforestation and conservation of soil, are a group of activities calling for long and careful planning and large expenditures unless we are willing to stretch a Sahara Desert over a once fruitful land; and to increase monopoly and misuse of our once vast natural resources.

These natural resources including forests, lands, mines and oil wells, must increasingly and according to plans based on justice and foresight be controlled for the public good and not surrendered to private monopoly and used to increase private wealth. This use of natural resources for the public good does not stem from current Socialism or Communism but has been foreseen and put into partial practice from the beginning of history. It is now our desperate need to plan it on a national scale and to carry it out despite the powerful selfish opposition.

The change in the control of wealth from individuals to corporations is so recent and so tremendous in significance that most even intelligent Americans do not yet grasp it. They still assume that individuals in free association can guide the main form and direction of business and industry; that private property and free contract still function efficiently for the public good; that the mass of workers are equal in bargaining power with the employers; that competitive prices and free markets secure the best distribution of products. In a day when the work of the world is being directed and controlled by corporations and not by individuals or firms, most even intelligent Americans are using the thought and phraseology of a disappearing era.

For instance, the electricity and gas manufactured for this nation is done exclusively by corporations. Corporations conduct by far the greater part of our mining, manufacturing, transportation and banking, and the main transactions of commerce and trade in whiskey, tobacco, silk and hundreds of other articles. The treatment of the corporation in law and morals must differ from the treatment of the individual. Men of high station and personal integrity who would not steal nor murder nor cheat, are today connected with corporations as officials, clerks or stockholders, and those corporations cheat, kill, wound and bribe legally! It is difficult to curb them by law, for they largely control the legislatures which make the law and influence the judges who interpret it. These corporations control more assets than most of the states which create them; indeed, only ten states in the nation have property and resources larger than the assets of these artificial companies, 30 of which each own a billion dollars of resources. As the Wall Street Journal admits, the assets of the great life insurance companies alone represent a first mortgage on the total business and industry of the whole nation. To pretend that the control of these vast aggregations of wealth and power can be done by free enterprise and individual initiative is idiotic.

To cope with this new economic situation we need knowledge, leadership and experiment. War and preparations for war stop thought, conference and effort in this line not only for lack of funds but for fear of being called subversive. If we attempt to cure our economic ills by the successful methods of the rest of the world, if we dare challenge the despotic rule of American business, this fight on monopoly and privilege started by Theodore Roosevelt and carried on with varying fortunes since his administration, becomes almost a synonym for treason! We face a period of nervous tension and hysteria which is a large part of the terrible increase of crime, of organized gambling and of dishonesty so widespread that it is almost impossible to list and characterize it.

In 1894, there were already over 400 combinations to monopolize the necessities of life. By 1908 there were 10,000 combinations with 31 billions of capital. In the 20th century while the farmers' income fell and wages stood still, incomes of $10,000 and up rose 114% in nine years. The number of persons with incomes of $100,000 and up increased from 6,633 in 1916 to 14,816 in 1929. Huge corporations replaced individual enterprise, and business increased to vast dimensions. But in such integration, there was not only no democratic control, but as one millionaire said, it was personal or oligarchic rule by divine right, in the hands of men "to whom God in His wisdom had entrusted this wealth."

But these corporations, to function properly and completely had to have certain functions of government: police power, court injunctions, eminent domain in acquiring land and other property, control of money and credit and fixing of wages and profits. To attain such powers, the corporations went into politics: first to prevent democratic government from exercising these functions against monopoly business; next to control their exercise by the representatives of industry. "The rise of the modern corporation has brought a concentration of economic power which can compete on equal terms with the modern state -- economic power versus political power, each strong in its own field. The state seeks in some aspects to regulate the corporation, while the corporation steadily becoming more powerful, makes every effort to avoid such regulation. Where its own interests are concerned, it even attempts to dominate the state. The future may see the economic organism, now typified by the corporation, not only on an equal plane with the state, but possibly even superceding it as the dominant form of social organization." (This quotation, strange to say, is from Adolph Berle, a prominent witch hunter.)

We claim that America leads in democracy. This claim is old and has at times approached truth. It is not true today. For democracy while logical in theory, is difficult to achieve and maintain in practice. There have been times in our history when the public opinion of the mass of our citizens largely determined our policies. There have been regions like 19th century New England where the democratic town meeting was an effective tool of local government. But over most of our history, democracy has been strictly limited, now by religion and status, now by race, now by ownership of property, later by the slave system, then by legal disfranchisement, and today by the power of corporate wealth.

Since the fall of the slave power which ruled the nation by that ownership of land and labor necessary to the valuable cotton crop, the nation, turning sharply from democratic control by freedmen and immigrants, yielded control gradually but definitely to corporate wealth. Congress lost its representative character by the disfranchisement of voters -- Negroes by law, white labor by threat of economic reprisal, and lately enfranchised women by dominant culture patterns. Units of representation became startlingly unequal, so that 5,000 voters in South Carolina had the same political power as 100,000 in Massachusetts, and 36,000 votes give the reactionary McCarran of Nevada the same power as Douglas of Illinois who received two million votes.

With such a background, lobbies representing all the major business interests, manned by well-paid men of high ability and social and business connections, are in constant attendance on legislative and Congressional sessions and in close personal contact with members, quite overwhelming the few and intermittent delegations representing from time to time some sections of the nation's electorate. The consequent cost of promoting legislation has reached such figures that only corporations can afford them. The cost of campaigns for public office is prohibitive for the ordinary candidate. Only some person chosen by a huge and well organized machine, with millions to spend, can think of running for high office.

Thus the citizen of the United States today has small control over candidates or over the issues which will be voted on. The main decisions in national policies will rest in the hands of those business interests which are today in the control of a huge oligarchy striving to belt the world. These are the reasons why our claim to champion democracy in the world is not valid and cannot be proven by honest inquiry.

The condition of education in the United States should be a matter of intense anxiety. Our educational system has deteriorated during the 20th century and is worsening today, despite any manipulation of figures or multiplication of bricks and mortar. Our teaching force is declining in efficiency because they are not properly trained are not supported by public opinion, and are not paid decent wages. Our elementary school facilities both in housing, recreation and teaching materials, are not improving, and particularly in the third of the nation where double systems of schools based on race are legally required, the chance for millions of children to learn to read, write and count accurately is not as good today as it was 50 years ago. We are still held back by the feeling that education of youth a private, individual responsibility and that government subsidy is dangerous. Nothing is more indicative of our cultural decadence. The restoration and progress of our system of education calls for money and large sums of money, and this money cannot be obtained if our present preparation for war continues.

There is a demand and will be increasing demand for better medical care of the health of the nation. We are not training a sufficient number of physicians and nurses, and they are being distributed with fantastic disregard of the needs of the people. A new national plan of medical care and hospitals, no matter under what name it parades, is absolutely necessary -- and the money to support it is being worse than wasted on Morocco airfields to attack the Soviets. The threat to our health is greatly increasing because of our lack of decent housing and the prevalence of slum areas. We make our sons fight for big business abroad and give them no place to live when they return home. We should not be lulled to sleep by the knowledge that many if not most people of the world have poorer housing than we have. The point is that without undue exertion on our part and with ordinary reasonable planning we could have decent housing and the elimination of nests of crime if so much of our income did not go to war.

In our recent national effort to make people think alike and to agree with certain dogmas and to hate people behind the iron curtain, we have let the civil rights under which we have lived and which we have inherited from Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution be invaded and partially destroyed. It is difficult to conceive that in America of all lands it is dangerous to hold a peace meeting; to defend the right of teachers to think; to keep people from being jailed on unknown testimony and by accusers who are not named. There is in the United States tod ay almost no free platform of discussion, and there is certainly no free press. Our news-gathering agencies and our newspapers are under the control of great business combines who also own most of the magazines and control book publishing, radio, screen and television. It is almost impossible to get publicity for anybody who dares defend Communism, Socialism, social medicine, or even what we used to call liberalism; it is practically impossible to get books published which do not over-praise America and blast British Socialism; or fiction, pictures or radio broadcasts which do not have Communists for villains and do not paint Judas Iscariot as a hero. We are using known liars, hired spies and professional informers to build up our secret police methods.

Especially, our efforts to secure equal civil rights for 15 million American Negroes in work, wage and political rights have been retarded and the slow progress of Negroes in education and employment only highlights what could have been done if American Negroes had had the schools and work opportunities of Russian peasants in the last generation. Congress cannot even vote on equal employment and mob violence.

Those persons in the United States who want to check fascism, to put down race hatred and group hostility; who see in the newest South a growing and threatening monopoly of natural resources, reduction of wages and accumulation of individual wealth, have been driven into fearful silence. What the nation needs is a new humility to replace her boasting and fighting; a free press and free forums for discussion; a tolerance of difference of opinion; the freeing of scientific workers for investigation instead of chaining them to government efforts for war; encouragement for literature and art; and the use of screen, radio and television for education and social uplift instead of for social degradation.

Toward this program the Progressive Party looks in this campaign and it stands alone. There is no program for peace in either the Republican or Democratic platforms. There is no plea for tolerance on the part of either of the Presidential candidates or the candidates for lower offices. Men like McCarran and McCarthy are leading American civilization and leading it down to certain disaster and destruction unless the voters in this election call an immediate and decided halt and begin their call with the demand to stop the fighting in Korea and stop it now!

. Du Bois

SEPT. 24, 1952

HALLINAN DINNER

Carlotta Bass

35-10-64

THERE IS A NEW DEMOCRACY ARISING IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH VINCENT HALLINAN REPRESENTS. // THOSE AMERICANS WHO HAVE NOT FOLLOWED THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN RECENT YEARS WILL NOT BE AWARE OF THIS. // THEY STILL THINK OF LABOR UNIONS AS MAINLY EFFORTS TO RAISE WAGES BY MEANS OF STRIKES, // WHICH WAS THE MAIN PROBLEM OF THE OLDER TYPE OF UNION.

¶ BUT TODAY THE LABOR UNION IS AN ATTEMPT BY PRIMARY DEMOCRATIC METHODS TO PROVIDE FOR THE EDUCATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE OF WORKERS, TO INSURE FAMILY SECURITY IN SICKNESS OR DEATH, TO PROVIDE WIDE SOCIAL CONTACT AMONG MEMBERS, TO PROVIDE REST RESORTS AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS, AND THROUGH PAPERS, BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS TO GATHER, SET DOWN AND INTERPRET CURRENT WORLD NEWS, // AND ABOVE ALL TO TEACH THE WORKER TO REALIZE THAT HIS ROLE IS NOT TO ESCAPE HIS ~~THE NECESSITY OF~~ WORK BUT TO DEMAND RECOGNITION OF HIS MANHOOD IN INCOME, TREATMENT, AND SOCIAL STATUS BY THE NATION WHICH GROWS RICH ON HIS EFFORTS. // THIS HAS OPENED UP A WHOLE NEW AREA OF [redacted] THOUGHT // AND THOSE WHO HAVE NOT COME IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE NEWER UNIONS WILL FIND REWARD AND INFORMATION BY SO DOING. // IT IS THIS TYPE OF UNION THAT THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS IS SET TO DISTROY.

35-10-65

VINCENT HALLINAN HAS TURNED AT GREAT PERSONAL COST FROM THE ORDINARY LEGAL CAREER TO A DEFENSE OF UNION LABOR. // HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY UNDER THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY NOT ONLY EMPHASIZES THE NEW ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS, BUT THROWS A SPOTLIGHT ON THE GLARING FAILURE OF CURRENT POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES. // ~~THIS CAN BE SEEN IN MANY WAYS.~~ // FIRST LET US FOR INSTANCE, THERE WERE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1950 APPROXIMATELY ~~96~~ 97 MILLION PERSONS ~~WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE.~~ OF VOTING AGE. // OF THESE 49 MILLION ACTUALLY VOTED, AND 24 MILLION OF THESE VOTED FOR HARRY TRUMAN // OR IN OTHER WORDS ~~LESS THAN~~ HALF OF THOSE OF VOTING AGE ~~WHO COULD VOTE~~ WENT TO THE POLLS, AND LESS THAN HALF OF THESE VOTED FOR TRUMAN. // TRUMAN BECAME PRESIDENT AT THE BEHEST OF ABOUT 25% OF THE VOTERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

¶ ON THIS NARROW POPULAR MANDATE, HE HAS REVOLUTIONIZED MODERN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT // ¶ WITHOUT A REFERENDUM OF THE VOTERS AND WITHOUT ASKING THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, AND BEFORE SECURING THE COOPERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HE STARTED THE MOMENTOUS WAR IN KOREA.

¶ BY THE USE OF HIS VAST PRESIDENTIAL POWERS, INCLUDING REPEATED AND UNSUPPORTED WAR SCARES, HE STEERED THIS NATION TO THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY PREPARATION FOR WAR WHICH HUMANITY HAS EVER SEEN. // BECAUSE OF THIS,

PRICES AND TAXES/HAVE RISEN TO FANTASTIC HEIGHTS.//INTERNATIONAL HATRED/AND FRICTION AND SUSPICION/~~BETWEEN NATIONS~~/HAS BEEN FRIGHTFULLY INCREASED.//AND OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY/ TOGETHER WITH THAT OF WESTERN EUROPE,/ STANDS POISED ON THE EDGE OF DISASTER.//QUITE OUTSIDE/OF THE QUESTION/AS TO THE RIGHT AND WRONG/OF THESE STEPS/ THE AUTHORITY TO TAKE THEM/WAS NOT SECURED/BY ANY REAL DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE.//NOR WAS ANY REAL ATTEMPT MADE/TOWARD SUCH POPULAR SUPPORT.

35-10-66

BUT THAT IS ONLY PART/OF THE STORY/OF THE DECADENCE/OF DEMOCRATIC METHODS/ IN THE UNITED STATES.//IN THE ELECTION OF SENATORS/THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES 8 (8) STATES/WHICH ~~EACH~~ CAST/OVER A MILLION VOTES EACH IN SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.//THEY ARE:/ NEW YORK, CALIFORNIA/ ILLINOIS, PENNSYLVANIA/ INDIANA, OHIO,/MISSOURI AND WISCONSIN./ TO ELECT 8 SENATORS FROM THESE STATES/THERE WERE CAST IN 1948/ 23 MILLION VOTES./ THERE WERE ALSO CHOSEN/ IN THE SAME ELECTION/ 8 SENATORS/ FROM DELAWARE, ALABAMA,/ GEORGIA, LOUISIANA/ NEVADA, SOUTH CAROLINA/ MISSISSIPPI AND SOUTH DAKOTA//THESE EIGHT SENATORS/EQUAL IN POWER AND PRESTIGE/ TO THE 8 SENATORS//ELECTED FROM THE

STATES WHICH I HAVE MENTIONED.//THIS SECOND GROUP OF SENATORS,/COMING FROM SIX FORMER SLAVE STATES/AND TWO WESTERN STATES,/ CAST 1 MILLION 350 THOUSAND VOTES/IN THEIR 1948 SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.// IN OTHER WORDS,/ WE HAVE THIS EXTRAORDINARY RESULT:/IT TOOK 23 MILLION VOTERS/ TO SEND EIGHT SENATORS/FROM ONE GROUP OF STATES;/ IT TOOK ONLY/ONE AND A THIRD/ MILLION VOTES/TO SEND 8 SENATORS FROM ANOTHER GROUP.// OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY:/A SENATOR FROM THE NORTH AND MIDDLE WEST/NEEDS ~~NEARLY~~ AN AVERAGE OF TWO ~~FOUR~~ MILLION VOTES,/ WHILE A SENATOR FROM THE SOUTH AND FAR WEST/ONLY NEEDS 170 THOUSAND.//YET THESE GROUPS/ARE ASSUMED TO BE EQUAL/IN POPULAR POLITICAL STRENGTH.

35-10-67

WHEN LESS THAN TWO MILLION PERSONS/HAVE THE SAME POWER/THAN 23 MILLIONS EXERCISE ELSEWHERE;//OR WHEN ONE SOUTHERN VOTER/CAN BALANCE 12 NORTHERN VOTERS/ YOU CANNOT BOAST/OF ~~AMERICAN~~ DEMOCRACY.//ON THE CONTRARY,/IF POWERFUL DEMAGOGS OR RAPACIOUS CORPORATIONS/WISH TO CONTROL THE NATION,/ THEY KNOW THAT PRESSURE/APPLIED IN GEORGIA,/SOUTH CAROLINA OR NEVADA/WILL BE TWELVE TIMES AS EFFICACIOUS/AS IN NEW YORK, ~~OHIO~~ NJ OR PENNSYLVANIA.//IN CERTAIN STATES, THEREFORE,/ THE INFLUENCE OF CORPORATE WEALTH/

AND THE SWAY/ OF CRACKPOT POLITICIANS /IS TREMENDOUS/ NOT ONLY IN THAT STATE/ BUT IN THE NATION.

INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES/ PREFER TO BE INCORPORATED IN DELAWARE /BECAUSE THERE THE POWERFUL DUPONT EMPIRE/ CAN INSIST ON LAWS/ FAVORABLE TO CORPORATIONS.// AND NO SENATOR/ UNFAVORABLE TO CORPORATE WEALTH/ CAN BE ELECTED.// THE GEORGIA LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY/ IS RUMORED AS/ THE CORPORATION/ WHICH NAMES THE HEAD/ OF THE POWERFUL FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.// IF BIG BUSINESS/ WANTS TO "GET TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA,/ WHAT BETTER INSTRUMENT/ CAN IT HAVE/ THAN BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA,/ WHOSE VOTERS ARE TEN TIMES AS POWERFUL /AS THOSE OF ILLINOIS,/ AND SCHOOLED TO HATE TRADE UNIONS?// PROPAGANDA FOR HATRED OF NEGROES AND UNIONS/ COMES NATURALLY FROM EASTLAND OF MISSISSIPPI,/ WHOSE CONSTITUENTS/ HAVE 13 TIMES THE POLITICAL POWER/ IN THE SENATE/ possessed by THE VOTERS IN MASSACHUSETTS;// AND THE TWO GREAT RED-BAITERS/ OF THE SENATE/ WHO HAVE OVERTHROWN OUR BILL OF RIGHTS,/ ARE MUNDT OF SOUTH DAKOTA/ WHO RECEIVED A VOTE OF 160,000 IN HIS LAST ELECTION;/ AND MCCARRAN OF NEVADA WHO RECEIVED A VOTE OF 36,000.// COMPARE THIS WITH

35-10-62

THE 2½ MILLION/ CAST FOR LEHMAN OF NEW YORK,/ AND 2 MILLION FOR DOUGLASS OF ILLINOIS:/

¶ THE EXCUSE/ FOR EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES/ IN THE SENATE/ WAS THE NECESSITY/ OF RECOGNIZING/ ESSENTIALLY EQUAL COLONIES/ WHO CAME INTO FEDERATION IN 1787./

¶ THERE IS NO EXCUSE/ FOR THE INCONCEIVABLE DISCREPANCY/ IN SENATORIAL REPRESENTATION WHICH NOW EXISTS/ AND WHICH MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE/ FOR US TO STOP/ OUR FATAL RUSH TOWARD/ A THIRD WORLD WAR.

35-10-69

¶ THIS DISCREPANCY/ IS NOT CONFINED TO THE SENATE.// THE 435 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES/ ARE THEORETICALLY ELECTED/ FROM ESSENTIALLY EQUAL DISTRICTS/ DISTRIBUTED ~~THROUGHOUT~~ IN ACCORDANCE/ WITH THE POPULATION.// BUT THE NUMBER OF VOTES NECESSARY TO ELECT/ SUCH A REPRESENTATIVE/ SHOWS EXTRAORDINARY VARIATION.// FOR INSTANCE,/ EUGENE COX,/ WHO IS INVESTIGATING THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD/ AND OTHER GREAT PHILANTHROPIC AND SCHOLASTIC ORGANIZATIONS/ FOR COMMUNIST SUBVERSION,/ COMES FROM THE SECOND DISTRICT OF GEORGIA,/ AND WAS ELECTED IN A CONTEST/ WHERE LESS THAN 19 THOUSAND CAST THEIR VOTES/ IN 1950.// JOHN STEPHENS WOOD/ COMES FROM THE 9th

DISTRICT OF GEORGIA/ AND HEADS THE UN-AMERICAN/ WITCH-HUNTING COMMITTEE// HE WAS CHOSEN/ IN AN ELECTION/ WHERE 21 THOUSAND VOTES WERE CAST// ON THE OTHER HAND,/ AND IN CURIOUS CONTRAST/ IT TOOK OVER 200 THOUSAND VOTES EACH/ TO ELECT SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVES/ FROM CALIFORNIA, CONNECTICUT,/ INDIANA, MICHIGAN, AND OHIO.// RIGHT HERE IN NEW YORK/ EMMANUEL CELLER,/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR./ AND JOHN TABER/ ALL REQUIRED MORE THAN 90 THOUSAND VOTES/ TO GET THEIR SEATS IN CONGRESS.// WHILE MISSISSIPPI,/ SOUTH CAROLINA/ HAVE REPRESENTATIVES SITTING IN CONGRESS/ FROM ELECTIONS/ WHERE 5 AND 6 THOUSAND PERSONS VOTED!

35-10-70

¶ THE UNITED STATES IS CONFRONTED/ BY AN ARRANGEMENT/ WHICH SENDS MEN TO CONGRESS/ AND THE LEGISLATURE/ NOT BY DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES/ OR BY VOTERS OF EQUAL POWER,// AND IN WHICH POLICIES/ ARE ADOPTED/ WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC SANCTION.// REAL POLITICAL POWER/ RESIDES TODAY/ IN THE GREAT CORPORATIONS/ WHICH CONTROL THE EXAGGERATED POLITICAL POWERS/ OF ROTTEN BOROUGHS,/ AND LARGELY SELECT MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE/ AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS// AND ~~WHO~~ These Corporations DEMAND FREEDOM FOR THEMSELVES OF ACTION IN ORGANIZATIONS/ WHERE DEMOCRACY DOES NOT EXIST/ AND NEVER HAS FUNCTIONED// AND AT THE SAME

TIME DEMAND/ CURTAILMENT IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS/ OF ORDINARY CITIZENS// AND INCREASED RESTRICTION/ ON LABOR UNIONS/ WHERE DEMOCRACY IS STRUGGLING FOR/ AND FINDING NEW BIRTH.

35-10-71

¶ IT IS THEREFORE/ PECULIARLY FITTING/ THAT THE PARTY/ WHICH CALLS ITSELF PROGRESSIVE/ AND WHICH IS RUNNING ON A PROGRAM/ LOOKING TOWARDS PROGRESS/ IN OUR DEMOCRACY ~~DEVELOPMENT~~, SHOULD HAVE AT ITS HEAD TODAY/ THIS CAMPAIGN OF TRADE UNIONISM,/ VINCENT HALLINAN!

MR. HALLINAN/ BEGAN HIS REAL FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY/ WHEN HE TOOK UP THE DEFENSE/ OF HARRY BRIDGES/ WHOSE PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY/ MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN.// IN THE WORLD UPHEAVAL/ FOLLOWING THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ THERE CAME TO THE UNITED STATES/ FROM AUSTRALIA/ A YOUNG LABORER OF 20/ WHO WORKED FOR 14 YEARS/ AS A LONGSHOREMAN/ IN SAN FRANCISCO.// IT WAS HARD, DANGEROUS WORK,/ WITH MISERABLE WORKING CONDITIONS, LOW WAGE. It Was PREYED ON/ BY PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS/ AND CONDUCTED/ BY THE METHODS OF THE SLAVE MARKET.// HARRY BRIDGES LED A STRIKE/ IN 1934/ WHICH CHANGED ALL THIS.// HIS UNION TODAY,

HE WAS WELCOME AND UNMOLESTED

THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN AND WAREHOUSE MENS UNION, IS ONE OF THE MOST EXTRA-ORDINARY CREATIONS OF CURRENT DEMOCRACY. // IT HAS 85,000 MEMBERS, OVER HALF OF WHOM ARE IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, ARE RECEIVED INTO EQUAL MEMBERSHIP, WITH NO DISCRIMINATION ~~AS TO RACE AND COLOR~~.

STEVEDORING WORK IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN COAL MINING, AND THIS UNION HAS NOT ONLY PENSION AND HEALTH PLANS FOR THE OLD AND INJURED, BUT A SAFETY PROGRAM WHICH GAVE LAST YEAR THE LOWEST INJURY RATE IN 24 YEARS!

NEGROES IN LOUISIANA GET 34¢ AN HOUR, HAWAIIANS GET $1.02. // LONGSHOREMEN HAVE RAISED THEIR WAGES ON THE WEST COAST FROM 60¢ AN HOUR IN 1940 TO $1.81 TODAY.

// CONTRAST THIS SITUATION WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LONGSHOREMENS UNION ON THE EAST COAST:

THE WEST COAST UNION WORKERS EARN AN AVERAGE YEARLY SALARY OF $5,200, THE EAST COAST WORKERS GET $1,700. THE WEST COAST WORKERS WORK 6 HOURS A DAY.

THE EAST COAST - 8 HOURS A DAY. // EMPLOYERS ON THE EAST COAST CAN DISCHARGE MEN AND BLACKLIST THEM AT WILL. // THE WEST COAST WORKERS CONTROL THEIR MEMBERSHIP, PERMIT DISCHARGES ONLY BY A JOINT WORKER AND EMPLOYER COMMITTEE. // PROMOTIONS REQUIRE UNION AND EMPLOYER APPROVAL IN THE WEST; NOT SO IN THE EAST. THE WEST COAST HAS A WELFARE PLAN UNDER A JOINT BOARD OF TRUSTEES. THE UNIONS OF THE EAST COAST HAVE NO PARTICIPATION. // EMPLOYERS CONTRIBUTE 23½¢ ON EACH TON OF CARGO FOR PENSIONS; - ON THE EAST COAST 5¢ ~~AN HOUR~~. // THE PRESIDENT OF THE WEST COAST IS ELECTED EVERY TWO YEARS BY SECRET BALLOT AND RECEIVES $7,000 AND EXPENSES. // ON THE EAST COAST HE IS ELECTED FOR LIFE AND RECEIVES $32,500 AND EXPENSES. // THE EAST COAST LEADERS HAVE NEVER BEEN PERSECUTED, THE WEST COAST LEADERS HAVE BEEN UNDER CONTINUOUS PERSECUTION BY STATE AND GOVERNMENT SINCE 1934.

HAS ELIMINATED ALL RACE DISCRIMINATION; / HAS EXCELLENT HEALTH AND ACCIDENT PENSION PLANS, / AND WHERE THE MISERABLE LONGSHOREMEN / OF NEW YORK HARBOR / STILL RECEIVE / AN AVERAGE WAGE OF $1700 A YEAR. / THE WAGE OF BRIDGES' UNION / AVERAGES $5200!

ALL THIS WAS GAINED / BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS, / BY LEGAL PROCEDURES / AND WITH NO DISORDER / EXCEPT THAT INCITED BY THE EMPLOYERS. // BUT THESE EMPLOYERS / NOW BEGAN in 1934 A PERSECUTION / OF HARRY BRIDGES / WHICH FOR HEARTLESS PERSISTENCE / AND FANTASTIC MANEUVERS / HAS NO PARALLEL / IN AMERICAN HISTORY. // AMERICA MUST NOT FORGET THIS CASE. / BRIDGES HAS BEEN INVESTIGATED / BY THE POLICE / AND THE FEDERAL IMMIGRATION SERVICE / AND CLEARED. // HE HAS BEEN DOGGED AND SHADOWED BY THE FBI. // A CABINET OFFICER, / THREATENED WITH IMPEACHMENT, / ORDERED HIM DEPORTED / AS A COMMUNIST. // A DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, / AFTER A HEARING LASTING 11 WEEKS / CONCLUDED THAT HARRY BRIDGES WAS NOT A COMMUNIST. // THE GOVT WITNESSES / WERE CHARACTERIZED BY THE DEAN / AS "SELF-CONFESSED LIARS," "PREJUDICED", / "INTEMPERATE AND PATHOLOGICAL". // BRIDGES WAS DESCRIBED AS A MAN / DRIVEN BY HIS PASSIONATE BELIEF / IN RANK AND FILE TRADE UNIONISM / AND DEMOCRATIC UNION POLICIES.

35-10-74

IN 1940 / THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES / PASSED A BILL / WHOSE OBJECT WAS THE DEPORTATION OF BRIDGES. // IT WAS DENOUNCED / BY ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON / AS INCONSISTENT / WITH 150 YEARS OF JUDICIAL TRADITION. // IT DIED IN COMMITTEE, / BUT IT WAS SUCCEEDED / 15 DAYS LATER / BY A SIMILAR BILL / WHICH BECAME A LAW. // A NEW ORDER OF DEPORTATION WAS ISSUED / BUT THE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION APPEALS / SAID, "IT IS OUR UNANIMOUS OPINION / THAT THE WARRANT MUST BE CANCELLED". // THE ATTORNEY GENERAL BIDDLE OVERRULED HIS own BOARD IN 1942. // AN APPEAL WAS TAKEN TO THE UNITED STATES COURTS, / AND IN JUNE, 1945, / THE SUPREME COURT HELD / THAT THE DEPORTATION OF BRIDGES WAS UNLAWFUL.

35-10-75

FIVE DAYS AFTER THAT / DECISION / BRIDGES APPLIED FOR NATURALIZATION / AND BECAME / A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES. // THEREUPON / HE WAS INDICTED / FOR FRAUD AND CONSPIRACY / IN HIS PETITION TO OBTAIN NATURALIZATION. // IN APRIL, 1950, AFTER A TRIAL / PACKED WITH PROFESSIONAL STOOL PIGEONS, / THE JURY FOUND BRIDGES GUILTY / AND HE WAS SENTENCED TO 5 YEARS IN PRISON. // THE CONVICTION WAS APPEALED / AND BRIDGES WAS RELEASED ON $25,000 BAIL. // THIS APPEAL IS NOW PENDING. // FOR HIS DEFENSE OF BRIDGES /

BECAUSE WE DENIED BEING A COMMUNIST

IN THIS TRIAL, VINCENT HALLINAN WENT TO JAIL FOR CONTEMPT OF THE ~~COURT WHICH GAVE~~ Judge who CONDUCTED THE ~~DECISION~~ TRIAL. (THE LATE) JUSTICE FRANK MURPHY OF THE SUPREME ~~COURT~~ JUDGE SAID, "FOR MORE THAN A DECADE POWERFUL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FORCES HAVE COMBINED WITH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES TO SEEK THE DEPORTATION OF HARRY BRIDGES."

35-10-76

THIS IS NOT ENGLAND IN THE 18TH CENTURY. IT IS AMERICA IN THE 20TH. FOR HIS DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY IN THIS CASE ALONE, IF FOR NO OTHER DEED, VINCENT HALLINAN DESERVES TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I need hardly add that as a Negro woman, Carlotta Bass represents the Negro worker in politics.

On what platform do these Candidates stand?

Hymour Levy
25 Home Park Rd
Wimbledon

Du Bois Oct. 23, 1952

ROSENBERG RALLY

THE ROSENBERGS ARE NOT ACCUSED OF BETRAYING MILITARY SECRETS TO AN ENEMY OF THEIR COUNTRY. // AT THE TIME OF THE ALLEGED DEED ~~WAS PERPETRATED~~ WE WERE FRIENDS AND ALLIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION. // ~~IT COULD NOT BE ALLEGED THAT THE ROSENBERGS WERE DEALING WITH AN ENEMY.~~ // LATER, WHEN THE ROSENBERGS WERE ACTUALLY ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH TREASON, FRICTION HAD ARISEN OVER KOREA AND OTHER MATTERS, AND THE KOREAN WAR HAD BEGUN, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT A DIRECT PARTY. // NEVERTHELESS IT WAS FEAR OF THE SOVIETS AND A GROWING VISION OF A WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA WHICH FURNISHED THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH THIS TRIAL WAS HELD.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IN THIS CASE AS IN MANY OTHER CASES IN THE PAST, ACCUSATION ITSELF almost ~~PROBABLY~~ SPELLED CONVICTION. ~~was a strong word~~

46-9-22

-2-

HOW FORTUNATE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR US AND FOR THE WORLD IF AT THE TIME THE ROSENBERGS WERE ACCUSED WE HAD IN FACT FREELY GIVEN TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD THE SECRET OF THE ATOM BOMB. // THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A GESTURE TOWARD PEACE WHICH WOULD HAVE CONVINCED MANKIND OF OUR REAL DESIRE FOR A FREE WORLD AND FOR TRUE DEMOCRACY. // AND OUR ABHORRENCE OF IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION. // IT WOULD HAVE SAVED THIS NATION ENOUGH FUNDS FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE AND THE CURE OF CANCER AND INFANTILE PARALYSIS. // FOR THE HARNESSING OF OUR GREAT, DESTROYING RIVER SYSTEMS AND WATERING OF OUR DESERTS AND ~~FOR~~ ESPECIALLY FOR THE RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS. // BUT WE DID NOT DO THIS. ON THE CONTRARY WE SET OURSELVES ~~TO CONQUER~~ NOT ~~TO~~ ONLY ~~ONLY~~ to fight THE SOVIET UNION BUT To Conquer THE WORLD.

46-9-23

TURNING THEN FROM THIS SPOILED DREAM OF PEACE, LET US CONSIDER THE FACTS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ~~BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR WHICH LED MANY AMERICANS TO REGARD WAR~~ WHICH LED AMERICA TO REGARD WAR AS INEVITABLE AND THUS ESTABLISH A PUBLIC OPINION WHICH EASILY ~~WAS LED TO~~ DEMANDED THE DEATH OF THE ROSENBERGS

FOR MANY YEARS/THERE WAS UNQUESTIONED FRIENDSHIP/BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.// MY ~~HIGH~~SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS/USED TO PRAISE/THE CESSION OF ALASKA/AS BINDING/THE TWO NATIONS TOGETHER.// MUCH WAS SAID/IN MY YOUTH/OF THE SPLENDID COURT OF THE CZARS,/ AND NO AMERICAN AMBASSADORSHIP/WAS MORE SOUGHT FOR/THAN THE EMBASSY TO RUSSIA.

THERE ~~WERE~~ CAME SOME CRITICISMS.//FOR INSTANCE,/AS A HIGHSCHOOL STUDENT/I REMEMBER READING/IN THE CENTURY MAGAZINE/A SERIES OF ARTICLES/BY GEORGE KENNAN,/ FATHER OF THE PRESENT MAN/WITH THE SAME NAME.//HE CRITICIZED SEVERELY/THE CRUELTY OF THE CZARS, THE REPRESSION OF FREEDOM,/ AND THE EXILE TO SIBERIA.// AFTERWARD WE HEARD MUCH/ABOUT RUSSIAN ANARCHY,/ REVOLT AND ASSASSINATION,/ MITIGATED IN PART/BY THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS/WHICH CAME/ABOUT THE SAME TIME/THAT AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVES/WERE EMANCIPATED.

~~IN 1917~~ IT IS FAIR TO SAY/THAT (IN 1917) THE OVERWHELMING/LIBERAL PUBLIC OPINION/IN THE UNITED STATES/WAS WITH THE REVOLUTIONISTS// GREAT LIBERAL LEADERS/AND THINKERS WHO ~~IN 1918~~ HAILED THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/AS GREATER THAN THE FRENCH/AND AS FULFILLING

46-9-24

THE DREAM OF THE AMERICAN/NEED NOT TODAY/BE ASHAMED OF THEIR ENTHUSIASM.//FOR IT WAS ECHOED AROUND/THE FORWARD-THINKING WORLD.// I REMEMBER THE VISIT OF KATHERINE BRESHKOVSKAYA, MOTHER OF THE REVOLUTION,/ TO AMERICA.// I WAS PRESENT/WHEN JANE ADAMS/ENTERTAINED HER AT HULL HOUSE.

THEN/BECAUSE OF THE BRITISH ATTEMPT/TO BEAT BACK THE REVOLUTION,/ CAME THE ATTACK ON RUSSIA/OF FOURTEEN NATIONS,/ INCLUDING AMERICA.//FOLLOWED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY PROPAGANDA/WHICH HAS PERSISTED TO OUR DAY.// ESPECIALLY/DID (the crushing of inner revolt) THE EXPULSION OF LEON TROTSKY/AND ~~HIS EXILE TO MEXICO~~/IMPRESS LIBERALS/AND SET THEM AGAINST STALIN/BEFORE THEY KNEW THE WHOLE TRUTH.

46-9-25

~~BUT ABOVE ALL~~ At Last/CAME THE PROPAGANDA OF HITLER.// NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE WERE FRIGHTENED/BY FASCISM IN ITALY/ AND NAZISM IN GERMANY,// MANY INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS/ADMIRED BOTH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI.//AND WENT ALONG WITH GREAT BRITAIN/ IN AN ALL-OUT ATTEMPT TO APPEASE THEM.// IT WAS FOR THIS REASON/THAT WE REFUSED/TO INVITE THE SOVIET UNION/TO ALLIANCE/AGAINST THE NAZI ATTACK/ON WESTERN EUROPE.// ALONG WITH GREAT BRITAIN WE

STEADFASTLY ~~REFUSED TO~~ DELAYED NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA,/ SENDING SECOND-RANK ~~NEGOTIATORS~~ diplomats /AND PUTTING OFF DECISION,/ UNTIL AT LAST THE SOVIET UNION/IN SELF-DEFENSE/MADE ALLIANCE WITH HITLER.

12-9-24

THEN AS FRANCE AND ENGLAND/TOTTERED ON THE BRINK/AND HITLER TURNED FROM THE FINISHING BLOW/TO OVER-THROW THE SOVIET UNION,/ WE REGAINED OUR SENSES IN PART,/ AND WITH RELUCTANCE/MADE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION/AND GREAT BRITAIN/AGAINST THE NAZIS.// BUT WE WERE CERTAIN/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/WAS GOING TO BE OVERTHROWN/IN A SHORT TIME.// IT WAS, THEREFORE,/ OUR BELIEF/THAT IF WE COULD PROLONG/THE CONFLICT/AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE,/ HITLER MIGHT BE/SO ~~MUCH~~ WEAKENED/BY THE RUSSIAN RESISTENCE/THAT BOTH COMMUNISM/AND ~~NAZISM~~ FASCISM/WOULD OVERTHROW ~~THEMSELVES~~ each other.

THERE IS NO DOUBT/THAT THIS WAS THE REASON/BEHIND OUR DELAY/IN FURNISHING A SECOND FRONT/AGAINST THE NAZIS,/ (WHEN THEIR BACKS WERE BARED) ALTHOUGH HARD-PRESSED,/ THE SOVIETS WERE PUTTING UP FIERCE RESISTANCE/AGAINST THE MIGHTY WEHRMACH.// WE ~~THEREFORE~~ repeatedly PROMISED THE RUSSIANS/ HELP,/ BUT/ (repeatedly failed to send it) WE FOLLOWED THE LEAD/OF CHURCHILL AND BRITAIN.// AND THAT WAS/TO WAIT UNTIL THE RUSSIANS/WERE OVERTHROWN,/ AND MEANTIME/TO CONSERVE OUR STRENGTH/AND ~~ATTACK~~ move THROUGH SOUTHERN EUROPE/SO AS TO PRESERVE/THE WESTERN EUROPEAN HIGHWAY/TO ASIA/AND THE CONTROL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN// THEN/WHEN HITLER'S ARMIES/RETURNED FROM RUSSIA,/ EVEN IF

11-9-24

VICTORIOUS, THEY WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO OVERTHROW GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, WITH THE ALLIES FIRMLY ENTRENCHED IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

THE UNEXPECTED AND INCREDIBLE HAPPENED. // THE RUSSIANS, AT THE COST OF OVER 15 MILLION LIVES AND ONE HUNDRED BILLIONS DOLLARS OF PROPERTY, SMASHED HITLER AND THE GERMAN ARMIES, // AND DID THIS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AMERICAN OR WESTERN EUROPEAN SOLDIERS. // SOME MATERIAL AND MUNITIONS WE FURNISHED THE SOVIETS, BUT IT FORMED ONLY ~~BUT~~ ABOUT 5% OF THEIR TOTAL NEEDS. // WE SENT MANY TRUCKS AND JEEPS, BUT NOT AS MANY AS THE SOVIETS CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS. // THIS SMALL ~~SUPPLY~~ HELP WAS STOPPED TOO EARLY, AND AFTER THE WAR WE REFUSED TO LOAN THE SOVIETS A SINGLE DOLLAR, WHILE WE GAVE 90 MILLIONS TO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

WHEN ~~THIS ENTIRELY NEW SITUATION~~ SOVIET VICTORY FACED US AT POTSDAM AND YALTA, WE CAME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH RUSSIA, AND DID IT GLADLY.

82-6-94

We did not dispute Russian

~~YIELDING~~ CONTROL OVER THE TERRITORY WHICH BORDERED ON THE SOVIET ~~TERRITORY~~ UNION WHICH WE HAD ONCE TRIED TO PRESERVE AS A CORDON SANITAIRE FROM WHICH THE WEST PLANNED TO ATTACK AND RECONQUER THE SOVIETS. // WE COULD NOT IN DECENCY NOR IN ARMED MIGHT REFUSE TO YIELD THE BALTIC STATES WHICH HAD LONG BEEN RUSSIAN TERRITORY. // NOR POLAND WHICH THE WEST HAD ARMED AGAINST THE SOVIETS. // NOR COULD WE COMPEL CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO FOLLOW WESTERN DICTATORSHIP. // MORE THAN THAT OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SOVIET EFFORT (against HITLER) WAS ECSTATIC. // OUR SECRETARY OF STATE, CORDELL HULL, PRAISED "THE EPIC QUALITY OF THEIR PATRIOTIC FERVOR." // GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR SAID OF THE RED ARMY: -- "THE WORLD SITUATION AT THE PRESENT TIME INDICATES THAT THE HOPES OF CIVILIZATION REST ON THE WORTHY BANNERS OF THE COURAGEOUS RUSSIAN ARMY. // DURING MY LIFETIME I HAVE PARTICIPATED IN A NUMBER OF WARS AND HAVE WITNESSED OTHERS, // AS WELL AS STUDYING IN GREAT DETAIL THE CAMPAIGNS OF OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF THE PAST. // IN NONE HAVE I OBSERVED SUCH EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE TO THE HEAVIEST BLOWS OF A HITHERTO UNDEFEATED ENEMY, // FOLLOWED BY A SMASHING COUNTER-ATTACK WHICH IS DRIVING THE ENEMY BACK TO HIS OWN LAND. // THE SCALE AND GRANDEUR OF THE

82-6-94

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AT QUEBEC/ ON AUGUST 31, 1943,/ PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL/DECLARED CONCERNING THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT/AND ITS LEADERSHIP:/-- "NO GOVERNMENT EVER FORMED AMONG MEN/HAS BEEN CAPABLE OF SURVIVING INJURIES/SO GRAVE AND CRUEL/AS THOSE INFLICTED BY HITLER ON RUSSIA.// RUSSIA HAS NOT ONLY SURVIVED/AND RECOVERED FROM THOSE FRIGHTFUL INJURIES/BUT HAS INFLICTED,/ AS NO OTHER FORCE/IN THE WORLD COULD HAVE INFLICTED,/ MORTAL DAMAGE/ON THE GERMAN ARMY MACHINE."

COLONEL RAYMOND ROBINS,/ HEAD OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS/IN RUSSIA,/ SAID: "THE GREATEST HOUR/I SHALL EVER KNOW/WAS TO SEE THE LIGHT/OF HOPE FOR FREEDOM/FROM AGE-LONG TYRANNIES/AND OPPRESSIONS/IN THE EYES OF THE WORKERS/AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA/ AS THEY RESPONDED/TO THE APPEALS OF LENIN/AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION./

"SOVIET RUSSIA/HAS ALWAYS WANTED INTERNATIONAL PEACE./ LENIN KNEW THAT HIS GREAT DOMESTIC PROGRAM/WOULD BE DEFLECTED/IF NOT DESTROYED BY WAR.// THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE/HAVE ALWAYS WANTED PEACE.// EDUCATION, PRODUCTION,/ EXPLOITATION OF A VAST AND

46-9-30

RICH TERRITORY/ENGAGE ALL THEIR THOUGHTS/AND ENERGIES AND HOPES.

"SOVIET RUSSIA/EXPLOITS NO COLONIES,/ SEEKS TO EXPLOIT NONE.// SOVIET RUSSIA OPERATES/NO FOREIGN TRADE CARTELS,/ SEEKS NONE TO EXPLOIT.// STALIN'S POLICIES/HAVE WIPED OUT/RACIAL, RELIGIOUS,/ NATIONAL AND CLASS ANTAGONISMS/WITHIN THE SOVIET TERRITORIES.// THIS UNITY AND HARMONY/OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S/POINT THE PATH/TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE."

THUS WE PRAISED RUSSIA. BUT

IN ~~RETURN~~ Addition/WE NEEDED SOVIET ALLIANCE/AGAINST THE STILL POWERFUL ARMY/AND NAVY OF JAPAN;// AND PARTICULARLY/WE EXPECTED TO DEVELOP CHINA/AS OUR ALLY,/ NOT ONLY AGAINST JAPAN/BUT IN THE INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE/WHICH WE HOPED TO BUILD/IN ASIA/AFTER THE WAR,/ IN OUR ROLE/AS SUCCESSOR/TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

AND WERE NOT YET SURE OF THE ATOM BOMB

TO OUR ASTONISHMENT/THIS FAILED,/ WHEN THE COMMUNISTS DROVE OUT ~~OUR ALLY,~~// THE SCOUNDREL CHIANG-KAI-SHEK,/ AND TOOK THE Very ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS/WHICH WE HAD GIVEN HIM.// THERE REMAINED ONLY,/ TO THE MIND OF MOST AMERICANS,/ THE PROTECTION OF THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED ATOM BOMB.// IT IS EASY TO SEE/HOW/DURING THIS ALMOST HYSTERICAL CHANGE/AND REACTION/

46-9-31

CHARGES/OR EVEN RUMORS/THAT THE SECRET OF THE ATOM BOMB/HAD BEEN REVEALED TO RUSSIA/ ALARMED THE NATION./ [redacted]

IN SEPTEMBER, 1949/ THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/KNEW THE SECRET/OF THE ATOM BOMB.// AND FROM THAT MANY CONCLUDED/THAT THIS SECRET HAD BEEN BETRAYED/TO THE SOVIET UNION/BY AMERICANS.// AND THAT EVENTUALLY/A THIRD WORLD WAR/BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES/AND THE SOVIET UNION/MUST FOLLOW.// ~~THERE~~

46-9-32

BY WIDESPREAD/AND DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA/INDUCED MOST AMERICANS,/ EVEN LIBERALS AND RADICALS,/ TO ACCEPT THIS BELIEF.// WHEN FUCHS WAS CONVICTED AS A SPY/IN 1950/ (and GOLD, GREENGLASS AND BOYER CONFESSED) AND JUDITH COPLON ACCUSED,/ ATOMIC TRAITORS WERE SCENTED EVERYWHERE, AND ~~IN 1951~~ THE ROSENBERGS WERE ACCUSED BY GREENGLASS, ~~[redacted]~~ COACHED BY ROGGE.

HERE IS THE BACKGROUND/OF THE KIND OF PUBLIC OPINION/IN WHICH THEY WERE TRIED.// IT IS DOUBTFUL/IF ANYONE IN THIS ROOM,/ UNDER ~~THESE~~ SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES/WOULD HAVE ESCAPED GRAVE DANGER/OF CONVICTION.// THE CASE AGAINST THE ROSENBERGS/WAS SWORN TO/BY CONFESSED ~~SPY~~ SPIES,/ WHO RECEIVED IMMUNITY/ (AND A LIGHT SENTENCE) EVEN THOUGH/IT HAS NEVER BEEN PROVEN/THAT THEY

POSSESSED/ANY ATOMIC SECRET/WHICH THEY/COULD REVEAL.// THE ROSENBERGS WERE TRIED/IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF RACE PREJUDICE.// DURING THE FRENZIED ATTEMPT/TO ESTABLISH UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE,/ (AMID TRUMAN'S SCARE MESSAGES) AND THE CRUSADE/OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS/TO MAKE THE UNITED STATES/FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION/FOR POSSESSION OF THE MARKETS/OF ASIA AND THE WORLD.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON/THAT THE ROSENBERGS WERE CONVICTED,/ AND MOST AMERICANS/ WHO ARE NOT CARRIED AWAY/BY THE HYSTERIA OF THE KOREAN WAR/CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE ROSENBERGS/COMMITTED A CRIME/OR HAD A JUST TRIAL./ THIS MEETING TONIGHT/IS A PROTEST TO TRY ~~AND~~ TO SEE/THAT IN THE END/JUSTICE WILL PREVAIL.

46-9-33

THE SIGNIFICANCE/OF THE ROSENBERG CASE,/ ~~THEREFORE,~~ REACHES BEYOND THE FATE/ OF TWO INDIVIDUALS,/ TRAGIC AS THAT MAY BE.// IT BECOMES A PART/OF THE GREAT PEACE CRUSADE.// IN THE MIDST OF WAR/AND FEAR OF WAR ~~WE~~ MEN DO/UNBELIEVABLE THINGS.// WE RUSH TO LYING,/ SLANDER AND HATE/BECAUSE WE FEAR/WHAT WAR WILL DO TO US/AND TO OURS.// IN BLIND RECOIL/FROM MASS MURDER/WE DO ANYTHING/WHICH/IN OUR FEVERED IMAGINATION/SEEMS LIKELY TO SAVE US FROM WAR.// THIS IS THE REASON/WHY HERE IN A NATION/BORN IN PEACE AND

JUSTICE./ WE ARE /ALMOST WITHOUT PROTEST /COMMITTING CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY,// AGAINST ELEMENTARY CIVIL RIGHTS,/ AGAINST EVERY IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY.// THE PUBLIC OPINION /WHICH CRUCIFIES A MOTHER AND FATHER /IN THE PRIME OF LIFE /IS BASED ON THE ABJECT FEAR /OF DISASTER /TO THE WHOLE NATION.// BUT FEAR IS NOT FACT,/ AND IGNORANTLY TO COMMIT /AN UNFORGIVEABLE CRIME /IN THE NAME OF A GREATER CRIME /IS NO EXCUSE.// FIRST WE MUST KNOW/ BEYOND ALL DOUBT /THAT THE ROSENBERGS WERE SPIES.// IT IS BY NO ACCIDENT /THAT THE LAW OF CIVILIZATION /HAS ALWAYS DECLARED IT FAR BETTER /THAT TEN GUILTY ESCAPE /RATHER THAN ONE INNOCENT PERSON /BE PUNISHED FOR A CRIME /HE NEVER COMMITTED.

46-9-34

IN THIS CASE /THE GREATER REASON /FOR PAUSE /IS OUR MAD RUSH TO WAR./ TO WHICH THIS NATION /HAS YIELDED /WITHOUT CAUSE AND WITHOUT REASON.// THE BLOOD GUILT IS UPON ~~US,~~ /AMERICANS WHO ALONE IN THE WORLD /DEMAND MASS MURDER AND FORCE /AND CONTINUED SLAUGHTER ~~OF~~ IN HELPLESS KOREA.

~~25 YEARS AGO THIS NATION COMMITTED AN AWFUL CRIME WHEN IT EXECUTED TWO ITALIAN WORKERS, INNOCENT OF THE CRIME WHICH HYSTERICAL PUBLIC OPINION CHARGED THEM~~

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO,/ IN THE MIDST OF SIMILAR WAR HYSTERIA /AND POST-WAR threat of ~~INFLATION~~, financial disaster WE COMMITTED /IN THIS NATION /A JUDICIAL CRIME /AS GREAT AS THAT /WHICH WE NOW CONTEMPLATE. BECAUSE OF THE HATE /BORN OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR,/ BECAUSE OF RACE PREJUDICE,/ IN NEW ENGLAND /AGAINST IRISH /AND THE NEWLY-COME ITALIANS;// AND PARTICULARLY /BECAUSE BOOMING INDUSTRY /FEARED ~~RADICALS~~ CRITICISM,// WE MURDERED SACCO AND VANZETTI.// WE MURDERED TWO (HUMBLE) WORKING MEN OF HIGH IDEALS /AND STEADFAST FAITH.// NO MAN TODAY DOUBTS /THE FRIGHTFUL MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE /IN THIS CASE.// YET /AT THE TIME /SOME OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS /REFUSED /TO SAY A WORD /OR RAISE A HAND OF PROTEST.// VANZETTI, ADDRESSING THE COURT,/ APRIL 9, 1927,/ SAID:/ (AND WITH THESE SAME WORDS /HE SPEAKS AGAIN TO US /TONIGHT),

46-9-35

"THE JURY DID NOT UNDERSTAND /THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A MAN /WHO IS AGAINST WAR / BECAUSE HE BELIEVES /WAR IS UNJUST /~~AND BECAUSE HE HATES NO COUNTRY~~// AND A MAN WHO HATES WAR /BECAUSE HE IS IN FAVOR /OF THE COUNTRY /WHICH IS ~~FIGHTING~~ ATTACKING THE LAND /IN WHICH HE LIVES;// SUCH A MAN /IS A SPY /AND COMMITS A CRIME /AGAINST HIS COUNTRY /IN ORDER TO SERVE /ITS ENEMY.// WE ARE NOT MEN /OF THAT KIND.// NOBODY CAN SAY /THAT WE ARE GERMAN SPIES.// WE WERE AGAINST THE WAR /BECAUSE WE DID NOT BELIEVE /IN THE PURPOSE /FOR WHICH THEY SAY

THE WAR WAS FOUGHT.// WE BELIEVE THAT WAR IS WRONG/AND WE BELIEVE THIS/MORE/AFTER THE TEN YEARS/IN WHICH WE HAVE STUDIED AND OBSERVED/DAY BY DAY.// AND I AM GLAD/TO BE/ON THE SCAFFOLD OF DOOM/IF I CAN SAY TO MANKIND://LOOK OUT!/YOU ARE IN THE TOMB OF THE FLOWER OF MANKIND.// FOR WHAT?// ALL THAT THEY SAID TO YOU,/ALL THAT THEY HAVE PROMISED YOU;/IT WAS A LIE,/IT WAS A FRAUD,/IT WAS A CRIME.//THEY PROMISED YOU LIBERTY;/WHERE IS LIBERTY?//THEY PROMISED YOU PROSPERITY;/WHERE IS PROSPERITY? "

41-9-36

SACCO AND VANZETTI ARE DEAD;/BUT YOU LIVE./ AND MAY YOU ~~LIVE/TO~~ PREVENT/ ANOTHER SUCH CRIME/~~AS THIS.~~//

IN THE ROSENBERG CASE,/MANY OF THE SAME ELEMENTS/ARE PRESENT/THAT APPEARED/IN THE SACCO-VANSETTI CASE// PREDUDICE AGAINST A GROUP; PREJUDICE AGAINST THEIR BELIEFS ~~ABOUT WAR AND WEALTH~~; DETERMINATION TO FRIGHTEN THE NATION ~~INTO WAR~~

15

~~Antimo Giovannetti, SANG-Smos-14~~

FOR THE WORLD OF DAWN/IS BLOWING,
FOR THE EYES/OF THE EAST/ARE GLOWING,
FOR THE LARK IS UP/AND THE COCK IS CROWING,
AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT IS HERE!"

41-9-37

Early draft

ROSENBERG RALLY

THE ROSENBERGS ARE NOT ACCUSED OF BETRAYING MILITARY SECRETS TO AN ENEMY OF THEIR COUNTRY. AT THE TIME THE ALLEGED DEED WAS PERPETRATED WE WERE FRIENDS AND ALLIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IT COULD NOT BE ALLEGED THAT THE ROSENBERGS WERE DEALING WITH AN ENEMY. LATER, WHEN THEY WERE ACTUALLY ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH TREASON, FRICTION HAD ARISEN OVER KOREA AND OTHER MATTERS, AND THE KOREAN WAR HAD BEGUN. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT A DIRECT PARTY, NEVERTHELESS IT WAS FEAR OF THE SOVIETS AND A GROWING VISION OF A WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA WHICH FURNISHED THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH THIS TRIAL WAS HELD.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IN THIS CASE AS IN MANY OTHER CASES IN THE PAST, ACCUSATION ITSELF SPELLED CONVICTION.

HOW FORTUNATE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR US AND FOR THE WORLD IF AT THE TIME THE ROSENBERGS WERE ACCUSED WE HAD IN FACT FREELY GIVEN TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD THE SECRET OF THE ATOM BOMB. THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A GESTURE TOWARD PEACE WHICH WOULD HAVE CONVINCED MANKIND OF OUR REAL DESIRE, FOR A FREE WORLD AND FOR TRUE DEMOCRACY, AND OUR ABHORRENCE OF IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION. IT WOULD HAVE SAVED THIS NATION ENOUGH FUNDS FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE AND THE CURE OF CANCER AND INFANTILE PARALYSIS; FOR THE HARNESSING OF OUR GREAT, DESTROYING RIVER SYSTEMS; AND WATERING OF OUR DESERTS; AND FOR ESPECIALLY THE RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS. BUT WE DID NOT DO THIS; ON THE CONTRARY WE SET OURSELVES TO CONQUER NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION BUT THE WORLD.

TURNING THEN FROM THIS SPOILED DREAM OF PEACE, LET US CONSIDER THE FACTS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

FOR MANY YEARS THERE WAS UNQUESTIONED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA. MY HIGHSCHOOL TEXT BOOKS USED TO PRAISE THE CESSION OF ALASKA AS BINDING THE TWO NATIONS TOGETHER. MUCH WAS SAID IN MY YOUTH OF THE SPLENDID COURT OF THE CZARS, AND NO AMERICAN AMBASSADORSHIP WAS MORE SOUGHT FOR THAN THE EMBASSY TO RUSSIA.

35-10-45

THERE WERE SOME CRITICISMS. FOR INSTANCE, AS A HIGHSCHOOL STUDENT I REMEMBER READING IN THE CENTURY MAGAZINE A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY GEORGE KENNAN, FATHER OF THE PRESENT MAN WITH THE SAME NAME. HE CRITICIZED SEVERELY THE CRUELTY OF THE CZARS, THE REPRESSION OF FREEDOM, AND THE EXILE TO SIBERIA. AFTERWARD WE HEARD MUCH ABOUT RUSSIAN ANARCHY, REVOLT AND ASSASSINATION, MITIGATED IN PART BY THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS WHICH CAME ABOUT THE SAME TIME THAT AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVES WERE EMANCIPATED.

IN 1917 IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE OVERWHELMING LIBERAL PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES WAS WITH THE REVOLUTIONISTS. GREAT LIBERAL LEADERS AND THINKERS WHO IN 1918 HAILED THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AS GREATER THAN THE FRENCH AND AS FULFILLING

THE DREAM OF THE AMERICAN MIND NOT TODAY BE ASHAMED OF THEIR ENTHUSIASM, FOR IT WAS ECHOED AROUND THE FORWARD-THINKING WORLD. I REMEMBER THE VISIT OF KATHERINE BRESHKOVSKAYA MOTHER OF THE REVOLUTION, TO AMERICA. I WAS PRESENT WHEN JANE ADAMS ENTERTAINED HER AT HULL HOUSE.

THEN BECAUSE OF THE BRITISH ATTEMPT TO BEAT BACK THE REVOLUTION, CAME THE ATTACK ON RUSSIA OF FOURTEEN NATIONS, INCLUDING AMERICA, FOLLOWED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY PROPAGANDA WHICH HAS PERSISTED TO OUR DAY. ESPECIALLY DID THE EXPULSION OF LEON TROTSKY AND HIS EXILE TO MEXICO IMPRESS LIBERALS AND SET THEM AGAINST STALIN BEFORE THEY KNEW THE WHOLE TRUTH.

BUT ABOVE ALL CAME THE PROPAGANDA OF HITLER. NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE WERE FRIGHTENED BY FASCISM IN ITALY AND NAZISM IN GERMANY, MANY INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS ADMIRED BOTH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, AND WENT ALONG WITH GREAT BRITAIN IN AN ALL-OUT ATTEMPT TO APPEASE THEM. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE REFUSED TO INVITE THE SOVIET UNION TO ALLIANCE AGAINST THE NAZI ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE. ALONG WITH GREAT BRITAIN WE

STEADFASTLY REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH RUSSIA, SENDING SECOND-RANK NEGOTIATORS AND PUTTING OFF DECISION, UNTIL AT LAST THE SOVIET UNION IN SELF-DEFENSE MADE ALLIANCE WITH HITLER.

35-10-46

THEN AS FRANCE AND ENGLAND TOTTERED ON THE BRINK AND HITLER TURNED FROM THE FINISHING BLOW TO OVER-THROW THE SOVIET UNION, WE REGAINED OUR SENSES IN PART, AND WITH RELUCTANCE MADE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND GREAT BRITAIN AGAINST THE NAZIS. BUT WE WERE CERTAIN THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS GOING TO BE OVERTHROWN IN A SHORT TIME. IT WAS, THEREFORE, OUR BELIEF THAT IF WE COULD PROLONG THE CONFLICT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, HITLER MIGHT BE SO MUCH WEAKENED BY THE RUSSIAN RESISTENCE THAT BOTH COMMUNISM AND NAZISM WOULD OVERTHROW THEMSELVES.

35-10-47

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS WAS THE REASON BEHIND OUR DELAY IN FURNISHING A SECOND FRONT AGAINST THE NAZIS. ALTHOUGH HARD-PRESSED, THE SOVIETS WERE PUTTING UP FIERCE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE MIGHT WEHRMACH. WE THEREFORE PROMISED THE RUSSIANS HELP, BUT WE FOLLOWED THE LEAD OF CHURCHILL AND BRITAIN, AND THAT WAS TO WAIT UNTIL THE RUSSIANS WERE OVERTHROWN, AND MEANTIME TO CONSERVE OUR STRENGTH AND ATTACK THROUGH SOUTHERN EUROPE SO AS TO PRESERVE THE WESTERN EUROPEAN HIGHWAY TO ASIA AND THE CONTROL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THEN WHEN HITLER'S ARMIES RETURNED FROM RUSSIA, EVEN IF

VICTORIOUS, THEY WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO OVERTHROW GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, WITH THE ALLIES FIRMLY ENTRENCHED IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

THE UNEXPECTED AND INCREDIBLE HAPPENED. THE RUSSIANS AT THE COST OF OVER 15 MILLION LIVES AND ONE HUNDRED BILLIONS OF PROPERTY, SMASHED HITLER AND THE GERMAN ARMIES AND DID THIS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AMERICAN OR WESTERN EUROPEAN SOLDIERS. SOME MATERIAL AN MUNITIONS WE FURNISHED THE SOVIETS, BUT IT FORMED BUT ABOUT 5% OF THEIR TOTAL NEEDS. WE SENT MANY TRUCKS AND JEEPS, BUT NOT AS MANY AS THE SOVIETS CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS. THIS SMALL SUPPLY WAS STOPPED TOO EARLY, AND AFTER THE WAR WE REFUSED TO LOAN THE SOVIETS A DOLLAR, WHILE WE GAVE 90 MILLIONS TO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

WHEN THIS ENTIRELY NEW SITUATION FACED US AT POTSDAM AND YALTA, WE CAME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH RUSSIA, AND DID IT GLADLY.

YIELDING CONTROL OVER THE TERRITORY WHICH BORDERED ON THE SOVIET TERRITORY WHICH WE HAD TRIED TO PRESERVE AS A CORDON SANITAIRE FROM WHICH THE WEST PLANNED TO ATTACK AND RECONQUER THE SOVIETS. WE COULD NOT IN DECENCY NOR IN ARMED MIGHT REFUSE TO YIELD THE BALTIC STATES WHICH HAD BEEN RUSSIAN TERRITORY; NOR POLAND WHICH THE WEST HAD ARMED AGAINST THE SOVIETS; NOR COULD WE COMPEL CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO FOLLOW WESTERN DICTATORSHIP. OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SOVIET EFFORT WAS ECSTATIC. OUR SECRETARY OF STATE, CORDELL HULL, PRAISED "THE EPIC QUALITY OF THEIR PATRIOTIC FERVOR." GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR SAID OF THE RED ARMY:— "THE WORLD SITUATION AT THE PRESENT TIME INDICATES THAT THE HOPES OF CIVILIZATION REST ON THE WORTHY BANNERS OF THE COURAGEOUS RUSSIAN ARMY. DURING MY LIFETIME I HAVE PARTICIPATED IN A NUMBER OF WARS AND HAVE WITNESSED OTHERS, AS WELL AS STUDYING IN GREAT DETAIL THE CAMPAIGNS OF OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF THE PAST. IN NONE HAVE I OBSERVED SUCH EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE TO THE HEAVIEST BLOWS OF A HITHERTO UNDEFEATED ENEMY, FOLLOWED BY A SMASHING COUNTER-ATTACK WHICH IS DRIVING THE ENEMY BACK TO HIS OWN LAND. THE SCALE AND GRANDEUR OF THE

35-10-48

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35-10-49

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35-40-50

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IN THIS CASE THE GREATER REASON FOR PAUSE IS OUR RUSH TO WAR, TO WHICH THIS NATION HAS YIELDED WITHOUT CAUSE AND WITHOUT REASON. THE BLOOD GUILT IS UPON US, AMERICANS WHO ALONE IN THE WORLD DEMAND MASS MURDER AND FORCE AND CONTINUED SLAUGHTER OF HELPLESS KOREA.

[redacted]

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO, IN THE MIDST OF WAR HYSTERIA AND POST-WAR INFLATION, WE COMMITTED IN THIS NATION A JUDICIAL CRIME AS GREAT AS THAT WHICH WE NOW CONTEMPLATE. BECAUSE OF THE HATE BORN OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR; BECAUSE OF RACE PREJUDICE IN NEW ENGLAND AGAINST IRISH AND THE NEWLY-COME ITALIANS; AND PARTICULARLY BECAUSE BOOMING INDUSTRY FEARED RADICALS, -- WE MURDERED SACCO AND VANZETTI. WE MURDERED TWO WORKERS OF HIGH IDEALS AND STEADFAST FAITH. NO MAN TODAY DOUBTS THE FRIGHTFUL MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE IN THIS CASE. YET AT THE TIME SOME OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS REFUSED TO SAY A WORD OR RAISE A HAND OF PROTEST. VANZETTI, ADDRESSING THE COURT, APRIL 9, 1927, SAID: (AND WITH THESE SAME WORDS HE SPEAKS AGAIN TO US TONIGHT),

35-10-51

"THE JURY DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A MAN WHO IS AGAINST WAR BECAUSE HE BELIEVES WAR IS UNJUST AND BECAUSE HE HATES NO COUNTRY, AND A MAN WHO HATES WAR BECAUSE HE IS IN FAVOR OF THE COUNTRY WHICH IS FIGHTING THE LAND IN WHICH HE LIVES; SUCH A MAN IS A SPY AND COMMITS A CRIME AGAINST HIS COUNTRY IN ORDER TO SERVE ITS ENEMY. WE ARE NOT MEN OF THAT KIND. NOBODY CAN SAY THAT WE ARE GERMAN SPIES. WE WERE AGAINST THE WAR BECAUSE WE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH THEY SAY

THE WAR WAS FOUGHT. WE BELIEVE THAT WAR IS WRONG AND WE BELIEVE THIS MORE AFTER THE TEN YEARS IN WHICH WE HAVE STUDIED AND OBSERVED DAY BY DAY...AND I AM GLAD TO BE ON THE SCAFFOLD OF DOOM IF I CAN SAY TO MANKIND: LOOK OUT! YOU ARE IN THE TOMB OF THE FLOWER OF MANKIND. FOR WHAT? ALL THAT THEY SAID TO YOU, ALL THAT THEY HAVE PROMISED YOU; IT WAS A LIE, IT WAS A FRAUD, IT WAS A CRIME. THEY PROMISED YOU LIBERTY; WHERE IS LIBERTY? THEY PROMISED YOU PROSPERITY; WHERE IS PROSPERITY? "

SACCO AND VANZETTI ARE DEAD; BUT YOU LIVE. AND MAY YOU LIVE TO PREVENT ANOTHER SUCH CRIME AS THIS.

Early draft

Du Bois
Madison Square Garden, Oct. 27, 1952

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

WHILE THE AMERICAN LEGION WAS MEETING RECENTLY IN NEW YORK, I WAS RETURNING FROM THE SAD FUNERAL OF A YOUNG VETERAN OF WORLD WAR II. MY CAR WAS HALTED IN FRONT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATION, BY GAY YOUNG MEN FORMING FOR A PARADE. THEY WERE THE "YOUNG REBELS OF MIAMI", AND OVER THEM WAVED A CONFEDERATE FLAG.

DURING THIS WHOLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN THE CONFEDERATE FLAG AND THE REBEL YELL HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT EVIDENCE. IT WAS FLOWN REPEATEDLY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, AND WHEN EISENHOWER RECENTLY VISITED ATLANTA, HE WAS WELCOMED BY THE GOVERNOR WAVING A CONFEDERATE FLAG. Stevenson in New Orleans grinned as he waved the flag of slavery.

ALL THIS HAS BEEN REGARDED AS AN AMIABLE JOKE BY MOST PERSONS; OTHERS WHO KNOW HAVE MET IT WITH STUDIED SILENCE, AND SMALL MENTION HAS APPEARED IN THE PRESS. I AM SURE, THEREFORE, THAT MOST PEOPLE FORGET FOR JUST WHAT THE

35-10-39

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CONFEDERATE FLAG ONCE STOOD. IT STOOD FOR HUMAN SLAVERY. IT WAS THE FLAG OF THE SLAVE STATES OF THE SOUTH, WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE FREE LABOR STATES OF THE NORTH IN A CIVIL WAR WHICH WAS A REBELLION AGAINST THE POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO REGULATE LAND AND LABOR. TO ME, NATURALLY, THE STARS AND BARS OF THE CONFEDERACY ARE MORE THAN INSULT, THEY ARE THREAT, BECAUSE THEY SIGNIFY THE SLAVERY OF FOUR MILLION NEGRO SLAVES WHOSE DESCENDANTS NUMBER 15 MILLION AMERICAN SECOND CLASS CITIZENS TODAY.

THIS CIVIL WAR, WHICH KILLED NEARLY A HALF MILLION AMERICANS AND MAIMED AND WOUNDED OTHER HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS; WHICH DESTROYED MILLIONS OF PROPERTY AND DISRUPTED THE ECONOMY AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES AND GAVE RULE TO CORPORATE WEALTH, WAS CAUSED BY SLAVERY. IT IS TODAY THE FASHION TO DENY THIS AND TO ASSERT THAT THIS UNNECESSARY WAR WAS FOUGHT FOR "STATES RIGHTS." PEOPLE DO NOT FIGHT FOR ABSTRACT CONCEPTIONS. THEY FIGHT FOR MONEY, POWER AND FEAR; AND IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH WHO ONCE MARCHED BEHIND THE CONFEDERATE

FLAG THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THEY WERE FIGHTING TO KEEP FOUR MILLION BLACK LABORERS WORKING FOR THEM AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE WAGE IN ORDER THAT THE MASTERS SHOULD BE COMFORTABLE, RICH AND POWERFUL. ON SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS MILLIONS OF BLACK LABORERS RAISED COTTON, SUGAR AND CORN TO PAY FOR THEIR LIVING, LUXURIES AND DEBTS, WHILE MILLIONS OF UNEMPLOYED POOR WHITES STARVED. THERE ARE STILL HISTORIANS WHO MAINTAIN THAT SLAVERY REPRESENTED THE ZENITH OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, AND WRITERS WHO RAVE OVER THE JASMIN AND MAGNOLIAS OF THE WHITE-PILLARED MANSIONS OF THE SLAVE OWNERS.

BUT NOT ALL WHITE SOUTHERNERS WERE SLAVE-OWNERS; NOR ARE ALL WHITE SOUTHERNERS TODAY WAVING THE CONFEDERATE FLAG. LESS THAN 10% OF THE WHITES OWNED SLAVES. BUT THE SLAVEHOLDERS FOUGHT FOR SLAVERY, AND SAID SO. JEFFERSON DAVIS, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERACY SAID SO. ALEXANDER STEVENS, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERACY SAID SO. A GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA SAID, "GOD FORBID THAT MY DESCENDANTS, IN THE REMOTEST GENERATIONS, SHOULD LIVE IN ANY OTHER THAN A COMMUNITY HAVING THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY." THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION, WHICH STEVENSON ADMIRES, SAID

35-10-40

IN THE 9th SECTION OF ITS FIRST ARTICLE, THAT CONGRESS SHALL PASS NO LAW "DENYING OR IMPAIRING THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN NEGRO SLAVES."

THE CIVIL WAR RESULTED IN EMANCIPATION FOR THE SLAVES, NOT BECAUSE THE NORTH OR ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUGHT FOR THIS, BUT BECAUSE FREEDOM FOR THE SLAVES WHOSE LABOR SUPPORTED THE SOUTH WAS THE ONLY WAY TO WIN THE WAR. THE UNION OF NORTH AND SOUTH MUST CONTINUE OR GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE AND THE SLAVE-HOLDING SOUTH WOULD LEAD MODERN INDUSTRY.

THE SLAVES THEMSELVES DECIDED THE WAR. AS THE ARMIES ADVANCED, THE BLACK WORKERS DESERTED IN INCREASING NUMBERS TO THE NORTHERN ARMIES AS LABORERS AND SPIES, AND FINALLY AS 250,000 ARMED SOLDIERS, EASILY CAPABLE OF EXPANDING TO A MILLION. LINCOLN HAD AT LAST TO SAY THAT FOUR MILLION BLACK WORKERS WERE "HENCEFORWARD AND FOREVER FREE."

HOW FREE WAS THE FREEDMAN? NOT FREE ENOUGH FOR THE CONFEDERATE FLAG TO BE FURLED. HE HAD NO CLOTHES, TOOLS OR LAND. THADDEUS STEVENS BEGGED THE GOVERNMENT

TO GIVE HIM A BIT OF THE LAND WHICH HIS BLOOD HAD FERTILIZED FOR 244 YEARS. THE NATION JEERED. CHARLES SUMNER ASKED FOR THE NEGRO THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THE GOVERNMENT YIELDED BECAUSE ONLY NEGRO VOTES COULD FORCE THE WHITE SOUTH TO CONSENT TO A HIGH TARIFF AND PAYING THE PUBLIC DEBT. THIS ACCOMPLISHED, THE NATION TOOK AWAY THE NEGRO'S VOTE AND THE VOTE OF MANY POOR WHITES WENT WITH IT.

A FANTASTIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOLLOWED. LAND, CAPITAL AND LABOR ARE THE FOUNDING STONES OF SOCIAL LIFE. IN THE SOUTH, THE LAND WAS RICH, AND THE CLIMATE MILD; THERE WAS SUN AND RAIN FOR GRAIN, FRUIT AND FIBRE; THERE WERE NATURAL RESOURCES IN RIVERS, HARBORS AND FORESTS; IN THE BOSOM OF THE EARTH LAY COAL, IRON, OIL, SULPHUR AND SALT. ALL THIS WAS GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO THE SLAVEHOLDER, THE LANDHOLDER, THE MERCHANT AND THE EMPLOYER. NO PART OF IT WENT TO LABOR, BLACK OR WHITE.

CAPITAL WAS NEEDED TO DEVELOP THIS ECONOMIC PARADISE. GOVERNMENT FURNISHED MOST OF THIS CAPITAL FREE TO THE LANDHOLDER AND EMPLOYER. RAILROADS WERE SUBSIDIZED, AND RIVERS AND HARBORS IMPROVED, AND WEALTH ESCAPED TAXATION. THE NORTH FATTENED ON

THIS AND CHEAP IMMIGRANT LABOR, AND POURED PRIVATE INVESTMENTS INTO THE SOUTH. WHEN LABOR LOST ITS VOTE, LANDHOLDERS AND CAPITALISTS VOTED FOR THEM AND FILLED THE LEGISLATURES AND CONGRESS WITH SERVANTS OF EXPLOITATION, AND GAVE ALL THE POWERFUL CHAIRMANSHIPS IN CONGRESS TO THE SOUTH. THEY GAVE THE LANDLORDS AND MERCHANTS MILLIONS TO TRAIN SOLDIERS FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR; DURING THE DEPRESSION, MOST OF THE SOUTHERN RELIEF WENT TO LANDLORDS AND NOT TO LABOR. DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE SOUTHERN INDUSTRY MOVED INTO HIGH GEAR. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POURED BILLIONS OF GRANTS-IN-AID INTO THE SOUTH. SOUTHERN LEGISLATURES VIED EACH OTHER IN BIDDING FOR INDUSTRY, WITH FREE LAND, LOW TAXES, AND PLIANT POLICE. WASHINGTON WAS LAVISH WITH CERTIFICATES OF NECESSITY TO BUILD NEW FACTORIES AND OWNERS OF OIL WELLS WERE GIVEN TAX REBATES FOR DEPLETION OF THE OIL WHICH GOD GAVE THEM; AND TODAY TRY TO GRAB THE OIL UNDERSEAS.

ABOVE ALL, THE SOUTH FURNISHED AND BOASTED OF THE LARGEST POOL OF CHEAP, DOCILE, UNORGANIZED LABOR, SKILLED AND UNSKILLED, IN THE CIVILISED WORLD. THIS MASS OF LABOR WAS FIRST AND HISTORICALLY SPLIT INTO WHITE AND BLACK, EACH HATING AND

FEARING EACH OTHER TO A DEGREE THAT PERSONS UNFAMILIAR WITH THE REGION CANNOT BEGIN TO IMAGINE. THEN THE WHOLE LABOR GROUP WAS DIVIDED INTO A GROUP OF ORGANIZED LABORERS FORMING LESS THAN A THIRD, AND TWO-THIRDS OF INDUSTRIAL LABOR UNORGANIZED, NOT TO MENTION THE AGRICULTURAL SERFS.

35-10-42

HERE WAS A PARADISE FOR THE INVESTOR, WHICH THE STATE IMPROVED: LABOR LAWS WERE LAX AND CARELESSLY ENFORCED; COMPANY TOWNS AROSE UNDER COMPLETE CORPORATE CONTROL; THE POLICE AND MILITIA WERE ORGANIZED AGAINST LABOR; RACE HATE AND FEAR AND SCAB TACTICS WERE DELIBERATELY ENCOURAGED SO AS TO MAKE ANY COMPLAINT OR EFFORT AT BETTERMENT LIABLE TO BURST INTO RIOT, LYNCHING, OR RACE WAR.

THE RESULT HAS BEEN STARTLING. IN 1919 THE SOUTH HAD LESS THAN A FIFTH OF MINING PRODUCTS; IN 1946 IT HAD NEARLY HALF. IN VALUE OF MANUFACTURES IT HAS IN 30 YEARS RISEN FROM A TENTH TO NEARLY A FIFTH OF THE NATIONAL TOTAL. MOST OF THE NEW AND PROMISING INDUSTRIES ARE SEEKING THE SOUTH; AND SINCE WORLD WAR II HAVE INVESTED ELEVEN BILLIONS IN NEW INDUSTRIAL PLANTS. THE SOUTHEAST HAS ALREADY 80% OF THE

COTTON MILLS AND ALL THE NEW CHEMICAL FIBRE INDUSTRY; IT IS DRAWING THE WOOLEN AND WORSTED MILLS, AND THE TEXTILE MACHINERY MILLS WILL SOON FOLLOW. PAPER AND PULP MILLS AND PLASTICS REPRESENT MILLIONS OF NEW INVESTMENT. THE SOUTH-WEST IS THE FASTEST GROWING CHEMICAL EMPIRE IN THE WORLD.

THIS NEWEST SOUTH, TURNING BACK TO ITS SLAVE PAST, BELIEVES ITS PRESENT PROSPERITY CAN BEST BE BUILT ON THE POVERTY AND IGNORANCE OF ITS DISFRANCHISED LOWEST MASSES, AND THESE LOW-PAID WORKERS NOW INCLUDE NOT ONLY NEGROES, BUT MEXICANS, PUERTO-RICANS AND THE UNSKILLED, UNORGANIZED WHITES. SOUTHERN PROGRESS BY MEANS OF THIS POVERTY IS THE CREED OF THE PRESENT SOUTH AND OVER IT FLOATS THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

WHERE NOW IS THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT; WHAT HAS IT DONE; WHAT IS IT DOING AND WHAT ARE ITS PLANS? THE INCREASINGLY BITTER AND ORGANIZED ATTACK ON UNION LABOR IN THIS NATION IS THUS DIRECTLY LINKED TO THE SOUTH AND ITS PAST SLAVERY OF NEGROES AND THEIR LONG EXCLUSION FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, RECOVERING PARTIALLY WITH MASS PRODUCTION FROM COLOR AND SKILL DISCRIMINATION,

THEN ALLOWED THE EMPLOYERS TO SPLIT THEM AGAIN WITH THE SMEAR OF "COMMUNISM". THIS FIGHT AGAINST UNION LABOR TODAY CENTERS IN THE SOUTH AND BUILDS ITSELF UPON THAT COLOR LINE WHICH ONCE BUILT BLACK SLAVERY AND NOW PROJECTS A NEW SLAVERY OF LABOR, BLACK AND WHITE, NORTH AND SOUTH.

35-10-43

THE NORTHERN WORKER LONG WENT HIS WAY OBLIVIOUS TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE SOUTH. HE AWOKE WHEN THE BLACK SOUTHERN LABORER BEGAN TO COME NORTH AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND WAS WELCOMED BY RIOTS. Gradually THE BLACK MAN HAS BEEN INTEGRATED INTO THE UNIONS EXCEPT THOSE IN WHOSE CRAFTS HE WAS NOT SKILLED AND THEREFORE COULD OFFER NO COMPETITION. ONE OF THESE WAS THE TEXTILE UNIONS.

THEY BUILT UP A UNION MOVEMENT WHICH INCREASED WAGES, IMPROVED CONDITIONS OF WORK, AND RAISED THE STANDARD OF LIVING. THEY EXCLUDED NEGROES. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT TO PROVE TO THEM AT THAT TIME THAT THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGROES WAS OF ANY IMPORTANCE WHATSOEVER. IF NEGRO WAGES WERE LOW IN THE SOUTH, WHAT BUSINESS WAS THAT OF NEW ENGLAND WHITE LABOR?

TODAY THE UNION MAN WHO LOOKS ABOUT HIM SEES THAT IT WAS HIS BUSINESS. THE FACTORIES, ESPECIALLY THE TEXTILES, ARE MOVING OUT OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE NORTH INTO THE SOUTH. IN THE NORTH 100,000 TEXTILE WORKERS ARE IDLE; IN THE SOUTH AND IN THE WORLD THE WORKERS ARE TOO POOR TO BUY THE TEXTILES THEY NEED AND WHICH MACHINERY IS MORE THAN ABLE TO MAKE. WAGES IN THE SOUTH ARE TWENTY PERCENT LOWER THAN IN THE NORTH, AND THE NEGRO WAGES ARE AT LEAST 20% BELOW WHITE. THIS WAGE DIFFERENTIAL BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH REPRESENTS INCREASED PROFITS OF 4 TO 5 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. NEGRO FAMILIES IN THE SOUTH GET A MEDIAN WAGE OF LESS THAN A THOUSAND A YEAR; SOUTHERN WHITES GET $2000, AND NORTHERN WHITES $3000. SMALL WONDER THAT NEGRO POPULATION IN MISSISSIPPI DECREASED 8% IN THE LAST DECADE, AND THAT NEGROES INCREASED 58% IN THE NORTH.

THE CARPET-BAGGERS TODAY ARE THE VAST NORTHERN CORPORATIONS WHICH OWN THE NEW SOUTHERN INDUSTRY, AND THE SCALAWAGS ARE THE SOUTHERN POLITICIANS WHOM THEY SEND TO LEGISLATURES AND CONGRESS. THE POOR WHITES STILL IGNORANTLY WAVE THE CONFEDERATE

FLAG, LYNCH OR DYNAMITE NEGROES, AND MOB OR KILL UNION ORGANIZERS.

OUT OF NINE MILLION INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN THE SOUTH CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN A THIRD ARE UNIONIZED; LAST YEAR 40,000 CIO TEXTILE WORKERS, WHICH EXCLUDES NEGRO MEMBERS, STRUCK IN THE SOUTH, AND SPENT $1,250,000 IN FIVE WEEKS. THEY LOST AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP FELL FROM 80% TO 15% OF THE OPERATIVES.

HERE LOOMS THE FIGHT OF THE GREAT CORPORATIONS FOR CHEAP LABOR AND DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND THIS IS WHAT THE NEW WAVING OF THE CONFEDERATE FLAG MEANS TODAY. IT MEANS CHEAP LABOR AND THE PROGRESS OF PROFITABLE INDUSTRY BY ENCOURAGING POVERTY AMONG THE LOWEST MASSES. BOTH THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACCEPT THIS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFEDERATE FLAG. BOTH CANDIDATES COURT THIS NEWER SOUTH ON ITS OWN TERMS. THIS IS THE NEW CIVIL WAR, LOOKING TOWARD A NEW EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION FOR THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD.

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG STOOD FOR BLACK SLAVERY IN 1860; IT STANDS TODAY FOR SLAVERY OF BLACK AND WHITE AND IT IS READY TO SUPPORT SLAVERY OF BLACK, WHITE, BROWN

AND YELLOW, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER THE LORDS OF PRIVATE PROFIT CALL, IN EUROPE, AFRICA OR ASIA. BOTH EISENHOWER AND STEVENSON SMILE HAPPILY AND JOHN BENNATH THIS FLAG, WITH ITS STARS OF WEALTH AND THE BARS OF SLAVERY.

THIS THEN, IS THE PROBLEM OF THE NEWEST SOUTH. HERE IS PROSPERITY AND HERE TOO, FESTERS EVERY ONE OF THE OLD PROBLEMS OF CAPITALISM IN NEW AND THREATENING FORM; POVERTY AND DISEASE, UNJUST COURTS, CRIME AND BARBAROUS PUNISHMENT, GRAFT AND CHEATING, ALL EXCUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF NEGROES, ALL BUILDING A BACKLOG FOR THE FLAME OF WORLD WAR IN WHICH MOST OF OUR MILITARY LEADERS ARE SOUTHERNERS.

WHO CARES? WHO STUDIES THE PROBLEM? WHAT UNIVERSITY, NORTH OR SOUTH, IS BRINGING SCIENCE TO GUIDE THIS NEW LEVIATHAN? WHAT CHURCH IN A SECTION WHICH BLISTERS WITH CHURCHES DARE CRY IN THE SOUTH TODAY, "THOU SHALT NOT KILL"? INSTEAD WE WAVE THE OLD FLAG OF SLAVERY AND BREAK THE NEW LABOR UNIONS.

THE PAST IS PAST; BUT TODAY WE VOTE IN THE FUTURE. WHAT CAN EISENHOWER AND STEPHENSON DO BUT KOWTOW TO THE NEW SLAVERY AND KISS ITS BLOODSTAINED FACE?

35-10-512

THEY WALLOW IN THIS HOG-WASH OF CAPITAL, PICKED FROM THE POCKETS OF THE POOR, RAPED FROM THE HAND OF GOD, MASQUERADING AS FREE ENTERPRISE. WHAT CAN SPARKMAN AND NIXON, THE FILI-BUSTER TWINS, OF IT BUT BABBLE? -WHAT WILL TRUMAN SAY BUT PROMISE EVERYTHING AND DO NOTHING? OR TAFT, BUT PROMISE NOTHING AND DISFRANCHISE THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN OHIO? ALL THIS IS DOING, WHILE WE DABBLE OUR HANDS IN THE BLOOD OF KOREA.

EISENHOWER, BORN IN TEXAS, WITH NEITHER BROAD EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND NOR STRONG CHARACTER, TAKES ORDERS FROM BIG BUSINESS AND CONTRADICTS YESTERDAY WHAT HE SAYS TOMORROW. STEVENSON, WHO KNOWS BETTER, ACCEPTS FROM THE SAME BIG BUSINESS THE MOST BLOOD-THIRSTY AND VULGAR PLATFORM IN OUR HISTORY, AND BECOMES COURT JESTER OF THE CAMPAIGN, COURTING THE SLAVE SOUTH AND POLISHING RAPIERS WHOSE PHRASES SCRATCH BUT NEVER CUT.

35-10-516

IT IS AMAZING THAT THESE MEN CAN TALK SO MUCH AND SAY SO LITTLE, UNTIL WE REMEMBER THAT THIS IS AMERICAN MASS PRODUCTION, USING MACHINES AND SMART YOUNG MEN WITH EARS GLUED TO THE GROUND AND BRAINS FOR SALE.

THERE IS IN THIS CAMPAIGN ONLY ONE TRUE CANDIDATE AND ONE PLATFORM OF ONE WORD. HALLIDAY AND PEACE. NOT PEACE BY WAR, NOR PEACE FOR WEALTH, BUT PEACE, PERIOD!

And for the rest, Charlotta Bass and Corliss Lamont. The ticket is complete.

IF YOU WANT TO THROW AWAY YOUR VOTE GIVE IT TO EISENHOWER OR STEVENSON. IF YOU WANT TO WIN, VOTE RIGHT, VOTE RIGHT AND STILL VOTE RIGHT, IF IT TAKES A HUNDRED YEARS!

FOR RIGHT IS RIGHT, IF GOD IS GOD
AND RIGHT THE DAY SHALL WIN
TO DOUBT IT WOULD BE BLASPHEMY
TO FALTER WOULD BE SIN.

NEWS FROM AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE
17 MURRAY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y. · WO 4-8153

Chairman: VITO MARCANTONIO
Treasurer: EDWARD KUNTZ
Secretary: REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN
Executive Secretary: ARTHUR SCHUTZER

October 27, 1952

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ADVANCE TEXT OF ADDRESS BY DR. W.E.B DuBOIS
AT AMERICAN LABOR PARTY MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 27th

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35-10-115

While the American Legion was meeting recently in New York, I was returning from the sad funeral of a young veteran of World War II, my car was halted in front of the Pennsylvania Station, by gay young men forming for a parade. They were the "Young Rebels of Miami", and over them waved a Confederate flag.

During this whole Presidential campaign the Confederate flag and the Rebel yell have been in constant evidence. It was flown repeatedly at the Democratic National Convention, and when Eisenhower recently visited Atlanta, he was welcomed by the Governor waving a Confederate flag.

All this has been regarded as an amiable joke by most persons; others who know have met it with studied silence, and small mention has appeared in the press. I am sure, therefore, that most people forget for just what the Confederate flag once stood. It stood for human slavery. It was the flag of the slave states of the south, who fought against the free labor states of the north in a Civil War which was a rebellion against the power of the federal government to regulate land and labor. To me, naturally, the stars and bars of the Confederacy are more than insult, they are threat, because they signify the slavery of four million Negro slaves whose descendants number 15 million American second-class citizens today.

This Civil War, which killed nearly a half million Americans and maimed and wounded other hundreds of thousands; which destroyed millions of property and disrupted the economy and cultural life of the United States and gave rule to corporate wealth, was caused by slavery. It is today the fashion to deny this and to assert that this unnecessary war was fought for "states rights". People do not fight for abstract conceptions. They fight for money, power and fear; and in the minds of the people of the south who once marched behind the Confederate flag there was no doubt that they were fighting to keep four million

black laborers working for them at the lowest possible wage in order that the masters should be comfortable, rich and powerful. On southern plantations millions of black laborers raised cotton, sugar and corn to pay for their living, luxuries and debts, while millions of unemployed poor whites starved. There are still historians who maintain that slavery represented the zenith of American civilization, and writers who rave over the Jasmin and Magnolias of the white-pillared mansions of the slave owners.

But not all white southerners were slave-owners; nor are all white southerners today waving the Confederate flag. Less than 10% of the whites owned slaves. But the slaveholders fought for slavery, and said so. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy said so. Alexander Stevens, Vice-President of the Confederacy said so. A governor of South Carolina said, "God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery". The Confederate Constitution, which Stevenson admires, said in the 8th Section of its first article, that Congress shall pass no law "denying or impairing the right of property in Negro slaves".

35-10-116

The Civil War resulted in emancipation for the slaves, not because the North or Abraham Lincoln fought for this, but because freedom for the slaves whose labor supported the South was the only way to win the war. The union of North and South must continue or Great Britain and France and the slave-holding South would lead modern industry.

The slaves themselves decided the war. As the armies advanced, the black workers deserted in increasing numbers to the Northern armies as laborers and spies, and finally as 250,000 armed soldiers, easily capable of expanding to a million. Lincoln had at last to say that four million black workers were "henceforward and forever free".

How free was the freedman? Not free enough for the Confederate flag to be furled. He had no clothes, tools or land. Thaddeus Stevens begged the government to give him a bit of the land which his blood had fertilized for 244 years. The nation jeered. Charles Sumner asked for the Negro the right to vote. The government yielded because only Negro votes could force the white south to consent to a high tariff and paying the public debt. This accomplished, the nation took away the Negro's vote and the vote of many poor whites went with it.

A fantastic economic development followed. Land, capital and labor are the founding stones of social life. In the South, the land was rich, and the climate mild; there was sun and rain for grain, fruit and fibre; there were natural resources in rivers, harbors and forests; in the bosom of the earth lay coal, iron, oil, sulphur and salt. All this was given by the government to the slaveholder, the landholder, the merchant and the employer. No part of it went

to labor, black or white.

Capital was needed to develop this economic paradise. Government furnished most of this capital free to the landholder and employer. Railroads were subsidized, and rivers and harbors improved, and wealth escaped taxation. The North fattened on this and cheap immigrant labor, and poured private investments into the South. When labor lost its vote, landholders and capitalists voted in their stead and filled the legislatures and Congress with servants of exploitation, and gave all the powerful chairmanships in Congress to the South. They gave the landlords and merchants millions to train soldiers for the First World War; during the depression, most of the southern relief went to landlords and not to labor. During the after the Second World War, the Southern industry moved into high gear. The Federal Government poured billions of grants-in-aid into the South. Southern Legislatures vied each other in bidding for industry, with free land, low taxes, and pliant police. Washington was lavish with certificates of necessity to build new factories and owners of oil wells were given tax rebates for depletion of the oil which God gave them; and today try to grab the oil underseas.

35-10-117

Above all, the South furnished and boasted of the largest pool of cheap, docile, unorganized labor, skilled and unskilled, in the civilized world. This mass of labor was first and historically split into white and black, each hating and fearing each other to a degree that persons unfamiliar with the region cannot begin to imagine. Then the whole labor group was divided into a group of organized laborers forming less than a third, and two-thirds of industrial labor unorganized, not to mention the agricultural serfs.

Here was a paradise for the investor, which the State improved: labor laws were lax and carelessly enforced; company towns arose under complete corporate control; the police and militia were organized against labor; race hate and fear and scab tactics were deliberately encouraged so as to make any complaint or effort at betterment liable to burst into riot, lynching, or race war.

The result has been startling. In 1919, the South had less than a fifth of mining products; in 1946 it had nearly half. In value of manufacturers it has in 30 years risen from a tenth to nearly a fifth of the national total. Most of the new and promising industries are seeking the south; and since World War II have invested eleven billions in new industrial plants. The southeast has already 80% of the cotton mills and all the new chemical fibre industry; it is drawing the woolen and worsted mills, and the textile machinery mills will soon follow. Paper and pulp mills and plastics represent millions of new investment. The south-west is the fastest growing chemical empire in the world.

This newest South, turning back to its slave past, believes its present prosperity can best be built on the poverty and ignorance of its disfranchised lowest masses, and these low-paid workers now include not only Negroes, but Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and the unskilled, unorganized whites. Southern progress by means of this poverty is the creed of the present South and over it floats the Confederate flag.

Where now is the American labor movement; what hasit done; what is it doing and what are its plans? The increasingly bitter and organized attack on union labor in this nation is directly linked to the South and its past slavery of Negroes and their long exclusion from the labor movement. The American Labor movement, recovering partially with mass production from color and skill discrimination, then allowed the employers to split them again with the smear of "Communism". This fight against union labor today centers in the South and builds itself upon that color line which once built black slavery and now projects a new slavery of labor, black and white, North and South.

35-10-118

The Northern worker long went his way oblivious to what was happening in the South. He awoke when the Black southern laborer began to come North after the First World War and was welcomed by riots. Gradually the black man has been integrated into the unions except those in whose crafts he was not skilled and therefore could offer no competition. One of these was the Textile Unions.

They built up a union movement which increased wages, improved conditions of work, and raised the standard of living. They excluded Negroes. It would have been difficult to prove to them at that time that their attitude toward Negroes was of any importance whatsoever. If Negro wages were low in the South, what business was that of New England white labor?

Today the union man who looks about him sees that it was his business. The factories, especially the textiles, are moving out of New England and the North into the South. In the North 100,000 textile workers are idle; in the South and in the world the workers are too poor to buy the textiles they need and which machinery is more than able to make. Wages in the South are twenty percent lower than in the North, and the Negro wages are at least 20% bel ow white. This wage differential between North and South represents increased profits of 4 to 5 billion dollars a year. Negro families in the South get a median wage of less than a thousand a year; Southern whites get $2000, and Northern whites $3000. Small wonder that Negro population in Mississippi decreased 8% in the last decade, and that Negroes increased 55% in the North.

The Carpet-Baggers today are the vast Northern corporations which own the new Southern industry, and the Scalawags are the Southern politicians whom they send to legislatures and Congress. The poor whites still ignorantly wave the

Confederate flag, lynch or dynamite Negroes, and mob or kill union organizers.

Out of nine million industrial workers in the South considerably less than a third are unionised; last year 40,000 CIO Textile Workers, which excludes Negro members, struck in the South, and spent $1,250,000 in five weeks. They lost and their membership fell from 20% to 15% of the operatives.

Here looms the fight of the great corporations for cheap labor and disfranchisement, and this is what the new waving of the Confederate flag means today. It means cheap labor and the progress of profitable industry by encouraging poverty among the lowest masses. Both the Republican and the Democratic Party accept this significance of the Confederate flag. Both candidates court this newer South on its own terms. This is the new Civil War, looking toward a new Emancipation Proclamation for the workers of the United States and the world.

35-10-119

The Confederate flag stood for black slavery in 1860; it stands today for slavery of black and white and it is ready to support slavery of black, white, brown and yellow, whenever and wherever the Lords of private profit call, in Europe, Africa or Asia. Both Eisenhower and Stevenson smile happily and joke beneath this flag, with its stars of wealth and the bars of slavery.

This then, is the problem of the newest South. Here is prosperity and here too, festers every one of the old problems of Capitalism in new and threatening form; poverty and disease, unjust courts, crime and barbarous punishment, graft and cheating, all excused by the presence of Negroes, all building a backlog for the flame of World War in which most of our military leaders are Southerners.

Who cares? Who studies the problem? What University, North or South, is bringing science to guide this new Leviathan? What church in a section which blisters with churches dares cry in the South today, "Thou shalt not kill"? Instead we wave the old flag of slavery and break the new labor unions.

The past is past; but today we vote in the future. What can Eisenhower and Stevenson do but kowtow to the new slavery and kiss its blood-stained feet? What can Sparkman and Nixon, the filibuster twins, offer but babble? What will Truman say but promise everything and do nothing? Or Taft, but promise nothing and disfranchise Ohio? All this is doing, while we dabble our hands in the blood of Korea.

Eisenhower, born in Texas, with neither broad educational background nor strong character, takes orders from big business and contradicts yesterday what he says tomorrow. Stevenson, who knows better, accepts from the same big business the most blood-thirsty and vulgar platform in our history, and becomes court jester of the campaign, courting the slave south and polishing rapiers whose phrases scratch but never cut.

It is amazing that these men can talk so much and say so little, until we remember that this is American mass production, using machines and smart young men with ears glued to the ground and brains for sale.

There is in this campaign only one true candidate and one platform of one word. Hallinan and peace. Not peace by war, nor peace for wealth, but peace, period! And for the rest, Charlotta Bass and Corliss Lamont. The ticket is complete.

35-10-120

If you want to throw away your vote, give it to Eisenhower or Stevenson. If you want to win, vote right, vote right and still vote right, if it takes a hundred years!

FOR RIGHT IS RIGHT, IF GOD IS GOD
AND RIGHT THE DAY SHALL WIN
TO DOUBT IT WOULD BE BLASPHEMY
TO FALTER WOULD BE SIN.

* * **

of the rural South

SMALL WONDER THAT NEGRO POPULATION ~~IN MISSISSIPPI~~ DECREASED ~~9%~~ IN THE LAST DECADE, AND THAT NEGROES INCREASED 55% IN THE NORTH.

41-3-23

THE CARPET-BAGGERS TODAY ARE THE VAST NORTHERN CORPORATIONS WHICH OWN THE NEW SOUTHERN INDUSTRY, AND THE SCALAWAGS ARE THE SOUTHERN POLITICIANS WHOM THEY SEND TO LEGISLATURES AND CONGRESS. THE POOR WHITES STILL IGNORANTLY WAVE THE CONFEDERATE FLAG, LYNCH OR DYNAMITE NEGROES, AND MOB OR KILL UNION ORGANIZERS.

OUT OF NINE MILLION INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN THE SOUTH LESS THAN THREE MILLION ARE UNIONIZED. LAST YEAR 40,000 CIO TEXTILE WORKERS, WHO EXCLUDE NEGROES, STRUCK IN THE SOUTH, AND SPENT $1,250,000 IN FIVE WEEKS. THEY LOST AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP FELL FROM 20% TO 15% OF THE OPERATIVES.

HERE LOOMS THE FIGHT OF THE GREAT CORPORATIONS FOR CHEAP LABOR AND DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND THIS IS WHAT THE NEW WAVING OF THE CONFEDERATE FLAG MEANS TODAY. IT MEANS CHEAP LABOR AMONG THE LOWEST MASSES. BOTH THE REPUBLICAN AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACCEPT THIS. BOTH CANDIDATES ~~COURT~~ THIS NEWER SOUTH ON ITS OWN TERMS.

in the last election campaign

DU BOIS Nov. 16, 1952

ASP BOOK RECEPTION

I believe that in our day literary composition is completing a great circle. In early times the minstrel sought his audience directly, and audiences invited bards for entertainment and information. Then, between listener and speaker, poet and hearer, intervened the powerful protector, the Maecenas and magnificent Lorenzo. In the middle age the church became the protector, until eventually civil war and revolt against dogma freed the mind of man for science and made centuries of literature with millions of readers.

With the modern centuries of capitalism and colonialism booksellers as profitmakers so completely separated readers and writers that the two became strangers and both became potential enemies of the publishers. In our day when it became profitable to silence or suppress certain ideas which might reduce profit, the investor secured control of the publisher, and the separation of reader and writer became so wide that today they tend to turn back and meet each other face to face anew, thus completing the circle.

36-9-103

The reader now wants to know, and the writer has truth to tell and ideas to express, and neither regard private profit as the goal of literature. A new and simpler cooperation inspires both which does not need the publisher as dictator. It calls only for ideas well and clearly expressed, and for literate people willing to read, whether or not they ultimately accept them.

Such books, costing not more than one or two dollars each, evaluated by artists and real scholars, as well as by prophets and leaders in a free press, can be sold without choking costs for advertising and the lying of false and misleading promotion in monopolized bookstores. Thus we could

build a new American literature for the education of a people ignorant today of critical matters at a critical time, and set new standards of taste in a nation now woefully lacking.

This freedom of thought and expression cheaply attainable by those who want wisdom, with decent pay to those whose thought and knowledge deserves return and who today starve, can be arranged if brains and courage are available. It is ridiculous to doubt that there are not 100,000 Americans who would spend $10 a year on books worth buying, and that there is not honest business ingenuity enough to put these books into their hands.

This movement must be initiated by writers themselves, who shrink from bookselling, and by readers who must now subsist on book reviews no matter who writes them or owns the periodicals which print them.

What kind of literature will a review owned by the Morgan banking interests birth and distribute?

36-9-104

RECORDING

We, the citizens of the United States of America, who have been denied the great privilege of sitting with you this week in Vienna in order to hasten Peace among the nations and increase friendship and love among mankind, have thought at least to send our voices to you over seas and lands to express our fellowship and oneness of aim.

35-10-86

I am W.E.B. Du Bois, a writer and descendant of American Negro slaves. May I begin with a word of my own.

I remember well the year this century was born. I remember with what high hopes we rode out of that wonderful nineteenth century which gave me birth and the vision of life. Foremost of our dreams, even beyond triumphs in science, technology in industry, and better standards of living for the mass of men, was our firm belief in Peace. Looking back on a long, shameful and wasteful history of almost continuous war, we firmly believed and resolved that war as an institution of human progress would definitely end. We had Peace organizations and Peace congresses. We planned disarmament, and no great mind of that day had any other dream but that the 20th century was to be the century of Peace, Science and Social progress.

On what do we now look back, here in mid-century? Not only on two of the most stupendous, bloody and destructive wars that human beings ever waged, but on a world in mad career toward a third and greater war, with plans and weapons so diabolic that mankind staggers at their very thought.

This is sheer insanity and we know it. It is madness so gross, bloodthirsty and inconceivable that every sane person must realize that we face the end of civilization, the Gotterdaemerung of all that is decent in this, our beautiful world, if we persist along this path; and we are persisting; the shriek of our dying children, the thunder of our crippling guns, the grinding and crushing of our tanks, the stink of poison gas and whirr of disease germs fill our eyes, ears and nostrils until the very air of Europe, Asia and Africa

and of all the Americas is violent death, and more death, and death without end.

Worse than this, those whose voices you now hear from afar are in all honesty compelled to admit that the nation to which we belong, the U.S.A. is today leading all other nations of the world in preparation for war on the greatest scale mankind ever knew.

35-10-87

It is not easy for us to stand before you and admit this. We love and respect our nation. We are neither traitors nor cowards. We have served our country with muscle, blood and brain; we have worked for her and will continue to offer her our last breath, our deepest loyalty and our devotion to her highest ideals. We are not for a moment placing on the United States all the blame for the horrible war preparation of mankind today. But our just share of that blame we must admit without shrinking nor equivocation; It is our nation, and almighty God forgive us, that invented and first dropped the atom bomb on living flesh, and this moment we are spending millions to contrive more such weapons of disaster; it is our people who are spreading centers of armed aggression over all the earth and which is set today to perpetuate war preparations as never before, and we less than others allow our citizens to discuss Peace.

Against this war policy we have long protested and continue to protest. We and thousands like us would have asked nothing better than to be sitting beside you now to tell you face to face that millions of American citizens hate war as you do and are ready to plan Peace at home and abroad, and to plant Love, not Hate. But unfortunately, almost none of us who has raised his voice against war at home is today allowed tp travel abroad and join you in defense of Peace. We regard this as the greatest affront to our liberties, the most brazen attack on Democracy and and open confession that those who rule the United States today dare not face the truth.

We who believe in Freedom and Democracy and who have long worked to

make our country the foremost example of such a land and still work for that great end, shudder to see our nation in the grip of men whose desire for power and wealth is greater than their love for human souls. For this reason our jails are filling with men whose only crime is to dare think, and we see increased effort to draft our youth into armies for murder and destruction the world over.

35-10-88

We join you thus, then, in a world-wide appeal for Peace; for Peace now and Peace forever; for Peace in Korea, China, Malaya and Viet Nam; for Peace in Africa. We grant willingly the freedom which we ask: we long to live in the same Peace and Freedom which we grant to all neighbors.

We are a great and powerful nation and have often given of our skill and bounty to the world. But also and too often we have misused our strength and we are not too proud today humbly to ask forgiveness for the crimes we have committed against Africa and Asia, against our own citizens black and white, and against Peace. We hope to atone by welcoming China to the fellowship of nations and by helping the nations of South and Central America and the islands of the sea into friendship and cooperation.

We call the world to awake from the horror of our present madness and to become the men we once dreamed we would be.

I have now the honor of introducing my colleagues as they each greet you with a few words. All are leading figures in the American Peace Crusade. Each will express his own individual thought but all unite in a message for world peace.

Dr. Clementina Paolone, a leading physician of New York City and the national chairman of American Women for Peace.

Howard Fast, distinguished author and valiant fighter for Peace.

Thomas Richardson, trade unionist, fighter for Negro rights, and national co-director of the American Peace Crusade.

Karen Morley, blacklisted Hollywood star, union organizer, and courageous Peace advocate.

35-10-89

Maloia Moorhead Robinson, former trade union leader, and presently national executive secretary of the American Women for Peace.

Rev. Edward McGowan, outstanding Methodist clergyman and co-chairman of the New York Peace Institute.

Professor Philip Morrison, distinguished nuclear physicist and one of the great scientific minds of our time.

Dr. Willard Uphaus, religious leader and spokesman for Peace, and Director of the United States Sponsoring Committee for participation in the Vienna Congress.

Mr. Hugh Dean, journalist and writer, a resident in China for many years, and an authoritative analyst on Far Eastern affairs.

Mr. Douglas Glasgow, executive director of the American Youth Peace Crusade.

Mrs. Janet Moser of Bridgeport, Connecticut, whose husband is a prisoner of war in Korea. This is her stake in Peace.

No Peace movement can grow without the support of organized labor. Ben Gold, president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union has

consistently led his union in the fight for Peace.

No Peace movement can grow without the support of organized labor. Leon Strauss, executive secretary of the New York Joint Board of the International Fur and Leather Workers, has consistently lead his union in the fight for Peace.

35-16-90

Paul Robeson needs no introduction in any part of the world where people fight for Peace.

Du Bois Dec. 1952

WAR AND GREED

IN THE 100 YEARS BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917, BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION WAS FORMED, THERE TOOK PLACE IN THE WORLD 204 WARS. SEVEN OF THESE WARS WERE OF GREAT MAGNITUDE, CULMINATING IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AT LEAST 40 OTHER CONFLICTS WERE LARGE SCALE FIGHTS INVOLVING THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS, AND 150 OF THEM MEANT WIDESPREAD MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. IF TODAY, AS SO MANY PERSONS THINK, COMMUNISM IS THE CHIEF CAUSE AND THREAT OF WAR, WHAT CAUSED THE MORE THAN 200 WARS OF THE 19TH CENTURY BEFORE THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS WAS BORN? THE ANSWER IS: GREED, CUPIDITY, AVARICE; RUTHLESS DESIRE FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT ANY COST TO PUBLIC WELFARE. AND THE SUBJECT OF MY WORDS TODAY IS TO SAY THAT THIS SAME UNBRIDLED GREED WHICH CAUSED WAR YESTERDAY IS CAUSING IT TODAY AND THREATENING IT TOMORROW.

WOULD IT NOT BE A MATTER OF REASON TO LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT THE GREAT WARS OF THE 19TH CENTURY: THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE, THE CRIMEAN WAR, OUR CIVIL WAR, THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, AND THE

-2-

FIRST WORLD WAR. WE MIGHT ALSO SCAN THE CONFLICTS WHICH, THOUGH SMALLER, WERE COSTLY AND BLOODY, LIKE THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848, THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN, THE OPIUM WAR AND TAIPING REVOLT AND REVOLUTION IN CHINA, THE BRITISH WARS IN INDIA AGAINST THE AFGHANS AND THE SIKHS, THE BRITISH WARS IN AFRICA AGAINST THE KAFFIRS AND THE BOERS; AGAINST THE MAHDI, AND IN WEST AFRICA; THE ALMOST CONTINUOUS INDIAN WARS IN THE UNITED STATES, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, THE ITALIAN-TURKISH WAR, AND THE REST OF THE 200 CONFLICTS WHICH CAME AFTER THE FALL OF NAPOLEON AND BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

FOR MY PURPOSE TODAY I AM GOING TO FASTEN MY ATTENTION UPON AFRICA, AND PARTICULARLY UPON THE VALLEY OF THE NILE AND SOUTH AFRICA, - FROM THE REIGN OF MOHAMMED ALI TO THE DEATH OF CECIL RHODES. THIS IS A STORY OF WAR AND MURDER, SLAVERY AND CONQUEST, BESTIAL CRUELTY AND TYRANNY FORCED ON ONE CONTINENT BY THE UNBRIDLED GREED OF EUROPE CLOAKED IN MISSIONARY EFFORT; AND INCLUDING DISCOVERY OF GOLD, DIAMONDS AND COPPER; BUILDING THE SUEZ CANAL, AND THE ASWAN DAM. THERE WERE

LOOSED IN AFRICA A FLOOD OF LIQUOR, BLOOD AND MISERY SUCH AS HAS SELDOM BEEN DAMMED IN SO NARROW A SPACE AND OVER SO SHORT A TIME.

LET US LOOK AT THE TWO ENDS OF AFRICA AT THE OPENING OF THE 19th CENTURY; IN THE NORTH MOHAMMED ALI BECAME GOVERNOR OF EGYPT AND IN 1820, JUST WHEN THE COTTON KINGDOM ROSE IN AMERICA, HE CONQUERED THE SUDAN AND MADE IT THE GREATEST SLAVE MARKET OF THE MODERN WORLD, TO FURNISH IVORY FOR THE PIANOS OF AMERICA AND SERVANTS FOR THE TURKISH EMPIRE. SO THAT WHILE BRITISH PHILANTHROPY WAS ABLE TO STOP THE SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA BECAUSE SLAVE REVOLTS HAD MADE IT UNPROFITABLE, NEVERTHELESS IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE A NEW SLAVE TRADE BECAME THE OPENING DOOR TO A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN WHICH ENGLAND AND FRANCE AND GERMANY, JOINED AT LAST BY THE UNITED STATES, ENSLAVED A RACE, ANNEXED A CONTINENT, AND STOLE ITS VAST WEALTH.

41-3-36

IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF AFRICA, WHERE THE GREAT CAPE (WHICH PROVED ANYTHING BUT GOOD HOPE TO THE WORLD) LOOKS UPON THE BLENDING OF ATLANTIC AND INDIAN OCEANS,

BRITISH SETTLERS IN 1820 CLASHED WITH THE DUTCH WHO HAD ALREADY BEEN THERE NEARLY 150 YEARS; AND WITH THE BANTU TRIBES MOVING SOUTH IN SUCCESSIVE WAVES. FOR A THOUSAND YEARS OR MORE TRIBES OF CENTRAL AFRICA HAD BEEN MOVING SOUTH, FIRST TO ESCAPE WESTERN AFRICAN EXPANSION AND LATER TO FLEE FROM MOHAMMEDAN IMPERIALISM FROM THE EAST, WHICH MOHAMMED ALI IN THE SUDAN FINALLY PERSONIFIED. SOME OF THESE BLACK WARRIORS ADAPTED MOHAMMEDAN CULTURE AND REBUILT IT IN THE WESTERN SUDAN; BUT OTHERS MOVED SOUTH, OVERTHROWING KINGDOMS LIKE THE KITWARA, THE CONGO, AND THE HIGH CULTURE OF THE ZYMBABWE. LATE IN THE 18th CENTURY ZULU WARRIORS ARE AFOOT IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND UNDER THE EXTRAORDINARY MILITARY GENIUS OF CHAKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS, DISPERSED THE OTHER BANTU TRIBES AND MET THE WHITE INVADERS. BETWEEN BANTU AND DUTCH, DUTCH AND ENGLISH, ENGLISH AND BANTU, THERE ENSUED FROM 1630-1880 A SERIES OF FIERCE AND BLOODY WARS OVER LAND, CATTLE, TERRITORIAL MASTERY, AND FINALLY OVER GOLD.

EARLY IN THE CENTURY THE DUTCH, TREKING NORTHEAST HAD RUN INTO THE DISLOCATION AND DISASTER AMONG THE BANTU TRIBES CAUSED BY CHAKA, THE GREAT MILITARY CHIEF

OF THE ZULUS. THE DUTCH, AFTER FIERCE STRIFE, CONQUERED HIS SUCCESSOR, DINGAAN, AT BLOOD RIVER IN 1838, WHILE THE NEW ENGLISH SETTLERS WERE FOR 25 YEARS EMBROILED WITH OTHER LEADERS OF THE BANTU.

FOR 130 YEARS AFTER THE ADVENT OF THE ENGLISH TO OUR OWN DAY, THERE had ENSUED ONE OF THE WEIRDEST PHANTASMAGORIAS THIS WORLD HAS SEEN, AND WHICH MARKED REVOLUTION IN THE RELATIONS OF WHITE EUROPE AND BLACK AFRICA. HERE FAR BELOW THE GREAT LAKES, ON THE HIGH PLATEAU OF THE SOUTH, MEN FOUGHT FOR HALF A CENTURY UNTIL THEY NOT ONLY DESTROYED AND REBUILT AFRICAN TRIBES AND NATIONS, BUT STRUGGLED TO MAKE DIAMONDS AND GOLD THE CENTER OF A NEW WORLD TRADE, A NEW DOMINATION OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND A NEW RULE OF WEALTH AND CAPITAL. THE DUTCH PIONEERS STROVE TO ABSORB OR ENSLAVE THE HOTTENTOTS TO FIGHT WITH BLACK INVADING WARRIORS FOR LAND AND CATTLE AND THEN AGAINST WHITE ENGLISH SETTLERS TO AVOID POLITICAL CONTROL AND TO SECURE THEIR OWN AUTONOMY. THE BLACKS, NOW CALLED KOSA, NOW KAFFIRS, NOW ZULUS, FOUGHT TO DRIVE OFF THE WHITE DEVILS WHOM THEY MURDERED TO CAST OFF THE EVIL THAT ENCOMPASSED THEM;

UNTIL IN 1850, WHEN THE CRIMEAN WAR BEGAN THE MODERN EFFORT OF EUROPE TO CONTROL WEST ASIA; AND JUST BEFORE THE TERRIBLE INDIAN MUTINY WHICH WARNED BRITAIN IN EAST ASIA; THE KAFFIRS IN AFRICA ATTEMPTED THE MOST HORRIBLE MASS SUICIDE OF MODERN TIMES.

GRADUALLY THE MAIN BODY OF ZULU WARRIORS HAD BEEN PUSHED BACK UNTIL PANIC SEIZED THEM AND IN 1856, TWO YEARS AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR, AT THE COMMAND OF A PROPETESS, THE KAFFIR PEOPLE ~~XXXX~~ SEEING THE ONSLAUGHT OF TWO BANDS OF WHITES, KILLED AND ATE THEIR CATTLE. CATTLE WERE THE WEALTH AND CHIEF CULTURAL SYMBOL OF THE KAFFIRS. TO DESTROY THEM WAS SYMBOLIC SACRILEGE. IN ADDITION TO THAT, THEIR PROPHETS TOLD THEM TO SOW NO CROPS, TO SAVE ONLY THEIR LONG SPEARS, AND THUS TO BRING A WHIRLWIND TO SWEEP THE WHITES INTO THE SEA AND CALL THEIR HEROES BACK FROM THE DEAD. 100,000 ZULUS STARVED TO DEATH ON THE HIGH PLATEAU WHICH COVERED THE DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD. IT WAS THE TIME WHEN THE MAKING OF BESSEMER STEEL WAS DISCOVERED IN ENGLAND.

THIS TRAGIC SYMBOLISM DID NOT CHANGE THE COURSE OF THE WORLD OR AFRICA. MORE TRIBES OF BLACK MEN MOVED SOUTH FROM THE ZAMBESI RIVER: THE STUBBORN BOERS STILL

STROVE TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT STATE BEYOND THE VAAL RIVER AND ADJOINING THE INDIAN OCEAN.

1870 WAS A YEAR OF DOOM FOR AFRICA. IT WAS THE YEAR OF THE BATTLE OF SEDAN, AND THE YEAR AFTER THE SUEZ CANAL WAS OPENED. GLADSTONE HAD BECOME PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND. IN SOUTH AFRICA STOOD THREE MEN, EACH OVER 6 FEET TALL AND MASSIVE OF FRAME. THE OLDEST WAS THE DUTCHMAN, PAUL KRUGER, A STERN, BIBLE-WORSHIPPING FIGHTER AND HUNTER, WHO HATED THE BRITISH AND DESPISED THE BLACKS; WHO HAD FOUGHT THE HOTTENTOTS, WAS FIGHTING THE BANTU, AND ABOUT TO STRUGGLE WITH THE ENGLISH. THE YOUNGEST WAS CECIL RHODES, A YOUNG, GREY-EYED BLONDE WHO HAD COME TO AFRICA TO RECOVER FROM TUBERCULOSIS. THE THIRD, LOBENGULA, WAS KING OF THE MATEBELE, A TALL, BIG MAN DARK BRONZE IN COLOR, NAKED BUT FOR HIS PARAKEET FEATH AND LOIN CLOTH, 37 YEARS OLD, WHO HAD JUST BECOME LEADER OF THE MATEBELE AND LOOKED EVERY INCH A KING. HIS NATION HAD ARISEN FROM THE CONQUESTS OF THE TERRIBLE CHAKA AND FINALLY ESTABLISHED ITSELF ON THE HIGH HILLS BETWEEN THE LIMPOPO AND THE ZAMBESI, DETERMINED TO

41-3-38

HOLD BACK THE WHITE INVADERS. THESE THREE FOUGHT FOR AFRICA. THERE WAS A FOURTH MAN WHO SHOULD HAVE BEEN HERE, BUT DAVID LIVINGSTONE, THE MISSIONARY, DIED IN 1871, AND WITH HIM DIED ALL HOPE OF AN ETHICAL CHRISTIAN SOLUTION OF THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

THE ATTITUDE OF EUROPE TOWARD AFRICA WAS CHANGING. AFRICA, INSTEAD OF BEING A SOURCE OF TRANSPORTED SLAVE LABOR WAS SUDDENLY TO BECOME A SOURCE OF DIAMONDS AND GOLD, SO THAT THE WORLD'S LUXURY AND WEALTH WAS TO BE MEASURED BY ITS PRODUCTS. STOCK COMPANIES CENTERING IN THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD REPLACED THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST EXPLOITER. ORGANIZED COMMERCE WITH AFRICAN PRODUCTS BEGAN TO BELT THE WORLD, HELPED BY NEW WAYS OF MAKING STEEL AND OF COMMUNICATING BY TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE. NEW EXPLOSIVES FOR KILLING NATIVES WERE SOON TO BE INVENTED.

AGAINST ALL THIS WORLD MOVEMENT THE BLACK MAN WAS FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM; THE BOER WAS FIGHTING FOR LAND AND THE ENGLISH WERE SEEKING TO DOMINATE THE BOER, EXPLOIT BLACK LABOR AND OWN THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES.

OF THE THREE LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA KRUGER WAS PROTAGONIST. HIS FOREFATHERS

HAD FOUGHT the Hottentots/AND HAD TO SOME DEGREE MIXED THEIR BLOOD WITH THEM. THE DUTCH-HOTTENTOT MULATTO MOVED INTO THE SOUTH CENTER OF AFRICA, AND ON THEIR LAND DIAMONDS WERE LATER FOUND. THE DUTCH FOUGHT THE ZULUS IN THE EAST FOR 35 YEARS, AND THEN WITHDREW NORTH AND NORTHEAST, WHERE KRUGER AS A YOUNG OFFICER AT 17 WAS FIGHTING ANOTHER BRANCH OF THE BANTU, AND CONQUERED DINGAAN, CHAKA'S SUCCESSOR, IN 1837.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC THEN FORMED HAD BEEN PROMISED ITS INDEPENDENCE BY THE ENGLISH AT SAND RIVER AS FAR BACK AS 1852, BUT WAS ANNEXED TO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1877 BY DISRAELI, REPRESENTING THE NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, TO THE DISMAY AND LASTING ANGER OF KRUGER, NOW VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. THIS LED TO WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE BOERS UNTIL GLADSTONE, RETURNED TO POWER, GAVE SOUTH AFRICA ITS INDEPENDENCE IN 1881.

HERE ENTERS LOBENGULA. HE WAS NURSED BY A BOER GIRL UNTIL IN 1870 HE SUCCEEDED UMSELIKATSI WHO HAD REVOLTED FROM CHAKA AND FLED WEST AND NORTH TO BECHUANALAND. THERE HE BUILT UP HIS POLICY OF AVOIDANCE OF THE WHITES; HE SOUGHT FRIENDSHIP

41-3-39

OF THE BOERS; MOVED NORTH TO AVOID THE BRITISH WHO WERE IN BITTER STRIFE WITH THE SUCCESSORS OF CHAKA TO THE SOUTH. BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS OF WHITES THE YOUNG BLACK KING, 37 YEARS OLD IN 1870, WAS PRESERVING PEACE, WHEN CECIL RHODES MOVED ON THE SCENE.

CECIL JOHN RHODES WAS BORN IN ENGLAND IN 1853, ONE OF A CLERGYMAN'S FAMILY OF TWELVE. IT WAS THIS MAN WHO PUT NEW MEANING INTO THE WARS OF SOUTH AFRICA. SICK WITH TUBERCULOSIS, HE LANDED IN SOUTH AFRICA AT THE AGE OF 18, FOUR YEARS AFTER THAT GREAT DIAMOND, THE STAR OF AFRICA, WORTH $125,000 HAD BEEN FOUND ON THE FARM OF A MULATTO, ANDRUS WATERBOER, AT KIMBERLEY. DIAMONDS SOON CAME TO BE THE HIGH SIGN OF LUXURY, BEDIZENING THE BARE BREASTS OF ALL THE WHORES OF LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK, AND FURNISHING WEDDING RINGS TO THE WHITE WORLD.

RHODES, AFTER COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA IN 1870 WAS SOON EARNING $500 A WEEK, AND RETURNED TO ENGLAND THREE YEARS LATER, ALREADY RICH BEFORE HE WAS OF AGE. HE MATRICULATED AT OXFORD. IT WAS HERE HE GOT HIS INSPIRATION AND WAS CALLED OF

CREED TO RULE THE WORLD. IT WAS HERE THAT HE HEARD THE GREAT JOHN RUSKIN, GREY-HAIRED, WITH BURNING EYES, PROPHET OF FIRE, SUMMON BEFORE HIM IN THOSE OLD, ARCHED AND CRENELATED HALLS, THE YOUNG GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND TO: "A DESTINY NOW POSSIBLE TO US, THE HIGHEST EVER SET BEFORE A NATION; TO BE ACCEPTED OR REFUSED. WILL YOU YOUTHS OF ENGLAND MAKE YOUR COUNTRY AGAIN A REAL THRONE OF KINGS, A SCEPTERED ISLE, FOR ALL THE WORLD A SOURCE OF LIGHT, A CENTER OF PEACE."

RHODES RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA FILLED WITH A VISION OF MAKING ENGLAND MASTER OF THE WEALTH OF THAT LAND, WITH MILLIONS OF NEGROES TO EXTRACT THE WEALTH FROM THE RICH EARTH, AND WITH RHODES HIMSELF TO UNITE SOUTH AFRICA WITH THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

41-3-40

IN SOUTH AFRICA THE ENGLISH FOUGHT AGAINST CETEWAYO WHO HAD SUCCEEDED PANDA WHO IN TURN SUCCEEDED DINGAAN. THEY HAD MADE GOOD THEIR CLAIM OF OWNERSHIP OF GRICQUALAND, WHERE THE DIAMONDS LAY, AND ESTABLISHED A PROTECTORATE OVER BASUTO-LAND. THEY FOLLOWED RHODES UP INTO THE GREAT CENTRAL SECTION OF SOUTH AFRICA,

BECHUANALAND, AND FURTHER NORTH IN UGANDA HAD DEFEATED THE KINGS OF THAT LAND AND ESTABLISHED A PROTECTORATE OF EAST AFRICA.

MEANTIME, IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE, THINGS TOO HAD BEGUN TO HAPPEN. THE ENGLISH HAD BEGUN TO LOOK AT THE CITADEL OF AFRICA, WHICH IS ETHIOPIA. IN 1867 THEY HAD MOVED AGAINST THE EMPEROR, WITH NO CLEAR DESIGN BUT WITH ARROGANCE AND DE-CEIT, SO THAT ETHIOPIA'S ARMIES WERE QUICKLY OVERTHROWN AND THEODORE, KING OF THE KINGS OF ETHIOPIA AND EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA, PUTTING A PISTOL IN HIS MOUTH, BLEW HIS BRAINS OUT. HIS CONQUEROR BECAME A BRITISH EARL.

WHEN THE SUEZ CANAL, STARTED BY THE FRENCH, WAS FINISHED IN 1869, IT BE-CAME THE UMBILICAL CORD OF BRITISH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM GIBRALTAR TO BOMBAY, SO THAT IT NOW BECAME CLEAR TO THE BRITISH THAT THEY MUST DOMINATE THE NILE VALLEY. BUT THE FRENCH ALSO WERE LOOKING AT THE NILE AS THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF AN EMPIRE WHICH BEGAN WITH ALGERIA IN 1830. IN 1881, AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, BISMARCK ADDED TUNIS TO FRANCE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT TUNIS WAS ANCIENT CARTHAGE AND ITALY

WAS INSANELY DETERMINED TO ANNEX IT. AND NOW, TOO, THE NILE AND THE NEW CANAL BECKONED ITALY.

A FRENCH EMPIRE IN AFRICA BEGAN TO ARISE. SOON THE FRENCH MOVED INTO DAHOMEY AND BEGAN SEVEN YEARS OF EFFORT TO CONQUER IT. SLOWLY BUT SURELY THEIR OUTPOSTS MOVED EAST, PAST LAKE CHAD AND SOUTH TO GUINEA. THE BRITISH HAD ALREADY BEEN FIGHTING AND INTRIGUING IN WEST AFRICA FOR 100 YEARS TO FASTEN THEIR HOLD FINALLY, AND WERE WATCHING CAREFULLY AS FRANCE DUG THE SUEZ CANAL.

41-3-41

THERE ENSUED A STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FOR THE CONTROL OF THE CANAL. EGYPT ALSO ENTERED, SENDING CHINESE GORDON DOWN INTO THE SUDAN OSTENSIBLY TO STOP THE SLAVE TRADE, BUT REALLY TO ENCROACH ON ETHIOPIA. STANLEY, THE AMERICAN, AND LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM, CONSPIRING TOGETHER, SEIZED IN THE CENTER OF AFRICA A TERRITORY 14 TIMES THE SIZE OF BELGIUM. THE EUROPEAN SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA WAS ON, WITH THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN IN 1876 AND THE CONFERENCE OF 1884.

GLADSTONE, THE GREAT LIBERAL, COMING TO POWER BETWEEN 1868 AND 1874, WAS

IN A DIFFICULT POSITION AND UNDER ATTACK BY THE NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND PUSHED THE CLAIMS OF ENGLAND IN AFRICA, BUT SLOWLY. ON THE OTHER HAND HIS SUCCESSOR, DISRAELI, BOUGHT THE SHARES OF THE SUEZ CANAL FOR EGYPT IN 1875, AND IN 1876 FLATTERED VICTORIA BY MAKING HER EMPRESS OF INDIA, THE ZENITH OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

~~XNEDXNLYXIXXIXXXXIX THEXSUDANXXXX BLACKSXREVOLTEDXLEDXBYX XGYPTIANXARABIXX~~
~~XXXSLAVERYXXXDXEXCEPTION;XLEDXBYXTHEXBLACKXMAHDIXXWHOXDEFEATEDXTHEXEGYPTIANSXAND~~

THUS THREE EUROPEAN NATIONS WERE CONVERGING ON THE VALLEY OF THE NILE: BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY, AND WERE FOLLOWED NOT ONLY BY ARMIES BUT BY LIQUOR, MISSIONARIES AND MERCHANTS; UNTIL IN 1869 OPENED. IN 1876 FRANCE AND ENGLAND TOGETHER TOOK CHARGE OF IT, WHILE CHINESE GORDON MOVED UP THE NILE AND THE EGYPTIAN ARABI REBELLED.

SUDDENLY IN 1883 IN THE SUDAN THE BLACKS REVOLTED, LED BY THE MAHDI WHO DEFEATED HICKS AND KILLED GORDON, AND WAS SUCCEEDED BY THE KHALIFA TWO YEARS LATER. FOR THIRTEEN YEARS BRITAIN WAS STOPPED DEAD IN HER TRACKS ON HER MARCH UP THE NILE

BUT ITALY, STILL HUNGRY FOR NORTH AFRICA, WAS URGED BY ENGLAND TO FASTEN HER HOLD UPON ETHIOPIA AND THE RED SEA. WHAT FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND ITALY WANTED WAS AFRICAN AFRICAN WORKERS, AFRICAN PRODUCE AND COMMERCE TO ASIA.

RHODES IN SOUTH AFRICA BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT THIS WORK AND IN 1884 ON THE RIDGE OF WHITE WATERS, IN THE MIDST OF THE BOERS, GOLD WAS DISCOVERED! GOLD, THE TOUCH-STONE AND SYMBOL OF WEALTH FROM ANCIENT THEBES TO MODERN NEW YORK! GOLD, WHICH ADDED TO THE DIAMONDS AND AFTERWARD TO COPPER, MADE SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA THE GREATEST CENTER FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEALTH AND ENSLAVEMENT OF HUMAN LABOR THAT THE WORLD KNEW. RHODES ORGANIZED AND CENTRALIZED THE DIAMOND BUSINESS AND BEGAN TO REGIMENT THE WORKERS. BUT THE STUBBORN BOERS WERE IN THE WAY, REVOLTING AND HAVING ESTABLISHED A REPUBLIC INDEPENDENT OF ENGLAND WHICH STRETCHED STRAIGHT ACROSS THE REGION WHERE DIAMONDS WERE FOUND.

41-3-42

FOR A GENERATION THE BOERS HAD BEEN FIGHTING BOTH THE BLACK ZULUS AND THE WHITE ENGLISH. THE ENGLISH HAD FOUGHT BACK. IN FIERCE WARS FROM 1850 TO 1853

THOUSANDS OF ENGLISH DIED, AND IN 1879 THE YOUNG PRINCE IMPERIAL, SON OF NAPOLEON III AND THE BEAUTIFUL EMPRESS EUGENIE, VISITING THE ENGLISH TO WITNESS THE SPORT OF KILLING NEGROES, WAS STABBED TO DEATH BY THE ZULUS AND THE DYNASTY OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE ENDED.

PAUL KRUGER BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE BOER STATE IN 1883 JUST AS THE MAHDI REBELLED IN THE SUDAN; AND THAT SAME YEAR HIS EUROPEAN KINFOLK, THE GERMANS, APPEARED IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA, OVER WHICH A GERMAN PROTECTORATE WAS EXTENDED. A FEW YEARS LATER THE GERMANS APPEARED IN EAST AFRICA, AND THUS THE BRITISH PATH FROM CAPE TO CAIRO WAS THREATENED NOT ONLY BY THE BOERS BUT BY ANOTHER GREAT EUROPEAN POWER MOVING FROM WEST TO EAST AND FROM SOUTHWEST TO EAST ACROSS THE CENTER OF AFRICA.

NEGROES FROM ALL SOUTH AND SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA WERE GRADUALLY HERDED INTO THE DIAMOND FIELDS AND GOLD MINES, AND NEW AND ASTONISHING WEALTH BEGAN TO POUR INTO EUROPE. "FOR THE THINGS HAD ARRIVED. NOT JUST SMART BUSINESSMEN AND CONCESSION-

SEEKERS, BUT REAL CRIMINALS -- CUTTHROATS, AUSTRALIAN BUSH RANGERS, THE SCUM OF LONDON, THE VULTURES, AND THE FINALS OF THEIR KIND."

THE BOER FARMERS WERE AGHAST. WHAT COULD THEY MAKE OF A WHITE ENGLISH GIRL WHO ANNOUNCED THAT SHE WOULD "MEET THE BOYS AT THE SALOON TONIGHT" AND THEN PUT HERSELF UP FOR AUCTION AND TO BE KNOCKED DOWN, FOR THE NIGHT ONLY, TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER? KRUGER BITTERLY ADDRESSED A MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG: "PEOPLE OF THE LORD, YOU OLD PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, YOU FOREIGNERS, YOU NEWCOMERS, YEA, EVEN YOU THIEVES AND MURDERERS..."

RHODES HAD TO HAVE THE BOERS OUT OF HIS WAY. THE GOLD WAS HIS BUT THE BOERS RAN THE GOVERNMENT. THEY RESISTED UNEXPECTEDLY AND FIERCELY IN 1880-1881, SO THAT BRITAIN WITH GLADSTONE AGAIN AT THE HELM, RECOILED, BUT RHODES DID NOT. HE SOWED ILL-WILL BETWEEN MATABELE AND BOERS BY CONNIVING THE MURDER OF KRUGER'S ENVOY TO LOBENGULA. HE BEFRIENDED KHAMA, LOBENGULA'S RIVAL RULER IN BECHUANALAND. THROUGH THE MISSIONARY, MOFFAT, HE SECURED FROM THE SUSPICIOUS AND UNWILLING

41-3-43

LOBENGULA THE CELEBRATED RUDD CONCESSION TO DIG FOR GOLD. IN 1889 HE FORMED THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY IN ENGLAND, AND THE YEAR BEFORE HAD SECURED THE DIAMOND MONOPOLY OF THE WORLD.

RHODES MUST HAVE CONTROL OF MATABELELAND IN ORDER TO SELL MORE SHARES OF HIS SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY, EVEN THOUGH AS YET HE HAD FOUND NO GOLD THERE. WITH THIS LAND IN HIS CONTROL HOWEVER, HE COULD PROSPECT FOR GOLD NOT ONLY THERE BUT IN MASHOLALAND BEYOND WHERE THE BLACKS HAD ONCE BUILT THE GREAT CIVILIZATION OF ZIMBABWE, WHICH PROBABLY LOBENGULA'S FOREFATHERS HAD OVERTHROWN. RHODES THEREFORE SENT HIS FRIEND, JAMESON, NORTH FROM BECHUANALAND INTO MATEBELELAND TO START THE QUARREL WHICH HE MUST HAVE. JAMISON PROMISED HIS FOLLOWERS 600 ACRES OF LAND AND 20 GOLD CLAIMS EACH AND THEIR SHARE OF 200,000 CATTLE. WITH THEM HE RAIDED THE MATEBELE, MOWING THEM DOWN WITH THE NEWLY-INVENTED MAXIM GUNS.

STILL, THE MATEBELE WERE NOT EASILY CONQUERED. THE ENGLISH GENERAL SAID:

"WITH FURIOUS COURAGE THEY FLUNG THEMSELVES UPON THE BRITISH ARTILLERY. NO CIVILIZED TROOPS COULD HAVE WITHSTOOD THE TERRIBLE FIRE WHICH THEY DID THAT DAY FOR ALMOST HALF AS LONG." LOBENGULA KNEW HE WAS BEATEN. HE HAD APPEALED TO QUEEN VICTORIA BUT HIS LETTERS HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY MISLEAD. HE TRIED TO BRIBE THE ENGLISH WITH GOLD, BUT THE ENGLISH MESSENGERS STOLE IT. COURIERS WERE SENT OUT BY THE ENGLISH CALLING FOR SURRENDER, BUT THEY WERE KILLED BY THE MATABELE. THE WHITE BISHOP OF MASHONALAND PRAYED "THAT THE WICKED MATABELE BE DESTROYED". ON CAME THE ENGLISH TROOPS. THE TALL BLACK KING, SICK WITH DISAPPOINTMENT, BLEW UP HIS CAPITAL CITY BULAWAYO. HE TOLD HIS WARRIORS THAT NOW RHODES WAS THEIR KING AND MUST BE GREETED BY THE ROYAL ZULU SALUTE BAYELE. THEN HE SAID, "YOU HAVE DONE YOUR BEST, MY SOLDIERS. YOU CAN HELP ME NO MORE. GO NOW TO YOUR KRAALS. GO SWEETLY. GO IN PEACE." TURNING TOWARD THE RIVER THAT STREAMED INTO THE ZAMBESI, THE LAST GREAT FIGHTING KING OF THE ZULUS DIED, WRAPPED IN THE SKINS OF HIS SIXTEEN BLACK OXEN.

41-3-44

RHODES WAS NOW ON THE WAY TO SUCCESS, DESPITE THE FACT THAT IN 1893 KRUGER

WAS RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE BOER REPUBLIC. LOBENGULA WAS DEAD, AND HIS TERRITORY WAS RENAMED RHODESIA. RHODES WAS THEN ABLE TO DUMP A MILLION SHARES OF HIS SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY ON THE LONDON WORLD MARKET, AND THEY WERE UNLOADED AT $40 A SHARE. ONE YEAR LATER, IN 1890, RHODES BECAME PRIME MINISTER OF CAPE COLONY, DOMINANT PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND ON THE LONDON MARKET HE BECAME MASTER OF THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD. HE WAS SO RICH HE DID NOT KNOW HIS WEALTH.

MEANTIME, IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE, WHILE BOTH THE ENGLISH AND THE EGYPTIANS WERE FIGHTING THE KALIFA, THE ITALIANS MOVED IN AND TRIED TO CONTROL THE EMPEROR JOHANNES. HE WAS KILLED AND WAS SUCCEEDED BY MENELEK, WHOM THE ITALIANS HAD HELPED TO POWER AND CONSIDERED THEIR TOOL. THEY PRETENDED THAT HE HAD SIGNED A TREATY HANDING OVER THE CONTROL OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA TO ITALY. THIS MENELEK STEADILY DENIED, AND WHEN WAR ENSUED IN 1896, HE KILLED 25,000 ITALIANS AT AUUA.

FOR A MOMENT THE WHITE WESTERN WORLD HELD ITS BREATH. BLACK MENELEK

WAS MAKING ALLIANCE, POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL, WITH FRANCE WHICH HAD ALREADY BUILT IN A RAILWAY TO THE SEA. THE MISSIONARY, CHINESE GORDON, WHO WAS TOO DRUNK, AND HAD PERMITTED THE RESTORATION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN SUDAN, WAS KILLED IN 1884 WHEN HE TRIED TO CONQUER THE BLACK MAHDI. THE FRENCH WERE SLOWLY APPROACHING THE NILE FROM THE WEST, AND ETHIOPIA FROM THE EAST. IT LOOKED AS THOUGH GREAT BRITAIN MIGHT LOSE CONTROL OF THE NILE VALLEY.

IT WAS THEN THAT THE TORY PRIME MINISTER, SALISBURY, DISCOVERED THAT CHINESE GORDON, DEAD 12 YEARS, MUST BE CANONIZED AND AVENGED. HE SENT GENERAL KITCHENER TO THE NILE ARMED WITH THE NEW EXPLOSIVE DYNAMITE INVENTED IN 1886. KITCHENER'S ARMY KILLED 27,000 SUDANESE, RECAPTURED THEIR CAPITAL, KHARTOUN, DUG THE MAHDI FROM HIS GRAVE AND PUBLICLY DEFILED HIS CORPSE. HE THEN TURNED TO THE FRENCH AND GAVE WARNING. FRANCE WAS NOT READY TO GO TO WAR WITH BRITAIN OVER THE CONTROL OF THE NILE. IT WAS AGREED AT FASHODA TO GIVE THE NILE TO BRITAIN, AND THE FRENCH ARMY NEVER MET MENELEK.

41-3-45

THUS BY THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY PHILANTHROPY HAD BEEN APPEASED BY THE STOPPING OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW CENTURY WAS BEING PREPARED FOR BY THE BLACK IVORY WHICH REMAINED. THERE WERE 150 MILLION BLACK MEN WHO COULD BE MADE TO WORK IN THEIR OWN LAND FOR THE PROFIT OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THEY WERE CURBED BY SEIZURE OF THEIR LAND AND A NEW TAXATION ON HUTS AND WERE OFFERED CERTAIN BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION WHICH THEY DID NOT WANT.

THE EXPLORER, THE MISSIONARY, THE PROSPECTOR, THE TRADER, THE HUNTER, AND THE SOLDIER, ALL PLAYED THEIR PARTS. RELIGION, CHEAP GIN, SYPHILIS AND ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT BY DISTANT RULERS CAME TO NATIONS OF FARMERS AND HUNTERS, BLACK AND WHITE. THE GREAT DIAMOND HOLE AT KIMBERLEY WAS DUG TWO MILES DOWN INTO THE GROUND. JOHANNESBURG, A MINIATURE NEW YORK, RAISED ITS TOWERS ON THE WINDSWEPT HIGH VELD OF THE WITWATERSRAND OVER A WORLD OF GOLD.

FEVERISHLY CECIL RHODES, FACING DEATH AND SPITTING UP HIS ROTTEN LUNGS IN BLOOD, PURSUED HIS WORLD-GRASPING PATH. HE WANTED UNION WITH AMERICA AND UNIVERSAL

PEACE."I MEAN", HE SAID, "AFTER 100 YEARS", WITH A SECRET SOCIETY ORGANIZED LIKE LOYOLA'S, DICTATED BY THE ACCUMULATED WEALTH OF THOSE WHOSE ASPIRATION IS "TO DO SOMETHING." THUS SPOKE THE FORERUNNER OF HITLER 100 YEARS BEFORE HITLER WAS CONQUERED BY THE SOVIET UNION. RHODES HAD AT THE TIME AT LEAST A QUARTER OF A BILLION DOLLARS AND COULD EASILY HAVE HAD TWICE THAT SUM. HE MADE HIS WAY BY WEALTH. HE BRIBED EVERYBODY - BOER, KAFFIR, MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

41-3-46

WITH THE END OF THE MATEBELE WAR IN 1893 RHODES STRADDLED AFRICA. ONE FOOT WAS PLANTED IN THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE WHERE HE WAS PRIME MINISTER. THE OTHER IN RHODESIA, SO NAMED IN 1895 WHERE HE REPRESENTED THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY. HE CHOSE HIS GRAVE THERE ON THE MATOPPO HILL BESIDE THE MIGHTY ZULU KING'S. BENEATH HIM WAS KIMBERLEY AND THE DIAMOND MINES. BENEATH HIM TOO WAS A NEW GERMAN AFRICA. FOR THE PRESENT HE IGNORED IT. HIS EYES WERE ON EGYPT, AND WHAT HE LACKED WAS POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE GOLD OF JOHANNESBURG, WHICH HIS INCORPORATED COMPANIES OWNED.

IN JOHANNESBURG LIVED ENGLISHMEN AND OTHER EUROPEANS FAR OUTNUMBERING THE BOERS. THEY HAD LONG CONSIDERED SEEKING POLITICAL POWER BY FORCE OF NUMBERS, BY ENGLISH MILITARY MIGHT. RHODES CONSIDERED THE TIME NOW RIPE, AND ENCOURAGED HIS PAL, DR. JAMISON, NOW IN RHODESIA WHERE HE HAD BEEN VICTORIOUS OVER THE DEAD LOBENGULA. BY BLUNDER, MURDER AND DECEIVE JAMISON, ENCOURAGED BY RHODES, PREPARED TO MAKE ALLIANCE WITH THE GREEDY UITLANDERS OF JOHANNESBURG. THEY PLANNED THE RAID AND SEIZURE. HE LURCHED OUT ON HIS RAID, BUT THE STUBBORN BOERS MET HIM. HE WAS QUICKLY OVERTHROWN AND THE RAT WAS IN THE FIRE. RHODES HAD TO RESIGN FROM THE CAPE COLONY GOVERNMENT AND WAS COMPELLED TO MEET A NEW REBELLION OF THE MATEBELE, AND ALSO PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION IN LONDON. FIRST HE MUST SAVE RHODESIA, FOR WITH THAT HE WAS SAFE IN BRITAIN.

THE NEW WAR IN MATEBELELAND WAS BITTER. THE NATIVES NO LONGER RUSHED TO OBTAIN DEATH INTO THE MOUTHS OF MACHINE GUNS. THEY LURKED AND ATTACKED BY SURPRISE. FIFTH OF THE WHITE TROOPS WERE SOON DEAD AND THE REST WERE HIDING IN THE GUARDED

TONS. THE COST OF THE WAR TO RHODES' SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY WAS $20,000 A DAY AND MIGHT REACH A TOTAL OF $25,000,000. SHARES WERE DROPPING ON THE LONDON MARKET. RHODES HAD TO WIN BY DECEPTION IF NOT BY FORCE. HE PROMISED AND CAJOLED THE MATEBELE CHIEFS. HE PROCURED THE ASSASSINATION OF THE WITCH DOCTOR M'LIMO, THEIR LEADER. HE PLEADED WITH THE HEAD CHIEF. HE PROMISED THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE WHITE POLICE; HE GAVE FOOD; UNTIL THE CHIEF SAID, "IT IS PEACE, MY FATHER."

41-3-47

THEN HE WENT TO LONDON AND FACED A PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY, WITH MOST OF SOUTH AFRICA STILL IN HIS HAND. LITTLE HAPPENED. TOO MANY OF THE GREAT WERE INVOLVED. THE QUEEN AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN ADDITION TO THE GERMAN KAISER TOOK HIS SIDE, AND EVEN THE CULPRIT JAMISON WAS EVENTUALLY KNIGHTED.

STILL ALL WAS NOT WELL IN JOHANNESBURG. IN 1898 KRUGER WAS RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE NEXT YEAR BRITAIN PREPARED FOR WAR. IT CAME IN 1899 AND LASTED FOUR LONG AND AWFUL YEARS. BEFORE IT ENDED CECIL RHODES WAS DEAD AT 49, COMPLAINING, "SO MUCH TO DO, SO LITTLE DONE."

LONG BEFORE THE DEATH OF RHODES GERMANY HAD APPEARED AS A GROWING THREAT TO BRITISH SUPREMACY. IN THE '80'S, GERMANS MADE CLAIMS IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA AND TO COLONIES ON WEST AFRICA. AT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE THEY CLAIMED EAST AFRICA. BUT FOR THIS THREAT OF GERMANY, ENGLAND NOW OWNED AFRICA from THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO CAIRO. BUT THE GERMANS WERE INSISTENT. THEY SEIZED AND KILLED 80,000 HERREROS IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA. THEY SLAUGHTERED 20,000 MAJIMAJI IN THEIR NEW COLONY OF EAST AFRICA; AND PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND MOHAMMEDANS STAGED BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN UGANDA.

BY THE DAWN OF THE 20TH CENTURY ENGLAND WAS RICH AND POWERFUL; FRANCE LESS POWERFUL BUT VERY RICH. AND IN BOTH CASES THEIR WEALTH HAD SPRUNG FROM WAR, MURDER, AND THEFT IN ASIA AND AFRICA. THE DREAM OF CECIL RHODES SEEMED TO HAVE COME TRUE: THAT WHITE ENGLAND WAS GOING TO RULE THE WORLD. WHEN SUDDENLY, THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT APPEARED. GERMANY, WITH HER APPETITE WHETTED BY HER COLONIES IN AFRICA, DEMANDED A LARGER SHARE IN THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WHOLE WORLD, AND THE RESULT WAS THE FIRST WORLD WAR WHICH ISSUED A NEW ERA OF WAR INTO THE WORLD.

I HAVE TOLD BUT A FRACTION OF THE WHOLE MODERN EXPLOITATION OF AFRIC WENT ON IN THE 19th CENTURY. I HAVE NOT TOUCHED NORTH AFRICA OUTSIDE EGYPT. I H OMITTED THE EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY OF THE CHEATING AND THEFT WHICH GAVE TO BELGIUM A COLONY 14 TIMES HER OWN SIZE, WHERE SHE ASSUMED COMPLETE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND LABOR UNDER THE PRETENSE OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE TRADE AND BRINGING NINE MILLIONS OF BLACKS TO CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION. THERE IS ALSO THE STORY OF PORTUGESE, SPANISH AND BRITISH WEST AFRICA WITH THE WAR AND EXPLOITATION WHICH FOLLOWED THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA. THERE IS THE THEFT OF THE LAND IN KENYA, AND ITS WILD RESISTENCE TODAY.

I NEED HARDLY REMIND YOU OF THE LEGACY OF BRITISH GREED IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY. THE TREND TOWARD NATIVE UPLIFT AND THE INCLUSION OF THE BANTU AND MULATTO HOTTENTOTS IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY, WHICH EVEN CECIL RHODES CONSIDERED, WAS SURRENDERED TO PROFITS IN MINING. THE BOERS WERE GRANTED AN INDEPENDENT STATE WHICH NOT ONLY EXCLUDED THE BLACKS FROM POWER BUT SOUGHT TO REDUCE THEM TO SERFDOM UNDER A

41-3-48

A NEW INDUSTRIAL REGIME CONDUCTED BY BOERS AND FINANCED BY GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS THE MEANING OF ALAN TODAY AND OF THE RESISTANCE OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA IN ALLIANCE WITH ASIA. A NEW CHAPTER OF HISTORY WILL BE WRITTEN HERE, BUT IN POVERTY, CRUELTY AND BLOOD.

I HAVE SAID ENOUGH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE 19TH CENTURY, FAR FROM BEING AN AGE OF PEACE WAS AN AGE OF WAR, AND OF WAR INSTIGATED BY RUTHLESS GREED. THE GREED THUS MADE CUSTOMARY BECAME THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF OUR CENTURY, AND STANDS TODAY BACK OF THE AWFUL THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.

CAN ANY THOUGHTFUL PERSON IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY ASSUME THAT OUR PRESENT CAUSES OF WAR ARE UNCONNECTED WITH THE RECENT PAST, AND FIND A NEW CAUSE IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOVIET UNION? IS COMMUNISM TODAY THE CAUSE OF WAR, OR HAS WAR BEEN THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM? IF, GOADED BY A TERRIBLE AGE OF EXPLOITATION, A NATION HAS ARISEN TO CAST OFF ITS YOKE, EVEN IF ITS NEW PLAN OF GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PLEASE US, IS WAR THE ONLY ANSWER? HAVE WE IN THE LAST CENTURY PROPOSED ANY BETTER

ANSWER? IF WE REALLY WANT PEACE AND SEE IN PEACE THE ONLY BEGINNING TO REAL PROGRESS, MUST NOT OUR PEACE BEGIN WITH PEACE WITH THE SOVIETS AND NOT END IN REFUSAL EVEN TO TALK PEACE, AND WITH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR ON A SCALE WHICH THREATEN TO BANKRUPT CIVILIZATION?

IF THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND ARE GOING TO INSIST THAT THE SORT OF WORLD WHICH THEY BUILT IN THE 19TH CENTURY MUST NOT BE ALTERED, AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT AT ALTERATION WILL MEAN WORLD WAR, THEN WORLD WAR IT WILL BE, NO MATTER WHAT WE SAY OR DO. THE WORLD WILL NEVER SUBMIT AGAIN TO ANGLO-SAXON RULE.

41-3-49

WAR AND GREED

IN THE 100 YEARS BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917 BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION WAS FORMED, THERE TOOK PLACE IN THE WORLD 204 WARS. SEVEN OF THESE WARS WERE OF GREAT MAGNITUDE, CULMINATING IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. BUT AT LEAST 40 OTHER CONFLICTS WERE LARGE SCALE FIGHTS INVOLVING MANY THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS; AND 150 OF THEM MEANT MURDER AND DESTRUCTION AMONG MILLIONS OF PERSONS. IF TODAY, AS SO MANY PERSONS THINK, COMMUNISM IS THE CHIEF CAUSE AND THREAT OF WAR, WHAT CAUSED THE MORE THAN 200 WARS OF THE 19TH CENTURY BEFORE THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS WAS BORN? THE ANSWER IS: GREED, CUPIDITY, AVARICE; RUTHLESS DESIRE FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT ANY COST TO PUBLIC WELFARE. AND THE SUBJECT OF MY WORDS TODAY IS TO SAY THAT THIS SAME UNBRIDLED GREED WHICH CAUSED WAR YESTERDAY IS CAUSING IT TODAY AND THREATENING IT TOMORROW.

36-9-32

WOULD IT NOT BE A MATTER OF REASON TO LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE, THE CRIMEAN WAR, OUR CIVIL WAR, THE WAR AGAINST PARAGUAY, THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR? OR FURTHER, TO VIEW SMALLER CONFLICTS LIKE THE 1830 REVOLUTION IN POLAND, THE

-2-

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN, THE BRITISH AFGHAN WARS, THE OPIUM WAR IN CHINA, THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, THE SIKH WARS IN INDIA, THE TAIPING REVOLT IN CHINA, THE WARS AGAINST DENMARK, THE KAFFIRS WARS IN AFRICA, AND THE INDIAN WARS IN THE UNITED STATES? THE SEPOY MUTINY, THE AUSTRIAN WAR AGAINST SARDINIA, THE WAR OF FRANCE AND MEXICO, THE SEVEN WEEKS WAR, THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO, THE CARLIST WAR IN SPAIN, THE ZULU WARS AND THE BOER WARS IN AFRICA? -- THE WARS OF THE MAHDI, THE MATEBELE WARS, AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR? -- THE WAR IN NIGERIA AND THE SUDAN, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA? -- THE ITALIAN-TURKISH WAR AND A HUNDRED SMALLER CONFLICTS WHICH CAME AFTER NAPOLEON AND BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION? WOULD IT NOT BE A MATTER OF COMMONSENSE TO EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF THE WARS OF THE 19TH CENTURY, AND ASK IF THOSE CAUSES HAVE NOW SO DISAPPEARED THAT WE NOW CAN SEE BUT ONE CAUSE OF WAR, -- AND THAT THE EFFORT OF A SINGLE EASTERN EUROPEAN NATION TO TRY A NEW WAY OF LIFE?

IN OPPOSITION TO THAT THESIS, WHICH THE INDUSTRY AND PRESS OF AMERICA IN THE GREATEST PROPAGANDA OF ALL HISTORY IS TODAY FOISTING ON THIS NATION IN ORDER TO MAKE US

TRY TO CONQUER THE WORLD FOR BIG BUSINESS, I WANT TO RECALL TO YOUR MINDS WHAT GREED— THE UNBRIDLED AND BLOODY URGE TO MAKE MONEY — HAS DONE TO FOSTER WAR IN THE RECENT PAST AND IS DOING TODAY.

NOT TO FARE TOO FAR AFIELD LET US TURN OUR FACES FROM AMERICA AND ASIA AND LOOK AT AFRICA; FROM THE BIRTH OF PAUL KRUGER TO THE DEATH OF CECIL RHODES; FROM THE SEIZURE OF ALGERIA BY FRANCE TO THE MEETING OF KITCHENER AND MARCHAND AT FASHODIA. THIS IS A STORY OF WAR AND MURDER, SLAVERY AND CONQUEST, BESTIAL CRUELTY AND TYRANNY FORCED ON ONE CONTINENT BY THE UNBRIDLED GREED OF EUROPE CLOAKED IN MISSIONARY EFFORT; DISCOVERY OF GOLD, DIAMONDS AND COPPER; BUILDING THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE ASWAN DAM; AND LOOSING A FLOOD OF LIQUOR, BLOOD AND MISERY SUCH AS HAS SELDOM BEEN DAMMED IN SO NARROW A SPACE AND OVER SO SHORT A TIME. HAS THIS GREED WHICH MADE AFRICA A STENCH IN THE NOSTRILS OF DECENT MEN, DISAPPEARED FROM THE WORLD AT THE VERY TIME THAT WAR HAS BECOME BROADER, COSTLIER AND MORE CRUEL, SO THAT TODAY IT IS CHIEFLY COMMUNISM THAT MAKES MEN FIGHT AND NOT ROBBERY? IF THIS IS TRUE WE SHOULD KNOW IT; IF NOT WE SHOULD REFUSE TO BE MISLED FOOLS

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LET US LOOK AT THE TWO ENDS OF AFRICA AT THE OPENING OF THE 19TH CENTURY: IN THE NORTH, MOHAMMED ALI BECAME GOVERNOR OF EGYPT AND IN 1820, JUST WHEN THE COTTON KINGDOM ROSE IN AMERICA, HE CONQUERED THE SUDAN AND MADE IT ONE OF THE GREATEST SLAVE MARKETS IN THE WORLD, TO FURNISH IVORY FOR THE PIANOS OF AMERICA AND SERVANTS FOR THE TURKISH EMPIRE. SO THAT WHILE IN THE NEXT DECADE THE SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA CEASED TO BE A PAYING INVESTMENT, NEVERTHELESS CONCEALED IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE A NEW SLAVE TRADE NOT ONLY FLOURISHED BUT BECAME THE OPENING DOOR TO A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN WHICH ENGLAND AND FRANCE AND GERMANY, JOINED AT LAST BY THE UNITED STATES, ENSLAVED A RACE, ANNEXED A CONTINENT, AND STOLE ITS WEALTH.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF AFRICA, WHERE THE GREAT CAPE (WHICH WAS ANYTHING BUT GOOD HOPE) LOOKS UPON THE BLENDING OF ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC, BRITISH IN 1820
SETTLERS/CLASHED WITH THE DUTCH WHO HAD ALREADY BEEN THERE NEARLY 200 YEARS. THE DUTCH FLED NORTH TO THE GREAT PLATEAU OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND MET THERE THE BLACK BANTU COMING SOUTH. FOR A THOUSAND YEARS THESE TRIBES OF CENTRAL AFRICA HAD BEEN MOVING SOUTH TO

ESCAPE MOHAMMEDAN IMPERIALISM WHICH AFTERWARD MOHAMMED ALI IN THE SUDAN PERSONIFIED. SOME OF THESE TALL BLACK WARRIORS ADAPTED MOHAMMED CULTURE AND REBUILT IT; BUT OTHERS MOVED SOUTH, OVERTHROWING THE ZYMBALWE, CONGO AND ZULU, UNTIL LATE IN THE 18TH CENTURY ZULU WARRIORS APPEARED IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE EXTRAORDINARY MILITARY GENIUS OF CHAKA AND MET THE ONCOMING DUTCH. BETWEEN BANTU AND DUTCH, DUTCH AND ENGLISH, ENGLISH AND BANTU, THERE ENSUED FROM 1830-1880 A SERIES OF FIERCE AND BLOODY WARS OVER LAND AND CATTLE AND TERRITORIAL MASTERY.

THEN THERE WAS BORN IN ENGLAND IN 1853 A BOY NAMED CECIL RHODES, ONE OF A CLERGYMAN'S FAMILY OF TWELVE. IT WAS THIS MAN, A BIG SIX-FOOT NORDIC, YELLOW HAIRED, GREY-EYED AND HEAVY JOWELED, WHO PUT NEW MEANING INTO THE WARS OF SOUTH AFRICA. SICK WITH TUBERCULOSIS, HE LANDED IN SOUTH AFRICA AT THE AGE OF 18, JUST AT THE TIME WHEN DIAMONDS WERE DISCOVERED AT KIMBERLEY. IT WAS IN THE ERA WHEN THE DUTCH WERE HOLDING THE ENGLISH AT BAY, AND THE KAFFIRS, CAUGHT BETWEEN DUTCH AND ENGLISH, ATTEMPTED THEIR WEIRD SUICIDE OF 1856. PROPHETS AMONG THEM TOLD THEM TO KILL AND EAT THEIR CATTLE WHICH WERE THEIR

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WEALTH, SOW NO CROPS, SAVE ONLY THEIR SPEARS, AND THUS BRING A WHIRLWIND TO SWEEP THE WHITES INTO THE SEA AND BRING THEIR HEROES BACK FROM THE DEAD. 100,000 ZULUS STARVED TO DEATH ON THE HIGH PLATEAU WHICH COVERED THE DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD. IT WAS THE TIME WHEN THE INDIAN MUTINY WAS TAKING PLACE IN INDIA, AND THE MAKING OF BESSEMER STEEL WAS DISCOVERED IN ENGLAND AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR.

DIAMONDS, DISCOVERED IN 1869 ON A MULATTOS FARM, CAME TO BE THE HIGH SIGN OF LUXURY, BEDIZENING THE BARE BREASTS OF ALL THE WHORES OF LONDON AND PARIS, AND FURNISHING WEDDING RINGS TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD. RHODES, RICH BEFORE HE WAS OF AGE, RETURNED TO ENGLAND AND MATRICULATED AT OXFORD. IT WAS HERE HE GOT HIS INSPIRATION AND WAS CALLED OF GREED TO RULE THE WORLD. IT WAS HERE THAT HE HEARD THE GREAT RUSKIN, GREY-HAIRED, WITH BURNING EYES, PROPHET OF GREATER EMPIRES, SUMMON BEFORE HIM IN THOSE OLD, ARCHED AND CRENELATED HALLS, THE YOUNG GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND TO: "A DESTINY NOW POSSIBLE TO US, THE HIGHEST EVER SET BEFORE A NATION, TO BE ACCEPTED OR REFUSED. WILL YOU YOUTHS OF ENGLAND MAKE YOUR COUNTRY AGAIN A REAL THRONE OF KINGS, A SCEPTERED ISLE, FOR ALL THE

WORLD A SOURCE OF LIGHT, A CENTER OF PEACE."

RHODES WENT BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA FILLED WITH A VISION OF MAKING ENGLAND MASTER OF THE WEALTH OF THAT LAND, WITH MILLIONS OF NEGROES TO EXTRACT THE WEALTH FROM THE RICH EARTH, AND WITH RHODES TO UNITE SOUTH AFRICA WITH THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

MEANTIME, IN THAT VALLEY OF THE NILE, THINGS TOO HAD BEGUN TO HAPPEN. THE ENGLISH HAD BEGUN TO LOOK AT THE CITADEL OF AFRICA, WHICH IS ETHIOPIA. IN 1867 THEY MOVED AGAINST THE EMPEROR, WITH NO CLEAR DESIGN BUT WITH ARROGANCE AND DECEIT, SO THAT THEODORE'S ARMIES WERE QUICKLY OVERTHROWN AND THEODORE, KING OF THE KINGS OF ETHIOPIA, PUTTING A PISTOL IN HIS MOUTH, BLEW HIS BRAINS OUT. HIS CONQUEROR BECAME A BRITISH EARL.

TWO YEARS LATER THE SUEZ CANAL, STARTED BY THE FRENCH, WAS FINISHED, AND BECAME THE UMBILICAL CORD OF BRITISH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM GIBRALTAR TO BOMBAY, SO THAT IT WAS CLEAR TO THE BRITISH THAT THEY MUST DOMINATE THE NILE VALLEY. BUT THE FRENCH ALSO WERE LOOKING AT THE NILE AS THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF AN EMPIRE WHICH BEGAN WITH ALGERIA IN 1830. IN 1881, AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, BISMARCK THREW TUNIS TO

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FRANCE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT TUNIS WAS THE ANCIENT CARTHAGE AND ITALY WAS INSANELY DETERMINED TO ANNEX IT. AND NOW THE NILE AND THE NEW CANAL BECKONED.

THREE EUROPEAN NATIONS CONVERGED ON NORTH AFRICA AND WERE FOLLOWED NOT ONLY BY ARMIES BUT BY LIQUOR, MISSIONARIES AND TRADERS. BLACK NORTH AFRICA BEGAN TO FIGHT BACK. SUDDENLY IN THE SUDAN THERE AROSE THE BLACK MAHDI IN 1883, FOLLOWED BY THE KHALIFA WHO SUCCEEDED HIM TWO YEARS LATER. FOR 15 YEARS BRITAIN WAS STOPPED DEAD IN THE TRACKS ON ITS MARCH UP THE NILE. BUT ITALY, STILL HUNGRY FOR NORTH AFRICA, WAS URGED BY ENGLAND TO FASTEN HER HOLD UPON ETHIOPIA AND THE RED SEA. WHAT FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND ITALY WANTED WAS AFRICAN WORKERS AND COMMERCE TO ASIA. BUT RHODES IN SOUTH AFRICA BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT THIS WORK, AND IN 1884 ON THE RIDGE OF WHITE WATERS, IN THE MIDST OF THE BOERS, GOLD WAS DISCOVERED! GOLD, THE TOUCHSTONE AND SYMBOL OF WEALTH FROM ANCIENT THEBES TO MODERN NEW YORK! GOLD, WHICH ADDED TO THE DIAMONDS AND AFTERWARD TO COPPER, MADE SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA THE GREATEST CENTER FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEALTH AND ENSLAVEMENT OF HUMAN LABOR THAT THE WORLD KNEW.

RHODES ORGANIZED AND CENTRALIZED THE DIAMOND BUSINESS AND BEGAN TO REGIMENT THE WORKERS. BUT THE STUBBORN BOERS INTERFERED, REVOLTING AND ESTABLISHING A REPUBLIC INDEPENDENT OF ENGLAND, STRETCHING STRAIGHT ACROSS THE PATH THAT RHODES WAS TRAVELLING FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO. FOR YEARS THE BOERS WERE FIGHTING BOTH THE BLACK ZULUS AND THE WHITE ENGLISH, AND THE ENGLISH, TOO, GOT EMBROILED WITH THE ZULUS. IN THE FIERCE WARS OF 1850-1853 THOUSANDS OF ENGLISH DIED, AND IN 1879 1,200 ENGLISH SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AT ISANDISLAWANA. THE YOUNG PRINCE IMPERIAL, SON OF NAPOLEON II AND THE BEAUTIFUL EMPRESS EUGENIA, VISITING THE ENGLISH TO SEE THE SPORT OF FIGHTING SAVAGES, WAS STABBED TO DEATH AND THE DYNASTY OF THE NAPOLEONS ENDED.

PAUL KRUGER BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE BOER STATE IN 1883. THE GERMANS PUSHED IN FROM THE WEST AND NORTH, AND A TALL BLACK KING IN MATABELELAND IN THE NORTH, LOBENGULA, SUCCEEDED MOZELIKHATZE IN 1868. RHODES OUTFLANKED THE BOERS WHO HELD THE GOLD FIELDS, AND WITH MISSIONARIES AND ADVENTURERS MADE TREATY WITH LOBENGULA FOR THE MINERAL WEALTH OF MATABELELAND. TWO YEARS LATER HE BECAME PRIME MINISTER OF CAPE COLONY, DOMINANT PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND ON THE LONDON MARKET MASTER OF THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF THE

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WORLD. HE WAS SO RICH HE DID NOT KNOW HIS WEALTH.

NEGROES FROM ALL SOUTH AND SOUTHWESTERN AFRICA WERE HERDED INTO THE DIAMOND FIELDS AND GOLD MINES, AND NEW AND ASTONISHING WEALTH BEGAN TO POUR INTO EUROPE. FOR THE THIEVES HAD ARRIVED. NOT JUST SMART BUSINESSMEN AND CONCESSION-SEEKERS, BUT REAL CRIMINALS -- CUTTHROATS, AUSTRALIAN BUSH RANGERS, THE SCUM OF LONDON, THE VULTURES, AND THE FEMALES OF THEIR KIND. THE BOER FARMERS WERE AGHAST. WHAT COULD THEY MAKE OF A WHITE ENGLISH GIRL WHO, ARRIVING ON THE DIAMOND FIELDS, ANNOUNCED THAT SHE WOULD "MEET THE BOYS AT THE SALOON TONIGHT" AND THEN PUT HERSELF UP FOR AUCTION AND KNOCK HERSELF DOWN, FOR THE NIGHT ONLY, TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER? KRUGER BITTERLY ADDRESSED A MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG: "PEOPLE OF THE LORD, YOU OLD PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, YOU FOREIGNERS, YOU NEWCOMERS, YEA, EVEN YOU THIEVES AND MURDERERS..."

BUT RHODES HAD TO HAVE THE BOERS OUT OF HIS WAY. THEY RESISTED UNEXPECTEDLY AND FIERCELY IN 1880-1881, SO THAT BRITAIN RECOILED BUT RHODES DID NOT. HE SENT HIS FRIEND JAMESON NORTH TO MATEBELELAND TO START THE QUARREL WHICH HE MUST HAVE TO CARRY

OUT HIS PLANS. HE HAD FOUND NO GOLD IN MATEBELELAND BUT HIS NEWLY CHARTERED SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY IN ENGLAND MUST HAVE CONTROL NOT ONLY OF LOBENGULA'S MATEBELELAND BUT OF ANCIENT MASHONALAND WHERE BLACKS HAD ONCE BUILT THE GREAT CIVILIZATION OF ZYMBABWE BEFORE LOBENGULA'S FATHERS OVERTHREW IT. JAMESON RAIDED THE ZULUS PROMISING HIS MEN SIX THOUSAND ACRES AND 20 GOLD CLAIMS EACH AND THEIR SHARE OF 200,000 CATTLE. THE BRITISH MOWED DOWN 5000 MATEBELE WITH MAXIM GUNS, LOSING BUT FOUR OF THEIR OWN SOLDIERS.

BUT THE MATEBELE WAR WAS NOT EASY. "WITH FURIOUS COURAGE THEY FLUNG THEMSELVES UPON THE BRITISH ARTILLERY". AT THE FIRST BATTLE THEY LOST 600 MEN AND ONE OF THE LEADERS HANGED HIMSELF RATHER THAN FALL INTO THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH. THE ENGLISH GENERAL SAID, "NO CIVILIZED TROOPS COULD HAVE WITHSTOOD THE TERRIFIC FIRE WHICH THEY DID THAT DAY FOR AT MOST HALF AS LONG." RHODES, RUSHING UP FROM CAPE COLONY, DEMANDED THE SURRENDER OF THE KING AND SENT THIRTY-FOUR ENGLISH BOYS TO TAKE HIM. THEY WERE ALL KILLED, ALTHOUGH IT COST THE LIVES OF 84 ZULU PRINCES AND 500 WARRIORS.

LOBENGULA FLED WITH HIS SPAN OF 16 BLACK OXEN NORTH, WITH THE ENGLISH BEHIND

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HIM. JAMESON TRIED TO LURE HIM BACK. LOBENGULA SENT 10 BAGS OF GOLD AS RANSOM, BUT THEY WERE STOLEN BY THE ENGLISH BEFORE THEY WERE DELIVERED. THE ENGLISH SENT OUT COURIERS WITH DISPATCHES, BUT THEY WERE KILLED. THE WHITE BISHOP OF MOSHONALAND PRAYED THAT THE WICKED MATABELE BE DESTROYED. THE TALL BLACK KING, WICK WITH DISAPPOINTMENT, BLEW UP HIS CAPITAL; AND TOLD HIS WARRIORS THAT RHODES WAS NOW HIS KING: "YOU HAVE DONE YOUR BEST, MY SOLDIERS, YOU CAN HELP ME NO MORE. GO NOW TO YOUR KRAALS. GO SWEETLY. GO IN PEACE." HE TURNED TOWARD THE RIVER AND THERE THE LAST GREAT FIGHTING KING OF THE ZULU DIED.

RHODES PROSPERED. HIS CONQUEST OF THE MATEBELE ENABLED HIM TO DUMP A MILLION SHARES ON THE WORLD MARKET WHICH RHODES UNLOADED AT $40 A SHARE.

MEANTIME, IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE, THE ITALIANS HAD MOVED IN AND TRIED TO CONTROL ETHIOPIA WHILE THE EMPEROR JOHANNES WAS FIGHTING THE KHALIFA. THE EMPEROR WAS KILLED AND MENELIK SUCCEEDED . THE ITALIANS TRIED TO ANNEX HIM AS THEIR ALLY, BUT HE TURNED AND KILLED 25,000 ITALIANS AT ADUA IN 1896. FOR A WHILE THE WHITE WORLD HELD

ITS BREATH, BECAUSE THE BLACK MENALEK WAS MAKING ALLIANCE WITH THE FRENCH; THE BLACK KHALIFA WAS THREATENING EGYPT, AND THE THREE WERE ABOUT TO KEEP THE ENGLISH FROM LINKING UP WITH THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE MISSIONARY, CHINESE GORDON, TRIED TO CONQUER THE BLACK KHALIFA, BUT HE WAS OFTEN DRUNK, AND PERMITTED THE SLAVE TRADE TO REAPPEAR IN THE SUDAN. GORDON WAS KILLED. AS THE FRENCH APPROACHED THE NILE FROM THE WEST, THE BLACK SUDANESE MOVED NORTH, AND ETHIOPIA CAME FROM THE EAST. BRITAIN FOUND IT MUST AVENGE GORDON. THE TORY, SALISBURY, SENT KITCHENER WITH THE NEW HIGH EXPLOSIVE INVENTED IN 1886. HE CAME AND KILLED 27,000 NEGROES, RECAPTURED THE BLACK CAPITOL KHARTOUM, DUG THE MAHDI FROM HIS GRAVE AND PUBLICLY DEFILED HIS CORPSE. THE FRENCH NEVER MET MENELEK, AND AGREED AT FASHODA TO GIVE THE NILE TO BRITAIN.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE HAD BEEN BROKEN, BUT THE "BLACK IVORY" REMAINED: A HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION BLACK MEN. THEY COULD BE MADE TO WORK IN THEIR OWN LAND, COERCED BY A NEW TAXATION THAT THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND, WITH BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION THAT

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THEY DID NOT WANT. THE EXPLORER, THE MISSIONARY, THE PROSPECTOR, THE TRADER, THE HUNTER, AND THE SOLDIER, ALL PLAYED THEIR PARTS. RELIGION, CHEAP LIQUOR, SYPHILIS, AND ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT BY DISTANT RULERS CAME TO NATIONS OF FARMERS AND HUNTERS, BLACK AND WHITE. THE GREAT DIAMOND HOLE AT KIMBERLEY WAS DUG TWO MILES UNDERGROUND. JOHANNESBURG, A MINIATURE NEW YORK, RAISED ITS TOWERS ON THE WINDSWEPT HIGH VELD OF THE WITWATERSRAND, OVER A WORLD OF GOLD.

FEVERISHLY CECIL RHODES, FACING DEATH AND SPITTING UP HIS ROTTEN LUNGS IN BLOOD, PURSUED HIS WORLD-GRASPING PATH. HE WANTED UNION WITH AMERICA AND UNIVERSAL PEACE. "I MEAN AFTER 100 YEARS"; WITH A SECRET SOCIETY ORGANIZED LIKE LOYOLAS, DICTATED BY THE ACCUMULATED WEALTH OF THOSE WHOSE ASPERATION IS TO DO SOMETHING. THUS SPOKE THE FORERUNNER OF HITLER 100 YEARS BEFORE HITLER WAS CONQUERED BY THE SOVIET UNION. RHODES HAD AT THE TIME AT LEAST A QUARTER OF A BILLION DOLLARS AND COULD EASILY HAVE HAD TWICE THAT SUM. HE MADE HIS WAY BY WEALTH. HE BRIBED EVERYBODY - BOER, KAFFIR, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

YET AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER HE WAS CHECKMATED. RHODESIA, WHICH HE HAD

SCHEMED AND MURDERED TO GET, HAD NO GOLD. RHODES, TO CAPITALIZE HIS INVESTMENT AND STRETCH COMMERCE FROM CAPE TO CAIRO, MUST GO NORTH TO THE COPPER OF THE CONGO. ON THE WAY HE MUST HAVE THE GOLD OF JOHANNESBURG, WHICH THE STUBBORN BOERS STILL HELD.

WITH THE END OF THE MATEBELE WAR IN 1893 RHODES STRADDLED AFRICA. ONE FOOT WAS PLANTED IN THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE WHERE HE WAS PRIME MINISTER. THE OTHER IN RHODESIA, SO NAMED IN 1895, WHERE HE REPRESENTED THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY. BENEATH HIM WAS KIMBERLEY AND THE DIAMOND MINES, HIS EYES WERE ON EGYPT, AND WHAT HE LACKED WAS POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE GOLD OF JOHANNESBURG.

TO SEIZE THIS, HE HAD JAMESON, VICTORIOUS BY BLUNDER AND MURDER IN MATEBELELAND. JAMESON, ENCOURAGED BY RHODES, LURCHED ON, PREPARED TO MAKE ALLIANCE WITH THE GREEDY UITLANDERS OF JOHANNESBURG, WHO OUTNUMBERED THE BOERS IN NUMBER AND WEALTH BUT NOT IN STUBBORN COURAGE. JAMESON WAS QUICKLY OVERTHROWN. RHODES HAD TO RESIGN FROM THE CAPE COLONY GOVERNMENT AND TURNED TO MEET THE REBELLION OF THE MATEBELE, AND PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION IN LONDON. FIRST HE MUST SAVE RHODESIA, FOR WITH THAT HE WAS SAFE IN

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BRITAIN.

BUT THE NEW WAR IN MATEBELELAND WAS BITTER. THE NATIVES NO LONGER RUSHED TO CERTAIN DEATH INTO THE MOUTHS OF MACHINE GUNS. THEY LURKED AND ATTACKED BY SURPRISE. A FIFTH OF THE WHITE TROOPS WERE SOON DEAD AND THE REST WERE HIDING IN THE GUARDED TOWNS. THE COST OF THE WAR TO RHODES' SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY WAS $30,000 A DAY AND MIGHT REACH $25,000,000. SHARES WERE DROPPING ON THE LONDON MARKET. RHODES HAD TO WIN BY DECEPTION IF NOT BY FORCE. HE DID. HE PROMISED AND CAJOLED THE CHIEFS. HE PROCURED THE ASSASSINATION OF M'LIMO, THE WITCH DOCTOR LEADER. HE PLEADED WITH THE HEAD CHIEF UNTIL HE SAID " IT IS PEACE, MY FATHER". HE PROMISED THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE WHITE POLICE; HE GAVE FOOD. HE GOT PEACE. HE CLIMBED TO THE LOFTY MATOPPO HILLS AND CHOSE HIS GRAVE. THEN HE WENT TO LONDON AND FACED A PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY, WITH MOST OF AFRICA IN HIS HAND. LITTLE HAPPENED. TOO MANY OF THE GREAT WERE INVOLVED. THE QUEEN AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN ADDITION TO THE GERMAN KAISER TOOK HIS SIDE, AND EVEN THE CULPRIT JAMESON WAS

EVENTUALLY KNIGHTED.

STILL ALL WAS NOT WELL IN JOHANNESBURG. IN 1898 KRUGER WAS RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE NEXT YEAR BRITAIN PREPARED FOR WAR. IT CAME IN 1899 AND LASTED FOUR LONG AND AWFUL YEARS; AND BEFORE IT ENDED, CECIL RHODES WAS DEAD AT 49, "SO MUCH TO DO, SO LITTLE DONE". YET

YET MUCH OF WHAT HE HAD DONE LIES IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY, WHEN THE LATEST BOER PRESIDENT, MALAN, USES THE CAPITAL OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA TO KEEP IN SERFDOM NINE MILLION WORKERS.

BUT FOR THE THREAT OF GERMANY, ENGLAND OWNED AFRICA FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO CAIRO. BUT THE GERMANS WERE INSISTENT. THEY SEIZED AND KILLED 50,000 HERREROS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA. THEY SLAUGHTERED 20,000 MAJIMAJI IN THEIR NEW COLONY OF EAST AFRICA; AND PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND MOHAMMEDANS STAGED A BLOODY WAR IN UGANDA.

BUT BY THE DAWN OF THE 20TH CENTURY, ALL SEEMED CLEAR. ENGLAND WAS RICH AND POWERFUL; FRANCE LESS POWERFUL BUT VERY RICH. AND IN BOTH CASES THEIR WEALTH HAD SPRUNG FROM WAR, MURDER AND THEFT IN ASIA AND AFRICA. BUT THE DREAM OF CECIL RHODES SEEMED TO

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HAVE COME TRUE: THAT WHITE ENGLAND WAS GOING TO RULE THE WORLD, WHEN SUDDENLY THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT APPEARED. GERMANY, WITH HER APPETITE WHETTED BY HER COLONIES IN AFRICA, DEMANDED A LARGER SHARE IN THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WHOLE WORLD, AND THE RESULT WAS THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WHICH ISSUED A NEW ERA OF WAR INTO THE WORLD.

I HAVE TOLD BUT A FRACTION OF THE WHOLE MODERN EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA WHICH WENT ON IN THE 19TH CENTURY. I HAVE NOT TOUCHED NORTH AFRICA OUTSIDE EGYPT. I HAVE OMITTED THE EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY OF THE CHEATING AND THEFT WHICH GAVE TO BELGIUM A COLONY 14 TIMES HER OWN SIZE, WHERE SHE ASSUMED COMPLETE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND LABOR UNDER THE PRETENSE OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE TRADE AND BRINGING NINE MILLIONS OF BLACKS TO CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION. THERE IS THE STORY OF PORTUGESE, SPANISH AND BRITISH WEST AFRICA, WITH THE WAR AND EXPLOITATION WHICH FOLLOWED THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA.

BUT I HAVE SAID ENOUGH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE 19TH CENTURY, FAR FROM BEING AN AGE OF PEACE WAS AN AGE OF WAR, AND OF WAR INSTIGATED BY RUTHLESS GREED. THE GREED THUS MADE CUSTOMARY BECAME THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF OUR CENTURY, AND STANDS TODAY

BACK OF THE AWFUL THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.

CAN ANY THOUGHTFUL PERSON IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY ASSUME THAT OUR PRESENT CAUSES OF WAR ARE UNCONNECTED WITH THE RECENT PAST, AND FIND A NEW CAUSE IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE SOVIET UNION? IS COMMUNISM TODAY THE CAUSE OF WAR OR HAS WAR BEEN THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM? IF GOADED BY A TERRIBLE AGE OF EXPLOITATION A NATION HAS ARISEN TO CAST OFF ITS YOKE, EVEN IF ITS NEW PLAN OF GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PLEASE US, IS WAR THE ONLY ANSWER? HAVE WE IN THE LAST CENTURY PROPOSED ANY BETTER ANSWER? IF WE REALLY WANT PEACE AND SEE IN PEACE THE ONLY BEGINNING TO REAL HUMAN PROGRESS, MUST NOT OUR PEACE BEGIN WITH PEACE WITH THE SOVIETS AND NOT END WITH BLUNT REFUSAL EVEN TO TALK PEACE, AND WITH PREPARATION FOR WAR ON A SCALE WHICH THREATENS TO BANKRUPT CIVILIZATION? IF THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND ARE GOING TO INSIST THAT THE SORT OF WORLD WHICH THEY BUILT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MUST NOT BE ALTERED, AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT AT ALTERATION WILL MEAN WORLD WAR, THEN WORLD WAR IT WILL BE, NO MATTER WHAT WE SAY OR DO. THE WORLD WILL NEVER SUBMIT TO ANGLO-SAXON RULE.

26-7-11

MINORITY GROUPS IN AMERICA

c.1952

MINORITY GROUPS IN AMERICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

INTEREST IN LIFE DEPENDS UPON VARIETY AND CHANGE. HOWEVER IN CONCRETE CASES, TOO GREAT VARIETY, OR SUDDEN AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE GIVES RISE TO FEAR. FEAR OF A GENERAL SORT, BECAUSE WE DO NOT LIKE TO SEE GREAT DIFFERENCES OR BE COMPELLED TO EXPERIENCE CHANGE; BUT ALSO AND FUNDAMENTALLY BECAUSE OUR OWN CONDITIONS OF LIFE MAY BE ~~CHANGED~~ OR WORSENED, IF THE EVEN PATTERN OF OUR CONDUCT AND THE WAY OF OUR DAILY LIFE IS CHANGED.

SO THAT IN EVERY COMMUNITY CONTINUALLY THERE ARISE PROBLEMS OF MINORITIES THAT IS OF LARGER OR SMALLER GROUPS WHICH DIFFER FROM THE GENERAL NORMS OR IDEALS OF THE PREPONDERANT MASS. THESE DIFFERENCES MAY BE PHYSICAL, INCLUDING COLOR OF SKIN AND TECTURE OF HAIR, HEIGHT, WEIGHT AND PROPORTIONS OF LIMBS. THEY MAY BE CULTURAL, INCLUDING LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS, RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND CUSTOMARY WAYS OF DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OF LIFE. THEY MAY BE

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ECONOMIC, DEPENDING ON INCOME AND WORK. WE RECOGNIZE HERE THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO AND INDIAN IN THE UNITED STATES: THE PROBLEM OF JEWS, CATHOLICS, QUAKERS AND THE PROBLEM OF CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM: ~~OF COOPERATIVES AND COMMUNITIES.~~

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THERE ARE ~~DIVISIONS AND~~ SPLINTER PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE DIVISIONS IN THESE GROUPS; NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN; ENGLISH, IRISH, GERMANS; SCANDINAVIANS: SLAVS AND ORIENTALS. IF HUMAN BEINGS HAVE ANY KIND OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT OR IF THEY HAVE THE LIBERTY TO LOOK UPON THE WORLD AND THEIR FELLOW BEINGS, NO ONE OF COURSE EXPECTS THAT THEY ARE GOING ALWAYS TO AGREE. IN ALL OUR THINKING WE CONTEMPLATE DIFFERENCES; MINORITIES IN OPINION AND CONDUCT; MINORITIES IN APPEARANCE. AND YET UNLESS WE ARE WATCHFUL WE ARE CONTINUALLY ASSUMMING THAT IF ANY PART OF THE COMMUNITY DOES NOT AGREE WITH OR CORRESPOND TO THE LARGER PART; DOES NOT LOOK LIKE MOST FOLK; DOES NOT BELIEVE

AND ACT AS MOST PEOPLE ACT:/ THAT THERE MUST BE SOMETHING FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG ABOUT THEM:/ AND NOT SIMPLY WRONG/BUT SOMETHING WHICH THREATENS THE REST.

ON THE OTHER HAND,/ AND IN TRUTH,/ WHAT A COMMUNITY, A NATION AND THE WORLD NEEDS,/ IS WIDE VARIETY OF THOUGHT,/ BELIEF AND ACTION / AND EVEN OF LOOKS,/ SO THAT OUT OF THE CONTRAST OF SUCH DIFFERENCES/ WE MAY CHOOSE WHAT IS BEST AND MOST BENEFICIAL,/ OR SEE WHAT IS POSSIBLE,/ OR JUDGE WHAT IS BEAUTIFUL/FOR THE PEOPLE OF EARTH.// WITHOUT THIS, WE ARE BOUND/TO DROP INTO THE DANGER OF COMPLACENT UNIFORMITY.

THERE WAS ONCE A GREAT PHILOSOPHER/WHO TRIED TO EXPRESS THE LOGIC/AND SOLUTION/OF THIS WORLD-WIDE PROBLEM OF DIFFERENCES./ IT WAS HEGEL WHO LAID DOEN THE IDEA/OF THE THESIS,/OF THE STATEMENT AND BELIEF OF TRUTH;// OF THE ANTITHESIS WHICH IMMEIDATELY AROSE--COUNTER*STATEMENT,/ DIFFERNT IDEAS OF TRUTH TO CONTRADICT THE THESIS /AND ACTION BASED ON IT.// AND THEN OUT OF THESE, THE PHILOSOPHER POINTED OUT,/ THAT THERE NOT ONLY MIGHT,/ BUT MUST ARISE THE

SYNTHESIS,/ BY WHICH THE ESSENTIAL CONTRADICTION/WAS OVERCOME AND EXPLAINED BY A UNION/OF WHAT IN BOTH THESIS/AND ANTITHESIS/WAS RIGHT AND BEST/AND ENDURING.// IN THIS WAY HE TAUGHT THAT LIFE/WITH ITS CONTINUAL STRUGGLE, EVEN MOVED/TOWARD HIGHER AND ULTIMATE AGREEMENT. IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE HAD THEN WHAT MOST WISE THIKERS/HAVE LOOKED UPON AS AN UNUSUAL ADVANTAGE OF VARIETY.

ALL NATIONS DO NOT HAVE THIS./ IT IS POSSIBLE IN COUNTRIES LIKE SWEDEN, ~~SCANDINAVIA~~,/ IN CERTAIN PARTS OF GERMANY,/ IN North ITALY/ TO HAVE A CERTAIN SAMENESS AND RESEMBLANCE IN POPULATION/WHICH IN THE LONG RUN/ DOES NOT PRESENT TO THE COUNTRY/ THE CHALLENGE OF DIFFERENCE IN LOOKS/ BELIEFS OR CUSTOMS.// BUT IN THE UNITED STATES/FROM THE BEGINNING/WE HAVE HAD EXTRAORDINARY DIFFERENCES IN APPEARANCE/WE HAD RED MEN, AND BLACK/ BROWN, YELLOW AND WHITE.// IN BELIEF WE HAD CATHOLICS/ PROTESTANTS, QUAKERS,/ JEWS AND FREE THINKERS.// AS THE

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NATION GREW/ WE HAD THE NATIVE AND THE FOREIGN BORN./ LATER WE HAVE HAD THE SMALLER RACE DIFFERENCES/OF ANGLO-SAXON AND SCANDINAVIANS/ OF IRISH, ~~ENGLISH~~ and ~~OR~~ SLAVS/ OF LATIN AND ~~OF ORIENTALS~~ ASIATICS

AS A RESULT OF THIS/AND NATURALLY/WE HAD TREMENDOUS STRESSES,/STRAINS, PERSECUTIONS/AND EVEN WARS./ NOT ARISING/MIND YOU/FROM THE DIFFERENCES IN THEMSELVES/BUT FROM OUR JUDGMENTS/BASED ON THESE DIFFERENCES:// AND NOT ENTIRELY FROM OUR OWN JUDGMENTS/SO MUCH AS FROM THE JUDGMENTS/WHICH WE CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY/IMITATE AND ACT UPON.// WE KILLED THE RED INDIANS: AND ENSLAVED THE BLACK AFRICANS/IN WAYS THAT MADE LONG AND DIFFICULT RESULTANT PROBLEMS.// WE PERSECUTED CATHOLICS AND JEWS:/ QUAKERS AND BAPTISTS.// PERHAPS OF ALL THESE/IT WAS BLACK SLAVERY/THAT MADE THE GREATEST CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY/AND FURNISHED THE MOST STRIKING HISTORY/OF THE EFFECT OF DIFFERENCES ON THE ACTIONS OF MEN// NOT THAT THE ~~MERE~~ DIFFERENCES/BETWEEN WHITE FOLK AND BLACK/WERE IN REALITY GREAT:/THEIR PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS CORRESPOND:

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THEIR SKIN COLOR/WAS A MATTER OF DEGREE ~~AND OF CLIMATE~~:/ THEIR CULTURAL HISTORY WAS SIMILAR.// WE EXAGGERATED THESE DIFFERENCES/ENORMOUSLY, BY TREATMENT:/ BY THE EFFECTS OF POVERTY AND DISEASE:/AND BY FAIRY TALES DRESSED AS SCIENCE,/ WHICH ~~CONTRADICTED~~ veiled THE TRUTH IN VAST AREAS.

FOR 250 YEARS/THE SLAVERY OF NEGROES/CONTRADICTED THE DEMOCRACY WHICH WE SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH.// IT IS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE THAT THOSE PIONEERS IN 1776/ MEN OF EDUCATION, OF CONSCIENCE/AND OF FORESIGHT/SHOULD STAND/AND LOOKING THE WORLD SQUARELY IN THE FACE/SAY SOLEMNLY:/"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT/ THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL/ THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR/WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS:/THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE LIBERTY/AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

Just across yonder river

AT THAT VERY MOMENT/THERE WERE IN THE COLONIES/WHICH BECAME THE UNITED STATES/ 700,000 HUMAN BEINGS/ FORMING MORE THAN A FIFTH OF THE

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THREE MILLION INHABITANTS, WHO WERE CHATTEL SLAVES, BOUGHT AND SOLD EXACTLY AS CATTLE, WITH NO RIGHTS OF FAMILY LIFE, OF PROPERTY, OF TRAVEL ~~OR HOME~~ WHICH ANY WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT. EVERY SINGLE MAN WHO VOTED FOR THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE KNEW THIS TO BE A FACT AND many ~~MOST~~ OF THEM OWNED SUCH SLAVES. THERE WERE IN ADDITION, 50,000 OTHER PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT, WHO WHILE ~~THEY WERE~~ NOMINALLY FREE, WERE IN FACT AND IN MOST RESPECTS NEARLY AS BAD off AS THEIR 700,000 FELLOW BEINGS WHO WERE SLAVES. In addition there at least 1 c3000 White found - dead also not free

ONE ASKS HOW WAS IT POSSIBLE THAT THESE MEN COULD HAVE LIED SO UNRESERVEDLY. THE ANSWER IS NATURALLY THEY DID NOT MEAN THAT THIS STATEMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE A LIE. THIS IS A SERIOUS WARNING FOR PERSONS WHO WANT AND INTEND TO BE FAIR AND JUST. ONE IS CONTINUALLY TEMPTED TO CALL TRUTH THAT WHICH THEY HOPE SOME DAY WILL BE TRUTH. MANY OF YOU DO THIS: IN TRAVEL ABROAD, YOU BOAST OF OUR EQUALITY, ~~FREEDOM~~ AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT TRUE AND YOU KNOW IT IS NOT: BUT YOU DO FERVENTLY HOPE THAT SOME DAY

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36-10-121

IT WILL BE TRUE. WE BOAST ~~ABROAD AND~~ HERE OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM IN THIS LAND. AND WE ~~NOT~~ HAVE HAD BOTH. BUT WE HAVE LESS TODAY THAN WE ONCE HAD. AMERICANS ARE NOT FREE TODAY TO ~~CHOOSE~~ CHOOSE THEIR OCCUPATIONS. LAST YEAR 25,000 YOUNG AMERICANS APPLIED FOR ENTRANCE INTO MEDICAL SCHOOLS IN ORDER TO BECOME PHYSICIANS. ONLY 6,000 WERE ADMITTED. OTHERS WERE REFUSED ADMITTANCE BECAUSE THEY WERE JEWS, NEGROES, or ITALIANS, OR BECAUSE THEIR PARENTS WERE NOT RICH. HOW MUCH FREEDOM WAS LEFT THESE 19000 rejected STUDENTS. THERE ARE SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES IN ENTERING THE LAW AND OTHER PROFESSIONS. IN LEARNING CERTAIN TRADES. IN pursuing ~~ENTERING~~ ~~BIG~~ BUSINESS Career.

JUSTICE IS TOO OFTEN PERVERTED AND WITHHELD TODAY. INNOCENT MEN HAVE BEEN CONVICTED OF CRIME OR PREVENTED FROM EARNING A LIVING BY UNPROVEN SEARING. ABOVE ALL YOU KNOW ONLY TOO WELL HOW ~~INNOCENT~~ MEN in New Jersey CAN BE ARRESTED AND HELD INDEFINITELY IN JAIL WHEN THEIR INNOCENCE seems CLEAR TO ~~HELL~~. I OFTEN SHUDDER TO THINK HOW MANY INNOCENT PERSONS in America ARE IN CONFINEMENT TODAY BECAUSE THEY ARE BLACK OR POOR. OR BECAUSE THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE THIS LAND CAN BE BETTERED BY POLITICAL ACTION. IT IS FANTASTIC TO TRY TODAY TO MAKE BELIEF IN SOCIALISM or Communism A CRIME IN ITSELF.

REALIZING THEN THE GLARING IMPERFECTIONS OF THIS LAND THERE IS DANGER IN LYING ABOUT ~~THEM~~. them Therefore

~~Communist~~ not officially friends or followers

~~IT WILL BE TRUE// BUT THERE LIES DANGER.~~/ DANGER FROM THE LYING HABIT/AND MORE DANGER/FROM THE LULL TO SLEEP/AND EXCUSE FOR INACTION// SLAVERY DID DISAPPEAR FROM THIS LAND,/AS WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON AND FRANKLIN HOPED/BUT IT TOOK 87 YEARS/FOR IT TO START/AND EVEN TODAY, 150 YEARS AFTER/THE PROcess IS NOT FINISHED.//THE FATHERS MEANT THEN/THAT DESPITE THE FACT OF SLAVERY,/SLAVERY MUST AND WOULD DISAPPEAR./ BUT THE DIFFICULTY WAS/THAT UPON THIS LIE/WAS GRADUALLY BUILT/FOR THE NEXT 45 YEARS/AN ORGANIZATION,/ THE COTTON KINGDOM/OUT OF WHICH/LARGE AND LARGER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE/RECEIVED INCOME/AND WHICH BECAME INEXTRICABLY INTERTWINED/WITH THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AGE.

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THERE IS NO QUESTION/BUT THAT THE NEGRO SLAVES/OF THE LATER 18th CENTURY HAD ALREADY BECOME/THE EFFICIENT CAUSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD REVOLUTION / AND THE BASIS OF THAT CAPITALISM/AND COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/WHICH DOMINATED THE 19th CENTURY/AND PLUNGED THE 20TH CENTURY INTO TWO WORLD WARS.

36-10-123

THERE IS NOT IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN BEINGS/A MORE CLEAR AND DEFINITE WARNING/AGAINST THE TOLERANCE OF KNOWN ERROR/THAN THE HISTORY OF BLACK SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.//TODAY WE STILL FEEL THE EFFECTS OF ~~THAT,~~ of it, ~~/BUT WE ARE BEGINNING TO EMERGE.~~// THIS TREATMENT OF NEGROES,/CAUSED OTHER MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THIS LAND./ ANYONE WHO MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES,/ NO MATTER FROM WHAT ANTECEDENTS AND TRAINING,/NO SOONER ~~DID HE~~ LANDED IN THIS COUNTRY, AND BECAME ACQUAINTED/WITH THE ATTITUDE OF MOST AMERICANS TOWARD NEGROES,/ EITHER ~~HE~~ DID AS THEY DID/OR LOST SOCIAL STANDING// OR WHAT WAS WORSE, NEVER GAINED IT. JEWS, QUAKERS, CATHOLICS,/ ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMANS/BECAME SLAVE OWNERS; EVEN CERTAIN FREE NEGROES/OWNED SLAVES/AND MANY INDIANS.

THIS WAS A SERIOUS MATTER.//PERHAPS A MAN HAD BROKEN LIFE TIES,/ PERHAPS HE KNEW WHAT IT WAS/TO BE DESPISED AND REJECTED OF MEN./ HE COMES TO A COUNTRY WHERE HE IS PLEASANTLY RECEIVED,/ WHERE HE HAS CHANCES/SUCH AS HE HAS NEVER HAD BEFORE/AND HIS FIRST EFFORT/IS TO CONFORM AND CONFORM COMPLETELY.// WHEN

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HE FINDS THAT AMERICANS HATE NEGROES, HE HATES THEM. // SOME OF THE WORST TREATMENT WHICH I HAVE RECEIVED IN THE UNITED STATES AS A NEGRO, HAS BEEN TREATMENT FROM PEOPLE WHO THEMSELVES KNOW WHAT PREJUDICE IS. // THE YOUNG IRISH AND GERMAN FACTORY HANDS IN MY BIRTH PLACE IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS WHO CAME IN AS POVERTY STRICKEN ~~FACTORY HANDS~~ IRISHMEN CALLED ME NAMES AND THREW STONES AT ME AND TRIED SO FAR AS ~~THEY COULD~~ TO ~~TREAT ME AS~~ AN OUTCAST, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT IN THAT WAY. THEY WERE DOING WHAT MOST AMERICANS DID.

WHEN I WENT BEFORE A COMMITTEE ON THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA PUBLIC LIBRARY, WHERE NO NEGRO WAS ADMITTED, AND WHERE I COULD NOT BORROW BOOKS WHICH I MYSELF HAD WRITTEN, ~~AND WHEN~~ I SAT DOWN BEFORE THAT COMMITTEE AND DEMANDED MY RIGHTS AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, THE CHAIRMAN ~~OF THE COMMITTEE~~, A JEW, WAS THE MOST INSULTING OF ALL THE MEMBERS ON THE COMMITTEE. // IT WAS TEN YEARS BEFORE THE NEGROES GOT A RIGHT EVEN TO A SEGREGATED SMALLER AND CHEAPER of Atlanta

36-10-125

LIBRARY. // MEANTIME GEORGIA HAD LYNCHED A JEW. // IT IS AS I HAVE SAID, UNDERSTANDABLE WHY NEWCOMERS TO A NATION LIKE THIS FOLLOW THE HERD AND CONFORM TO THE CURRENT STANDARDS OF RESPECTABILITY. UNDERSTANDABLE BUT NOT DEFENSIBLE ~~BUT~~ NOT ONLY IN ~~THEIR~~ Dutch CASE, BUT IN OTHER CASES THERE ARE EVEN STRONGER REASONS FOR JOINING IN THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES AND ~~THEY~~ these reasons DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE UPON ~~THOSE~~ THE SAME CAUSES WHICH LAY BENEATH THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT IS INCOME: Property

I NEED HARDLY DWELL ~~NO~~ ON OTHER CASES OF MINORITY OPPRESSION IN THIS LAND // RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION HAS BEEN LONG AND WIDE-SPREAD. INDEED IT HAS NOT YET ENTIRELY ENDED. ROGER WILLIAMS AND HIS FOLLOWERS WERE PERSECUTED NOT SIMPLY FOR BEING BAPTISTS BUT FOR THE GREATER CRIME OF DECLARING THAT THE PURITANS SHOULD NOT STEAL LAND FROM THE INDIANS. HE AND HIS FOLLOWERS WERE DRIVEN INTO THE WILDERNESS. of R.I.

THE QUAKERS WERE PERSECUTED IN NEARLY ALL THE COLONIES: FOUR WERE HANGED

ON BOSTON COMMON IN 1661/AND ONE WHIPPED TO DEATH IN VIRGINIA./~~SOME OF THEM HELD SLAVES/BUT GRADUALLY FREED THEM/AND MANY MOVED WEST TO LAND/MADE FREE BY THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE.~~

(altho' on a smaller scale)

THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS/IS PERHAPS EVEN MORE SHAMEFUL THAN THE STORY OF THE NEGRO./ MOST OF THOSE IN THE WEST INDIES ISLANDS/WERE ENSLAVED, WORKED TO DEATH/AND REPLACED BY NEGROES.// IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES / THEY OFFERED ORGANIZED RESISTANCE/WITH THE RESULT THAT THEY WERE DECIMATED BY WARS,/ HAD THEIR LANDS STOLEN/AND WERE ENSLAVED OR DRIVEN WEST/TO RESERVATIONS WHERE THEY WERE EXPLOITED OR NEGLECTED.// UNTIL RECENTLY THEY WERE NEITHER FOREIGNERS/NOR CITIZENS ON THEIR NATIVE SOIL.// IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA / THEY FORM THE LOWEST PAID CLASS OF EXPLOITED LABOR. ~~WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES SOME EFFORT IS BEING MADE/TO RAISE THEM TO CITIZENSHIP AND GIVE THEM ECONOMIC STANDING.~~

(hired by U.S. Capital)

36-10-126

AMONG WHITE INHABITANTS/THERE HAVE ARISEN BITTER HATREDS AND RIVALRY.// IN NEW ENGLAND/THE HATRED BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND IRISH/CONTINUED TO OUR DAY/ENHANCED FOR MANY YEARS/BY PURITAN OPPOSITION TO THE CATHOLICS./ THIS STILL LIES AT THE BASIS OF POLITICS/IN ~~THIS PART OF OUR LAND.~~ the Northeast.

THERE WAS PERSECUTION OF JEWS/IN EARLY AMERICA,/ BUT THIS DID NOT RISE AT FIRST TO THE PROPORTIONS OF A NATIONAL MENACE./ ALTHOUGH THERE WAS (in the 20th century) INCREASING REFUSAL OF CIVIL RIGHTS/IN DOMICILE, HOME-BUYING, USE OF HOTELS/AND SOCIAL TREATMENT. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF JEWS FROM EASTERN EUROPE/THIS DISCRIMINATION INCREASED / SINCE THESE IMMIGRANTS,/ IN CONTRAST TO SPANISH AND GERMAN JEWS,/WERE OF LOWER ECONOMIC STATUS,/ WITH MORE PRONOUNCED RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY.// AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAME THE INCIDENT/OF THE FORGED PROTOCOLS OF ZION/AND THE CRUSADE OF HENRY FORD.

SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ THIS RACE AND CULTURAL PROBLEM/HAS INCREASED OMINOUSLY IN SIGNIFICANCE,/ HELPED BY THE ENCOURAGEMENT/OF FASCIST LEADERS, Dr. Pelley

36-10-127

FROM ALL THE WORLD.

IN THE CASE OF THE SLAVS/ AND GERMANS AND SCANDINAVIANS/ IN THE middle WEST/ AND THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE/ IN THE FAR WEST/ THERE AROSE BITTER ECONOMIC RIVALRY FOR JOBS,/ This CULMINATING IN VIOLENCE AND LEGISLATION/ IN THE CASE OF THE ORIENTALS ON THE PACIFIC COAST,/ AND THE DISGRACEFUL TREATMENT OF JAPANESE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.// IN THESE CASES/ A GENERAL PATTERN EMERGES,/ AND THAT IS THE ECONOMIC BASE/ UPON WHICH RACE, RELIGIOUS AND GROUP ANIMOSITIES/ ARE ALL INCREASINGLY BASED// This FORMS ANOTHER PROBLEM,/ JUST AS LARGE, JUST AS DIFFICULT/ AS ANY PREVIOUS GROUP PROBLEM/ AND LEADING AND PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD/ TO TREMENDOUS IF NOT FATAL DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.// AND THAT IS THE SERIES OF QUESTIONS/ WHICH WE CALL ROUGHLY: CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.// THEY HAVE TO DO WITH THE WORLD ORGNIZATION OF WORK./ NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE MAY PRAISE AND ADMIRE/ THE WAY IN WHICH THE WORK OF MAN/ HAS BEEN ORGANIZED/ DURING THE 19TH CENTURY,/ THE TRIUMPH OF TECHNIQUE IN MANFACTURE/

Why race doesn't work
"The Pied Piper of the Dutch Suburbs" don't answer the question
"The Problem of the Scandinavian"

821-01-36

THE INTRICACY/ A MIRACLE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/ AND THE WORLD WIDE TRIUMPH OF COMMERCE/ NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE MAY LAUD ALL THIS,/ WE MUST AT THE SAME TIME REMEMBER/ THAT MOST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD/ shall ARE HUNGRY, IGNORANT AND DISEASED,/ AND THAT THESE PEOPLE INCLUDE/ NOT SIMPLY THE LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW,/ NOT SIMPLY THE COLOURED RACES/ [redacted], BUT ALSO THE ~~MAJORITY~~ a vast number OF HUMAN BEINGS/ IN THE MOST CULTIVATED LANDS OF THE UNIVERSE.

821-01-36

IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE THEREFORE/ HOW PROUD AND COMPLACENT WE MAY BE/ OVER THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY,/ WE CANNOT FOR A MOMENT GAINSAY/ THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD/ HAVE A RIGHT TO ASK FOR CHANGE/ AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE/ IN THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

JUST WHAT THIS CHANGE/ WILL BE AND CAN BE/ IS A MATTER OF GREAT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION/ AND OUGHT TO BE.// BUT IT IS NOT A MATTER for SUPPRESSION OF OPINION/ IT IS NOT THE KIND OF DIFFERENCE/ THAT CALLS FOR SECRET ~~FAITH~~ POLICE, UNJUST PERSECUTION AND WITCH-HUNTING.// THERE ARE MANY ARGUMENTS/ WHICH SOCIALISTS MAY

BRING FORWARD/ TO PROVE THAT THE CAPITALISTIC ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY/ IS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG AND CONTRADICTORY.// THE EXTREME SOCIALISTS,/ CALLED COMMUNISTS,/ can ADD TO THIS INDICTMENT.// AND ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THE CAPITALISTS HAVE A RIGHT TO BOAST./ NOT THAT THEY HAVE MADE A PERFECT WORLD/ BUT THAT MORE PEOPLE/ ~~GET BETTER SUPPORT~~/ than they did a hundred or two hundred years ago/ ~~WHICH PROVES/ NOT SO MUCH OUR PROGRESS/ AS THEIR DEGRADATION~~.

36-10-130

NEVERTHELESS/ IF OUT OF THIS THESIS AND ANTITHESIS/ THERE IS TO COME THE SYNTHESIS/ OF THE PROGRESS AND WELFARE OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN/ WHAT WE NEED IS NOT LESS DISCUSSION,/ BUT ~~RATHER~~ MORE:/ AND MORE CAREFUL COMPARISON/ OF IDEAS AND FACTS.// THE REASONS ~~NOW~~ WHY THIS IS NOT CLEAR/ TO ALL MEN/ AND WHY WE ARE NOT TODAY/ IN EAGER COMPETITION TO DISCUSS/ ALL SIDES OF THIS QUESTION/ INSTEAD OF SCARING MOST PEOPLE/ INTO A POSITION WHERE THEY DARE NOT OPEN THEIR MOUTHS/ or even listen to

~~ON~~ THE SUBJECT,/ IS BECAUSE OF THE OLD HERD INSTINCT.// IN THE UNTHINKING CROWDING TOGETHER OF ANIMALS,/ THE HERD INSTINCT IS SUPREME:/ THEY GO OFF IN WILD RUSHES/ IN ANY AND ALL DIRECTIONS/ ONCE THEY ARE STARTED.// THEY DO NOT STOP TO ARGUE,/ THEY DO NOT STOP TO REASON.// EVEN AMONG THE HIGHER ANIMALS, WHERE YOU DO HAVE REASON AND EXPERIENCE,/ ANY DEVIATION FROM THE GENERAL DECISIONS/ FROM THE MAJORITY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS/ BECOMES VERY QUICKLY A MATTER OF RESPECTIBILITY.

36-10-131

THE UNITED STATES/ HAS PROSPERED ON CHEAP LABOR/ THE LABOR OF NEGROES, OF ITALIANS, OF SLAVS, OF INDIANS./ AND IF THE LEVEL OF INCOME IS GOING TO BE MAINTAINED/ AND ITS DISTRIBUTION ~~GOING TO~~ NOW GIVES A PARTICULAR MAN,/ A LARGE AND COMFORTABLE SHARE,/ HE RATHER NATURALLY/ IS GOING TO BE AMONG THE LAST/ WHO WOULD OPPOSE UNREGULATED IMMIGRATION,/ OR ADVOCATE THE EDUCATION OF ~~CHEAP~~ POOR WORKERS,/ ABOVE THEIR STATUS,/ OR A TAX ON THE INCOME OF THE RICH/ IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE INCOME OF THE POOR.

36-10-133

THERE ARE ALWAYS PEOPLE AND LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO OPPOSE THE CURRENT TREATMENT OF VARIOUS MINORITIES. THEIR INSTINCTIVE REACTIONS ARE USUALLY NEGATIVE. THEY DO NOT HELP IN THE OPPRESSION: THEY DID NOT OWN SLAVES / THEY DO NOT HIRE THE CHEAPEST LABOR OR TREAT IT IN THE WORST WAY. WHEN OTHER PEOPLE MAKE OUT-CRY AGAINST NEGROES, JEWS, ITALIANS, SLAVES, FOREIGNERS: / AGAINST PERSONS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO THEIR CHURCH, THESE PERSONS ARE SILENT. AND THIS SILENCE HAS INFLUENCE. BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH.

Wrongfully accused

WHAT IS CALLED FOR IN EVERY ORGANIZED STATE, IS POSITIVE ACTION ON THE PART OF PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL, AGAINST INJUSTICE. EITHER INJUSTICE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS OR INJUSTICE AGAINST MINORITY GROUPS. ~~THE~~ not silence but DEFENSE, FOR INSTANCE, OF MINORITY BY MINORITY: THE DEFENSE OF NEGROES BY JEWS, OR ~~THE~~ ~~DEFENSE~~ OF JEWS BY NEGROES. THE DEFENSE OF FOREIGNERS BY NATIVES. ~~ALL THAT~~ Such action INVOLVES DIFFICULTY AND THE DANGER OF BRINGING UPON THE MINORITY WHICH IS

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TRYING TO SECURE GREATER JUSTICE, SOME IF NOT ALL OF THE DISTASTE AND ATTACK / WHICH THEY ARE TRYING TO GET RID OF IN THE CASE OF OTHER GROUPS. ~~IT~~ This UNDOUBTEDLY MAKES PEOPLE PAUSE: IT MAKES LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL SAY: "I AM SORRY FOR THIS SITUATION, BUT AFTER ALL I AM NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR IT, / AND I AM NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I DON'T THINK I CAN DO ANYTHING IMPORTANT AND EVEN IF I CAN ITS GOING TO COST ME MORE THAN I AND MY FAMILY CAN AFFORD."

THIS ATTITUDE, NO MATTER HOW UNDERSTANDABLE IS UNJUSTIFIABLE: SIMPLY BECAUSE WE, ALL OF US, BELONG TO SOME MINORITY. IN CASES LIKE MYSELF AND SOME OF YOU, THE MINORITY TO WHICH WE BELONG IS FIXED AND PRACTICALLY UNCHANGABLE. IN THE CASE OF OTHERS, ADHERANCE MAY CHANGE FROM THIS TO THAT MINORITY IN THOUGHT AND ACTION.

ALL NATIONS ARE BUILT UP OF MINORITIES. SOME OF MINOR, SOME OF MAJOR

36-10-135

IMPORTANCE. // UNLESS, THEREFORE IN-JUSTICE TO ANY MINORITY IS OPPOSED/ AND ATTACKED BY OTHER MINORITIES/ THE WHOLE SOCIAL FABRIC/ IS GOING TO SUFFER FATALLY.

THERE MUST BE BUILT UP/ ON CIVILIZED COMMUNITIES/ THE IDEA OF TOLERANCE/ NOT ONLY TOLERANCE FOR ANY MINORITY/ WHICH IS BEING UNJSTLY TREATED/ BUT TOLERANCE TOWARD AN ATTITUDE/ WHICH YOU THINK IS ~~GOING TO BE~~ EVIL./ A TOLERANCE WHICH SAYS/ YOU HAVE GOT TO LISTEN TO THE OTHER MAN/ BECAUSE THAT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY MEANS/ THAT WHAT YOU DO NOT BELIEVE IN/ HAS A RIGHT TO EXPRESS ITSELF./ ~~HOW FAR IT HAS A RIGHT TO ACTION/ DEPENDS~~ OF COURSE UPON FACT./ THERE COME/ WITHOUT DOUBT/ CASES WHERE THE BELIEF OF SOME MINORITY/ LEADS TO ACTIONS/ WHICH ~~MAY BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE STATE.~~ are illegal/ IN WHICH CASE YOU ARE ~~COMPELLED TO USE FORCE:~~ justified in using/ THE FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION/ AND EVEN OF THE POLICE/ against ~~crime~~ illegal actions, but not against the belief.

36-10-136

~~TO STOP CERTAIN ACTIONS.~~ // ~~BUT THIS IS ALWAYS THE LAST RESORT/ AND NOT THE FIRST.~~ IT IS NO EXCUSE FOR POLICE ACTION/ TO SAY THAT SOMETHING WRONG MAY HAPPEN./ POLICE ACTION/ COMES WHEN SOMETHING illegal ~~WRONG~~ DOES HAPPEN./ THE BURDEN OF PROOF LIES UPON THE MAN/ WHO STOPS THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION/ ~~AND NOT UPON THE MAN~~ WHO CALLS THE POLICE/ WHENEVER ANYTHING IS EXPRESSED,/ WHICH HE DOES NOT LIKE OR FEARS./ UPON THIS TOLERANCE OF MINORITY OPINION AND ACTION/ LIES THE HOPE OF PEACE IN THIS WORLD/ AND NOWHERE ELSE.

WE ARE THREATENED TODAY/ AS NEVER BEFORE IN HUMAN HISTORY/ WITH THE UTTER COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION/ BY ORGANIZED WAR/ USING FRIGHTFUL TECHNIQUES AND KILLING NOT SIMPLY SOLDIERS/ BUT old men WOMEN AND CHILDREN. // THERE IS NO GREATER DUTY NOW BEFORE US, THAN TO ESTABLISH PEACE UPON EARTH.

ONLY BY PEACE/ CAN WE ARGUE AND DISCUSS TRUTH,/ AND TRUTH MUST REST UPON TOLERANCE/ AND TOLERANCE MEANS GIVING THE MINORITY/ THE RIGHT TO THINK AND

action is illegal

EVEN TO ACT/UNLESS IT ~~IS PROVEN BEYOND DOUBT THAT THE ACTION IS~~ [redacted]

36-10-137

MOST PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO COME AT PEACE/BY SO OBVIOUS AND LOGICAL A PATH./ THEY WANT TO ENFORCE PEACE BY WAR.// FAILING TO RECOGNIZE THIS INCOMPREHENSIBLE CONTRADICTION IN TERMS// THEY DO NOT CARE TO REMEMBER/ THAT PEACE BEGINS/WITH PERMITTING YOUR NEIGHBOR TO WEAR THE KIND OF CLOTHES/THAT HE PREFERS/ HAVING THE SORT OF BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL/WHICH BY HIS OWN METHODS OF REASONING HE HAS COME TO//AND FURTHER THAN THAT/ BY HAVING HIS OWN OPINION/AS TO HOW INDUSTRY SHOULD BE ORGANIZED/AND HOW THE GOODS AND SERVICES OF THE WORLD/SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED.// UNLESS WE CAN AGREE UPON DIFFERENCE IN FUNDAMENTALS LIKE THIS/ WE CAN HAVE NO PEACE IN THIS WORLD.// AND WITHOUT PEACE IT MAKES LITTLE DIFFERENCE/ WHAT WE THINK/OR WHAT THE MAJORITY WISHES// THE LESSON OF THE 20TH CENTURY FOR THIS WORLD/ IS THAT WITH WAR AND FORCE/NOBODY HAS WON/AND NOBODY CAN WIN.// THE PROBLEM OF PEACE THEREFORE IS VERY LARGELY THE PROBLEM/OF THE TOLERANCE OF MINORITIES.

36-10-132

ALL PROBLEMS OF MNORITIES/ INVOLVE (4) 23 INNER PROBLEMS:
I THE ATTITUDE OF THE GROUP TOWARD ITSELF/ 2.THE ATTITUDE OF THE GROUP TOWARD THE WORLD/3.THE ATTITUDE OF THE WORLD TOWARD THE GROUP/ 4 THE ATTITUDE OF THE WORLD TOWARD ITSELF

// IN its ATTITUDE TOWARD ITSELF/THERE COME BITTER SELF CRITICISM AND SHAME AT BELONGING TO THIS MINORITY// TOWARD THE WORLD, THE GROUP AMY DEVELOPE HATE AND WITHDRAW FROM ALL (POSSIBLE) INTERCOURSE// WHILE THE WORLD IN GENERAL/LEARNS EASILY TO DESPISE/ THE UNFORTUNATE AND UNRECEIVED/AND THUS INCREASES TENSION AND HATE. EASILY BACK OF EVERY SUCH INTERMIXTURE OF PROBLEMS AND REACTIONS WILL BE BUILT UP ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL REACTIONS WHICH ALWAYS TEND TO ~~BASE~~ BUILD DISCRIMINATION/IN WAGE AND INCOME/ON RACE DIFFERENCES! EVERY MINORITY MUST UNDERSTAND THIS/AND REALIZE HOW THEY ARE AFFECTED/AS WELL AS HOW OTHERS SUFFER.

PARTICULARLY IN THE GREAT LABOR MOVEMENT/ IS THIS MANIFEST. FOR YEARS THE EXCLUSION OF NEGROES FROM UNIONS/TURNED THEM INTO SCABS AND STRIKE BREAKERS./REMNANTS OF THIS FEELING STILL PERSIST./ WHERE IT HAS BEEN OVERCOME,/THERE LIES THE REAL BEGINNING OF REFORM IN INDUSTRY FREEDOM IN THOUGHT,/ JUSTICE IN THE COURTS/AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO BE MEN.

~~While the~~ This outer world trying to judge itself/and LEAVE OUT OF ACCOUNT/IMPORTANT PARTS OF HUMANITY/LANDS IN UNREALITY AND CONTRADICTION, [illegible] the U.S. Today.

YOU HAD NO CHANCE TO VOTE ON HIROSHIMA AND WAR IN KOREA. DRAFT, GRAFT, HATE AND FEAR WERE THE TRUMAN POLICY. EISENHOWER HAS NOT YET MADE PEACE IN KOREA. HE REMOVED THE FLEET TO EGG ON FORMOSA TO ATTACK CHINA; HE TRIED TO BUY REVOLT IN EASTERN EUROPE FOR $100,000,000 AND BEAT THE DRUMS FURIOUSLY TO GREET IT. HE BOASTED AND BLUFFED FOR WAR IN INDO-CHINA UNTIL YOUR LETTERS SCARED HIM. HIS ADMINISTRATION IS THE SAME THEFT, FEAR AND WITCH-HUNTING AS TRUMAN'S. WHAT CHOICE LIES HERE?

WHAT IS IT THIS NATION WANTS? PEACE, HONESTY, MANNERS, AND ENOUGH TO LIVE ON DECENTLY. WHY CAN WE NOT VOTE THIS PROGRAM INTO TRUTH? WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT THERE HAS BEEN IN THIS NATION NO PLOT VIOLENTLY TO OVERTHROW OUR GOVERNMENT EXCEPT RECENT DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT. WE KNOW THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT A CONSPIRACY AND COMMUNISTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS. SOME OF THE GREATEST MEN OF OUR ERA HAVE TAUGHT US THIS, LIKE BERNARD SHAW, SIDNEY WEBB AND H.G. WELLS. WE CAN ALWAYS PUNISH REAL CONSPIRACY AND STOP ACTUAL CRIME; BUT WE CANNOT BY YELLING AND SWEARING COMPEL 800 MILLION PEOPLE TO GIVE UP THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY CHOOSE. WHEN THEY WANT CHANGE

25-8-48

95-8-26

THEY'LL TELL US.

WE NEED NOT THINK THAT ASIA BELIEVES AMERICA IS BREAKING ITS HEART WITH LOVE FOR CHINESE. ASIA KNOWS FULL WELL THAT WHAT WE LOVE IS THE KIND OF MONEY HERBERT HOOVER USED TO MAKE ON CHEAP COOLIE LABOR. WE ARE FOOLS TO THINK THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE BELIEVE WE ARE TORN WITH PITY FOR THEM. THEY KNOW WELL THAT WE DON'T CARE A DAMN WHETHER THEY ARE COMMUNISTS OR PRESBYTERIANS IF ONLY WE CAN TREAT THEM AS WE TREAT SOUTH AMERICANS. WHAT WE FEAR IS THAT COMMUNISM MAY SUCCEED IN CONQUERING POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE, WHILE OUR WAY OF LIFE FAILS.

WE HAVE GOT TO LIVE IN A WORLD WHICH DOES NOT LIKE US NOR OUR WAYS. SUCH CO-EXISTENCE CALLS FOR MANNERS. YOU CANNOT CALL A MAN A SKUNK AND INVITE HIM TO DINNER. IT MAKES NO SENSE TO HAVE THE "GREATEST SECRETARY OF STATE" IN EISENHOWER'S NOTORIOUSLY POOR MEMORY POUT LIKE A CHILD AT A WORLD CONFERENCE AND REFUSE EVEN TO LOOK AT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF 500 MILLION HUMAN BEINGS.

WE'VE GOT A JOB TO DO AND IT'S RIGHT HERE AND NOT IN EUROPE NOR ASIA. WE HAVE GOT TO STOP STEALING; NOT SIMPLY AMONG CHILDREN BUT BY BIG BUSINESS. EVERY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, UNTIL BIG BUSINESS NAMED ITS OWN PRESIDENTS, HAS WARNED US OF THE GROWING POWER OF WEALTH IN MONOPOLIZED INDUSTRY. IT TAXES US UNFAIRLY AND CHEATS US IN COMMERCE. SPYING IS NOT A THREAT TO OUR GOVERNMENT BUT LYING AND STEALING ARE. WE SPEND FABULOUS SUMS ON WAR AND PITTANCES ON EDUCATION, OLD AGE SECURITY, HOUSING, SOCIAL MEDICINE, FLOOD CONTROL AND CHEAP TRANSPORTATION. WITH THE COOPERATION OF THEIR OWN LEADERS WE ARE TRYING TO RUIN TRADE UNIONS.

WHAT WE WANT IS PEACE AND HONESTY AND A DECENT LIFE. THIS WE MUST HAVE OR PERISH. WHY DON'T WE CHOOSE TO GET IT AND BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS? BECAUSE OUR ELECTIONS ARE NOT FREE; WE HAVE NO REAL CHOICE.

BUT IS THIS TRUE? ARE AMERICANS THUS REDUCED TO IMPOTENCE? HAVEN'T WE GOT THE GUTS TO INSIST ON THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE BETWEEN TRUEISENHOWERISM AND PROGRESS, EVEN IF WE DARE NOT VOTE FOR IT? CAN WE NOT COMPEL OHIO AND ILLINOIS TO LIST PROGRESSIVE

358-149

45-8-27

PARTY CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT, AND CAN'T WE MAKE OUR APPEAL TO AMERICA EVEN IN THE FACE OF A PROSTITUTE PRESS WHORING AFTER CASH, NOT TRUTH?

Du Bois

Jan. 8, 1953

ROSENBERG RALLY (In the rain)

I KNOW WHAT IT IS/ TO STAND ACCUSED/ BEFORE ~~YOUR~~ MY FELLOW MEN/ OF A CRIME OF WHICH I KNEW/ I WAS ABSOLUTELY INNOCENT/ AND YET ~~PRESSED~~ COERED TO PROVE ~~IT~~ (THIS INNOCENCE)// SUCH PROOF WAS IMPOSSIBLE./ ONE CANNOT PROVE A NEGATIVE./ ONE CANNOT PROVE/ WHAT ONE DID NOT DO./ IT IS DIFFICULT ENOUGH/ TO PROVE A DEED/ YOU KNOW/ YOU DID. AND ADMIT

YET I WAS QUITE AWARE/ THAT THE PROSECUTION/ WAS PERFECTLY ABLE/ AND POSSIBLY WILLING/ TO CONFRONT ME/ WITH SPIES AND LIARS/ READY TO SWEAR ME/ INTO FIVE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT.// IT IS THIS AWFUL ASPECT/ OF OUR CRIMINAL PROCEDURE/ WHICH IS KILLING AMERICAN BELIEF/ IN JUSTICE/ AND DOING MORE HARM/ TO OUR MORAL FIBRE/ THAN A CENTURY OF COMMUNIST/ PROPAGANDA. Could possibly do

WHEN WE SEE WILLIE MCGEE/ HANGED FOR AN ALLEGED CRIME/ WHICH NO SANE PERSON/ CAN POSSIBLY BELIEVE/ HE COMMITTED// WHEN COLLIS ENGLISH/ IS REFUSED MEDICAL ATTENTION/ BY THE STATE/ BECAUSE A POLICE FORCE/ DEMANDS A VICTIM/ FOR ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE/ AND FALSEHOOD// THEN EVERY REAL CRIMINAL SNEERS// WHAT IS THE USE OF HONESTY?// AND

36-10-73

EVERY MURDERER ASKS/ WHAT IS GUILT BUT GETTING CAUGHT./ OR INNOCENCE BUT GOOD LUCK?
THERE ARE GOOD/AND HONEST CITIZENS/WHO THINK/ THAT ACCUSATION/AND CONVICTION BY A COURT/IS/IN A
SENSE/PROOF OF THE TRUTH/OF ANY ACCUSATION// THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES/IN HISTORY/WHEN THIS
WAS OFTEN TRUE// BUT IT WAS NEVER WHOLLY TRUE/AND THIS IS UNFORTUNATELY/ A TIME/WHEN DELIB
ERATE/AND MASS HYSTERIA/MUST MAKE EVERY MAN/REFUSE TO ACCEPT ACCUSATION/ AS GUILT. AND, WHEN
~~FURTHER~~ THERE IS ABSOLUTELY/ NO DIRECT PROOF/ADDUCED/FOR MONSTROUS CHARGES/OF WRONG/ WE MUST
NOT ONLY WITHHOLD OUR BELIEF/BUT MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEE/ THAT UNPROVEN CHARGES/ARE MET//
UNLESS THIS IS DONE/THE MAIN OBJECTS/OF THE COURTS FAIL// THE QUESTION IN EVERY ~~CRIME~~ CASE/IS
NOT WHAT THE CHARGE IS/BUT IS THE VICTIM GUILTY/AND HOW IS THIS PROVEN./ UNLESS IT IS
PROVEN/THE VICTIM ~~IS~~ SHOULD BE/ AS FREE/AS THOUGH NEVER ACCUSED

31-10-74

~~EVERY MURDERER/ASKS,/ WHAT IS GUILT/ BUT GETTING CAUGHT.// AND INNOCENCE/ BUT GOOD LUCK?~~ OR

HERE AT LAST/ IN THE CASE OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG/WE REACH THE ZENITH
OF DELIBERATE INJUSTICE.// WE ARE SET, TO KILL/A MOTHER AND FATHER/AND ORPHAN THEIR
~~BELOVED~~ LITTLE CHILDREN/ BECAUSE WE THINK/ THAT THEY BELIEVE/ IN SOCIAL REMEDIES/ FOR EVI-
DENT ILLS/ WHICH MANY OTHERS/DO NOT BELIEVE. IN THIS THE MAIN CHARGE// WE OFFER WITNESSES IMMUNITY/ FROM PUN-
ISHMENT/ FOR CONFESSED CRIMES/ IF THEY SWEAR TO DEEDS/ WHICH THESE ~~HONEST~~ WORKERS/HAD
CLEARLY NO OPPORTUNITY TO PERFORM,// AND WE USE PERJURERS/TO SAY THE ROSENBERGS/GAVE TO THE
SOVIET UNION/ INFORMATION/WHICH THE ROSENBERGS NEVER POSSESSED// WE PROMISE THEM
PARDON/IF THEY WILL BETRAY PERSONS/ THEY NEVER KNEW/AND GIVE INFORMATION THEY NEVER
HAD.// THIS AWFUL CRIME/WE THREATEN TO COMMIT/IN ORDER TO PROTECT A NATION WHICH
THINKS IT NEEDS/THIS SACRIFICE OF BLOOD, TO SAVE ITS SOUL.// SUCH A SOUL/IS NOT WORTH
SAVING./ SUCH A SACRIFICE/CAN BE DEMANDED ~~ONLY~~/ OF THE CHOSEN OF GOD/ BY THE TRIUMPHANT
HOSTS OF HELL. ONLY

31-10-75

IT IS THE NATION WHICH TODAY SHOULD BE ASKING PARDON OF THE ROSENBERGS // RATHER THAN THAT THEY AND THEIR FRIENDS SHOULD BE BEGGING FOR JUSTICE WHICH IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY CITIZEN // NEVERTHELESS IF HUMBLE PETITION BEFORE ENTRENCHED POWER IS THE PRICE TO BE PAID FOR THE FREEDOM OF THIS UNJUSTLY ACCUSED COUPLE // WE BOW WILLINGLY EAGERLY TO BEG IT AND TO PRAY THAT NEVER AGAIN SHALL INNOCENT AMERICANS BE MADE TO SUFFER AS THE ROSENBERGS SUFFER TODAY

Living in death
Or dead in living shame

South or Conquer
China
Taiwan

Du Bois Jan. 8, 1953

ROSENBERG RALLY

I know what it is to stand accused before my fellowmen of a crime of which I knew I was absolutely innocent and yet coerced to prove this innocence. Such proof was impossible. One cannot prove a negative. One cannot prove what one did not do. It is difficult enough to prove a deed you know and admit you did.

Yet I was quite aware that the prosecution was perfectly able and possibly willing to confront me with spies and liars ready to swear me into five years' imprisonment. It is this awful aspect of our criminal procedure which is killing American belief in Justice and doing more harm to our moral fibre than a century of Communist or any other propaganda could possibly do.

26-11-106

When we see Willie McGee hanged for an alleged crime which no sane personcan possibly believe he committed; when Collis English is refused medical attention by the State because a police force demands a victim for its own negligence and falsehood, then every real criminal sneers, "What is the use of honesty?" And every murderer asks, "What is guilt but getting caught, or innocence but good luck?"

There are good and honest citizens who think that accusation and conviction by a court is in a sense proof of the truth of any accusation. There have been times in history when this was often true, but it was never wholly true, and this is unfortunately a time when deliberate and mass hysteria must make every man refuse to accept accusation as guilt, especially when there is absolutely no direct proof adduced for monstrous charges of wrong. We must not only withhold our belief but make every effort to see that unproven charges are met. Unless this is done the main objects of the courts fail. The question in every case is not what the charge is but IS the victim guilty and how is this proven? Unless it is proven the victim should be as free as though never accused.

Here at last in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg we reach the zenith of deliberate injustice. We are set to kill a mother and father and orphan their little children because we think that they believe in social remedies for evident ills which many others do not believe. This is the main charge. We offer witnesses immunity from punishment for their confessed crimes if they swear to deeds which these workers had clearly no opportunity to perform; and we use perjurers to say the Rosenbergs gave to the Soviet Union information which the Rosenbergs never possessed. We promise them pardon if they will betray persons they never knew and give information they never had.

36-11-102

This awful crime we threaten to commit in order to protect a nation which thinks it needs this sacrifice of blood to save its soul. Such a soul is not worth saving. Such a sacrifice can be demanded of the chosen of God only by the triumphant hosts of Hell.

It is the nation itself which today should be asking pardon of the Rosenbergs rather than they and their friends should be begging for that justice which is the right of every citizen. Nevertheless, if humble petition before entrenched power is the price to be paid for the freedom of this unjustly accused couple, we bow willingly and eagerly to beg it, and to pray that never again shall innocent Americans be made to suffer as the Rosenbergs suffer today!

Du Bois

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN
CITY CENTER, JAN. 16, 1953

OUR FIRST LINE OF DUTY/TODAY/IS SIMPLE.// IT IS TO KNOW AND EVALUATE/THE FACTS/ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION/IN THE WORLD// OR, IN OTHER WORDS/ TO COLLECT / AND DISTRIBUTE/THE NEWS/AND TO KEEP OPEN/A FREE PLATFORM FOR DISCUSSION.// THERE WAS A TIME/WHEN SUCH A PROGRAM WAS AXIOMATIC// BUT WE SHOULD REALIZE/THAT THIS IS NOT TRUE TODAY.// IN THE COLLECTION/OF THE NEWS/ OF THE WORLD// OF OUR OWN CITY AND NATION/AND OF FOREIGN LANDS/ FACTS ARE OFTEN OMMITTED, DISTORTED OR ACTUALLY INVENTED// OPINIONS ARE REGULARLY SUPPRESSED/OR MISREPRESENTED// AND THIS/WE MUST REMEMBER,/IS NOT SIMPLY BY MISTAKE.// IT IS OFTEN DONE/DELIBERATELY ~~AND SCIENTIFICALLY~~.// THE MODERN SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY/ IS BEING STUDIED/AND WIDELY USED/ TODAY/ SO THAT MEN MAY KNOW/HOW TO GUIDE AND DIRECT PUBLIC OPINION/AND EVEN TO DECEIVE THE PUBLIC.// THROUGH ADVERTISING,/ THROUGH POLLS,/ THROUGH THE DIRECTED PRESS/AND PERIODICALS/ MILLIONS OF DOLLARS/ARE BEING SPENT/NOT ONLY/TO ENABLE THE PUBLIC TO KNOW THE TRUTH,/ BUT ALSO/TO SEE HOW FAR THE TRUTH/MAY BE SUPPRESSED/AND IN

100-11-108

-2-

WHAT DIRECTION/AND HOW IT CAN BE GUIDED/FOR THE BENEFIT/OF THOSE/WHO ARE INTERESTED/IN ~~PERVERSION OF THE TRUTH~~ FALSEHOOD/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/ SOCIAL CHANGE/OR POLITICAL ENDS// VEHICLES OF PUBLIC OPINION/BY LONG AND INCREASING USAGE/DELIBERATELY BRIBE THEIR READERS/BY GIVING THEM MUCH MORE/IN PAPER/ PICTURES/AND REPORTS ON TRAVEL/AND RESEARCH/THAN THE READERS PAY FOR,/ IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY EMPHASIZE / POINTS OF VIEW/AND VERSIONS OF THE TRUTH/WHICH ARE FALSE AND HARMFUL.

100-11-109

WE ALL KNOW THIS/TO A CERTAIN EXTENT.//AND YET FEW OF US/ FULLY REALIZE THE SINISTER POSSIBILITIES/OF THIS METHOD OF NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING/AND PERIODICAL MAKING.// IF WE DO NOT REALIZE/WHAT IS TAKING PLACE,/ IF WE SUPINELY OR NEGLIGENTLY SUBMIT/TO THIS KIND OF LITERATURE /AND INFORMATION,/ WE ARE NOT SIMPLY DECEIVED/BUT ARE COURTING DISASTER// WE MAY EASILY BE LED/UNPROTESTING/INTO MISUNDERSTANDING, HATE AND WAR./ WE MAY RUIN CIVILIZATION/BECAUSE WE DID NOT KNOW THE TRUTH/AND WERE WILLING SLAVES.

IF THE WRONG/IN THIS ~~CASE~~ SITUATION/IS CLEAR/AND EASILY UNDERSTOOD// THE REMEDY

ALSO IS SIMPLE// BUT IT IS SO SIMPLE/AS TO SEEM RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT// WE COULD CHANGE/THE FACE OF THE WORLD/ TODAY/WITHOUT DISASTER/ OR UPHEAVAL// IF WE SIMPLY INSISTED/ON THE ACCURACY OF THE NEWS COLLECTED FOR US;// UPON ITS WIDE DISTRIBUTION/OR EASY AVAILABILITY/TO THE MASS OF MEN;//AND IF WE REALIZED/THAT IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS/WE HAVE SIMPLY TO BE WILLING/TO PAY FOR THE COLLECTION OF FACTS/ ~~OR RECEIVING NO~~ To Refuse NEWS SERVICE/AS A GIFT.// ~~OR~~ To TRUST~~ING~~ NO NEWSPAPER OR PERIODICALS/WHOSE BILLS/ARE PAID BY PERSONS/NOT INTERESTED IN THE DISSEMINATION/OF THE TRUTH/BUT much INTERESTED/ IN HAVING READERS/ BELIEVE SOMETHING/THAT OWNERS WANT BELIEVED//AND THE TRUTH OF WHICH/IS UNIMPORTANT/TO THE VERY PERSONS/WHO PRETEND TO COLLECT/AND DISTRIBUTE THE NEWS.

36-11-110

IF HONEST CITIZENS/WHO WANT TO LIVE/IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WORLD/WILL ENCOURAGE/ ~~HONEST AND~~ UNBIASED NEWS SERVICE// WILL INSIST /UPON FREEDOM OF ~~INTERPRE~~TATION/AND DISCUSSION/SO THAT THE NEWS/FROM EVERY SIDE/SHALL BE CLEAR.// THEN THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS/OF HUMAN LIFE/WILL BE SO CLARIFIED/AND SIMPLIFIED/THAT THERE

3½

That is WILL BE LITTLE INSOLUBLE/WHICH WE WILL BE ASKED TO SOLVE.

WE SHOULD/NOT ONLY BEWARE/THE GREEKS BRINGING GIFTS/ WE SHOULD MORE ESPECIALLY BEWARE/THE NEWSPAPERS/BRINGING FEATURE STORIES/ SEDUCTIVE ILLUSTRATIONS AND PAGE ADVERTISEMENTS/ ~~WHICH~~ ALL of WHICH COST $100,000/ BUT ARE SOLD TO SUBSCRIBERS FOR $10,000.// WISE MEN WILL ASK/WHO PAYS THE $90,000/AND WHY./// OR AGAIN, WE LISTEN TODAY/TO STORIES OF PURGES/IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA/AND THE SOVIET UNION.// THERE ARE TWO DIFFERENT VERSIONS:// THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF INNER REVOLT/AND TREASON/WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/RECOMMENDS/AND FOR WHICH CONGRESS/RECENTLY GAVE $100,000,000/ MAY HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL.// OR ON THE CONTRARY/THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA/ MAY SIMPLY BE AFRAID/IT HAS BEEN ATTEMPTED.// WHICH VERSION IS TRUE/I DO NOT KNOW NOR DO YOU.// YET WE OUGHT TO KNOW/AND NEWSPAPERS SHOULD TELL US/ INSTEAD OF WASTING/ SO MUCH TIME AND SPACE/EXPLAINING HOW UNJUST RUSSIANS ARE/OR HOW MANY AMERICANS ARE TRAITORS TO AMERICA.

36-11-111

IF, ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THROUGH CARELESSNESS/OR LONG HABIT/WE RECEIVE OUR NEWS/AS A GIFT/ACCOMPANIED WITH ENTERTAINMENT AND FICTION,// IF WE CALL DISCUSSION THAT WHICH/IS DELIBERATELY ONE-SIDED AND FALSE,// WE HAVE ONLY OURSELVES TO BLAME/ FOR THE CERTAIN DECEPTION/WHICH FOLLOWS.// THIS IS CLEARLY THE SITUATION/ IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.//AND IT HAS GROWN TO SUCH AN EXTENT/THAT UNLESS WE IMMEDIATELY GIVE TIME,/ THOUGHT AND MONEY/TO ITS REMEDY/WE CANNOT AVOID THE TERRIBLE RESULT.

36-11-112

THIS CALLS/FOR OUR SUPPORT OF NEWSPAPERS/ WHICH TELL THE TRUTH;/ WHICH ARE NOT BOUGHT AND READ/BECAUSE OF A REPUTATION LONG OUT-LIVED;/ OR BECAUSE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE/READ THEM;// OR BECAUSE PERSONS/WHOM WE RESPECT/ SEEM TO THINK THAT THESE PAPERS /ARE PROPER COLLECTORS/ VEHICLES AND INTERPRETERS OF NEWS.// WE ARE GETTING TO BE A PEOPLE/SO HAMMERED ~~WITH~~ INTO UNIFORMITY/ BY MASS PRODUCTION / THAT WE DO NOT DARE/NOT DO/WHAT OTHERS DO.// OUR WAY OF LIFE/IS KILLING ALL INITIATIVE./ REFORM ~~IT~~ Reform WILL CALL FOR PERSISTENT/AND ORGANIZED BATTLE/AGAINST COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY/ AND

(TO ACHIEVE CHANGE

CUSTOMARY PRIVILEGE// AND (FOR) ETHICAL STANDARDS// THROUGH POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTION.

36-11-113

IP BUT THIS WIDER ACTIVITY/CAN BEGIN SIMPLY/WITH THE POWERFUL CONSUMER COOPERATION/ WHICH WE NEGLECT/BECAUSE WE DO NOT REALIZE ITS POWER.// ITS POSSIBILITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS/ARE NOT ~~CREATED~~ STUDIED AND CONSEQUENTLY LITTLE KNOWN/AND LESS CONSIDERED./ // NEVERTHELESS/WE ARE AWARE/FROM OUR OWN KNOWLEDGE/AND EXPERIENCE/THAT WE CAN HERE AND NOW/CHOOSE AND SUPPORT/THOSE ORGANS WHICH HONESTLY COLLECT NEWS.// WE CAN BE SURE/OF ~~THE HONESTY~~ THE ACCURACY AND THOROUGHNESS/ OF ~~MANY~~ EXISTENT PAPERS AND MAGAZINES.// IP THEY MAY BE LIMITED/IN THEIR ACCESS/TO SOURCES OF NEWS.// BUT THAT LIMITATION IS LARGELY/BECAUSE YOU DO NOT BUY/THESE PAPERS.// YOU SUCCUMB TO BRIBERY/ RATHER THAN SUPPORT ~~THE~~ BY HONEST TRADE.// THE MEN WHO PUBLISH HONEST NEWSPAPERS /TODAY MUST HAVE SUPPORT/AND OPPORTUNITY.// WE MUST REPUDIATE/THE GHOST-WRITER,/ THE YOUNG MAN WHO,/ NO MATTER HOW GREAT HIS ABILITY/ IS WRITING NOT WHAT HE KNOWS/ AND BELIEVES/ ~~IN~~ BUT WHAT HE IS PAID/TO SAY.// THIS KIND OF WRITER/IS SO UNIVERSALLY IN USE/ THAT OUR BEST CITIZENS/AND OFFICIALS/ DO NOT FOR A MOMENT HESITATE /

TO Buy HIS SERVICES.//IT IS COMMON IN OUR DAY/FOR PEOPLE DELIBERATELY/TO SELL THEIR OPINIONS,/ TO WRITE FOR MAGAZINES/OR IN BOOKS/WHAT THEY ARE PAID FOR/AND DO NOT THEMSELVES BELIEVE.

36-11-114

I CANNOT FORGET/THE EFFECT/WHICH THE LETTER/OF THE EDITOR OF A CURRENT MAGAZINE/ HAD ON M$/TEN YEARS AGO.// I OFFERED HIM/A BALANCED ACCOUNT/WITH FIGURES/ON THE EFFECT OF THE NEW DEAL ON NEGROES.// HE REPLIED:/ "IF YOU WILL TURN THIS/INTO AN ATTACK ON ROOSEVELT,/ WE WILL PUBLISH IT."// (REAL WRITERS ~~REPORTERS~~ CANNOT BE MADE/INTO MACHINES/TO PRODUCE COPY MADE TO ORDER.// THE ATTEMPT TO DO SO/KILLS THE SOURCES/OF LITERATURE AND ART.//WE HAVE GOT TO LOOK/FOR OUR NEWS/TO SOURCES THAT ARE CONDUCTED/BY HONEST AND INTELLIGENT MEN/WHO HAVE OPPORTUNITY/TO KNOW THE FACTS.// THESE FACTS NEED DISCUSSION/AND INTERPRETATION/BY AN EDITORIAL STAFF/AND THIS STAFF/HAS GOT TO BE COMPOSED OF/HONEST EXPERTS/AND NOT MAINLY OF MENTAL GYMNASTS/NOR OR MEN/WHOSE OPINIONS ARE FOR SALE.

IT USED TO BE TRUE/IN A CITY LIKE NEW YORK/THAT STRONG INDIVIDUALS/LIKE HORACE GREELEY/AND CHARLES DANA/EXPRESSED THEIR HONEST CONVICTIONS/FREELY IN THEIR

OWN NEWSPAPERS.//MEN OFTEN DID NOT AGREE/WITH THEIR DICTA/BUT MEN KNEW THE PRONOUNCEMENTS/WERE SINCERE.// THAT DAY IS LONG PAST./ SINCERITY ALONE IS NOT TRUTH/ BUT IT IS/THE BEST DOOR TO IT.// WE HAVE NO (now) GREAT EDITORS.// WE HAVE (many) SO-CALLED EDITORIAL STAFFS/AND THE PERSONS WHO OWN THE NEWSPAPER/OR THE NEWS COLLECTION AGENCY/ TELL THAT STAFF/WHAT TO SAY/AND HOW TO SAY IT.// IN THIS WAY/WE DO NOT GET THE TRUTH/ IN MOST OF OUR NEWSPAPERS.//WE GET PROPAGANDA.

36-11-115

TO OVERTURN THIS SYSTEM/WHAT THE INDIVIDUAL HAS TO DO/IS A SIMPLE THING.// HE MUST BUY/AND ADEQUATELY PAY FOR/ HONEST COLLECTION OF FACTS/AND THEIR INTERPRETATION BY EXPERTS AND SCHOLARS.// THIS IS NOT NEARLY/AS COSTLY AS IT SOUNDS.// HUGE SUMS ARE CERTAINLY SPENT/ON NEWS COLLECTION NOW/BECAUSE MEN ARE NOT TRYING/TO COLLECT FACTS/ AND LIES ARE COSTLY.// IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE,/ IT IS POSSIBLE,/TO HAVE A NEWSPAPER LIKE THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN/WHICH COLLECTS FACTS

AND INTERPRETS THEM/THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF HONEST MEN;//AND ALTHOUGH IN SOME FIELDS/ COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY/AND POLITICAL PRIVILEGE/MAY NARROW ~~THEIR~~ OPPORTUNITY/TO COLLECT THE FACTS,/ A LARGE ENOUGH AREA REMAINS/TO REPORT THE ESSENTIAL SHAPE OF TRUTH.

BUT THIS SERVICE/HAS GOT TO BE PAID FOR.// ITS WORKERS HAVE GOT TO HAVE ~~SOCIAL~~ SECURITY,//AND THEREFORE THE PAPER/MUST HAVE A BROAD CIRCULATION,/ A SUBSCRIPTION LIST/WHICH COVERS THE NATION,/ TO ~~COMPETE~~ VIE WITH THEIR COMPETITORS/WHOSE EXPENSES ARE PAID/ BY DEPARTMENT STORES AND DRUG COMPANIES.// THE SECURING OF SUCH A CIRCULATION/IS NOT A MATTER OF PASTIME,/ AND OF A LITTLE SPARE CHANGE.// IT IS A MATTER OF THE SAME DELIBERATE CARE/AND BUDGETING/ON THE PART OF THE CITIZEN/ THAT HE APPLIES TO HIS GROCERY BILL,/ TO THE REPAIRS ON HIS HOUSE,/ AND THE CLOTHING AND EDUCATION OF HIS CHILDREN.// INDEED, IT COULD EASILY BE SHOWN/THAT THIS MATTER OF COLLECTING THE TRUTH /AND INTERPRETING TODAY/ IS OF MORE IMPORTANCE THAN ANY ONE OF THESE.

One ~~THE~~ OBJECT,/ THEREFORE,/ OF THIS MEETING TONIGHT,/ IS TO IMPRESS IT UPON

36-11-116

THINKING PEOPLE/THAT REFORM IN CIVIC AFFAIRS,/ KNOWLEDGE OF OURSELVES AND NEIGHBORS/ AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE/IN THE WORLD/IS NOT A GREAT AND COMPLICATED MATTER.// IT IS A MATTER OF HONESTY,/ OF CONSUMERS' COOPERATION BETWEEN 50,000,/ 100,000 /OR A MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS/WHO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS/THAT NEWS IS WORTH BUYING,/ THAT THEY HAVE GOT TO KNOW/WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD/AND ARE NOT ONLY WILLING TO PAY FOR IT/BUT ARE REFUSING/TO RECEIVE ANY SUBSTITUTE/FOR THE TRUTH,/EVEN AS A GIFT.//THEY ARE NOT ONLY GOING TO SUBSCRIBE/TO THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN THEMSELVES,/ BUT ARE GOING TO MAKE IT /THEIR BUSINESS/TO INDUCE OTHER PEOPLE TO SUBSCRIBE.//NOT AS A FAVOR OR AN AFTERTHOUGHT,/ BUT AS A STERN AND PRESENT DUTY.// IF NEW YORK CITY,/ LET ALONE THE UNITED STATES,/ CANNOT SUPPORT ONE HONEST NEWSPAPER,/ WE WOULD BEST GIVE UP TRYING/TO BE FREE/OR TRYING TO ACT LIKE INTELLIGENT BEINGS.

THE TIME OF THOSE PERSONS/WHO ARE CONDUCTING THE GUARDIAN/SHOULD NOT BE WASTED/IN SEEING THAT THEIR BILLS ARE PAID /AND THEIR SALARIES KEPT UP-TO-DATE/ OR EVEN/TO PREPARING DELIGHTFUL OCCASIONS/LIKE THIS.// ~~BUT~~ THEY SHOULD PUT THEIR WHOLE TIME ~~AND THOUGHT~~/INTO THE ARDUOUS DUTY/OF COLLECTING

36-11-117

THE FACTS/ OF HUMAN THOUGHT AND ACTION/ THE WORLD OVER./ /AND OF USING SCIENCE AND EXPERIENCE ~~KNOWLEDGE~~ FOR ITS PROPER/ AND COMPLETE INTERPRETATION.// IN ADDITION TO THAT/ THEY CAN PERMIT/ THOSE IN THE WORLD ABOUT THEM/ TO THE WIDEST EXTENT OF AVAILABLE SPACE,/ TO EXPRESS THEIR POINTS OF VIEW/ ON THE FACTS ~~WHICH HAVE BEEN~~ PRESENTED.

36-11-113

THIS ATTITUDE OF DETERMINATION;/ THIS STERN REFUSAL/ TO BE MISLED BY PICTURES,/ FALSE REPUTATIONS AND CUNNING PHRASES/ CAN DO MORE THAN A THOUSAND PEACE RALLIES/ TO MAKE PEACE POSSIBLE.// IT WILL DO MORE/ THAN MILLIONS/ OF CHANCE BITS OF LITERATURE/ TO RESTORE SANITY TO OUR THOUGHT/ AND TO MAKE THIS WORLD AGAIN/ A PLACE WHERE HUMAN BEINGS/ CAN ACT AND THINK AND LIVE/ WITHOUT BEING COVERED BY A PALL OF FEAR/ AND CONTINUALLY DISTRACTED/ BY SHRIEKS OF HYSTERIA.

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN CONSISTS/ OF EIGHT/ CLOSELY PACKED/ INGENIOUSLY SELECTED/ AND THOUGHTFULLY WRITTEN/ PAGES.// IN CONTRAST,/ THE AVERAGE NEW YORK SUNDAY PAPER/ IS A VAST BUNDLE/ OF POUNDS OF ADVERTISEMENTS/ ENMESHED IN A MASS OF PROPAGANDA,/ AND WRAPPED IN A RAG-BAG/ OF ENTERTAINMENT,/ DISTRACTION AND ESCAPISM,/

WRITTEN BY EVERY KIND OF PERSON/ FROM SCIENTIST TO WELL-KNOWN LIAR,// ALL CALCULATED/ TO MAKE UPON THE READER/ THE IMPRESSION/ WHICH THE OWNERS/ OF THIS VAST ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION/ WANT MADE/ ON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/ AND THE WORLD.// WHAT WE ASK/ IS NOT THE SUPPRESSION/ OF SUCH MONSTROCITIES/ AS OUR SUNDAY PAPERS,// NOT TO MENTION/ OUR EVENING TABLOIDS/ AND MORNING PROPHETS;// BUT WE DO PLEAD/ FOR A FEW PAGES OF REAL FACTS/ AND HONESTLY INTERPRETED TRUTH,// TO GIVE AT LEAST/ TO THE INTELLIGENT PART/ OF THE UNITED STATES/ THAT CORRECT PICTURE OF THE WORLD/ WHICH THE GUARDIAN CAN, AND DOES/ AND TO SPREAD THIS/ OVER 12 PAGES EACH WEEK/ INSTEAD OF ONLY 8.//

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THIS IS NOT MUCH TO ASK/ FOR A GREAT PURPOSE/ ~~BUT UNLESS WE STOP AND THINK IT IS HARD TO ANSWER/ AND TO ANSWER CONCLUSIVELY,~~

BUT UNLESS IT IS ANSWERED/ PROMPTLY AND CONCLUSIVELY/ THE COST/ TO THIS NATION/ WILL BE FAR HIGHER/ THAN SOME OF US/ NOW THINK.

Feb 1953 Calif

Du Bois Jan. 1953

KENYA

IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA, DIRECTLY SOUTH OF ETHIOPIA AND EAST OF THE GREAT CONGO VALLEY LIES THE BRITISH CROWN COLONY AND PROTECTORATE OF KENYA, A LITTLE LARGER THAN FRANCE, WITH 40,000 EUROPEANS, 100,000 EAST INDIANS AND 5,000,000 AFRICANS. THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF KENYA IS PECULIAR. IT IS AN ISLAND OF MOUNTAIN AND HIGH PLATEAU, SET IN THE MIDST OF A VAST DESERT. THE DESERT CUTS KENYA OFF FROM ETHIOPIA AND THE SUDAN TO THE NORTH, THE INDIAN OCEAN TO THE EAST AND TANGANYIKA TO THE SOUTH. THROUGH THE WEST RUN THE GREAT RIFT VALLEYS, SLOPING DOWN TO SWAMPS NEAR LAKE VICTORIA.

THROUGH UPHEAVAL OF EATH'S STRATA WEST OF KENYA MOUNTAIN AND CUTTING ITS FOOTHILLS OFF FROM THE SUDAN AND FROM THE GREAT VALLEY OF THE CONGO OCCURS THE ONE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURE OF OUR WORLD THAT COULD BE SEEN FROM THE MOON WERE THERE EYES THERE TO SEE. AND THAT IS THE GREAT RIFT, WHICH IS A VAST SERIES OF CRACKS IN THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH, STRETCHING FOR THE DEAD SEA THROUGH THE RED SEA AND DOWN

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TO THE FISSURES WHERE LURK THE DEEPEST LAKES OF THE WORLD WHICH FEED THE HISTORIC NILE AND SOUTHWARD TO THE GREAT ZAMBESI RIVER. FROM THIS FANTASTIC REALM BEFORE THE DESERT CAME THE ANCIENT BLACK MEN WHO FOR MANY THOUSAND YEARS ROLLED DOWN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE, AND MEETING OTHER HUMAN STREAMS WHICH FLOWED FROM THE HEIGHTS OF ETHIOPIA AND ARABIA, FORMED THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE WITH ITS TEN THOUSAND YEARS OF RECORDED HISTORY. AS THE SAHARA DESERT CLOSED IN UPON THIS AREA, IT CUT OFF EGYPT FROM THE SOUTH, AND ISOLATED THE PLATEAU OF KENYA.

TO THE NORTH ARABIA AND BLACK WEST AFRICA UNITED IN THE NEW KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE SUDAN, WHILE STREAMS OF DISPLACED TRIBES FLOATED SOUTH, DRIVING THEIR HERDS BEFORE THEM. KINGDOMS AND CULTURES ROSE AND FELL: THE MELLESTINE AND THE SONGHAY: HAUSSA AND BORNU-KANEM IN THE WEST; THE KITWARA AND MVATO YAMVO, THE BUSHONGO AND THE ZENG IN THE SOUTH; ZYMBABWE AND THE BANTU NATIONS IN THE FAR SOUTH ABOVE THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

IF WE KNEW THE HISTORY OF THE DESERT WE MIGHT TRACE AND DISTINGUISH

THESE VARIOUS NATIONS; BUT NOW WE CAN ONLY SKETCH THE PAST.

WE FIND EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE SHUT U. IN ITS MOUNTAINS. BEYOND THE DESERT TOWARD THE INTERIOR WAS THE HIGHLY DEVELOPED KINGDOM OF UGANDA, WHICH ATTRACTED THE MOHAMMEDANS FROM THE NORTH, THE FRENCH CATHOLICS FROM THE WEST, AND THE ENGLISH PROTESTANTS FROM THE EAST. GIBBON TELLS US THAT THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS CONCEIVED OF AN EMPIRE WITH UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP AND THAT HE SUCCEEDED SO WELL THAT AT THE HEIGHT OF THE POWER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, ITS SUBJECTS WERE HAPPIER AND MORE PROSPEROUS THAN IN ANY EARLIER SOCIETY. THERE WAS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF HIS DAY NO RACE FEELING, AND THE HIGHEST POSTS WERE OPEN TO THE SONS OF MEN QUITE AS BACKWARD AS ANY AFRICAN TODAY.

IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE THE CRUSADES INCREASED RESPECT FOR ASIATICS AND AFRICANS SO THAT OTHELLO COULD BE A GREAT HERO DESPITE HIS COLOR, AND MARRY A LADY OF HIGH SOCIAL STATUS, AND SALADIN COULD ASPIRE TO THE HAND OF AN ENGLISH PRINCESS.

EVEN DURING THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, WHICH ENGLAND MORE THAN ANY OTHER

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COUNTRY PROMOTED, THERE WAS LESS COLOR PREJUDICE IN ENGLAND THAN LATER AFTER THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE RISE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. AND THIS NEW RACE PREJUDICE WAS BORN IN EAST AFRICA. THE ARABS APPEARED FIRST ON THE EAST AFRICAN COAST, AND TOGETHER WITH NEGROES FROM THE CONGO, PROMOTED THE PROFITABLE INDIAN TRADE. THEN CAME THE PORTUGESE, AND FINALLY OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS BEGAN TO PRESS IN, UNTIL IN THE 19TH CENTURY THE BRITISH APPEARED.

THE COMING OF THE BRITISH MARKED THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ORIENTATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN THE WORLD WHICH WE KNOW AS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. THIS SUPERCEDED THE COLONIAL ENTERPRISE OVERSEAS WITH THE SLAVE TRADE WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES AND LASTED UNTIL THE LATE 19th.

HERE BLACK LABOR WAS TRANSPORTED TO AMERICA, AND SUGAR, COTTON, AND OTHER COMMODITIES RAISED FOR IMPORT TO EUROPE. BUT INCREASING SLAVE REVOLTS, DIFFICULTIES OF SECURING A SUFFICIENT SUPPLY OF SLAVES, TOGETHER WITH COMPETITION FROM SOUTH AMERICA, REDUCED THE PROFIT FROM COLONIAL ENTERPRISE, WHILE POLITICAL CONTROL

IN ASIA POINTED TO NEW METHODS OF PROFIT WITHOUT THE COST OF A SLAVE TRADE. A TRANSFER OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT FROM AMERICAN PLANTATIONS BEGAN, WHICH GAVE WORLD PHILANTHROPY A CHANCE TO ATTACK THE SLAVE TRADE. EXPLORERS, AND MISSIONARIES BEGAN TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF INVESTORS TO POLITICAL CONTROL OF PORTIONS OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE USE OF COLORED LABOR THERE TO RAISE GOODS IN WORLD DEMAND.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION PREPARED EUROPE FOR MANUFACTURE AND TRADE AFTER THE NAPOLEONIC WARS, AND THE PARTITION OF AFRICA AFTER 1875 OPENED THAT CONTINENT TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. THE FIRST OBJECT OF BOTH MISSIONARIES AND INVESTORS WAS TO SUPPRESS THE SLAVE TRADE WHICH MOHAMMED ALI HAD PLANTED IN THE SUDAN IN 1820 AND WHICH WAS DEVASTATING EAST AFRICA IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY. THE BRITISH THEREFORE APPEARED IN EAST AFRICA AT FIRST TO SUPPRESS THIS SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA TO THE EAST AND ALSO TO SOUTH AMERICA AFTER ITS SUPPRESSION TO NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES. BECAUSE OF ITS PHYSIOGRAPHY THE SLAVE TRADE DID NOT TOUCH KENYA, BUT KENYA WAS THE PATHWAY TO VALUABLE AND STRATEGIC PARTS OF AFRICA WHICH THE NEW INVESTORS

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IN TROPICAL GOODS MUST HAVE.

THE NILE VALLEY THEREFORE BECAME THE COVETED PRIZE OF EGYPT, BRITAIN AND FRANCE, AND UP THAT VALLEY LAY THE WELL-ORGANIZED NEGRO KINGDOM OF UGANDA. THE BRITISH PROTESTANTS, FRENCH CATHOLICS AND ARABIAN MOHAMMEDANS STAGED THERE A CIVIL WAR, OSTENSIBLY FOR THE SOULS OF THE UGANDA BLACKS BUT REALLY FOR CONTROL OF THE LAND AND LABOR OF EAST AFRICA WHICH LAY ON THE ROAD WHICH CECIL RHODES WAS OPENING FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO. I DO NOT MEAN THAT THE MISSIONARIES WERE CONSCIOUSLY SEIZING THIS LAND BY FORCE, BUT THE FREEBOOTERS LIKE LUGARD USED the MISSIONARY ZEAL OF MEN LIKE LIVINGSTONE TO CLOAK THEIR DESIGN TO ESTABLISH A BRITISH EAST AFRICA. TO REACH UGANDA THE BRITISH BEGAN TO PENETRATE KENYA.

THE FIRST EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES REACHED KENYA IN 1848 AND THE FIRST EXPLORER IN 1883. IN 1888 A CHARTER WAS GRANTED TO THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, AND TWO YEARS LATER LUGARD REACHED UGANDA AND THE FIGHT FOR UGANDA BEGAN. IN 1895 A BRITISH PROTECTORATE WAS PROCLAIMED OVER EAST AFRICA, AND A RAILWAY WAS

BETWEENTHE HIGHLANDS AND THE COAST WAS FINISHED. IN 1903 BRITAIN GAVE THE FIRST LAND TO EUROPEAN SETTLERS. THIS AROSE WHEN AT THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CENTURY THE BRITISH GOVERNOR OF KENYA, SIR CHARLES ELIOT, PROPOSED THE POLICY OF INTRODUCING EUROPEAN LANDHOLDERS INTO KENYA AS AN ARISTOCRACY. THE NEXT TWO GOVERNORS DID LITTLE TO IMPLEMENT THIS, BUT THE FOURTH GOVERNOR, BETWEEN 1909-10 EMPHASIZED THE IDEA, AND THE PLAN WAS FINALLY FIRMLY ESTABLISHED AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, UNDER SIR EDWARD NORTHEY. IT WAS ASSUMED THAT THIS LAND WAS UNOCCUPIED, BECAUSE THE TRIBES OF HERDSMEN WANDERED OVER LARGE AREAS AND HAD NO CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION IN LARGE CENTERS.

ALIENATION OF THE LAND PROCEEDED RAPIDLY AND WITH LITTLE KNOWLEDGE OR PLAN. THE IDEA SIMPLY WAS TO PLACE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SUPREMACY OF WHITE PEOPLE ON A FOUNDATION OF PERMANENT SUBORDINATION OF THE NATIVES. NATURALLY THIS RAISED DIFFICULTIES, REVOLTS, AND UNREST.

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BETWEEN 1900 AND THE PRESENT, THE ENGLISH, WITH NO REGARD FOR NATIVE LAND RIGHTS, HAVE SEIZED 16,000 SQUARE MILES OF THE MOST FERTILE MOUNTAINSIDE AND HIGHLAND REGIONS, AND GIVEN AWAY FOR NOTHING OR AT NOMINAL PRICES TO ENGLISH NOBLEMEN, WAR VETERANS AND MIDDLE CLASS WORKERS FROM ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA. THE NATIVES HAVE BEEN CROWDED INTO THE LEAST FERTILE LANDS AND SWAMPS WHILE THE WHITES HAVE VAST ESTATES WHICH THEY CAN ONLY CULTIVATE BY FORCED NATIVE LABOR.

THIS POLICY WAS, OF COURSE, BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT PEOPLES IN THE TROPICS WERE ESSENTIALLY AND PERMANENTLY INFERIOR TO EUROPEANS AND WERE INCAPABLE OF USING FREE INSTITUTIONS. JUST AS PHYSICAL SCIENTISTS TODAY ARE WILLING TOOLS OF INDUSTRIAL SCHEMES TO EXTERMINATE MANKIND, SO BIOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS OF YESTERDAY EAGERLY PROVED THE INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN TO A FAVORED FEW.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND CECIL RHODES, WITH THE COMPANIES THEY FORMED IN SOUTH AFRICA AND BORNEO, WERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM. GRANTS OF LAND WERE THEREFORE MADE TO EUROPEANS IN ALL BRITISH DEPENDENCIES IN EAST AFRICA

BUT THE LARGEST AND MOST NUMEROUS WERE MADE IN KENYA.

WHAT NOW HAPPENED TO KENYA? TODAY ONE SEES IN KENYA BEARDED BOERS FROM SOUTH AFRICA, MANY OF WHOM DO NOT SPEAK ENGLISH; SCOTCH FARMERS, SWEDES, GERMANS, DANES, AUSTRALIANS AND ENGLISH ARISTOCRATS. AMONG THE ENGLISH ARE EX-OFFICERS, EX-GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND YOUNG GENTLEMEN JUST OUT OF SCHOOL. TO THESE HAVE BEEN ADDED MECHANICS, SHOP KEEPERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS.

SINCE 1914 LAND HAS BEEN ALIENATED UNDER THE SOLDIERS' SETTLEMENT SCHEME. OFFICERS AND SOME PRIVATES GOT FREE GRANTS OF 160 TO 300 ACRES, AND COULD LEASE AS MUCH AS 5000 ACRES. ALL THESE COULD BE TURNED INTO FREEHOLDS WITHIN 10 YEARS WITHOUT INTEREST, AT FROM $1 TO $10 AN ACRE. EVERYTHING POSSIBLE WAS DONE FOR THESE MEN: THEIR MACHINERY WAS IMPORTED FREE OF DUTY; THEIR PRODUCE CARRIED AT LESS THAN COST ON THE STATE RAILWAY.

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THE RESULT HAS BEEN ASTONISHING. IF TODAY SOMEONE LOOKS OVER KENYA FROM THE AIR THEY FIND MANY DISTRICTS WHERE NATIVES ARE CROWDED 283 TO THE SQUARE

MILE, AND OTHER AREAS WHERE THE CROWDING RISES TO 500 OR EVEN 1000 PER SQUARE MILE. HOWEVER, IN PASSING OVER THE EUROPEAN AREAS, IN VAST CONTRAST ONE SEES HUGE ESTATES AND ELABORATE HOMES. IN ALL THE VAST WHITE DOMAIN THERE ARE ONLY 2000 LANDHOLDERS. MUCH OF THIS GOOD LAND IS HELD BY WHITES BUT NOT USED,, AND YET AFRICANS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO USE IT. IT IS BEING KEPT FOR EUROPEANS WHO HAVE NOT YET EVEN COME TO AFRICA!

THERE WAS A STEADY STREAM OF PEOPLE ARRIVING FROM ENGLAND, FIXING UPON THE AREAS THEY WISHED TO POSSESS, AND OPENING UP NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE LAND OFFICE AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE. THESE IMMIGRANTS WERE PEOPLE WHO DID NOT CULTIVATE THE SOIL BUT WHO EXPECTED THE NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY TO USE THE PLOW AND HOE WHILE THEY WERE MERE SUPERVISORS AND OFTEN CONTINUED TO LIVE IN ENGLAND.

MEANTIME, THE WHITE SETTLERS OF KENYA HAVE ONE OF THE MOST GLORIOUS REGIONS OF AFRICA RESERVED FOR THEIR EXCLUSIVE USE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS HELPED THEM TO GET NATIVE LABOR AND TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN. THEY HAVE HAD THE HELP OF LOANS FOR [illegible] THOUSAND

FOR DISTRESSED FARMERS, AND THE LAND BANK, ALTHOUGH NO CREDIT SYSTEM HAS BEEN WORKED OUT TO HELP THE AFRICAN FARMERS. THE BRITISH TAXPAYERS HAVE MADE A PRESENT TO THE COUNTRY OF THE UGANDA RAILWAY AS A FREE GIFT, ALTHOUGH IT COST $45 MILLION WITH INTEREST AND SINKING FUND. AND NEARLY $15 MILLION DOLLARS WERE AFTERWARD GIVEN TO BALANCE THE PROTECTORATE'S BUDGETS. UNTIL QUITE LATELY THE WHITES WERE ALSO LET OFF VERY LIGHTLY IN TAXATION AND EVEN THEIR PRESENT INCOME TAX IS VERY LIGHT AND GENEROUS IN ALLOWANCES.

THERE IS BIG GAME SHOOTING. THERE ARE HORSES FOR RACING, AND POLO. SOME OF THE COLONISTS ARE VERY RICH; THE BULK OF THE EUROPEANS ARE SHOPKEEPERS, SHOP HANDS, ARTISANS AND WORKING FARMERS. AS JOHN BRIGHT ONCE SAID, "TOO LONG HAS THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM BEEN REGARDED AS A GIGANTIC STOREHOUSE OF OUTDOOR RELIEF FOR THE ARISTOCRACY." THE FIRST CONSIDERATION IN THE CHOICE OF GOVERNORS IN EAST AFRICA IS A MAN'S ABILITY TO SATISFY AND SERVE FINANCIAL INTERESTS IN LONDON AND AMONG THE WHITES IN KENYA.

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THE INCREASE IN LAND VALUES IN SOME CASES HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARY: ONE FARM OF 640 ACRES WAS SOLD IN 1903 FOR $340 AND IN 1905 FOR $3200. THE LAST BUYER MADE IMPROVEMENTS WORTH $25,000, AND SOLD THE WHOLE THING IN 1913 FOR $87,500. IMMENSE ESTATES ARE BEING KEPT UNDEVELOPED FOR FUTURE LAND SPECULATION, AND OTHER PARTS ARE NOT BEING GIVEN AWAY FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE WHO MAY POSSIBLY BE PERSUADED IF NOT BRIBED TO COME TO KENYA.

WHAT, MEANTIME HAS HAPPENED TO THE NATIVES? IT IS HARD TO SAY ACCURATELY, BECAUSE THEY HAVE DIFFICULTY IN STATING THEIR CASE OR IN PROVIDING FIGURES FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES. SOME FACTS ARE NOTORIOUS. THE MASAI, FOR INSTANCE, ARE AMONG THE FINEST SPECIMENS OF MANKIND. THEY HAVE FOR AGES BEEN HERDSMEN, WITH LARGE NUMBERS OF CATTLE AND SHEEP, WANDERING ABOUT THE HEADWATERS OF THE NILE AND AROUND THE GREAT LAKES. THE ENGLISH HAVE PROGRESSIVELY TAKEN THEIR LANDS AND MADE LYING PROMISES. ONE OF THEIR FIRST EXPLOITS WAS TO BUILD THE NEW RAILWAY FROM UGANDA TO THE SEA THROUGH THE VERY CENTER OF THE MASAI GRAZING LANDS, LEAVING THE TRIBE WITH

LAND CUT INTO TWO PARTS. THE ENGLISH PROMISED TO CONNECT THESE TWO PARTS ' INVIOLATE CORRIDOR, AND GAVE THEIR SOLEMN WORD THAT THIS LAND SHOULD BELONG TO TRIBE "AS LONG AS THE MASAI TRIBE SHOULD LIVE". IN LESS THAN FIVE YEARS THIS PROMISE WAS BROKEN, UNTIL TODAY THE MASAI CONTROL LESS THAN A TENTH OF THE LANDS THEY FORMERLY OCCUPIED. TO BE SURE, IT WOULD NOT BE EXPECTED THAT GRAZING LANDS SHOULD PERPETUALLY EXCLUDE AGRICULTURE AND SETTLED COMMUNITY LIFE, BUT THIS CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT HINDERS BY REFUSING TO LET THE AFRICANS CULTIVATE THE BEST LAND EVEN IF IT IS IDLE, UNLESS THE BLACK MAN WORKS AS A HIRED LABORER.

THUS AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, NOT ONLY WERE THE MASAI CROWDED INTO POOR LAND, BUT 45,000 OF THEM WITH 2,000,000 CATTLE AND SHEEP WERE CONFINED TO AN AREA WITHOUT WATER. LANDS FORMERLY THEIRS AND NOW WORTH TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO ENGLISHMEN.

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SO TOO, THE KIKUYU, WHO ARE NOW THE SPEARHEAD OF REVOLT, HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF MOST OF THEIR FORMER TERRITORIES; AND NOW WHEN THEY ARE CHANGING THEIR

MODE OF LIFE AND SETTLING DOWN TO AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, THEY ARE ENCOUNTERING EVERY KIND OF OPPOSITION: THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO RAISE COFFEE WHICH IS THE BEST CASH CROP FOR KENYA; THEY CANNOT RENT OR LEASE THE BEST LAND EVEN IF IT IS IDLE; THEIR TRADE UNIONS ARE FROWNED UPON IF NOT SUPPRESSED, AND IF BY CHANCE ANY ONE OF THEIR NUMBER GETS A MODERN EDUCATION, HE IS TREATED LIKE A SAVAGE TRIBESMAN. WHEN I WAS IN ENGLAND IN 1945 I MET JON KENYATTA, A GRADUATE OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS. HE WAS AN INTELLIGENT MAN. MY ONLY CRITICISM OF HIM WAS THAT HE WAS FIGHTING THE BATTLES OF HIS NATIVE KENYA IN ENGLAND AND NOT IN AFRICA. TODAY HE IS IN JAIL IN KENYA BECAUSE HE WENT HOME TO FIGHT.

OTHER KENYA TRIBES HAVE SUFFERED AS MUCH AS THE MASAI AND THE KIKUYU, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE MASS OF THEM ARE CROWDED ON INADEQUATE RESERVES AND AT LEAST 100,000 KENYA NATIVES ARE QUITE LANDLESS.

THE WHITE SETTLERS OF KENYA HAVE DEVELOPED A PHILOSOPHY OF RACE AND LIFE WHICH FOLLOWS THAT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RHODESIAS AND IS ONE WITH THAT OF OUR

OWN SOUTHERN STATES BEFORE THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND UP UNTIL THE 20TH CENTU THESE WHITE FOLK WANT A FULL SUPPLY OF CHEAP AND SUBSERVIENT LABOR. THIS LABOR, HOWEVER, MUST NOT HAVE THE STATUS, SOCIAL SERVICES OR POLITICAL RIGHTS OF LABORERS IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD, AND MORE THAN THAT, THEY MUST BE COMPELLED BY LAW TO WORK AT THE WAGE OFFERED. THE SETTLERS SAY THAT SINCE THE HOME GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGED THEM TO COME TO AFRICA, IT MUST SUPPLY THEM LABOR. THE BEST WAY TO DO THIS IS TO KEEP THE BLACKS FROM OWNING LAND ON WHICH THEY CAN SUPPORT THEMSELVES. LORD DELAMERE, ONCE THE GREATEST BRITISH LANDHOLDER, WHO BOUGHT 100,000 ACRES FOR 2¢ AN ACRE, SAID THAT IF "EVERY NATIVE WAS TO BE A LAND-HOLDER OF A SUFFICIENT AREA TO ESTABLISH HIM-SELF, THEN THE QUESTION OF OBTAINING A SATISFACTORY LABOR SUPPLY WOULD NEVER BE SETTLED."

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NOT ONLY, THEN, WAS THE BEST LAND IN THE COLONY RESERVED FOR WHITES EXCLUSIVELY, BUT THE REMAINING LAND PARTLY RESERVED FOR NATIVE USE WAS REDUCED SO AS TO PREVENT THEM FROM SELF-SUPPORT. THEN TAXATION WAS INTRODUCED TO COMPEL THE NATIVES

TO WORK IN ORDER TO HAVE MONEY TO PAY. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS HAD POWERS TO FORCE THE AFRICANS TO WORK. A SYSTEM OF REGISTRATION OF NATIVES WAS INTRODUCED IN ORDER TO ALLOW CONTRACTS WITH PENAL SANCTION TO BE ENFORCED. EVEN BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH JOINED IN THE DEMAND FOR COMPULSORY LABOR IN KENYA.

GRADUALLY THE GOVERNMENT IN KENYA HAS ACQUIRED ALMOST COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE LABOR SUPPLY. NATIVES CANNOT RENT LAND FROM WHITE OWNERS NOR HAVE SQUATTERS ANY RIGHTS BECAUSE OF LENGTH OF TENURE. EVEN IN THE NATIVE RESERVES, THE NATIVES ARE TENANTS AT WILL OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CAN BE EVICTED AT ANY TIME. LAND CAN ONLY BE LEASED IF THE LEASEHOLDER CONTRACTS TO WORK FOR WAGES AT LEAST SIX MONTHS OF THE YEAR FOR THE OWNER!

THE ORDINARY FARM LABORER IN KENYA EARNS $2.50 A MONTH OR $25 A YEAR. OUT OF THIS HE MUST PAY AT LEAST $3 A YEAR HUT TAX, A TAX TO HIS TRIBAL COUNCIL, AND IN ADDITION 24 DAYS OF COMPULSORY, UNPAID LABOR ON PUBLIC WORKS. IN 1931 THE HUT TAX ALONE BROUGHT IN 3 MILLION DOLLARS, AND AFRICANS PAID 2/3 OF THE WHOLE TAX

BURDEN ON THE COLONY. AFTER THE LAST WAR FROM ½ TO 3/4 OF THE NATIVE MALES WERE WAGE LABORERS OR IN MILITARY SERVICE AND SPENT 1/4 OF HIS INCOME IN TAXES. INDIRECT TAXATION FALLS ON LUXURIES, BUT CHIEFLY ON NECESSITIES LIKE FLOUR AND CLOTHING.

IN RETURN FOR THIS TAXATION THE NATIVE RECEIVES FEW SOCIAL SERVICES. FROM 1929 TO 1936, THE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE REPORTED, NATIVE FARMERS HAD RECEIVED NO SERVICES FROM HIS DEPARTMENT. THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PERMIT NATIVES TO PLANT TEA OR COFFEE, WHICH ARE PROFITABLE CASH CROPS. THERE ARE NO SOCIAL SERVICES FOR NEGROES LIKE WORKINGMENS' COMPENSATION, AND WORKERS ARE ENCOURAGED TO SEEK LABOR FAR FROM THEIR HOMES, WHICH INCREASES FAMILY DISINTEGRATION AND HAS RESULTED IN THE DECLINE OF NATIVE POPULATION. THE GOVERNMENT SPENDS $75 A YEAR PER PUPIL TO EDUCATE 2000 WHITE CHILDREN, AND $2.50 A HEAD FOR 100,000 NEGRO CHILDREN. ALL THE WHITE CHILDREN ARE IN SCHOOL AND PERHAPS A TENTH OF THE NEGROES. MOST OF THE FUNDS FOR NEGROES GO TO MISSION SCHOOLS TO TRAIN WORKERS FOR INDUSTRY. SECONDARY

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AND HIGHER EDUCATION IS OFFERED A FEW DOZEN NATIVES AT MAKERERE COLLEGE IN TANGANYIKA.

ONE EXCUSE FOR GOVERNING AFRICAN COLONIES USED TO BE THE ABOLITION OF NATIVE WARS. BUT THE FIRST WORLD WAR ALONE DESTROYED MORE NATIVES OF KENYA THAN A GENERATION OF INTER-TRIBAL WARS. FROM KENYA THERE CAME 150,000 PORTERS AND 14,000 ARMED SOLDIERS TO SERVE GERMAN EAST AFRICA. IN THIS WAR 46,000 BLACK KENYANS DIED, BUT ONLY 5000 OF THESE WERE EVEN IDENTIFIED, LEAVING 41,000 WITH UNCLAIMED BALANCES OF $775,000 DUE THEIR FAMILIES. MOST OF THIS IS STILL DUE. DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR BLACK TROOPS FROM KENYA FOUGHT IN ETHIOPIA AND IN ASIA, BUT EXACT FIGURES ARE MISSING.

FOR A LONG TIME THE SITUATION IN KENYA AROUSED LITTLE NOTICE IN BRITAIN. IN 1898 AN ORDER IN COUNCIL AUTHORIZED THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT TO ACQUIRE LAND BUT NOT TO SELL IT. IN 1901 THE RIGHT TO SELL THE LAND WAS GRANTED, AND SOON EUROPEANS GOT 7,500 SQUARE MILES IN FREEHOLD OR ON LONG LEASE. AFRICANS GOT NO LAND AT ALL

BUT BECAME TENANTS-AT-WILL ON RESERVATIONS.

FOR THE NEXT 20 YEARS THE IDEA BEHIND WHITE SETTLEMENT WAS TO FOUND A BRITISH COLONY ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN OR AUSTRALIAN PATTERN, WHICH WOULD GROW UNTIL IT BECAME LARGE AND STRONG ENOUGH TO WIN SELF-GOVERNMENT AS DOMINIONS.

THE RESULTANT UNREST IN KENYA AROUSED THE GOVERNMENT IN LONDON TO MAKE VARIOUS EFFORTS TO REMEDY THE SITUATION. IN 1921 THE MAN WHO IS NOW KNOWN AS LORD HALIFAX, SUBMITTED PROPOSALS TO MR. CHURCHILL, ASSISTANT COLONIAL SECRETARY, AND THEY WERE CONSIDERED BY A COMMITTEE ON WHICH FOUR LEADING INDIAN MEN SAT.

THIS LEADS US TO PAUSE AND CONSIDER THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN KENYA. THE BRITISH SEEM TO REGARD THE INDIANS AS INTRUDERS AGAINST WHOM THE NATIVES MUST BE PROTECTED. NEXT TO THE BLACKS, HOWEVER, THE INDIANS HAVE BEEN LONGEST IN KENYA. INDIAN COMMERCE WITH AFRICA STEMS FROM THE 10TH CENTURY, AND ONCE EAST AFRICA WAS CALLED INDIA'S "AMERICA". COMMERCE BETWEEN EAST AFRICA AND INDIA LONG PREDATED EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL TIES, AND INDIANS ARE NOW THE CHIEF LOCAL MERCHANTS. THE

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BRITISH TRIED AT FIRST TO SET OVER THE RIGHTS OF NATIVES AGAINST THE DEMANDS OF THE INDIAN IMMIGRANTS. WHILE, THEN, THE COMMISSION UNDER LORD HALIFAX CONSULTED THE LEADING INDIANS OF KENYA, THE AGREEMENT REACHED IN 1921 WAS NEVER IMPLEMENTED, BUT TWO YEARS LATER, IN 1923, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE ISSUED FOR THE GOVERNMENT A REPORT WHICH WAS FINE IN ITS PROMISES AND CONSEQUENTLY BITTERLY OPPOSED BY THE WHITE PEOPLE OF KENYA. HE SAID, "PRIMARILY KENYA IS AN AFRICAN TERRITORY, AND HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT THINKS IT NECESSARY DEFINITELY TO RECORD THEIR CONSIDERED OPINION THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE AFRICAN NATIVES MUST BE PARAMOUNT, AND THAT IF AND WHEN THOSE INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF THE IMMIGRANT TRADERS SHOULD CONFLICT, THE FORMER SHOULD PREVAIL."

THE PUBLICATION OF THIS AGREEMENT IN 1923 WAS FOLLOWED BY A VIOLENT POLITICAL STORM IN KENYA. THE WHITE COLONY DETERMINED ON RESISTANCE, AND THREATENED ARMED REBELLION AND WERE THOROUGHLY ORGANIZED. THEY ISSUED A PAMPHLET IN 1924 WHICH IS AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT. IT IS ENTITLED "THE THERMOPYLAE OF AFRICA,

KENYA COLONY". IT DEMANDS THAT EUROPE, THE AMERICAS, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND BE SURRENDERED TO THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITE RACE, AND ASIA TO THE YELLOW RACE. IT DECLARES THAT "WHITE SUPREMACY HAS COME TO BE LOOKED UPON AS PART OF THE WORLD; BUT THIS HOLD OVER ASIA IS TOO THIN TO ENDURE; THEREFOR..." IT DECLARES:

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH TERRITORIES IN AFRICA OPENS UP A VISTA OF COMMERCIAL EXPANSION SO ENDLESS THAT CALCULATED DESCRIPTION IS DIFFICULT. THE BARE FACTS ARE THAT THE AREA OF THESE TERRITORIES IS 4,000,000 SQUARE MILES... THAT THE AVERAGE FERTILITY AND MINERAL WEALTH OF THEIR SOIL ARE AT LEAST EQUAL TO THOSE OF ANY OTHER GREAT LAND MASS; THAT THEY HOLD AN INTELLIGENT FAST-BREEDING NATIVE POPULATION OF ABOUT 60 MILLIONS, WAITING FOR GUIDANCE TO ENGAGE IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE RAW MATERIALS OF INDUSTRY AND FOOD STUFFS; AND THAT WHITE SETTLEMENT COOPERATING WITH THE NATIVE POPULATIONS DOES STIMULATE PRODUCTION MANY HUNDREDS OF TIMES, AND DOES BRING ABOUT A DEMAND FOR MANUFACTURED ARTICLES OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO ITS NUMERICAL STRENGTH..."

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"IT HAS BEEN SHOWN THAT THE BLACK RACE POSSESSES IMITATIVE BUT LACKS CONSTRUCTIVE POWERS, [illegible] ...THE CONTROLLING POWERS MAY, THEREFORE, AIM AT ADVANCING THE BLACK RACE AS FAR ALONG THE ROAD OF PROGRESS AS ITS CAPACITY ALLOWS, WITHOUT MISGIVINGS THAT THE SUCCESS OF THEIR ENDEAVORS WILL LEAD TO A DEMAND FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL, ENTAILING LOSS OF PRESTIGE AND TRADE."

THUS KENYA DEMANDED THE SURRENDER OF INDIA AND CONCENTRATION ON AFRICA; IT SAYS:

"CONFRONTED BY THE FAST APPROACHING CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS OF THE PRIMARY RACES OF MANKIND, THE WHITE RACE HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO ABANDON ITS NINETEENTH CENTURY ATTITUDE OF AGGRESSIVE EXPANSION, AND TO COLLECT AND RE-ORGANIZE ITS DIMINISHED STRENGTH WITHIN DEFENSIBLE LINES, THERE TO AWAIT THE SHOCK OF THE ASIATIC ONSLAUGHT, WHICH WILL STRAIN ITS RESOURCES TO THE UTTERMOST, AND MAY COVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITHDREW ITS DECLARATION OF THE PARAMOUNTCY OF NATIVE INTERESTS IN AFRICA AND ITS DEMAND FOR INDIAN EQUALITY. SIX ROYAL COMMISSIONS FOLLOWED, IN 1924, 1927, 1930, 1932 and 1934. THEY ALL RECOMMENDED CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ALLOTMENT OF LAND TO NATIVES, BETTER SOCIAL SERVICES, EDUCATION, AND REPRESENTATION OF THE NATIVES AND INDIANS IN GOVERNMENT. MOST OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS WERE NEVER CARRIED OUT, BUT SOME IMPROVEMENTS WERE MADE.

DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS OF THE INDIANS WAS DORMANT, AS BRITISH IMMIGRATION WAS NOT CONTEMPLATED ON ANY SCALE. HOWEVER, AFTER THE WAR WHEN THE LAND BEGAN TO BE GIVEN AWAY TO ENGLISHMEN AND SOUTH AFRICANS, THE INDIANS DEMANDED FREE IMMIGRATION, THE RIGHT TO BUY LAND, AND EQUAL RIGHT TO VOTE ON A COMMON TICKET. THEY DID NOT SUCCEED. KENYA IS THE ONLY PART OF THE WORLD UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT WHERE ASIATICS AND AFRICANS REST UNDER STATUTORY DISABILITIES. IT HAS 17,000 WHITES, 40,000 INDIANS, AND 3 MILLION

36-R-131

AFRICANS. YET IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WHICH RULES UNDER THE BRITISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT HALF THE MEMBERS ARE WHITE OFFICIALS, AND THE REST CONSIST OF 11 WHITE SETTLERS, 5 INDIANS, AND ONE ARAB. THE THREE MILLION BLACKS HAVE NO REPRESENTATIVES; BUT TWO WHITES SPEAK FOR THEM. THESE ARE USUALLY WHITE MISSIONARIES, WHO SELDOM OFFEND THE OFFICIALS. THE INDIANS LONG REFUSED TO SEND ANY REPRESENTATIVES BECAUSE THEIR OTHER DEMANDS WERE NOT GRANTED.

KENYA SETTLERS ARE STILL SEEKING WHAT THEY CALL SELF-GOVERNMENT, BUT WHAT IS REALLY WHITE MINORITY RULE. THEY FORM A HIGHLY ORGANIZED, CONSTANTLY ALERT BODY OF SHOCK TROOPS, READY AT ANY MOMENT BY ASSAULT OR BY STRATEGY TO SEIZE EVERY STRONGHOLD OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATE. THE WHITE SETTLERS ARE FREE TO RUN THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND INDUSTRIES. THEY SIT ON ALL BOARDS OF CONTROL WHERE IMPORTANT WORK IS DONE; ON ALL COMMITTEES INQUIRING INTO NATIVE LABOR; THEY HAVE A CLEAR MAJORITY OF THE BOARD, WHICH PROTECTS THEIR LAND, AND THEY HOLD ALL THE HIGH EXECUTIVE POSTS. THEIR CONSTANT CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT IN COUNCIL, IN THE PRESS, AND IN THEIR HIGHLY ORGANIZED CLUBS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR OFFICIALS TO WITHSTAND THEIR

INFLUENCE EVEN IF THEY WERE INCLINED TO.

MEANTIME THE AFRICANS HAVE SLOWLY GROWN IN LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATION AND HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY BITTER AND SUSPICIOUS. FORMERLY ALL THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, BOTH RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR, HAD WHITE MEMBERS TO GUIDE AND ADVISE THEM. LATELY THE POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE MULTIPLIED WITHOUT WHITE MEMBERSHIP, WHICH MAKES THEM SUSPECT BY THE AUTHORITIES. AT THE OPENING OF THE LAST WAR LEADERS OF THREE KIKUYU SOCIETIES WERE ARRESTED AND KEPT IN JAIL LONG PERIODS WITHOUT TRIAL. THE FIRST REVOLT TOOK PLACE UNDER HARRY THUKU, AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. IT WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A PROTEST AGAINST RAISING THE HUT TAX FROM THREE TO FOUR DOLLARS A YEAR. IT SUCCEEDED, AFTER THUKU HAD BEEN BANISHED. BUT THE TAX, ALTHOUGH LOWERED FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL, WAS REALLY DOUBLED BY INCREASING THE NUMBER LIABLE TO THE TAX. TODAY THE NUMBER OF SOCIETIES INDEPENDENT OF EUROPEAN MEMBERSHIP IS INCREASING, AND THE KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION IS THE LARGEST AND MOST ACTIVE. I MET ONE OF ITS MEMBERS IN LONDON IN 1845, JOHN KENYATA. TODAY HE IS UNDER ARREST

36-11-32

IN KENYA.

THERE IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT WHITE KENYANS HAVE NOT ABANDONED THE DEMAND FOR WHITE POLITICAL CONTROL. IN 1941 A EUROPEAN MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL DEMANDED INCREASED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EUROPEANS, AND A CONSTITUTION ON THE LINES OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA. AND LATER THEY HAVE STRONGLY BACKED A CONFEDERATION OF KENYA, UGANDA, TANGANYIKA AND THE RHODESIAS, WITH A HANDFUL OF WHITES IN FULL CONTROL OF 25 MILLION NEGROES. "WHAT WE VISUALIZE", SAID A KENYAN RECENTLY, "IS JOINING UP WITH THE RHODESIAS AND HAVING A BRITISH EAST AFRICAN DOMINION FROM THE NIMPOPO TO THE NILE." AND ANOTHER SAID ANGRILY, "THE GOVERNMENT WILL DRIVE US INTO THE ARMS OF SOUTH AFRICA, IF THEY DO NOT DO AS WE WISH."

THE THEORY OF WHITE SUPREMACY IN A RE-ORGANIZATION FROM CAIRO TO CAPETOWN IS BEING OPENLY PURSUED. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR THIS REGION OF KENYA, UGANDA AND TANGANYIKA HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A GREAT ARSENAL AND STORE HOUSE OF ARMS FOR PROTECTING THE EMPIRE AGAINST THE EAST OR FOR AGGRESSION IN ASIA.

IN THE CENTER OF THE NEW MODERN NEGRO SLAVERY, THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, REBELLION BY PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAS BROKEN OUT, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE INDIANS. IN THE RHODESIAS A FEW MILLION WHITES ARE HOLDING NATIVES IN SERFDOM BY COMPULSORY IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, WHILE THE VAST BELGIAN CONGO IS RESTING ITS FUTURE ON CAREFULLY PLANNED MANIPULATION OF TRIBAL UNITS, LIMITED EDUCATION, AND REPRESSION OF ANY NEGRO INTELLIGENCE.

AT THE SAME TIME, WHAT HAS BEEN PLAYED DOWN IN THE NEWS BUT IS OPEN REVOLUTION IN WEST AFRICA, HAS RESULTED IN FORCING BRITAIN RELUCTANTLY TO GRANT DOMINION STATUS TO SOME 25 MILLION BLACK NATIVES, WITH ONE PRIME MINISTER ALREADY RECOGNIZED AND ANOTHER INEVITABLY ON THE WAY.

GILBERT MURRAY SAID 50 YEARS AGO OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE: "THE PROBLEM OF THE CONTACT OF WHITE AND BLACK IS ONE WHICH WE MUST NEEDS MASTER OR ELSE IT WILL MASTER US. IT WILL MASTER US NOT GRADUALLY OR HALF-IMPERCEPTIBLY, LIKE THE PROBLEMS OF OVER-POPULATION OR EUGENICS. ITS CHALLENGE WILL BE VIOLENT AND BLOODY."

36-11-133

WEST

PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

WAR IS A VICIOUS HUMAN HABIT; A THROW-BACK TO PRIMEVAL BARBARISM; AN ANACHRONISM WHICH SHAMES RELIGION AND RETARDS CIVILIZATION. BEFORE THIS CENTURY WAR MAY AT TIMES HAVE BEEN THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS. SINCE WORLD WARS HAVE COME AND THE ATOMIC AGE, THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WAR IS THE SUPREME DISASTER. THERE IS NOTHING WORSE.

WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO END WAR"? MORE WAR! WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY"? LESS DEMOCRACY! WHAT ARE WE GETTING FROM THIS "COLD WAR FOR FREEDOM"? LESS FREEDOM TO THINK AND MORE FREEDOM TO KILL. WHAT WILL COME WHEN WAR IN KOREA BECOMES WAR AGAINST CHINA AND A THIRD WORLD WAR, WITH JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ARMED ALLIES? THE END OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND A LONG RETURN TO BARBARISM. PEACE, THEN! PEACE NOW! PEACE FOREVER!

THIS AMERICA OF OURS, HOPE OF OUR DREAMS, REFUGE OF MANKIND, HAS BEFORE OUR VERY EYES BECOME THE GREATEST WARMONGER OF ALL HISTORY. NEVER BEFORE IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND HAS A NATION PLANNED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION ON THE SCALE NOW ENVISIONED

46-11-83

BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. WITH ONE BURST OF FLAME WE KILLED AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI 200,000 HUMAN BEINGS, AGED AND INFANTS; SICK AND HELPLESS; UNARMED AND UNWARNED; --- AN ATTACK AS HORRIBLE AS IT WAS NEEDLESS, --- A DEED WHICH CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER FORGET!

WHY IS THIS NATION, THE MOST SECURE FROM FOREIGN ATTACK OF ANY IN THE WORLD, RUSHING TO WAR? WHAT IS IT THAT HAS LITERALLY SCARED US TO DEATH? NO FOREIGN FOE HAS TOUCHED OR THREATENED OUR SHORES; NO NATION HAS PLANNED OUR DESTRUCTION. OUR ECONOMY IS SOUND UNLESS WE LET WAR UPSET IT; OUR TECHNIQUE IS UNSURPASSED; OUR ABILITY AND TALENT HAVE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MOST FAVORED NATIONS OF MEN. WHY THEN HAVE WE GONE COMPLETELY OUT OF OUR MINDS AND EMBARKED ON A FANTASTIC PLAN OF WORLD CONTROL AT THE COST OF NATIONAL IMPOVERISHMENT, MORAL RUIN AND THE HATE OF MANKIND?

WE SEEK TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA IS CAUSED SOLELY BY THE DESIGNS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, A NATION SEPARATED FROM

US BY THE WIDTH OF THE WORLD, WHICH HAS NEVER ATTACKED US, NEVER TAKEN OUR TERRITORY, BUT WHO SOME OF US BELIEVE IS SO DETERMINED TO RUIN US THAT IN SHEER DEFENSE WE MUST RUIN OURSELVES! WHENCE CREW, COMES THIS PUSH TOWARD WAR?

MANY SEE BACK OF THIS BELIEF THE PROPAGANDA OF A GROUP OF BUSINESS MEN IN AMERICA, WHO SEEK TO REVIVE A SYSTEM OF WORLD INDUSTRY LONG SINCE DOOMED TO EXTINCTION. UNDER THIS SYSTEM, A CLASS WITHIN A NATION, OR A WHOLE NATION, LIVED IN COMFORT, LUXURY AND POWER ON THE LAND AND LABOR OF OTHER CLASSES OR PEOPLES TOO POOR, TOO IGNORANT, AND TOO SICK TO RESIST. THIS SYSTEM, UNDER ITS VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE, CHATTEL SLAVERY, SERFDOM, CLASS STRUCTURE, COLONIALISM AND CENTRALIZED REGULATION OF PRICES AND MARKETS, HAS EXISTED SO LONG, YIELDED SUCH FABULOUS PROFITS, AND SUPPORTED SUCH HIGH CIVILIZATION AMONG A FAVORED FEW, THAT MANY MEN BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECTION OF MOST MEN TO A POWERFUL FEW IS INEVITABLE, AND THAT ITS DISAPPEARANCE WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE NOW KNOW IT.

THIS SYSTEM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL OF WORLD INDUSTRY REACHED ITS

46-11-84

CULMINATION IN THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, AND ITS SPECTACULAR SUCCESS FIRED THE IMAGINATION AND ENVY OF ALL EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE FORGOT THE REVOLT AGAINST IT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY; WE IGNORED THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH INTRODUCED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND POPULAR EDUCATION AMONG WHITE WORKERS, AND WE IGNORED THE EFFORTS TO EXTEND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS OVER INDUSTRY, AND THE DREAMS OF INCLUDING THE MASS OF DARKER WORKERS AMONG THE ENFRANCHISED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

THE 20TH CENTURY DAWNED WITH FOUR WORLD-SHAKING EVENTS:

THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO REDISTRIBUTE COLONIES AMONG IMPERIAL POWERS
REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA
THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO STOP THE PLAN FOR A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM
THE REVOLT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES.

ALL THIS WAS LOGICAL: WIDE JEALOUSY OF THE NATIONS MONOPOLIZING LAND AND LABOR IN THE COLONIAL REGIONS; THE ATTEMPT TO REDISTRIBUTE THIS MONOPOLY BY WAR,

AND THE OVERWHELMING COST OF THE STRUGGLE, BRINGING INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE AND THE ATTEMPT OF TWO DICTATORS TO HAVE A DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIAL CONTROL BY ANOTHER WAR; AND FINALLY THE NATURAL RISE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TO TAKE CHARGE OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

THE ATTEMPT OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, JOINED BY JAPAN, TO CHANGE THE FACE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, SO THREATENED THE WESTERN WORLD THAT WE WERE GLAD TO ACCEPT THE HELP OF THE NEW SOVIET UNION, WHICH WE HAD ONCE JOINED 16 OTHER NATIONS TO OVERTHROW. THE SOVIETS LAID DOWN 17 MILLION LIVES AND BILLIONS OF THEIR NEW INDUSTRY TO SAVE US FROM FASCISM.

HERE DAWNED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FACE A NEW WORLD: NOT NECESSARILY A WORLD OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM OR OF UNREGULATED PRIVATE CAPITALISM, BUT A WORLD BASED ON GOOD WILL AND SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY INTO WORK AND INCOME AS AFFECTING HUMAN PROGRESS. THIS EFFORT, EARNESTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WAS OVERTURNED COMPLETELY BY HARRY TRUMAN AS THE TOOL OF BIG BUSINESS. IF A BUCHANAN BEFORE A LINCOLN WAS A

46-11-85

NATIONAL CALAMITY, A TRUMAN AFTER A ROOSEVELT WAS A WORLD DISASTER WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS MAY NOT RETRIEVE.

THE LAST ELECTION WAS IN ESSENCE A MANDATE FOR PEACE. MOST PERSONS VOTED AGAINST A LIBERAL LIKE STEPHENSON WHO SPOKE ENGLISH, HAD A SENSE OF HUMOR AND A CULTURAL BACKGROUND, BECAUSE HE ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TRUMAN POLICIES WHICH ENVISIONED CONTINUED WAR IN KOREA AND EVENTUAL WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THEY DID NOT CONSIDER THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET AT ALL BECAUSE ALTHOUGH IT WAS FOR PEACE IT WAS AT BEST A LONG TIME PROGRAM WHICH HAD NO CHANCE TO INSURE PEACE NOW. IN ADDITION, IT COULD NOT PUT ITS ATTITUDE AND ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE PUBLIC IN THE PUBLIC PRESS, ON THE OPEN PLATFORM, NOR THROUGH RADIO OR TELEVISION. AS A PARTY IT WAS DISFRANCHISED IN 22 STATES AND SILENCED IN NEARLY ALL THE REST. ITS TREATMENT WAS NOT MERELY THE DEFEAT OF A PARTY BUT IT MADE A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT AT PRESENT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE, AND WITHOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD PARTY, DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF ALL VOTERS STOOD THE KOREAN WAR; THIS LONG DRAWN-OUT SLAUGHTER AND DESTRUCTION, WITH SUFFERING AND POVERTY AND DISEASE; AND WITH ITS INTOLERABLE STRAIN ON THE ECONOMY AND FAITH OF THE WHOLE WORLD. NO ORDINARY CITIZEN, NO SOLDIER IN THE FIELD, NOR DRAFTEE CAN EASILY EXPLAIN WHY WE ARE FIGHTING IN THAT POOR FAR EASTERN LAND, IN A WAR FINANCED AND MANNED CHIEFLY BY THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS KILLING AND CRIPPLING OUR SONS IN A MANEUVER TO PREPARE FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR. THIS WAR WAS STARTED BY HARRY TRUMAN WITHOUT AUTHORITY FROM CONGRESS ON THE THEORY THAT THE CIVIL WAR IN KOREA WAS AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION TO SPREAD COMMUNISM.

WE REITERATED THAT CHARGE, REPORTED THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS AND EXHIBITED IN THE UNITED STATES ACTUAL RUSSIAN EQUIPMENT. WE USED OUR VAST INFLUENCE TO FORCE THE UNITED NATIONS TO ENTER THE WAR AFTER WE BEGAN IT, AND TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS PURSUIT. IT HAS SINCE BEEN PROVEN BY AMERICAN AUTHORS LIKE I.F. STONE THAT THE KOREAN REVOLT WAS LONG PLANNED BY SOUTH KOREA

98-11-96

AT THE DEMAND OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS EXPANDING TOWARD CHINA. FACING THIS DILEMMA THE NATION ELECTED EISENHOWER, ON THE CHANCE THAT ALTHOUGH A GENERAL, HE MIGHT BE SINCERE IN WANTING TO STOP WAR, SINCE HIS ADVISERS WOULD BE BUSINESS MEN WHO WOULD FEAR FINANCIAL CRISIS. IN ANY CASE HE COULD NOT BE WORSE THAN TRUMAN.

IT IS STILL CLEAR THAT THE KOREAN WAR WAS A STEP IN OUR PLAN FOR EXPANDING BUSINESS IN ASIA, WHERE WE BET ON THE WRONG HORSE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WE BACKED AND SUPPORTED WITH ARMS, MONEY AND EXPERT ADVICE FROM THE HIGHEST SOURCES, CHIANG KAI-CHEK, EVEN AFTER OUR OWN GENERALS AND POLITICAL EMISSARIES WARNED US OF HIS UTTER MORAL WORTHLESSNESS AND HIS CERTAIN POLITICAL AND MILITARY FAILURE. DESPITE THIS REPEATED ADVICE, WE FOLLOWED INVESTORS WHO WERE SURE THAT EVEN IF CHIANG FAILED, THE DISRUPTED REMAINS OF THE ONCE GREAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT WERE BOUND TO FALL INTO OUR HANDS AND WE WOULD REPLACE GREAT BRITAIN AS MASTER OF THAT PARADISE FOR INVESTORS, WITH ITS CHEAP, SKILLED LABOR UNSPOILED BY TRADE UNIONS; ITS WEALTH OF RESOURCES AND BOUNDLESS STRETCH OF TERRITORY. THUS THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME

MASTER OF THE MAJOR PART OF THE CONTINENT OF ASIA.

WHEN, TO THE UNBOUNDED SURPRISE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS AND OF OUR LEADERS IN THE THEORY OF A NEW AMERICAN RULERSHIP OF THE WORLD THROUGH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, CHIANG KAI-CHEK WAS DRIVEN OUT OF CHINA BY THE VERY ARMS WHICH WE HAD FURNISHED HIM, WE APPEARED NOT ONLY AS FOES OF HIS CONQUERORS, BUT AS PERSECUTORS OF ALL AMERICANS AT HOME WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH, DEFENDED OR AIDED THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CHINA. ABOVE ALL, WE ATTRIBUTED TO RUSSIAN PLOT, A RESULT REALLY DUE TO OUR SHORT-SIGHTED GREED.

OUR WAR IN KOREA BECAME AT BOTTOM A WAR AGAINST FREE CHINA, AND CHINA KNEW IT. WE INDUCED THE UNITED NATIONS TO JOIN US IN BRANDING CHINA AS AN OUTLAW. AGAINST LAW AND DECENCY AND AGAINST THE WILL OF MANY COUNTRIES, THE UNITED NATIONS PERMITTED CHIANG KAI-CHEK AND SEVEN MILLION SERFS UNDER HIS CONTROL TO PERCH BEHIND OUR WARSHIPS ON A LITTLE ISLAND THE SIZE OF VANCOUVER AND TO PRETEND TO REPRESENT AND SPEAK FOR 460 MILLION PEOPLE ON A TERRITORY LARGER THAN THE UNITED STATES.

4-11-84

-10-

CHINA WARNED THE UNITED STATES THAT SHE WOULD NOT PERMIT THIS COUNTRY IN ITS WAR ON KOREA TO CROSS THE CHINESE BOUNDARY WITHOUT RESISTENCE. WE TREATED THE PROTEST WITH THE LORDLY DISTAIN WE USUALLY SHOW TOWARD COLORED PEOPLES. OUR VALIANT MCARTHUR MARCHED STRAIGHT TO THE CHINESE BORDER AND THE CHINESE SENT HIM AND HIS ARMY RUNNING 400 MILES IN THE MOST DISASTROUS RETREAT AMERICAN ARMIES HAVE SUFFERED SINCE BULL RUN. AND ALL BECAUSE A SUPERCILIOUS AND COCKSURE GENERAL DID NOT THINK CHINESE DARED FIGHT AMERICANS. WITH VAST AND COSTLY PREPARATION OUR FORCES FINALLY REGAINED SOUTH KOREAN TERRITORY BUT DID NOT ATTEMPT AGAIN TO INVADE CHINA. AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR THE SOVIET UNION PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE GONE ON FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. THE CHINESE AND KOREANS HAVE YIELDED POINT AFTER POINT: ON PUSHING THE BOUNDARY OF SOUTH KOREA MANY MILES NORTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED; ON HAVING THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTED ON A COMMISSION FOR ARBITRATION; ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. BUT FINALLY ON THE MATTER OF RETURN OF PRISONERS WHICH WE HAD ONCE AGREED TO IN ACCORD WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION, WE NOW INSISTED

COULD BE RESTORED ONLY AFTER WE HAD ASCERTAINED THEIR DESIRES. CHINA AND NORTH KOREA REFUSED ASSENT; DOUBTLESS THEY FELT THAT YIELDING HERE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMANDS. ~~WE FIGHT ON AND A THIRD WORLD WAR BECOMES INCREASINGLY POSSIBLE. WE CONSENT TO "SAVE FACE" WHICH SEEMS TO BE CHARACTERISTIC OF ASIATIC NATIONS ONLY.~~

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ~~ARE GIVING CONSENT TO AND MONEY FOR THIS PROGRAM. NOT ONLY THIS,~~ WE ARE HELPING FRENCH CAPITALISTS PUT DOWN LONG DRAWN-OUT REVOLT IN VIET-NAM WHICH HAS FOLLOWED YEARS OF RUTHLESS THEFT AND CRUELTY; WE ARE HELPING BRITAIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE LINE OF INFLUENCE TO INDUCE INDIA TO JOIN US IN ENMITY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA.

NEVERTHELESS THIS NATION WANTS DESPERATELY TO STOP THE KOREAN WAR WHICH HAS COST US 300,000 WAR CASUALTIES AND DEATHS BY DISEASE AND ACCIDENT; IT HAS RAISED TAXES AND PRICES TO HEIGHTS WHICH ARE MULTIPLYING AND THREATENS STRIKES AND LABOR DISORDER TO DISRUPT OUR WHOLE ECONOMY; IT IS TRANSFORMING OUR WHOLE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION INTO TRAINING FOR WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, AND IS SETTING THE WHOLE OF ASIA AGAINST

US AND PUSHING MUCH OF EUROPE INTO DISTRUST AND BITTER ENMITY; WE ARE SPENDING 150 MILLIONS TO HELP BACKWARD LANDS, BUT USUALLY ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT THEY BECOME OUR ALLIES IN WAR AGAINST COMMUNISM.

BALANCING OUR EXPLOITS IN ASIA WE HAVE GIVEN MUCH HELP TO EUROPE. BUT AMERICANS MUST NOT MISINTERPRET THIS AID. IT WAS NOT CHARITY TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS; IT WAS ARMS, GOODS AND MATERIAL FURNISHED EUROPEAN CAPITALISTS FOR INVESTMENT AND FOR ENABLING THEM TO RESIST THE RISING AND SOCIALISTIC DEMANDS OF LABOR. IT WAS ALSO SO USED AS TO FACILITATE PROFITABLE INVESTMENT OF OUR OWN FUNDS; AND LATELY IT HAS CONSISTED OF LOANS FOR EUROPEAN REARMAMENT AT A RATE WHICH EUROPE PROTESTS IS TOO RAPID FOR HER OWN RECOVERY. WE HAVE SOUGHT THUS TO UNITE EUROPE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM AND WE HAVE TRIED AT THE SAME TIME TO ARM JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS A DANGEROUS PROGRAM AND IS BEING RECEIVED WITH HESITATION AND RELUCTANCE BY THE WORLD. FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ARE REFUSING TO GO FORWARD WITH THEIR PROMISES OF REARMAMENT AND EUROPE EVIDENTLY

REGARDS THE FEAR OF WAR WITH THE SOVIETS AS LESSENING.

MEANTIME THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES BEHIND THE "IRON CURTAIN" HAVE GROWN IN GENERAL PROSPERITY; IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MANUFACTURES; IN HEAVY INDUSTRY AND LONG-TIME VENTURES FOR GENERAL DEVELOPMENT. THEY ALL HAVE EXCELLENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, AND THEY FIGHT DISEASE SUCCESSFULLY. THEY SHOW INNER STRESS AND STRUGGLE, AND YET THERE IS NO SIGN OF REVOLT, DESPITE OUR OPEN ENCOURAGEMENT AND OFFERS OF $100 MILLION TO SPIES AND SABOTEURS FOR FOMENTING INNER REVOLT. THE SOVIETS WERE THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH THE WEST COULD PUT DOWN FASCISM, AND WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT THESE NATIONS SEEM CERTAIN TO SURVIVE AND TO DEVELOP THEIR WAY OF LIFE. THERE IS TODAY NO APPARENT COMBINATION OF NATIONS CAPABLE OF REDUCING COMMUNIST NATIONS TO SUBSERVIENCE BY FORCE. COMMUNISM TODAY RULES AT LEAST HALF OF MANKIND.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE NO RECENT MOVEMENT THAT CAN BE CALLED AGGRESSION AND HAS CEASELESSLY ADVOCATED A WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SORE PRESSED TO IGNORE AND HAVE RETALIATED BY MAKING IT DANGEROUS FOR AMERICANS TO ADVOCATE PEACE

46-11-89

AND IMPOSSIBLE FOR MOST OF THEM TO ATTEND PEACE CONGRESSES IN FOREIGN LANDS. mail A 21

WITH THE ELECTION OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT WE AND THE REST OF CIVILIZATION AWAIT THE MOVE TOWARD PEACE WHICH MUST COME UNLESS WE MOVE TOWARD BANKRUPTCY OR A THIRD WORLD WAR. EISENHOWER'S FIRST STEP WAS HIS PROMISED VISIT TO KOREA. THIS PROVED, SO FAR AS OUTSIDERS CAN JUDGE, TO BE A MILITARY INSPECTION SUCCEEDED BY A COUNCIL OF WAR, WHICH GENERAL MCARTHUR EVENTUALLY ATTENDED. I CANNOT SEE IN THESE ACTIONS ANY REAL PLAN FOR PEACE. THE UNITED STATES IN CURRENT UNITED NATIONS SESSIONS TOOK THE FAMILIAR STAND THAT IF CHINA AND NORTH KOREA WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR LAS WORD ON KOREAN PEACE, WAR WOULD CONTINUE. WE CONTINUED TO FORECAST WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, HELPED BY SPIES, PROPAGANDA AND FOMENTED REVOLUTION. THE INDIAN PROPOSAL ACCEPTED THIS LAST WORD, WHICH WAS REJECTED BY CHINA; BUT WITH A COUNTER-PROPOSAL OF A CEASE-FIRE IMMEDIATELY AND SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATION ON ALL OTHER SUBJECTS. THIS WE REJECTED WITH CONTEMPT. THE PRESIDENT-ELECT LOSES has lost NO OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THE

SHORT-COMINGS OF COMMUNISM AND THE PROBABILITY OF EVENTUAL WAR.

THE NEXT OCCURRENCE OF FIRST INTEREST IS THE EISENHOWER CABINET. THIS IS UNDER THE COMPLETE CONTROL OF BIG BUSINESS, WITH A BACK-LOG OF MILITANT SUPPORT: OF ALL THE COMBINED MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS, FINANCIAL POOLS AND CARTELS WHICH TODAY CONTROL THE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST LANDS. IF THE WORLD STOPS WAR, IT WILL BE BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS SEES MORE PROFIT AND POWER IN A PROGRAM OF PEACE THAN IN A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE ANSWER TO THIS LIES MAINLY IN OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN OUR LABOR MOVEMENT. THE DEATHS OF TWO PROMINENT LABOR LEADERS MAY INFLUENCE THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION. PHILLIP MURRAY BECAME IN HIS LATER YEARS A FANATIC ON RED-BAITING AND WILLIAM GREEN ALWAYS REPRESENTED CAPITAL AS THE OBJECT OF LABOR UNIONS MORE THAN ANY PLAN OF SOCIAL CONTROL. THE POLICY OF GREEN WILL BE PURSUED BY HIS SUCCESSOR BUT WITH LESS PERSONAL INFLUENCE. REUTHER WHO NOW HEADS THE CIO IS A MODERN LABOR POLITICIAN WITH NO FIRMLY HELD IDEALS.

AS LONG, THEN, AS WAGES REMAIN HIGH AND RISE CONTINUALLY WITH PRICES, AND

We were fearful yesterday of peace, lest the stock market gamblers free billion dollars

THERE IS LITTLE UNEMPLOYMENT, LABOR WILL SUBMIT TO WAR. BUT WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT DEPEND TODAY ON THE CONTINUING HIGH PROFITS OF WAR INDUSTRY. IF WE HAVE PEACE, PROFITS WILL FALL, WAGES WILL DROP AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL ENSUE. IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PRODUCE WAR MATERIAL AT THE PRESENT RATE AND PAY FOR IT WITH HIGH TAXES ON THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASSES WITHOUT BANKRUPTCY. A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAN BE ADOPTED TO REPLACE WAR EXPENDITURE, but SUCH A PROGRAM CONGRESS OPPOSES AND THE PRESIDENT-ELECT DOES NOT ADVOCATE, BECAUSE IT INEVITABLY MEANS SOCIALISM.

WITHOUT SUCH A SOCIAL PROGRAM AND WITH PEACE, THE PROTEST AGAINST HIGH TAXATION WILL BECOME IRRESISTIBLE AND FALL OF PRICES WILL ENSUE. THE BANKS, WITH THEIR VAST POWER, CAN SLOW UP THE STAMPEDE, BUT HOW LONG IT IS NOT EASY TO PREDICT: A FINANCIAL COLLAPSE IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE, AND THE FACT THAT WE HAVE THUS FAR AVOIDED ONE WILL BE OF LITTLE AVAIL. IF WE CANNOT AVOID A CRISIS, WE WILL still HAVE PEACE, BUT PEACE AT THE PRICE OF ADOPTING IN 1954 THE SAME KIND OF SOCIALISTIC NEW DEAL WE

96-11-24

TURNED TO IN 1930. IT IS THE VERY REAL FEAR OF THIS BY BIG BUSINESS THAT KEEPS US AT WAR AND THREATENS US WITH MORE WAR. BUT WILL CONTINUED WAR SAVE US? FOR A LITTLE TIME, PERHAPS, BUT NOT BY ANY POSSIBILITY FOR LONG. THIS HAS BEEN A CENTURY OF WAR ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. IT CANNOT LAST. THAT WE ALL KNOW. NO TERROR OF BOMB OR SIZE OF ARMIES OR MILITARY EXPENDITURE CAN ACCOMPLISH THE IMPOSSIBLE. EITHER PEACE TODAY OR PEACE TOMORROW AND IN NEITHER CASE CAN WE AVOID AN AWFUL COST IN DESTRUCTION, DEATH AND CRIPPLING OF YOUTH, INSANITY AND CRIME.

IMAGINE A SPEAKER OF THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SAYING IN HIS ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS, "WERE IT NOT FOR THE ADVENT OF MARXISM, EUROPE TODAY MIGHT BE PEACEFUL AND HAPPY. CHINA MIGHT BE FREE. CERTAINLY OUR SONS WOULD NOT BE FIGHTING IN KOREA." IS MARTIN UNAWARE THAT IN THE LAST 188 YEARS, BEGINNING BEFORE MARX WAS BORN, THERE HAVE BEEN 300 WARS, NOT A TENTH OF WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM; THAT CHINA HAS NOT BEEN AS FREE AS IT IS

16-11-94

NOW IN A THOUSAND YEARS, AND THAT THE BEGINNING OF WAR IN KOREA DATES BACK 1800 YEARS?

OUR ABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID WAR OR UNEMPLOYMENT, SOCIALISM OR BANKRUPTCY DOES NOT DEPEND SOLELY ON OUR OWN EFFORTS IN OUR OWN NATION. RATHER IT DEPENDS TO A VERY LARGE EXTENT ON THAT WORLD OF TRADE AND CONTROL THROUGH INVESTMENT WHICH IT HAS BEEN OUR UNREMITTING EFFORT FOR TWO CENTURIES TO DRAW WITHIN OUR INFLUENCE AND MAKE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR COMFORT AND POWER. BY THIS I MEAN THE COLONIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA; THE SOUTHERN NATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT; THE SO-CALLED NEAR EAST AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS. FOR NOW MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES, THESE REGIONS HAVE PROVIDED US WITH FOOD, LUXURIES AND RAW MATERIALS FOR OUR TRADE AND STORES AND FACTORIES, AND TODAY NO MATTER WHAT WE WISH OR DO, THEIR THOUGHT AND PLANS, THEIR REVOLT AND HATE ARE NOT SIMPLY MATTERS OF FOREIGN NEWS AND SCIENTIFIC CURIOSITY, BUT MATTERS OF OUR DAILY LIFE AND CONCERN. THESE NATIONS,

RACES AND PEOPLES ARE TODAY IN INCREASING UNREST AND FERMENT. IT DOES NOT MATTER JUST WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS FERMENT, THE HARD FACT IS THAT IT EXISTS AND INCREASES. IN ASIA IT HAS FREED IN OUR DAY FROM WHITE CONTROL A THOUSAND MILLION BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLE. OF THIS WE ARE AWARE AND THIS HAS DRIVEN US TO WAR AND KEEPS US FIGHTING IN VAIN TO STOP THE TREND.

RECENTLY A NEW MASS OF RACIAL AND COLONIAL PROBLEMS HAS FACED US AND THIS IS THE REVOLT IN AFRICA. AFRICA IS INTRICABLY BOUND TO AMERICA, NOT ONLY BY PAST HISTORY BUT BY PRESENT TRADE. ON AFRICA WE DEPEND TODAY FOR PALM OIL AND RUBBER; COCOA AND COPPER; GOLD AND DIAMONDS; URANIUM AND ZINC, LEATHER AND SPICES, IRON AND TIN, AND A HUNDRED OTHER MATERIALS; AND ON HUMAN LABOR FOR US AT A PRICE ONE-TENTH AS HIGH AS WE PAY LABORERS AT HOME. THESE GOODS AND THIS LABOR MAKES OUR WAY OF LIFE SO ENJOYABLE AND MAKES THE TEMPER OF AFRICANS INCREASINGLY BITTER AND VENGEFUL, DESPITE THE TALES OF MISSIONARIES OR THE PROPAGANDA OF POINT 4.

WHEN THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE DIED IT GAVE BIRTH TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

46-11-92

AND THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. PROFIT ON AFRICAN COLONIES THEN GREW FROM THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ATTEMPT OF CECIL TO OPEN A ROAD FROM CAPE TO CAIRO OVER THE PLATEAU OF KENYA. AMERICAN CAPITAL IS TODAY THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF THE MALAN GOVERNMENT OF BLACK SERFS WHO ARE WITHOUT TRADE UNIONS OR THE RIGHT TO VOTE. IN KENYA FIVE MILLION NATIVES HAVE BEGUN TO BOIL OVER AND MURDER AND DESTROY BECAUSE 240,000 SQUARE MILES OF THEIR LANDS HAVE BEEN STOLEN BY WHITES SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, TO SUPPORT AN ARISTOCRACY WHO USE BLACK LABOR AT SLAVE WAGES AND ALLOW THEM ALMOST NO VOICE TO PROTEST. IN WEST AFRICA OPEN REBELLION DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, PLAYED DOWN IN OUR PRESS, HAS SET UP ONE BLACK STATE WITH NEGRO RULE, WHILE ANOTHER WILL SOON FOLLOW. FIGHTING WITH THE BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA ARE 200,000 EAST INDIANS, KIN OF 350,000,000 OTHER INDIANS IN ASIA. HOW LONG DO THE WHITES OF THE WORLD THINK THEY CAN RULE AND OPPRESS THESE MASSES OF COLORED PEOPLES? HOW LONG CAN THE BLACK LABORERS BE FOOLED BY ACCUSATIONS THAT SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE CAUSE OF COLONIAL DISTRESS, WHEN RUSSIA

HAS NO COLONIES AND IS THE ONE EXCEPTION WHICH SAVES THE PRESENT WORLD STRUGGLE FROM BECOMING A WAR OF RACES?

IT IS FANTASTIC TO DREAM OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY. IT IS THE PATRIOTIC DUTY OF ALL AMERICANS TO CRY HALT! FIRST PEACE ON EARTH; THEN AN EFFORT TO ABOLISH POVERTY AND IGNORANCE AND TO DECREASE DISEASE; AND THEN WORK FOR REAL BROTHERHOOD AMONG MEN, NOT AS PHILANTHROPY BUT FOR SELF-PROTECTION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

THE TERRIBLE FAREWELL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN ~~TO~~ A COUNCIL OF DESPAIR. NATIONS ARE NOT COMPELLED TO FIGHT UNLESS THEY FEAR PEACE MORE THAN WAR. THE PRICE OF PEACE TODAY FOR THE UNITED STATES IS FREEDOM FOR COLORED PEOPLES WITH THE RIGHT TO SELL THEIR LABOR AT SUCH PRICE AS THEY CAN GET; TO OWN THEIR LAND; TO SEEK EDUCATION. IT DEMANDS THE RIGHT OF HALF THE WORLD TO ADOPT SOCIALISM IF IT WISHES, AS A WAY OF LIFE. IF THE EXPERIMENT FAILS, THE FAILURE IS CHIEFLY THEIRS. CERTAINLY OUR SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT MADE MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

HAPPY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH IT HAS ADDED TO THE WEALTH AND POWER OF A FEW. IT IS NOT ONLY WRONG BUT AS IT NOW SEEMS, IMPOSSIBLE, FOR THE UNITED STATES TO COMPEL MANKIND NOT TO MAKE THIS VAST EXPERIMENT. CERTAINLY THE ATTEMPT TO STOP IT BY FORCE MAY DESTROY CIVILIZATION.

add roll (1)

46-11-93

Add to page 22 Present Prospects for peace

Lately, as you know, the whole war situation in the world has ~~b~~been changed ~~and changed~~ by new offers of peace from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union accepts the plan of returning prisoners taken in the Korean war ~~in~~ in accordance with their ~~consent~~ wish, and ~~adopting~~ adopts in essence the United States plan for universal disarmament. The offer ~~of the Soviet Union~~ does not, naturally accept everything that the United States has asked, but nevertheless the offer is broad. We can and do suspect it. We can also continue to stall and object. We can increase our demands, as in the case of the division of Korea and the disposal of Formosa.

But if people like you insist, Peace on Earth is ~~here.~~ might Our soldiers can return from ~~a~~broad and we can stop trying to arm the earth for war. Taxes can come down and still we can have money ~~left~~ for more education, for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ social medicine, for housing and for flood control.

If ~~of course,~~ however you continue to be misled by hysterical fear of the Soviet Union and Communism, war will continue, and you will go on toward the inevitable penalty of those persons and peoples who in the past have tried to conquer the earth.

46-11-94

LATELY, AS YOU KNOW,/ THE WHOLE WAR SITUATION IN THE WORLD/ HAS BEEN CHANGED BY THE NEW OFFERS OF PEACE/ FROM THE SOVIET UNION.// THE SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS THE PLAN OF RETURNING PRISONERS TAKEN IN THE KOREAN WAR/ IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR WISH,// AND ADOPTS IN ESSENCE/ THE UNITED STATES PLAN FOR UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT.// THE OFFERS DO NOT, NATURALLY,/ ACCEPT EVERYTHING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED,/ BUT NEVERTHELESS THE OFFER IS BROAD.// WE CAN AND DO SUSPECT IT.// WE CAN ALSO CONTINUE/ TO STALL AND OBJECT.// WE CAN INCREASE OUR DEMANDS,/ AS IN THE CASE OF THE DIVISION OF KOREA AND THE DISPOSAL OF FORMOSA.

BUT IF PEOPLE LIKE YOU INSIST,/ PEACE ON EARTH IS IN SIGHT.// OUR SOLDIERS CAN RETURN FROM ABROAD/ AND WE CAN STOP TRYING/ TO ARM THE EARTH FOR WAR.// TAXES CAN COME DOWN/ AND WE CAN STILL HAVE MONEY/ FOR MORE EDUCATION,/ FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE, FOR HOUSING AND FOR FLOOD CONTROL.

IF HOWEVER/ YOU CONTINUE TO BE MISLED/ BY HYSTERICAL FEAR/ OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM,/ WAR WILL CONTINUE,// AND YOU WILL GO ON/ TOWARD THE INEVITABLE PENALTY/ OF THOSE PERSONS AND PEOPLES/ WHO IN THE PAST/ HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER THE EARTH.

and failed.

LATELY, AS YOU KNOW, THE WHOLE WAR SITUATION IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN CHANGED BY THE NEW OFFERS OF PEACE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS THE PLAN OF RETURNING PRISONERS TAKEN IN THE KOREAN WAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR WISH, AND ADOPTS IN ESSENCE THE UNITED STATES PLAN FOR UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT. THE OFFERS DO NOT, NATURALLY, ACCEPT EVERYTHING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED, BUT NEVERTHELESS THE OFFER IS BROAD. WE CAN AND DO SUSPECT IT. WE CAN ALSO CONTINUE TO STALL AND OBJECT. WE CAN INCREASE OUR DEMANDS, AS IN THE CASE OF THE DIVISION OF KOREA AND THE DISPOSAL OF FORMOSA.

BUT IF PEOPLE LIKE YOU INSIST, PEACE ON EARTH IS IN SIGHT. OUR SOLDIERS CAN RETURN FROM ABROAD AND WE CAN STOP TRYING TO ARM THE EARTH FOR WAR. TAXES CAN COME DOWN AND WE CAN STILL HAVE MONEY FOR MORE EDUCATION, FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE, FOR HOUSING AND FOR FLOOD CONTROL.

IF HOWEVER YOU CONTINUE TO BE MISLED BY HYSTERICAL FEAR OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM, WAR WILL CONTINUE, AND YOU WILL GO ON TOWARD THE INEVITABLE PENALTY OF THOSE PERSONS AND PEOPLES WHO IN THE PAST HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER THE EARTH, and failed.

~~PENALTY OF THOSE PERSONS AND PEOPLES WHO IN THE PAST HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER THE EARTH.~~

35-8-55

45-8-66

Comm. Feb/53

Jan. 1953

REVOLT IN AFRICA
by W.E.B. DuBois

36-10-164

A few months ago in New York a young man who had not reached his 42nd birthday put his head in a gas oven and committed suicide. He had received his bachelor's degree summa cum laude, had been admitted to Phi Beta Kappa, and got his Doctorate in Economics from one of four chief universities. His thesis was used in the economics courses in several colleges, and he served the United States Resources Planning Board. He was, when he died, Chief of the Africa Unit of the Division of Economic Development in the United Nations. He just returned last winter from a mission to Somaliland, East Africa. The most important fact about him in the mind of this nation was that one or two of his grandparents were of Negro descent.

But he epitomized in his short life the disappointment and frustration of a modern man of African descent. He was never offered a first-class academic appointment in any college. He had chosen an area of study, Economics, which no one in this nation today dare study save as a branch of higher mathematics. He went to Africa to study one of the most miserably exploited regions of the world, with a history of struggle coming down 4000 years from the Egyptian 12th Dynasty to yesterday when the United Nations handed Somaliland back to the Italians. Wracked by the fever of aterrible climate, this young scholar came back to a nation where the social group to which he was bound was torn in leadership. His friends were railing at William Patterson for telling the story of Negro genocide to the UN. He found me, once a fellow teacher, whose daughter had been his own teacher, hand-cuffed and threatened with jail for talking of peace. He found it impossible to write or talk economics in a nation which was owned by big business both in physical body and literary soul. He killed himself.

Not many persons would react so tragically to news of Africa and her children; yet nearly everyone suddenly faced with the problems of Africa today is at least astonished.

36-10-165

You have never heard of revolt in Africa and indeed you have seldom heard of Africa, because Africa for long years has not been regarded as "news." No American press correspondents are regularly stationed in Africa and cablegrams sent from Africa usually treat solely of its white inhabitants or their interests. College courses on Africa are rare.

This was unusual before 1600. To the Greeks Africa was what Europe is to us. The Romans said, "Semper novi quid ex Africa." (Always something new out of Africa). The Middle Age faced Asia through Africa, and today perhaps after 300 years of studied effort not to see or hear of Africa, Africa is forcing itself on the world's attention.

The whole story of the present upheaval cannot be compressed in a short talk. I plan therefore to follow the modern history of the Nile Valley down to South Africa and thereby to indicate the other areas of unrest and revolt.

Just as the cotton kingdom rose to power in America in 1820, Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan and made it the greatest slave market of the modern world, to furnish ivory for the pianos of America, and soldiers and servants for the Turkish Empire. British philanthropy had been able in the 19th century to stop the slave trade from Africa to America because it was becoming unprofitable. Nevertheless, in the Valley of the Nile a new slavery became the

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opening door to a new colonial imperialism in which England, and France and Germany, joined at last by the United States, annexed a continent, and stole its labor and vast wealth. As a result there is tody revolt in North Africa, revolution in West Africa, murder in Kenya, strikes in the Belgian Congo, unrest in Tanganyika, rebellion in Egypt, and in South Africa the beginning of a world war of races along the color line.

For a thousand years or more tribes of Central Africa have been moving south, first to escape West African expansion and later to flee from Mohammedan imperialism, which Mohammed Ali in the Sudan personified. Some of these black men adapted Mohammedan culture and rebuilt it in the Western Sudan, but others moved south in waves, building and overthrowing kingdoms like the Kitwara, the Congo, and the high culture of Zymbabwe. Late in the 18th century the Bantu, as they came to be called, appeared in South Africa. Here the Dutch met them, and later the English met Dutch and Bantu.

For 130 years after the advent of the English there ensued here, one of the weirdest phantasmagorias this world has seen. It marked revolution in the relations of white Europe and Black Africa. Here, far below the great lakes on the high plateau of the South, men fought for half a century until they not only destroyed and rebuilt peoples, but struggled to make diamonds and gold the center of a new world trade, a new domination of human beings, and a new rule of wealth and capital. The Dutch pioneers strove to absorb or enslave the Hottentots and to fight with black invading Bantu for land and cattle; and then they fought against white English settlers to avoid political control and to secure their own autonomy. The blacks, now called Xosa, now

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Kaffirs, now Zulus, fought to drive off the white devils whom they murdered to cast off the evil that encompassed them. The British fought for empire.

When the Crimean war began the modern effort of Europe to control the Middle East, and just before the terrible Indian mutiny which warned Britain in Asia, one tribe in Africa attempted the most horrible mass suicide of modern times. The main body of warriors had been pushed back uhtil panic seized them, and two years after the Crimean War, at the command of a prophetess, the people seeing the onslaught of two bands of whites, killed and ate their cattle which were their wealth and high cultural symbol. They sowed no crops, they saved only their long spears, and hoped thus to bring a whirlwind to sweep the whites into the sea and to call their heroes back from the dead. 100,000 Zulus starved to death on the high plateau which covered the gold and diamonds of the world.

This tragic symbolism did not change the course of the world or Africa. More tribes of black men moved south from the Zambesi River; the stubborn Boers still strove to establish an independent state beyond the Vaal River and adjoining the Indian Ocean.

1870 was a year of doom for Africa. It was the year of the Battle of Sedan, and the year after the Suez Canal was opened. Gladstone had become Prime Minister of England. In South Africa stood three men, each over 6 feet tall and massive of frame. The oldest was the Dutchman, Paul Kruger, a stern, Bible-worshiping fanatic fighter and hunter, who hated the British and despised the blacks. The youngest was Cecil Rhodes, a grey-eyed blond, under age, who had come to Africa to recover from tuberculosis. The third, Lobengula, was King of the Matebele, dark bronze in color, naked but for his parakeet feather and loin cloth, 37 years old, who

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had just become King of a nation risen from the conquests of the terrible Chaka and which had established itself on the high hills between the Limpopo and the Zambesi.

These three fought for Africa. There was a fourth man who should h ve been here, but David Livingstone, the missionary, died in 1871, and with him died all hope of an ethical solution of the Africa problem.

The attitude of Europe toward Africa was changing. Africa, inste d of being an unknown land, source of transported slave labor, was suddenly to become a source of diamonds and gold, so that the world's luxury and wealth was to be measured by its products.

Stock companies centering in the capitals of the world replaced the individual exploiter. Organized commerce with Africa products began to belt the world, helped by new ways of making steel and of with new explosives for killing natives communicating by telegraph and telephone.

Of the three leaders of South Africa, Kruger was protagonist. His forefathers h d fough the Hottentots and had to some degree mixed their blood with them. The Dutch-Hottentot mulattoes moved into the south center of Africa, andon their land diamonds were later found. The Dutch fought the Zulus in the east for 25 years and then treked north and northeast, where Kruger as a young officer was fighting at 17, and conquered Dingaan, Chaka's successor, in 1837.

The South African Boer Republic then formed had been promised its independence by the English in 1852, but was annexed to Great Britain in 1877 by Disraeli, representing the new colonial imperialism. This led to war between England and the Boers until Gladstone, returned to power, gave South Africa its independence in 1881.

Here enters Lobengula. He was nursed by a Boer girl in childhood until in 1870 he succeeded Umselikatsi who had revolted from

Chaka and fled west and north to Bechuanaland. There Lobengula built up his policy of appeasing the whites. He sought peace with the Boers and moved north to avoid the British who were in bitter strife with the successors of Chaka. Between the two nations of whites the young black king was avoiding war when Cecil Rhodes moved on the scene.

Cecil John Rhodes was born in England in 1853, one of a clergyman's family of twelve. It was this man who put new meaning into the wars of Africa. Sick with tuberculosis, he landed in South Africa at the age of 18, four years after that great diamond, the Star of Africa, worth $125,000 had been found on the farm of a mulatto Watepboer at Kimberley. Diamonds soon came to be the high sign of luxury, extravagance and wealth, bedizening the bare breasts of all the prostitutes of London, Paris and New York, and furnishing wedding rings to the white world.

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Rhodes, after coming to South Africa in 1870 was soon earning $500 a week, and returned to England three years later, already rich before he was of age. He sought training and matriculated at Oxford. It was here he got his inspiration and was called of greed to rule the world. It was here that he heard the great John Ruskin, grey-haired, with burning eyes, prophetof empire, summon before him in those old, arched and crenelated halls, the young gentlemen of England to: "A destiny now possible to us, the highest ever set before a nation; to be accepted or refused. Will you youths of England make your country again a real throne of kings, a sceptered isle, for all the world a source of light, a center of peace."

Rhodes returned to South Africa filled with a vision of making England master of the wealth of that land, with millions of Negroes to extract the wealth from the rich earth, and with Rhodes himself

to unite South Africa with the Valley of the Nile.

In South Africa the English soon made good their claim of ownership of Briequaland, where the diamonds lay. They followed Rhodes up into the great central section of South Africa, Bechuanaland, and further north in Uganda. Eventually they established a protectorate of East Africa and gave away the land of Kenya.

Meantime, in the valley of the Nile, things too had begun to happen. The English had begun to look at the citadel of Africa, which is Ethiopia. In 1867 they had moved against the Emperor, so that Ethiopia's armies were quickly overthrown and Theodore, King of the Kings of Ethiopia, putting a pistol in his mouth, blew out his brains. His conqueror became a British Earl. ButtBritain retreated for Rhodes was only 14.

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When the Suez Canal, started by the French, was finished in 1869, it became the umbilical cord of British colonial imperialism from Gibraltar to Bombay. It then was clear to the British that they must dominate the Nile Valley. But the French also were looking at the Nile as the western boundary of an empire which began with Algeria in 1830. After the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck added Tunis to France, despite the fact that Tunis was ancient Carthage and Italy was insanely determined to annex it, from the premiership of Crispi to the dictatorship of Mussolini.

A french empire in Africa began to arise. Slowly but surely French outposts moved east, past Lake Chad and south to Guinea where the British had already been fighting, stealing and intriguing for 200 years and were watching carefully as France dug the Suez Canal.

Egypt also entered, sending Chinese Gordon down into the Sudan ostensibly to stop the slave trade, but really to encroach on Ethiopia.

St nley, the Americ n, and Leopold of Belgium, conspiring together seized in the center of Africa a territory 14 times the size of Belgium. The European scramble for Africa started.

Gladstone, the great liberal, coming to power between 1868 and 1874 was slow in seizing a British share and came under attack by the new colonial imperialism. On the other hand, his successor, Disraeli himself, bought the shares of the Suez Canal from Egypt in 1875, sold them to England and in 1876 flattered Victoria by making her Empress of India, the zenith of British imperialism.

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Thus three European nations were converging on the Valley of the Nile; Britain, France and Italy, and were led by explorers and missionaries, armies and liquor. In 1876 France and England together took charge of the Suez Canal, while Chinese Gordon, often drunk, moved up the Nile--to save the Sudan for Egypt by re-opening the slave trade.

Suddenly in 1883 in the Sudan the blacks revolted, led by the Mahdi who dilled Gordon. For thirteen years Britain was stopped dead in her traces on her march up the Nile. But Italy, still hungry for North Africa, was urged by England to fasten her hold upon Ethiopia and the Red Sea.

Rhodes in South Africa began to implement this work when in 1884 on the Ridge of White Waters in the midst of the Boer dominion gold was discovered. Gold, the touchstone and symbol of wealth from ancient Thebes to modern New York. Gold, which added to the diamonds and afterward to copper, made South Central Africa the greatest single center for the exploitation of wealth and enslavement of human labor that the world knew. Rhodes organized and centralized the diamond business and began to regiment the workers. But the stubborn Boers were in the way, having established a republic independent of England

which stretched straight across the region where gold was found.

Paul Kruger became President of the Boer State in 1883 just as the Mahdi rebelled in the Sudan; and that same year his European kinfolk, the Germans, appeared in Southwest Africa, over which a German protectorate was extended. A few years later the Germans appeared in East Africa, and thus the British path from Cape to Cairo was threatened by another great European power.

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Negroes from all South and South Central Africa were gradually being herded into the diamond fields and gold mines, and new and astonishing wealth began to pour into Europe. There were black revolts and native war. Thousands of whites and blacks died. A Zulu Assigai killed the Prince Imperial of France, but the prize of Africa was vast.

Today out of Africa comes 98% of the diamonds of the world; 80% of the cobalt; 75% of the sisal hemp; 70% of the palm oil; 70% of the cocoa; 60% of the gold; 35% of the phosphates; 30% of the chrome and manganese; 20% of the copper and 15% of the coffee. This was the prospect that beckoned colonial imperialism in 1880.

Rhodes had to have the Boers out of his way. The gold was his but the Boers ran the government. They had resisted unexpectedly and fiercely in 1880-1881, before gold was found, so that Britain with Gladstone again at the helm recoiled, but Rhodes now pressed on. He sowed ill-will between Matabele and Boers by conniving at the murder of Kruger's envoy to Lobengula. Through the missionary, Moffat, he secured by fraud from the suspicious and unwilling Lobengula the celebrated Rudd concession to dig for gold. In 1889 he formed the British South African Company in England, and the year before had secured the diamond monopoly of the world.

Rhodes must now have control of Matabeleland in order to sell more shares of his South African Company. With this land in his control he could prospect for gold not only there, but in Mashonaland beyond where the blacks had once built the great civilization of Zimbabwe, which probably Lobengula's forefathers had overthrown. Even if no gold was found shares would sell. Rhodes therefore sent his friend, Jameson, into Matabeleland to start the quarrel which he must have. Jameson promised his followers 600 acres of land and 20 gold claims each and their share of 200,000 cattle. With them he raided the Matebele, mowing them down with the newly-invented Maxim guns.

36-10-173

Still the Matebele were not easily conquered. The English general said:

"With furious courage they flung themselves upon the British artillery. No civilized troops could have withstood the terrible fire which they did that day for at most half as long."

Lobengula finally knew he was beaten. He had appealed to Queen Victoria, but his letters had been deliberately mislaid. He tried every strategy, but the white Bishop of Mashonaland prayed God "that the wicked Matebele be destroyed." On came the English troops. The black King, sick with disappointment blew up his capital city. He told his warrior, "You have done your best, my soldiers. You can help me no more. Go now to your Kraals. Go sweetly. Go in peace." Turning toward the river the streamed into the Zambesi, the last fighting king of the Zulus died wrapped in the skins of his sixteen black oxen.

Rhodes was now on the way to success, despite the fact that in 1893 Kruger was re-elected President of the Boer Republic. Lobengula was dead, and his territory was renamed Rhodesia. Rhodes was able to dump a million shares of his South African Company on the London world market, and they were unloaded at $40 a share. One

year later, in 1890, Rhodes became Prime Minister of Cape Colony, dominant province of South Africa; and on the London market he became master of the gold and diamonds of the world. He was so rich he did not know his wealth.

Meantime, in the Valley of the Nile, while both the English and the Egyptians were fighting the Kalifa who succeeded the Mahdi, the Italians moved in to control the Emperor Johannes of Ethiopia. He was killed and wa succeeded by Menelik, whom the Italians had helped to power and considered their tool. They pretended that he had signed a treaty handing over the control of the foreign affairs of Ethiopia to Italy. This Menelik steadily denied, and when war ensued in 1896 he killed 25,000 Italians at Adua. Crispi resigned. Italy retreated.

36-10-174

For a moment the white western world held its breath. Black Menelik was making alliance, political and industrial, with France, which had already resulted in a railway to the sea. The French were slowly approaching the Nile from the west, and Ethiopia was to meet them from the east. It looked as though Great Britain might lose control of the Nile Valey.

It was then that the Tory Prime Minister, Salisbury, discovered the Chinese Gordon, now dead 12 years, had been a saint and must be avenged. He sent General Kitchener to the Nile armed with the new explosive dynamite invented in 1886. Kitchener's army killed 27,000 Sudanese, recaptured their capital, Khartoun, dug the Mahdi from his grave and publicly defiled his corpse. He then turned to the French and gave warning. France was not ready to go to war with Britain over the control of the Nile. It was agreed at Fashoda to give the Nile to Britain, and the French Army never met Menelik.

The explorer, the missionary, the prospector, the trader, the hunter, and the soldier, all played their parts. Religion, cheap gin, syphilis and arbitrary government by distant rulers came to nations of farmers and hunters, black and white. The great diamond hole at Kimberley was dug two miles down into the ground. Johannesburg, a miniature New York, raised its towers on the windswept high veld of the Witwatersrand over a world of Gold.

36-10-175

Feverishly Cecil Rhodes, facing death and spitting up his lungs in blood, pursued his world-grasping path. He wanted union with America, with a secret society organized like Loyola's, dictated to by the accumulated wealth of those whose aspiration is "to do something." Thus spoke the forerunner of Hitler 100 years before Hitler was conquered by the Soviet Union. Rhodes had at the time at least a quarter of a billion dollars and could easily have had twice that sum. He made his way by wealth. He bribed everybody--Boer, Kaffir, members of the British Parliament, great gentlemen.

With the end of the Matebele War in 1893 Rhodes straddled Africa. One foot was planted on the Cape of Good Hope where he was Prime Minister. The other in Rhodesia, so named in 1895, where he represented the British South Africa Company. He chose his grave there beside the graves of the mighty Zulu King's. Beneath him was Kimberley and the diamond mines. Beyond was a new German Africa, but for the present he ignored it. What he lacked was political control of the gold of Johannesburg, which his incorporated companies owned.

In Johannesburg lived Englishmen and other Europeans far outnumbering the Boers. They had long thought of seeking political power by force. Rhodes considered the time now ripe, and encouraged

his pal, Dr. Jamison, now in Rhodesia where he had been victorious over the dead Lobengula. Jameson prepared to make alliance with the greedy Uitlanders of Johannesburg. They planned the raid and seizure. He lurched out, but the stubborn Boers met him. He was quickly overthrown and the fat was in the fire. Rhodes had to resign from the Cape Colony government and was compelled to meet a new rebellion of the Matebele; and also parliamentary investigation in London. He never wavered. If he could save Rhodesia he was safe in Britain, and Britain must rule the world.

36-10-176

The new war in Matebeleland was bitter. The natives no longer rushed to certain death into the mouths of machine guns. They lurked and attacked by surprise. A fifth of the white troops were soon dead and the rest were hiding in the guarded towns. The cost of the war to Rhodes' South African Company threatened to reach $25,000,000. Shares were dropping on the London market. Rhodes had to win by deception if not by force. He went in person. He cajoled the Matebele chiefs. He procured the assassination of the witch doctor M'Limo. He pleaded with the head chief. He promised everything, until the chief yielded, "It is peace, my father."

Then Rhodes went to London and faced a parliamentary inquiry, with most of South Africa still in his hand. Little happened. Too many of the great were involved. The Queen and the Prime Minister in addition to the German Kaiser took his side, and even the culprit Jameson was eventually knighted.

Still all was not well in Johannesburg. In 1898 Kruger was re-elected President of the South African Republic, and the next year Britain prepared for war which came in 1899 and lasted four long and awful years. Before it ended Cecil Rhodes was dead at 49, complaining, "So much to do, so little done."

36-10-177

But Rhodes had done far more than he thought, but of evil, not of good. His fantastic career had made Europe mad for colonial wealth and power, and particularly Germany and Italy insisted on a redistribution of colonies. This demand and the resistance of Britain and France plunged the world in 1914 into total war. The unbearable strain of the First War disrupted the industrial organization of the world and helped socialists to re-organize industry for the benefit of workers rather than owners.

All Europe was testing socialism, but it had its most far-reaching experiment in Russia, and 16 nations, including the United States, tried to stop it. Depression stopped them. Then at last Germany and Italy organized to overthrow it. Britain and France tried to cooperate but Germany asked too high a price so that Russia finally had to be asked to join the West to hold back Germany. This was done, and then in our day Britain, France and America joined again to crush socialism and restore colonialism.

Meantime Britain bought the cooperation of the whites of South Africa by giving them independence and control of land and black labor until two million whites had eight million serfs. Then Britain let the whites of Kenya retain the land she had given them after the First World War for two cents an acre, and helped force the natives who owned the land to work for these whites at $10 a month. She placed in Kenya the largest store of munitions in the Empire for eventual attack on Asia. Yesterday Britain signed a treaty to subject six million more Negroes in South Central Africa to the ownership of two hundred thousand whites. After this the inevitable is happening. In West Africa came revolt in 1948 that barely escaped civil war with riot and mutiny. It has freed thirty million natives and brought

them within a step of independence. In Kenya secret murder in the hills is now terrifying the colony. In the Union of South Africa Negroes and Indians, Africa and Asia have begun passive resistance which the whites are going to smash by force. Back of Malan who leads this effort is the United States. We have loaned South Africa 90 millions and nearly every great American corporation is investing money there. Our consul last year called South Africa the most promising young nation on earth. In Morocco is unrest. We and the French, with help of ECA funds, own a mine which gave us $9,000,000 profit in three years. The miners get 15 cents an hour. General Clay is a director. He also head our Crusade for Freedom.

36-10-178

In Africa is beginning that war of race which may start the Third World War in conjunction with revolt in Asia. Under such circumstances conceive of a Secretary of State asking America to believe that we are threatened by a Russian plot in Africa to encircle the United States. What we are threatened with and have been for a hundred years, is unbridled greed of Europe and now the United States, determined to rule mankind by force.

WE ARE HONORED TONIGHT WITH THE PRESENCE OF PROFESSOR Z.K. MATTHEWS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND MRS. MATTHEWS. MR. MATTHEWS WAS BORN IN KIMBERLY, THE CITY OF DIAMONDS WHERE CECIL RHODES MADE HIS FIRST MILLIONS. HE BELONGS TO THE BAMANGUATA TRIBE OF WHICH SERETSE KHAMA IS CHIEF DESIGNATE, NOW IN EXILE BY THE BRITISH FOR MARRYING AN ENGLISH GIRL. MR MATTHEWS IS HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF FORT HARE. PROFESSOR HAS HELD THE HIGHEST OFFICES OPEN TO AN AFRICAN IN SOUTH AFRICAN AND HELPED DEVELOPE MAKARERE COLLEGE IN UGANDA AND GORDON COLLEGE IN THE SUDAN THIS YEAR HE IS RESIDENT AT UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN NEW YORK, AS HENRY LUCE VISITING PROFESSOR OF WORLD CHRISTIANITY. MR MATTHEWS HOLDS BACHELOR'S DEGREES FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA, A MASTERS DEGREE FROM YALE AND HAS DONE POST GRADUATE WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

MR. AND MRS MATTHEWS HAVE FIVE CHILDREN: A SON IN LAW SCHOOL, NOW IN JAIL FOR PASSIVE RESISTANCE TO RACE SEGREGATION LAWS. TWO CHILDREN IN ~~HIGH SCHOOL~~ COLLEGE AND TWO IN HIGH SCHOOL

S2-11-94

Feb 8/53 31 Grove Court
B'klyn

Du Bois March 26, 1953 AJFc

DO WE WANT PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

I WANT TO EXAMINE WITH YOU THIS QUESTION OF PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. // SPEAKING FRANKLY AS ONE WITHOUT CONSCIOUS PREJUDICE, WHO SEEKS ONLY THE TRUTH AND THE WELFARE OF THIS NATION AND OF THE WORLD. // THE UNITED STATES ACCUSES THE SOVIET UNION OF TRYING BY FORCE TO FASTEN ON AN INCREASING PROPORTION OF THE WORLD THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT KNOWN AS COMMUNISM. // WHICH A LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICANS REGARD AS WRONG IN THEORY AND UNWORKABLE IN PRACTICE.

THE SOVIET UNION REPLIES THAT COMMUNISM TODAY IS WORKING WITH INCREASING SUCCESS AND IF UNHINDERED WILL PROVE ITS SUPERIORITY TO OTHER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. // IT SAYS THAT OTHER NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT TO REFUSE TO ADOPT COMMUNISM, BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION FROM MAKING THIS GREAT EXPERIMENT. // ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND DISEASE WHICH UNDER CAPITALISM CONTINUES TO AFFECT MOST OF MANKIND. // The Communist doctrine declares that this result is inevitable by the very nature of the capitalist system.

501-10-105

TO THIS ARGUMENT AMERICANS REPLY THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT TO MAKE ITS OWN EXPERIMENT PROVIDED ITS OWN PEOPLE FREELY CONSENT AND ARE NOT TREATED AS SLAVES. // BUT THAT IT HAS NO RIGHT TO FORCE THIS SYSTEM UPON OTHER PEOPLES. // THE SOVIETS ASSERT THAT THEIR CITIZENS ARE UNDER INTELLIGENT DISCIPLINE BUT ARE NOT ENSLAVED, AND THEY HAVE REPEATEDLY INVITED STUDY OF THEIR SYSTEM AND HAVE PUBLISHED MANY REPORTS. // THEY CLAIM THAT THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ALLIES FULLY JUSTIFIES THE COMMUNIST STATE. // This assertion I believe to be true after three visits to the Soviet Union in the last 25 years.

46-10-106

HERE NOW COMES A QUESTION OF FACT WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED BY CALLING NAMES NOR BY WAR. // MOST REASONABLE PEOPLE SHOULD AGREE THAT THE WORLD CAN ONLY WAIT AND SEE. // WILL THE COMMUNIST STATE SUCCEED IN DECREASING POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE WITHOUT TOO GREAT A CURTAILMENT OF HUMAN FREEDOM? // IF SO, THE CONTROVERSY IS SETTLED WITHOUT REVOLUTION OR WAR.

MANY AMERICANS HERE INSIST THAT AT ANY RATE // THE SOVIET UNION IS FORCING THE ACCEPTANCE OF COMMUNISM ON PEOPLES OUTSIDE THEIR TERRITORY AGAINST THEIR WILL // THEY CALL THIS COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM // HERE AGAIN THE truth can only be ascertained by SOCIAL INQUIRY AND HISTORICAL FACT.

SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION ITS BOUNDARIES HAVE BEEN INCREASED only BY THE RE-ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES // FINLAND, WHICH ONCE WAS A PART OF RUSSIA WAS VOLUNTARILY GIVEN UP BY THE SOVIET UNION DESPITE THE FACT THAT AFTERWARD IT BECAME AS RUSSIA FEARED, THE BASE OF ATTACK ON RUSSIA BY THE GERMANS // THE RE-ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES WAS SIMPLY RESTORING TO RUSSIA TERRITORY WHICH HAD FORMERLY BELONGED TO IT AND HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY BY THE ALLIES IN ORDER TO BECOME A BASE FOR THE EVENTUAL CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION // NONE OF THE ALLIES RAISED ANY OBJECTION TO THE RESTORATION OF THESE STATES TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT // THOSE WHO now MOST LOUDLY PROTEST ARE FORMER LANDLORDS AND foreign INVESTORS.

49-10-102

OTHER STATES HAVE ADOPTED COMMUNISM AND ARE ALLIED WITH THE SOVIET UNION BUT ARE NOT A PART OF ITS TERRITORY // YUGOSLAVIA HAS WITHDRAWN FROM ALLIANCE AND NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO PREVENT HER // THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND HAS SINCE THE 12TH CENTURY BEEN A STORY OF WAR, AGGRESSION AND PARTITION, AND THE ENSLAVEMENT OF ITS PEOPLES // WHEN DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR THE POLISH PEOPLE TRIED TO SET UP AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT THEY WERE IN GRAVE DANGER OF BEING RESTORED TO LAND MONOPOLY AND SERFDOM FOSTERED BY WESTERN CAPITAL // THE SOVIET UNION FORBADE THE USE OF OUTSIDE FORCE AND DEMANDED THAT THE MASS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY // HOW FAR THIS NEW EFFORT AT SELF-RULE IS SUCCESSFUL CAN ONLY BE PROVEN BY THE COURSE OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS // CERTAINLY AMERICANS HAVE NO RIGHT WITHOUT PROOF TO ASSUME THAT THE PRESENT POLISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT BETTER THAN ANY POLAND HAS EVER HAD. No person who like myself saw Poland in 1893 and 1949 can have any doubt of this.

46-10-108

IN THE SAME WAY/ THE BALKAN STATES/ HAVE FOR MORE THAN 500 YEARS/ BEEN THE FOOTBALL OF WESTERN CAPITAL/ WORKING THROUGH LOCAL ARISTOCRACY/ AND LAND MONOPOLY// THE RESULTS/ HAVE LONG SHAMED EUROPEAN HISTORY// AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ ONE OF TWO THINGS/ HAD TO HAPPEN:// THE WESTERN INVESTORS/ SUPPORTING LOCAL TYRANTS/ COULD HAVE BEEN ALLOWED/ TO CONTINUE THE DISGRACEFUL HISTORY/ OF THE PAST// OR UNDER THE PROTECTION/ OF THE VICTORIOUS SOVIET ARMIES/ THE PEOPLE OF THE BALKAN STATES/ COULD BE ALLOWED TO ORGANIZE/ THEIR GOVERNMENT/ AS THEY WISHED.// HERE AGAIN/ THERE IS NO VALID SOCIAL OR HISTORICAL PROOF/ THAT TODAY/ HUNGARY, ROMANIA,/ BULGARIA AND ALBANIA/ ARE NOT BETTER OFF/ THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN/ IN RECENT HISTORY.

IN THE CASE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA/ WE HAVE ANOTHER COUNTRY/ LONG DOMINATED BY WESTERN CAPITAL/ WHICH TODAY/ THROUGH THE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION OF RUSSIA/ HAS HAD ITS GOVERNMENT/ PUT INTO THE HANDS/ OF THE MASS OF ITS OWN PEOPLE/ BY A LOCAL REVOLUTION/ CARRIED OUT BY THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PEOPLE.

46-10-109

IP OUTSIDE FORCE WAS NOT USED/ BUT IF WESTERN EUROPE/ HAD ATTEMPTED IT/ THE SOVIET UNION/ WOULD HAVE FORBIDDEN THE ATTEMPT.// WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT? THERE IS again NO PROOF/ THAT THIS NATION/ IS NOT SUCCESSFUL/ IN ITS NEW FORM// Indeed there is strong testimony to the contrary

IF THE FUTURE PROVES/ THAT THESE BALKAN STATES/ ARE WORSE OFF/ UNDER THIS NEW ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY/ THAN THEY WERE/ UNDER THE RULE OF WESTERN INVESTED CAPITAL/ THEN THE ARGUMENT OF AMERICANS/ WILL BE JUSTIFIED// BUT IT CANNOT BE EMPHASIZED TOO MUCH/ THAT THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN PROVEN/ and does not seem likely. To d.

IN THE CASE OF CHINA/ THERE IS NO BASIS EVEN FOR THE INTIMATION THAT CHINA WAS COMPELLED/ TO GO COMMUNIST/ BY RUSSIAN AGGRESSION.// ON THE CONTRARY, IT WAS WESTERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN AGGRESSION/ THAT DROVE THE CHINESE/ INTO THE COMMUNIST ORBIT.

IN THE CASE OF KOREA/ THERE IS NO DOUBT/ BUT WHAT AMERICAN INFLUENCE/, ARMS AND MONEY/ PRECIPITATED THE CIVIL WAR.// NO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS HAVE EVER

46-10-110

TAKEN PART IN THAT WAR/ AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT/ HAS GIVEN LESS OF ARMS AND HELP/ TO NORTHERN KOREA/ THAN THE UNITED STATES/ HAS GIVEN/ TO SOUTHERN KOREA.

WHAT IS HAPPENING/ THEN,/ IN THE WORLD/ IS NOT EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM [redacted] BY Soviet FORCE,/ BUT IT IS WITHOUT DOUBT/ EXPANSION OF THE BELIEF/ IN HUMAN UPLIFT/ THROUGH SOCIALISM,/ FOR WHICH THE SOVIET UNION STANDS.// IF WE ARE OPPOSED/ TO [redacted] THAT IDEA,/ WE CAN ONLY PROVE [redacted] OUR POSITION/ BY ~~OPPOSING~~ FURNISHING [redacted] BETTER IDEAS OF HUMAN PROGRESS;// AND THAT WE HAVE NOT YET DONE,/ AS THE PREVALENT CONDITION/ OF MOST HUMAN BEINGS/ CLEARLY PROVES.

OUR OFFERS TO HELP THE WORLD/ HAVE IN TOO MANY CASES/ BEEN DISINGENUOUS AND SELF-SEEKING.// THE MARSHALL PLAN/ WAS AN OFFER TO HELP RESTORE/ THE DOMINATION/ OF THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL IN EUROPE (and to open up profitable investment for American industry.)/ SUCH HELP [redacted] SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS/ COULD NOT ACCEPT/ WITHOUT REPUDIATING SOCIALISM.// OUR

111-01-94

POINT FOUR PROGRAM/ IS AN EFFORT TO FURNISH CAPITAL/ AND TECHNIQUE/ TO BACKWARD COUNTRIES/ IF THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL/ ARE ASSURED TRADITIONAL POWER AND HIGH PROFIT, (from Low Wage + Cheap land) AND IF ITS ACCEPTANCE/ IS ACCOMPANIED BY A PROMISE/ TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY AGGRESSION/ AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE KOREAN WAR/ WAS BASED THEREFORE/ UPON AN ASSUMPTION/ WHICH WAS UNPROVEN,/ NAMELY, THAT THE SOVIET UNION/ WAS INTERVENING/ BY FORCE INTO KOREA.// ON THIS/ WAS BASED THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/ PLEDGED ITSELF/ TO PREVENT FURTHER COMMUNIST EXPANSION by FORCE DECLARING THEREFORE,/ WITHOUT PROOF,/ THAT THE CIVIL WAR IN KOREA/ WAS Soviet aggression. [redacted]/ THE UNITED STATES BEGAN WAR/ ON NORTHERN KOREA,/ WITHOUT/ THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS;// AND LATER/ THROUGH ITS GREAT INFLUENCE/ COMPELLED THE UNITED NATIONS/ TO ADOPT THIS WAR/ AS ITS OWN.

WE DID NOT STOP HERE,/ BUT IN ADDITION,/ AGAINST THE CLEAR WARNING/

111-01-113

OF CHINA, WE INVADED CHINESE TERRITORY. // THE CHINESE DROVE UNITED STATES TROOPS BACKWARD IN A 400 MILE RETREAT WHICH WAS THE GREATEST DEFEAT OF AMERICAN TROOPS SINCE THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

THEREUPON THE UNITED STATES (declared China the aggressor and) ADOPTED A PROGRAM OF UNPRECEDENTED MILITARY EXPANSION. // WE TRIED TO STAMPEDE THE NATION INTO UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE (RAISED TAXES TO UNPRECEDENTED HEIGHTS) AND IMPRISONED COMMUNIST LEADERS, WHO WERE NOT EVEN ACCUSED OF ANY SUBVERSIVE ACTS. // WE SURROUNDED THE SOVIET UNION WITH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS, SENT OUR FLEET AND TROOPS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, FORMED AN ALLIANCE OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COUNTRIES AGAINST COMMUNISM, // AND THREATENED USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB!

46-10-113

THIS WAS THE GREATEST THREAT OF WAR WHICH THE MODERN WORLD HAS SEEN, AND IT GAVE RISE TO A PEACE MOVEMENT WHICH THE SOVIET UNION LED. // WE REFUSED TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT AND CONTROL OF THE ATOM BOMB EXCEPT OUR TERMS WERE ACCEPTED WITHOUT AMENDMENT. // THE SOVIETS (later) PROPOSED CONSIDERATION

OF A TRUCE IN KOREA WHICH WE ACCEPTED. // BUT ALTHOUGH THE CHINESE REPUBLIC HAD TO BE REPRESENTED IN SUCH A TRUCE // WE REFUSED TO LET THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TAKE THEIR RIGHTFUL SEAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WE CONTINUOUSLY INCREASED OUR DEMANDS:—

FIRST, INSTEAD OF ACCEPTING THE 38th PARALLEL AS THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA, // AS WE HAD PROMISED TO DO, WE INSISTED ON PUSHING THE BORDER MANY MILES NORTH SO AS TO GIVE US MORE DEFENSIBLE POSITIONS. // WE MADE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS // AT FIRST AGREEING TO EXCHANGE (all) PRISONERS, BUT AT LAST WE DEMANDED THAT PRISONERS THEMSELVES SHOULD DECIDE AS TO WHETHER THEY WERE TO BE RETURNED TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND THAT IN ADDITION TO THAT, THIS SCREENING SHOULD BE MADE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN THE CONFINES OF THE PRISONS.

46-10-114

THIS CHINA AND NORTHERN KOREA REFUSED, BUT OFFERED TO ACCEPT IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A CONFERENCE ON PRISONERS AND OTHER DISPUTED MATTERS. THIS WE REFUSED, AND THE TERRIBLE KOREAN WAR PROCEEDS, HAVING ALREADY COST US IN WAR CASUALTIES, DISEASE AND ACCIDENTS NEARLY AS MANY MEN (as the 1st World War.

THEN WE TOOK ANOTHER AND WHAT MAY PROVE TO HAVE BEEN A FATAL STEP. THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE WAS enunciated BY GENERAL EISENHOWER DURING HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY. HE ANNOUNCED THAT IN THE FUTURE WE WOULD UNDERTAKE THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION BY SEPARATING COUNTRIES IN ALLIANCE WITH IT BY FORCE AND BY THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SABOTAGE AND REVOLT! THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A DIRECT APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS BY CONGRESS FOR THIS OBJECT. IN OTHER DAYS, BEFORE THE SERIOUSNESS (and extent) OF WAR HAD BEEN INCREASED BY MODERN TECHNIQUE, THIS ACTION IN ITSELF WOULD HAVE PLUNGED THE WORLD DIRECTLY INTO WAR!

S11-01-46

IN THE MEANTIME, THE IMMINENCE OF WAR HAS BEEN INCREASED BY A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS ARISING FROM THE ~~VERY~~ NATURE OF THE CASE. AIRFIELDS ESTABLISHED ON THE VERY BORDERS OF RUSSIA HAVE LED TO REPEATED INCIDENTS OF AMERICAN AIRPLANES BEING FOUND OVER SOVIET TERRITORY. WE HAVE SENT TO RUSSIA MEN LIKE WILLIAM OATIS, TRAINED IN OUR SCHOOLS FOR SPIES, AND THEN SENT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS NEWSPAPER REPORTERS. WHEN THEY WERE ACCUSED OF ACTING AS SPIES WE HAVE BLUNTLY DENIED IT, BUT ~~WHEN~~ THERE COULD BE, OF COURSE, NO REAL QUESTION CONCERNING THE TRUTH OF THE ACCUSATION.

S11-01-46

AFTER EISENHOWER BECAME PRESIDENT HE AND HIS PARTY TOOK ~~FIVE~~ SIX STEPS, ANY ONE OF WHICH MIGHT HAVE RESULTED IN WORLD WAR. FIRST, HE VISITED KOREA, BUT MADE NO APPARENT EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT PEACE; RATHER HE HELD MILITARY CONFERENCES SO AS TO STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION AND PROLONG OR EVEN EXPAND THE WAR. SECOND, THE PRESIDENT ORDERED OUR NAVAL FLEET WHICH HAD

BEEN PROTECTING CHIANG KAI-CHEK/ TO BE WITHDRAWN// WITH THE IDEA/THAT CHIANG/WOULD THEN ATTACK CHINA// THIRD, THE PRESIDENT THREATENED/TO CANCEL ALL TREATIES/WITH THE SOVIET UNION// BUT AFTER CONSIDERATION,/ THIS PROPOSAL WAS DROPPED// FOURTH, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE/AND THE MUTUAL SECURITY DIRECTOR/MADE AN OFFICIAL TRIP TO EUROPE,/ ANNOUNCING BEFOREHAND/ THAT THEY WERE GOING TO DEMAND /INCREASED MILITARY COOPERATION/AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION/OR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNITED STATES APPROPRIATIONS// THIS RESULT THEY HAVE NOT YET ACCOMPLISHED.// FIFTH, ON THE DEATH OF STALIN/THERE WAS MANIFEST/IN THE UNITED STATES/AND ENCOURAGED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT/AN ATTITUDE/WHICH WAS ALMOST INSULTING TO A PEOPLE/WHO WITH SINGULAR UNANIMITY/ WERE MOURNING THE DEATH OF A GREAT LEADER// SIXTH, THE UNITED STATES/OPENED THE 7th SESSION/OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY/OF THE UN/WITH TRUCULENCE AND STUDIED DISCOURTESY// CHARGING THE SOVIET UNION/ WITH DELIBERATELY PROLONGING THE KOREAN WAR/AND WITH REFUSING TO ACCEPT DISARMAMENT.

MEANTIME/ WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO OVERRIDE/THE CHARTER

46-10-117

OF THE UNITED NATIONS// THIS CHARTER,/ UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED,/ ALLOWED EACH OF THE FIVE GREAT POWERS/THE RIGHT OF VETO// THIS WAS DEMANDED/ AS STRONGLY BY THE UNITED STATES/AND GREAT BRITAIN/AS BY THE SOVIET UNION./ WE HAVE TRIED TO CHANGE THIS PROVISION/ BY UNCONSTITUTIONAL WAYS,/ SO THAT TODAY/THE UNITED NATIONS/ IS PRESIDED OVER BY A SECRETARY/WHO WAS NOT THUS LEGALLY ELECTED,// AND WE ARE SEEKING/ TO ADMIT MEMBERS/BY ILLEGAL MEANS!! IN FACT,/ THERE IS VOICED IN MANY QUARTERS/IN AMERICA,/ AND SOMETIMES ELSEWHERE// THE DESIRE AND PLAN/ TO FORCE THE SOVIET UNION/ OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS// WHICH WOULD DEPRIVE THE WORLD/OF ITS ONLY FORUM TO PREVENT WAR.

46-10-118

MANY AMERICANS/ARE LULLED INTO INACTION/BY THE CAREFULLY SPREAD IDEA/THAT THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION/WILL BE EASY.//THAT IT WILL BE ACCOMPLSHED BY ATOM BOMBS /, WITH COLORED SOLDIERS/FROM ASIA AND AFRICA/ HELPED BY JAPAN AND GERMANY// THIS IS A PIPE DREAM/WHICH SHOULD DECEIVE NO INTELLIGENT NATION.// NAPOLEON ONCE THOUGHT RUSSIA/ COULD EASILY BE SUBDUED/ AND LIVED TO LEARN BETTER// HITLER WAS CERTAIN/ THAT ~~XXXXXX~~ THE SOVIET UNION/ COULD NOT WITHSTAND HIS ARMIRES/AND EUROPE AND AMERICA/ BELIEVED HIM/UNTIL STALINGRAD PROVED SOMETHING DIFFERENT// IT IS OF COURSE POSSIBLE/ THAT A WORLD UNITED AGAINST COMMUNISM/ MAY TODAY ~~XXX~~

14A) OVERTHROW THE SOVIET UNION // BUT THE COST WILL BE COLLOSSAL / NOT ONLY IN WEALTH AND BLOOD: / BUT IN DEATH AND DISEASE / SUFFERING AND PAIN; / IN ART AND LITERATURE / AND THE DREAMS AND IDEALS OF MANKIND // TO PREVENT SO INSANE A STRUGGLE / IS THE CLEAR AND PRESENT DUTY / OF ALL MEN //

46-10-119

THIS THEN / IS THE PRESENT SITUATION // IT IS A RECORD OF INCREASING DETERMINATION / OF THE UNITED STATES / TO HAVE WAR WITH RUSSIA / AND TO STOP COMMUNISM BY FORCE. // NOW ON THE OTHER HAND / AND IN CONTRADICTION TO THIS, / THE DESIRE FOR PEACE / ON THE PART / OF THE MAJORITY / OF THE PEOPLE OF THE

UNITED STATES / IS WIDESPREAD AND GROWING. // HOW CAN THIS PARADOX BE EXPLAINED? // VERY EASILY. / THOSE PERSONS / WHO ARE IN CONTROL OF THE UNITED STATES / TODAY / WANT WAR. // THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE / OF THE NATION / WHO ARE SACRIFICING THEIR CHILDREN / AND ARE PAYING EVER-INCREASING PRICES / AND BOWING UNDER / A STAGGERING LOAD OF TAXATION / DO NOT WANT WAR. // BUT THE RULERS OF THE NATION /, WITH OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND POWER / UNDER THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION / ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS / OF INVESTMENT CAPITAL / AND OF WEALTH MONOPOLY. // THEY ARE THE ONES / WHO ARE FORCING THIS NATION / TO MAKE ARMED ALLIANCE / WITH FRENCH, BRITISH AND GERMAN IMPERIALISM / TO PUT DOWN THE EFFORT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES / TOWARD INDEPENDENCE / AND AUTONOMY. // THEY ARE THE ONES / WHO ARE FURNISHING THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA / THE BELGIAN CONGO / FRENCH AFRICA / AND OTHER PEOPLES OF ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICA / THE FUNDS THROUGH WHICH / THEY ARE INCREASING RACE PREJUDICE / OPPRESSING LABOR / (MONOPOLIZING LAND) AND RETAINING / FOR MOST / OF THE WORKERS OF

46-10-120

PRECIPITATING WORLD

THE WORLD/ POVERTY,/ IGNORANCE AND DISEASE.

THIS EFFORT/ OF THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES/ TO STOP PROGRESS/ BY WAR/ IS KEPT FROM THE KNOWLEDGE/ OF MOST INTELLIGENT PEOPLE/ THROUGH THE NEW WEAPON OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA/ FIRST PUT INTO BROAD USE BY HITLER/ AND NOW INCREASED IN EFFICIENCY/ IN THE UNITED STATES.// TODAY/ IT SO LIMITS AND SCREENS/ OUR KNOWLEDGE OF FACTS// IT SO SUPPRESSES AND STILLS PUBLIC OPINION// THAT WE GET AN APPARENT UNANIMITY/ FOR WAR AND OPPRESSION/ WHICH THE ~~UNITED STATES~~ PEOPLE/ WOULD NOT/ FOR A MOMENT SUPPORT/ IF THEY KNEW THE FACTS AND REALIZED/ WHAT THE BEST OPINION/ OF THE WORLD/ IS THINKING.// THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ IS BEING TAUGHT/ TO LIE AND STEAL/ TO BELIEVE WHAT IS NOT TRUE/ AND TO TAKE LEGAL CONTROL OF WEALTH/ TO WHICH THEY HAVE/ NO SHADOW OF MORAL CLAIM.// WE HAVE DRIVEN OUT/ OF OUR VOCABULARY/ SUCH IDEAS/ AS LOVE AND HONOR, LOYALTY AND SACRIFICE.

MOST AMERICAN CITIZENS TODAY/ ARE MISLED/ BY THE FACT THAT THE ORDINARY SOURCES OF INTELLIGENCE/ FROM WHICH THEY HAVE FORMERLY RECEIVED/ RELIABLE INFORMATION/ CANNOT NOW BE DEPENDED ON.// FORMERLY IF ONE NEWSPAPER/ LIED OR LEFT OUT FACTS/ ANOTHER NEWSPAPER SUPPLIED THEM;// IF ONE RADIO COMMENTATOR/ DISTORTED FACTS/ ANOTHER/ SUPPLIED THEM.

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TODAY THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE.// THERE IS BUT ONE RESPECTABLE VERSION OF THE TRUTH,/ AND YOU/ EITHER ACCEPT THIS/ WITHOUT CONTRADICTION/ OR BECOME YOURSELF/ SUSPECTED OF SUBVERSION.

IT BECOMES/ THEREFORE/ THE MAIN EFFORT/ OF OUR FASCIST BIG BUSINESS RULERS/ TO STOP PEOPLE/ FROM KNOWING/ AND EXPRESSING THEIR OPINIONS.// AND A FAVORITE METHOD/ OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS TODAY/ IS TO PUNISH SUCH REBELS/ BY TAKING AWAY THEIR SOURCE OF INCOME.// IT IS TODAY/ INCREASINGLY IMPOSSIBLE/ FOR PEOPLE WHO STAND FOR PEACE/ AND WHO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION/ TO GET EMPLOYMENT/ TO PUBLISH BOOKS,/ TO BE HEARD ON THE PUBLIC PLATFORM/ OR OVER THE RADIO.// NO MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION/ COULD BE IMAGINED.// IT CAN BE MET/ ONLY BY FIRM DETERMINATION/ ON THE PART OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU/ THAT THEY WILL NOT CONTINUE/ SO SUBMIT TO THE SUPPRESSION/ OF THE TRUTH/ AND THE PROPAGANDA OF LIES/ THAT THEY WILL HAVE COURAGE/ TO STAND AND BE COUNTED, NO MATTER WHAT THE COST.

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THIS LOVE REPINE AND REASON CHAFE
THERE COMES A VOICE WITHOUT REPLY
TIS MAN'S PERDITION TO BE SAFE
WHEN, FOR THE TRUTH
HE OUGHT TO DIE.

RED WAS THE MIGHT | THAT SIRED THEE

WHITE WAS THE HOPE | THAT BORE THEE

HEAVEN AND EARTH DESIRED THEE

AND HELL | FROM THY LOVERS | TORE THEE

BUT BARREN TO THE RAVISHER

THOU BAREST | LOVE THY CHILD

IMMORTAL DAUGHTER, PEACE || FOR HER

WAITS MAN, THE UNDEFILED.

46-10-123

Du Bois

March 26, 1953

Am-Sov-F-C

Rockland Palace

DO WE WANT PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

I WANT TO EXAMINE WITH YOU THIS QUESTION OF PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, SPEAKING FRANKLY AS ONE WITHOUT CONSCIOUS PREJUDICE, WHO SEEKS ONLY THE TRUTH AND THE WELFARE OF THIS NATION AND OF THE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES ACCUSES THE SOVIET UNION OF TRYING BY FORCE TO FASTEN ON AN INCREASING PROPORTION OF THE WORLD THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT KNOWN AS COMMUNISM, WHICH A LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICANS REGARD AS WRONG IN THEORY AND UNWORKABLE IN PRACTICE.

THE SOVIET UNION REPLIES THAT COMMUNISM TODAY IS WORKING WITH INCREASING SUCCESS AND IF UNHINDERED WILL PROVE ITS SUPERIORITY TO OTHER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. IT SAYS THAT OTHER NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT TO REFUSE TO ADOPT COMMUNISM, BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION FROM MAKING THIS GREAT EXPERIMENT, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND DISEASE WHICH UNDER CAPITALISM CONTINUES TO AFFECT MOST OF MANKIND. the Communist doctrine declares that this result is inevitable by the very nature of the capitalist system.

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TO THIS ARGUMENT AMERICANS REPLY THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT TO MAKE ITS OWN EXPERIMENT PROVIDED ITS OWN PEOPLE FREELY CONSENT AND ARE NOT TREATED AS SLAVES, BUT THAT IT HAS NO RIGHT TO FORCE THIS SYSTEM UPON OTHER PEOPLES. THE SOVIETS ASSERT THAT THEIR CITIZENS ARE UNDER INTELLIGENT DISCIPLINE BUT ARE NOT ENSLAVED, AND THEY HAVE REPEATEDLY INVITED STUDY OF THEIR SYSTEM AND HAVE PUBLISHED MANY REPORTS. THEY CLAIM THAT THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ALLIES FULLY JUSTIFIES THE COMMUNIST STATE. This assertion I believe to be true after three visits to the Soviet Union in the last 25 years.

HERE NOW COMES A QUESTION OF FACT WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED BY CALLING NAMES NOR BY WAR. MOST REASONABLE PEOPLE SHOULD AGREE THAT THE WORLD CAN ONLY WAIT AND SEE. WILL THE COMMUNIST STATE SUCCEED IN DECREASING POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE WITHOUT TOO GREAT A CURTAILMENT OF HUMAN FREEDOM? IF SO, THE CONTROVERSY IS SETTLED WITHOUT REVOLUTION OR WAR.

MANY AMERICANS HERE INSIST THAT AT ANY RATE IN THE SOVIET UNION IS FORCING THE ACCEPTANCE OF COMMUNISM ON PEOPLES OUTSIDE THEIR TERRITORY, AGAINST THEIR WILL. THEY CALL THIS COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM. HERE AGAIN THE truth can only be ascertained by SOCIAL INQUIRY AND HISTORICAL FACT.

SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION ITS BOUNDARIES HAVE BEEN INCREASED only BY THE RE-ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES. FINLAND, WHICH ONCE WAS A PART OF RUSSIA WAS VOLUNTARILY GIVEN UP BY THE SOVIET UNION DESPITE THE FACT THAT AFTERWARD IT BECAME, AS RUSSIA FEARED, THE BASE OF ATTACK ON RUSSIA BY THE GERMANS. THE RE-ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES WAS SIMPLY RESTORING TO RUSSIA TERRITORY WHICH HAD FORMERLY BELONGED TO IT AND HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY BY THE ALLIES IN ORDER TO BECOME A BASE FOR THE EVENTUAL CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION. NONE OF THE ALLIES RAISED ANY OBJECTION TO THE RESTORATION OF THESE STATES TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THOSE WHO now MOST LOUDLY PROTEST ARE FORMER LANDLORDS AND foreign INVESTORS.

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OTHER STATES HAVE ADOPTED COMMUNISM AND ARE ALLIED WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ARE NOT A PART OF ITS TERRITORY. YUGOSLAVIA HAS WITHDRAWN FROM ALLIANCE AND NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO PREVENT HER. THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND HAS SINCE THE 12TH CENTURY BEEN A STORY OF WAR, AGGRESSION AND PARTITION; AND THE ENSLAVEMENT OF ITS PEOPLES. WHEN DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE POLISH PEOPLE TRIED TO SET UP AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT, THEY WERE IN GRAVE DANGER OF BEING RESTORED TO LAND MONOPOLY AND SERFDOM FOSTERED BY WESTERN CAPITAL. THE SOVIET UNION FORBADE THE USE OF OUTSIDE FORCE AND DEMANDED THAT THE MASS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY. HOW FAR THIS NEW EFFORT AT SELF-RULE IS SUCCESSFUL CAN ONLY BE PROVEN BY THE COURSE OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. CERTAINLY AMERICANS HAVE NO RIGHT WITHOUT PROOF TO ASSUME THAT THE PRESENT POLISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT BETTER THAN ANY POLAND HAS EVER HAD./ No person who like myself saw Poland in 1893 and 1949 can have any doubt of this.

IN THE SAME WAY THE BALKAN STATES HAVE FOR MORE THAN 500 YEARS BEEN THE FOOTBALL OF WESTERN CAPITAL WORKING THROUGH LOCAL ARISTOCRACY AND LAND MONOPOLY. THE RESULTS HAVE LONG SHAMED EUROPEAN HISTORY. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR ONE OF TWO THINGS HAD TO HAPPEN. THE WESTERN INVESTORS SUPPORTING LOCAL TYRANTS COULD HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO CONTINUE THE DISGRACEFUL HISTORY OF THE PAST; OR UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE VICTORIOUS SOVIET ARMIES, THE PEOPLE OF THE BALKAN STATES COULD BE ALLOWED TO ORGANIZE THEIR GOVERNMENT AS THEY WISHED. HERE AGAIN THERE IS NO VALID SOCIAL OR HISTORICAL PROOF THAT TODAY HUNGARY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA AND ALBANIA ARE NOT BETTER OFF THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN IN RECENT HISTORY.

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IN THE CASE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WE HAVE ANOTHER COUNTRY LONG DOMINATED BY WESTERN CAPITAL WHICH TODAY THROUGH THE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION OF RUSSIA HAS HAD ITS GOVERNMENT PUT INTO THE HANDS OF THE MASS OF ITS PEOPLE BY A LOCAL REVOLUTION CARRIED OUT BY THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PEOPLE.

OUTSIDE FORCE WAS NOT USED, BUT IF WESTERN EUROPE HAD ATTEMPTED IT, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE FORBIDDEN THE ATTEMPT. WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT? THERE IS NO PROOF THAT THIS NATION IS NOT SUCCESSFUL IN ITS NEW FORM.

IF THE FUTURE PROVES THAT THESE BALKAN STATES ARE WORSE OFF UNDER THIS NEW ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY THAN THEY WERE UNDER THE RULE OF WESTERN INVESTED CAPITAL, THEN THE ARGUMENT OF AMERICANS WILL BE JUSTIFIED. IT CANNOT BE EMPHASIZED TOO MUCH THAT THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN PROVEN, and does not seem likely.

IN THE CASE OF CHINA THERE IS NO BASIS EVEN FOR THE INTIMATION THAT CHINA WAS COMPELLED TO GO COMMUNIST BY RUSSIAN AGGRESSION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT WAS WESTERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN AGGRESSION THAT DROVE THE CHINESE INTO THE COMMUNIST ORBIT.

IN THE CASE OF KOREA THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT WHAT AMERICAN INFLUENCE, ARMS AND MONEY PRECIPITATED THE CIVIL WAR. NO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS HAVE EVER

TAKEN PART IN THAT WAR, AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN LESS OF ARMS AND HELP TO NORTHERN KOREA THAN THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN TO SOUTHERN KOREA.

WHAT IS HAPPENING, THEN, IN THE WORLD IS NOT EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM ~~AND [illegible] BY~~ Soviet FORCE, BUT IT IS WITHOUT DOUBT EXPANSION OF THE BELIEF IN HUMAN UPLIFT THROUGH SOCIALISM, FOR WHICH THE SOVIET UNION STANDS. IF WE ARE OPPOSED TO ~~THE EXPANSION OF~~ THAT IDEA, WE CAN ONLY PROVE ~~THE RIGHTNESS OF~~ OUR POSITION BY OPPOSING ~~BY THE IDEA~~ BETTER IDEAS OF HUMAN PROGRESS; AND THAT WE HAVE NOT YET DONE, AS THE PREVALENT CONDITION OF MOST HUMAN BEINGS CLEARLY PROVES.

OUR OFFERS TO HELP THE WORLD HAVE IN TOO MANY CASES BEEN DISINGENUOUS AND SELF-SEEKING.. THE MARSHALL PLAN WAS AN OFFER TO HELP RESTORE THE DOMINATION OF THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL IN EUROPE (and to open up profitable investment for American industry.) SUCH HELP ~~THE~~ SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS COULD NOT ACCEPT WITHOUT REPUDIATING SOCIALISM. OUR

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POINT FOUR PROGRAM IS AN EFFORT TO FURNISH CAPITAL AND TECHNIQUE TO BACKWARD COUNTRIES IF THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL ARE ASSURED TRADITIONAL POWER AND PROFIT, AND IF ITS ACCEPTANCE IS ACCOMPANIED BY A PROMISE TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE KOREAN WAR WAS BASED THEREFORE UPON AN ASSUMPTION WHICH WAS UNPROVEN, NAMELY, THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS INTERVENING BY FORCE INTO KOREA. ON THIS WAS BASED THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE THAT THE UNITED STATES PLEDGED ITSELF TO PREVENT FURTHER COMMUNIST EXPANSION. DECLARING THEREFORE, WITHOUT PROOF, THAT THE CIVIL WAR IN KOREA WAS Soviet aggression. ~~COMMUNIST EXPANSION~~, THE UNITED STATES BEGAN WAR ON NORTHERN KOREA, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS; AND LATER THROUGH ITS GREAT INFLUENCE COMPELLED THE UNITED NATIONS TO ADOPT THIS WAR AS ITS OWN.

WE DID NOT STOP HERE, BUT IN ADDITION, AGAINST THE CLEAR WARNING

OF CHINA, WE INVADED CHINESE TERRITORY. THE CHINESE DROVE UNITED STATES TROOPS BACKWARD IN A 400 MILE RETREAT WHICH WAS THE GREATEST DEFEAT OF AMERICAN TROOPS SINCE THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

THEREUPON THE UNITED STATES declared China the aggressor and ADOPTED A PROGRAM OF UNPRECEDENTED MILITARY EXPANSION. WE TRIED TO STAMPEDE THE NATION INTO UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND IMPRISONED COMMUNIST LEADERS, WHO WERE NOT EVEN ACCUSED OF ANY SUBVERSIVE ACTS. WE SURROUNDED THE SOVIET UNION WITH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS, SENT OUR FLEET AND TROOPS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, FORMED AN ALLIANCE OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COUNTRIES AGAINST COMMUNISM, AND THREATENED USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB!

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THIS WAS THE GREATEST THREAT OF WAR WHICH THE MODERN WORLD HAS SEEN, AND IT GAVE RISE TO A PEACE MOVEMENT WHICH THE SOVIET UNION LED. WE REFUSED TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT AND CONTROL OF THE ATOM BOMB EXCEPT later OUR TERMS WERE ACCEPTED WITHOUT AMENDMENT. THE SOVIETS PROPOSED CONSIDERATION

OF A TRUCE IN KOREA WHICH WE ACCEPTED. BUT ALTHOUGH THE CHINESE REPUBLIC HAD TO BE REPRESENTED IN SUCH A TRUCE, WE REFUSED TO LET THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TAKE THEIR RIGHTFUL SEATS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WE CONTINUOUSLY INCREASED OUR DEMANDS.

FIRST, INSTEAD OF ACCEPTING THE 38th PARALLEL AS THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA, as WE HAD PROMISED TO DO, WE INSISTED ON PUSHING THE BORDER MANY MILES NORTH SO AS TO GIVE US MORE DEFENSIBLE POSITIONS. WE MADE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, AT FIRST AGREEING TO EXCHANGE all PRISONERS, BUT AT LAST WE DEMANDED THAT PRISONERS THEMSELVES SHOULD DECIDE AS TO WHETHER THEY WERE TO BE RETURNED TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND THAT IN ADDITION TO THAT, THIS SCREENING SHOULD BE MADE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN THE CONFINES OF THE PRISONS.

THEN CHINA AND NORTHERN KOREA REFUSED, BUT OFFERED TO ACCEPT IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A CONFERENCE ON PRISONERS AND OTHER DISPUTED MATTERS. THIS WE REFUSED, AND THE TERRIBLE KOREAN WAR PROCEEDS, having already cost us in war casualties, disease and accidents nearly as many men as the 1st World War.

THEN WE TOOK ANOTHER AND WHAT MAY PROVE TO HAVE BEEN A FATAL STEP. THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE WAS enunciated BY GENERAL EISENHOWER DURING HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY. HE ANNOUNCED THAT IN THE FUTURE WE WOULD UNDERTAKE THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION BY SEPARATING COUNTRIES IN ALLIANCE WITH IT -- BY FORCE AND BY THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SABOTAGE AND REVOLT! THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A DIRECT APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS BY CONGRESS FOR THIS OBJECT. IN OTHER DAYS, BEFORE THE SERIOUSNESS and extent OF WAR HAD BEEN INCREASED BY MODERN TECHNIQUE, THIS ACTION IN ITSELF WOULD HAVE PLUNGED THE WORLD DIRECTLY INTO WAR!

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IN THE MEANTIME, THE IMMINENCE OF WAR HAS BEEN INCREASED BY A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS ARISING FROM THE VERY NATURE OF THE CASE. AIRFIELDS ESTABLISHED ON THE VERY BORDER OF RUSSIA HAVE LED TO REPEATED INCIDENTS OF AMERICAN AIRPLANES BEING FOUND OVER SOVIET TERRITORY. WE HAVE SENT TO RUSSIA MEN LIKE WILLIAM OATIS, TRAINED IN OUR SCHOOLS FOR SPIES, AND THEN SENT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS NEWSPAPER REPORTERS. WHEN THEY WERE ACCUSED OF ACTING AS SPIES WE HAVE BLUNTLY DENIED IT, WHEN THERE COULD BE, OF COURSE, NO REAL QUESTION CONCERNING THE TRUTH OF THE ACCUSATION.

AFTER EISENHOWER BECAME PRESIDENT HE AND HIS PARTY TOOK SIX STEPS, ANY ONE OF WHICH MIGHT HAVE RESULTED IN WORLD WAR. FIRST, HE VISITED KOREA, BUT MADE NO APPARENT EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT PEACE; RATHER HE HELD MILITARY CONFERENCES SO AS TO STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION AND PROLONG OR EVEN EXPAND THE WAR. SECOND, THE PRESIDENT ORDERED OUR NAVAL FLEET WHICH HAD

BEEN PROTECTING CHIANG KAI-CHEK, TO BE WITHDRAWN, WITH THE IDEA THAT CHIANG WOULD THEN ATTACK CHINA. THIRD, THE PRESIDENT THREATENED TO CANCEL ALL TREATIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT AFTER CONSIDERATION, THIS PROPOSAL WAS DROPPED. FOURTH, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE MUTUAL SECURITY DIRECTOR MADE AN OFFICIAL TRIP TO EUROPE, ANNOUNCING BEFOREHAND THAT THEY WERE GOING TO DEMAND INCREASED MILITARY COOPERATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION OR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNITED STATES APPROPRIATIONS. THIS RESULT THEY HAVE NOT YET ACCOMPLISHED. FIFTH, ON THE DEATH OF STALIN THERE WAS MANIFEST IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENCOURAGED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AN ATTITUDE WHICH WAS ALMOST INSULTING TO A PEOPLE WHO WITH SINGULAR UNANIMITY WERE MOURNING THE DEATH OF A GREAT LEADER; SIXTH, THE UNITED STATES OPENED THE 7th SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN WITH TRUCULENCE AND STUDIED DISCOURTESY, CHARGING THE SOVIET UNION WITH DELIBERATELY PROLONGING THE KOREAN WAR AND WITH REFUSING TO ACCEPT DISARMAMENT.

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MEANTIME, WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO OVERRIDE THE CHARTER

OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS CHARTER, UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED, ALLOWED EACH OF THE 5 GREAT POWERS THE RIGHT OF VETO. THIS WAS DEMANDED AS STRONGLY BY THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN AS BY THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE TRIED TO CHANGE THIS PROVISION BY UNCONSTITUTIONAL WAYS, SO THAT TODAY THE UNITED NATIONS IS PRESIDED OVER BY A SECRETARY WHO WAS NOT, thus, LEGALLY ELECTED, AND WE ARE SEEKING TO ADMIT MEMBERS BY ILLEGAL MEANS. IN FACT, THERE IS VOICED IN MANY QUARTERS IN AMERICA, AND SOMETIMES ELSEWHERE, THE DESIRE AND PLAN TO FORCE THE SOVIET UNION OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH WOULD DEPRIVE THE WORLD OF ITS ONLY FORUM TO PREVENT WAR.

THIS THEN, IS THE PRESENT SITUATION. IT IS A RECORD OF INCREASING DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE WAR WITH RUSSIA AND TO STOP COMMUNISM BY FORCE. NOW ON THE OTHER HAND AND IN CONTRADICTION TO THIS, THE DESIRE FOR PEACE ON THE PART OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE

UNITED STATES IS WIDESPREAD AND GROWING. HOW CAN THIS PARADOX BE EXPLAINED? VERY EASILY. THOSE PERSONS WHO ARE IN CONTROL OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY WANT WAR. THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION WHO ARE SACRIFICING THEIR CHILDREN AND ARE PAYING EVER INCREASING PRICES AND BOWING UNDER A STAGGERING LOAD OF TAXATION, DO NOT WANT WAR. BUT THE RULERS OF THE NATION , WITH OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND POWER UNDER THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION, ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS, OF INVESTMENT CAPITAL AND OF WEALTH MONOPOLY. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO ARE FORCING THIS NATION TO MAKE ARMED ALLIANCE WITH FRENCH, BRITISH AND GERMAN IMPERIALISM TO PUT DOWN THE EFFORT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE AND AUTONOMY. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO ARE FURNISHING THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE BELGIAN CONGO, FRENCH AFRICA AND OTHER PEOPLES OF ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICA THE FUNDS THROUGH WHICH THEY ARE INCREASING RACE PREJUDICE, OPPRESSING LABOR, AND RETAINING FOR MOST OF THE WORKERS OF

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THE WORLD POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE.

THIS EFFORT OF THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO STOP PROGRESS BY WAR IS KEPT FROM THE KNOWLEDGE OF MOST INTELLIGENT PEOPLE THROUGH THE NEW WEAPON OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA, FIRST PUT INTO BROAD USE BY HITLER AND NOW INCREASED IN EFFICIENCY IN THE UNITED STATES. TODAY IT SO LIMITS AND SCREENS OUR KNOWLEDGE OF FACTS, IT SO SUPPRESSES AND STILLS PUBLIC OPINION, THAT WE GET AN APPARENT UNANIMITY FOR WAR AND OPPRESSION, WHICH THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE WOULD NOT FOR A MOMENT SUPPORT IF THEY KNEW THE FACTS AND REALIZED WHAT THE BEST OPINION OF THE WORLD IS THINKING. THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS BEING TAUGHT TO LIE AND STEAL; TO BELIEVE WHAT IS NOT TRUE AND TO TAKE LEGAL CONTROL OF WEALTH TO WHICH THEY HAVE NO SHADOW OF MORAL CLAIM. WE HAVE DRIVEN OUT OF OUR VOCABULARY SUCH IDEAS AS LOVE AND HONOR, LOYALTY AND SACRIFICE.

MOST AMERICAN CITIZENS TODAY ARE MISLED BY THE FACT THAT THE ORDINARY SOURCES OF INTELLIGENCE FROM WHICH THEY HAVE FORMERLY RECEIVED RELIABLE INFORMATION CANNOT NOW BE DEPENDED ON. FORMERLY IF ONE NEWSPAPER LIED OR LEFT OUT FACTS, ANOTHER NEWSPAPER SUPPLIED THEM; IF ONE RADIO COMMENTATOR DISTORTED FACTS, ANOTHER SUPPLIED THEM.

TODAY THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. THERE IS BUT ONE RESPECTABLE VERSION OF THE TRUTH, AND YOU EITHER ACCEPT THIS WITHOUT CONTRADICTION OR BECOME YOURSELF SUSPECTED OF SUBVERSION.

IT BECOMES, THEREFORE, THE MAIN EFFORT OF OUR FASCIST BIG BUSINESS RULERS TO STOP PEOPLE FROM KNOWING AND EXPRESSING THEIR OPINIONS, AND A FAVORITE METHOD OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS TODAY IS TO PUNISH SUCH REBELS BY TAKING AWAY THEIR SOURCE OF INCOME. IT IS TODAY INCREASINGLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE WHO STAND FOR PEACE AND WHO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO GET EMPLOYMENT, TO PUBLISH BOOKS, TO BE HEARD ON THE PUBLIC PLATFORM OR OVER THE RADIO. NO MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION COULD BE IMAGINED. IT CAN BE MET ONLY BY FIRM DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU THAT THEY WILL NOT CONTINUE SO SUBMIT TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRUTH AND THE PROPAGANDA OF LIES; THAT THEY WILL HAVE COURAGE TO STAND AND BE COUNTED, NO MATTER WHAT THE COST.

36-10-72

THIS LOVE REPINE AND REASON CHAFE
THERE COMES A VOICE WITHOUT REPLY
TIS MAN'S PERDITION TO BE SAFE
WHEN, FOR THE TRUTH
HE OUGHT TO DIE.

DO WE WANT PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

I want to examine with you this question of Peace with the Soviet Union, speaking frankly as one without conscious prejudice, who seeks only the truth and the welfare of this nation and of the world. The United States accuses the Soviet Union of trying by force to fasten on an increasing proportion of the orld the system of socialist government known as Communism, which a large number of Americans regard as wrong in theory and unworkable in practice.

The Soviet Union replies that Communism today is working with increasing success and if unhindered will prove its superiority to other forms of government. It says that other nations have a right to refuse to adopt Communism, but they have no right to prevent the Soviet Union from making this great experiment, especially in view of the ignorance, poverty and disease which under capitalism continues to affect most of mankind. The Communist doctrine declares that this result is inevitable by the very nature of the capitalist system.

To this argument Americans reply that the Soviet Union has a right to make its own experiment provided its own people freely consent and are not treated as slaves, but that it has no right to force this system upon other peoples. The Soviets assert that their citizens are under intelligent discipline but are not enslaved, and they have repeatedly invited study of their system and have published many reports. They claim that the social progress of the Russian people and their allies fully justifies the Communist state. This assertion I believe to be true after three visits to the Soviet Union in the last twenty-five years.

Here now comes a question of fact which cannot be settled by calling names nor by war. Most reasonable people should agree that the world can only wait and see. Will the Communist state succeed in decreasing poverty, ignorance

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and disease without too great a curtailment of human freedom? If so, the controversy is settled without revolution or war.

Many Americans hwere insist that at any rate the Soviet Union is forcing the acceptance of Communism on peoples outside their territory, against their will. They call this Communist Imperialism. Here again, the truth can only be ascertained by social inquiry and historical fact.

Since the establishment of the Soviet Union its boundaries have been increased only by the re-annexation of the Baltic states. Finland, which once was a part of Russia, was voluntarily given up by the Soviet Union despite the fact that afterward it became, as Russia feared, the base of attack on Russia by the Germans. The re-annexation of the Baltic states was simply restoring to Russia territory which had formerly belonged to it and had been taken away by the allies in order to become a base for the eventual conquest of the Soviet Union. None of the allies raised any objection to the restoration of these states to the new government. Those who now most loudly protest are former landlords and foreign investors.

Other states have adopted Communism and are allied with the Soviet Union, but are not a part of its territory. Yugoslavia has withdrawn from alliance and no attempt was made to prevent her. The government of Poland has since the 12th century been a story of war, aggression and partition; and the enslavement of its peoples. When during and after the Second World War, the Polish people tried to set up an independent government, they were in grave danger of being restored to land monopoly and serfdom fostered by western capital. The Soviet Union forbade the use of outside force and demanded that the mass of the Polish people have the right to determine their own destiny. How far this new effort at self-rule is successful can only be proven by the course

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of future developments. Certainly Americans have no right without proof to assume that the present Polish government is not better than any Poland has ever had. No person who like myself saw Poland in 1893 and 1949 can have any doubt of this.

In the same way the Balkan states have for more than 500 years been the football of western capital working through local aristocracy and land monopoly. The results have long shamed European history. After the Second World War one of two things had to happen: the western investors supporting local tyrants could have been allowed to continue the disgraceful history of the past; or under the protection of the victorious Soviet armies the people of the Balkan states could be allowed to organize their government as they wished. Here again there is no valid social or historical proof that today Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania are not better off than they have ever been in recent history.

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In the case of Czechoslovakia we have another country long dominated by western capital which today through the friendship and cooperation of Russia has had its government put into the hands of the mass of its own people by a local revolution carried out by the Czechoslovakian people. Outside force was not used, but if western Europe had attempted it, the Soviet Union would have forbidden the attempt. What has been the result? There is, again, no proof that this nation is not successful in its new form. Indeed, there is strong testimony to the contrary.

If the future proves that these Balkan states are worse off under this new economic democracy than they were under the rule of western invested capital, then the argument of Americans will be justified. But it cannot be emphasized too much that this has not yet been proven and does not seem likely to be.

In the case of China there is no basis even for the intimation that China was compelled to go Communist by Russian aggression. On the contrary, it was western European and American aggression that drove the Chinese into the Communist orbit.

In the case of Korea there is no doubt but what American influence, arms and money precipitated the Civil War. No Russian soldiers have ever taken part in that war, and the Soviet government has given less of arms and help to northern Korea than the United States has given to southern Korea.

What is happening, then, in the world is not expansion of Communism by Soviet force, but it is without doubt expansion of the belief in human uplift through Socialism, for which the Soviet Union stands. If we are opposed to that idea, we can only prove our position by furnishing better ideas of human progress; and that we have not yet done, as the prevalent condition of most human beings clearly proves.

Our offers to help the world have in too many cases been disingenuous and self-seeking. The Marshall plan was an offer to help restore the domination of the owners of capital in Europe, and to open up profitable investment for American industry. Such help socialist governments could not accept without repudiating Socialism. Our Point Four program is an effort to furnish capital and technique to backward countries if the owners of capital are assured traditional power and high profit from low wages and cheap land; and if its acceptance is accompanied by a promise to join the United States military aggression against the Soviet Union.

Our involvement in the Korean War was based therefore upon an assumption which was unproven, namely, that the Soviet Union was intervening by force into Korea. On this was based the Truman doctrine that the United States

pledged itself to prevent further Communist expansion by force. Declaring therefore, without proof, that the Civil War in Korea was Soviet aggression, the United States began war on Northern Korea without the consent of Congress; and later through its great influence compelled the United Nations to adopt this war as its own.

We did not stop here, but in addition, against the clear warning of China we invaded Chinese territory. The Chinese drove United States troops backward in a 400 mile retreat which was the greatest defeat of American troops since the Battle of Bull Run.

Thereupon the United States declared China the aggressor; and adopted a program of unprecedented military expansion. We tried to stampede the nation into universal military service, raised taxes to unprecedented heights and imprisoned Communist leaders who were not even accused of any subversive acts. We surrounded the Soviet Union with military establishments, sent our fleet and troops to all parts of the world, formed an alliance of European and American countries against Communism, and threatened use of the atomic bomb!

This was the greatest threat of war which the modern world has seen, and it gave rise to a peace movement which the Soviet Union led. We refused to discuss disarmament and control of the atom bomb except our terms were accepted without amendment. The Soviets later proposed consideration of a truce in Korea which we accepted. But although the Chinese Republic had to be represented in such a truce, we refused to let their representatives take their rightful seat in the United Nations, and we continuously increased our demands:

First, instead of accepting the 38th parallel as the boundary between North and South Korea as we had promised to do, we insisted on pushing the

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border many miles north so as to give us more defensible positions. We made difficulties about the exchange of prisoners, at first agreeing to exchange all prisoners, but at last we demanded that prisoners themselves should decide as to whether they were to be returned to their respective countries and that in addition to that, this screening should be made under the control of the United Nations and in the confines of the prisons.

This China and northern Korea refused, but offered to accept immediate cease fire, to be followed by a conference on prisoners and other disputed matters. This we refused, and the terrible Korean War proceeds, having already cost us in war casualties, disease and accidents nearly as many men as the First World War.

Then we took another and what may prove to have been a fatal step. The Eisenhower doctrine was enunciated by General Eisenhower during his candidacy for the presidency. He announced that in the future we would undertake the dismemberment of the Soviet Union by force, by separating countries in alliance with it and by the encouragement of sabotage and revolt! This was followed by a direct appropriation of funds by Congress for this object. In other days, before the seriousness and extent of war had been increased by modern technique, this action in itself would have plunged the world directly into war!

In the meantime, the imminence of war has been increased by a number of incidents arising from the nature of the case. Airfields established on the very borders of Russia have led to repeated incidents of American airplanes being found over Soviet territory. We have sent to Russia men like William Oatis, trained in our schools for spies, and then sent to Czechoslovakia as newspaper reporters. When they were accused of acting as spies we have bluntly denied it. But there could be, of course, no real question concerning the truth of the accusation.

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After Eisenhower became president he and his party took six steps, any one of which might have resulted in world war. First, he visited Korea, but made no apparent effort to bring about Peace; rather he held military conferences so as to strengthen our position and prolong or even expand the war. Second, the President ordered our naval fleet which had been protecting Chiang Kai-Chek, to be withdrawn, with the idea that Chiang would then attack China. Third, the President threatened to cancel all treaties with the Soviet Union, but after consideration, this proposal was dropped. Fourth, the new Secretary of State and the Mutual Security Director made an official trip to Europe, announcing beforehand that they were going to demand increased military cooperation against the Soviet Union or the withdrawal of United States appropriations. This result they have not yet accomplished. Fifth, on the death of Stalin there was manifest in the United States and encouraged by the Federal Government an attitude which was almost insulting to a people who with singular unanimity were mourning the death of a great leader. Sixth, the United States opened the 7th session of the General Assembly of the UN with truculence and studied discourtesy, charging the Soviet Union with deliberately prolonging the Korean War and with refusing to accept disarmament.

Meantime, we have been trying to override the charter of the United Nations. This charter, unanimously adopted, allowed each of the five great powers the right of veto. This was demanded as strongly by the United States and Great Britain as by the Soviet Union. We have tried to change this provision by unconstitutional ways, so that today the United Nations is presided over by a secretary who was not thus legally elected, and we are seeking to admit members by illegal means. In fact, there is voiced in many quarters in

46-10-80

America, and sometimes elsewhere, the desire and plan to force the Soviet Union out of the United Nations, which would deprive the world of its only forum to prevent war.

Many Americans are lulled into inaction by the carefully spread idea that the conquest of the Soviet Union will be easy, that it will be accomplished by atom bombs, with colored soldiers from Asia and Africa, helped by Japan and Germany. This is a pipe dream which should deceive no intelligent nation. Napoleon once thought Russia could easily be subdued and lived to learn better. Hitler was certain that the Soviet Union could not withstand his armies, and Europe and America believed him until Stalingrad proved something different. It is of course possible that a world united against Communism may today overthrow the Soviet Union. But the cost will be colossal, not only in wealth and blood, but in death and disease, suffering and pain; in art and literature and the dreams and ideals of mankind. To prevent so insane a struggle is the clear and present duty of all men.

This then, is the present situation. It is a record of increasing determination of the United States to have war with Russia and to stop Communism by force. Now on the other hand and in contradiction to this, the desire for peace on the part of the majority of the people of the United States is widespread and growing. How can this paradox be explained? Very easily. Those persons who are in control of the United States today want war. The majority of the people of the nation who are sacrificing their children and are paying ever-increasing prices and bowing under a staggering load of taxation, do not want war. But the rulers of the nation, with overwhelming influence and power under the Eisenhower administration, are representatives

46-10-81

of Big Business, of investment capital and of wealth monopoly. They are the ones who are forcing this nation to make armed alliance with French, British and German imperialism to put down the effort of colonial peoples toward independence and autonomy. They are the ones who are furnishing the union of South Africa, the Belgian Congo, French Africa and other peoples of Asia and South America the funds through which they are increasing race prejudice, oppressing labor, monopolizing land, and retaining for most of the workers of the world poverty, ignorance and disease.

This effort of the rulers of the United States to stop progress by precipitating world war is kept from the knowledge of most intelligent people through the new weapon of psychological propaganda, first put into broad use by Hitler and now increased in efficiency in the United States. Today it so limits and screens our knowledge of facts, it so suppresses and stills public opinion, that we get an apparent unanimity for war and oppression, which the people would not for a moment support if they knew the facts and realized what the best opinion of the world is thinking. The United States today is being taught to lie and steal; to believe what is not true and to take legal control of wealth to which they have no shadow of moral claim. We have driven out of our vocabulary such ideas as Love and Honor, Loyalty and Sacrifice.

Most American citizens today are misled by the fact that the ordinary sources of intelligence from which they have formerly received reliable information cannot now be depended on. Formerly if one newspaper lied or left out facts, another newspaper supplied them; if one radio commentator distorted facts, another supplied them. Today this is no longer

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true. There is but one respectable version of the truth, and you either accept this without contradiction or become yourself suspected of subversion.

It becomes, therefore, the main effort of our fascist Big Business rulers to stop people from knowing and expressing their opinions, and a favorite method of accomplishing this today is to punish such rebels by taking away their source of income. It is today increasingly impossible for people who stand for peace and who acknowledge the progress of the Soviet Union to get employment, to publish books, to be heard on the public platform or over the radio. No more dangerous situation could be imagined. It can be met only by firm determination on the part of people like you that they will not continue to submit to the suppression of the truth and the propaganda of lies; that they will have courage to stand and be counted, no matter what the cost.

46-10-83

Red was the Might that sired thee
White was the Hope that bore thee
Heaven and earth desired thee
And Hell from thy lovers tore thee
But barren to the ravisher
Thou barest Love they child
Immortal daughter, Peace for her
Waits Man, the undefiled.

Du Bois

West Point
Mar 15 3

REVOLT IN AFRICA

A few months ago in New York a young man who had not reached his 42nd birthday put his head in a gas oven and committed suicide. He had received his bachelor's degree summa cum laude, had been admitted to Phi Beta Kappa, and got his doctorate in economics from one of our chief universities. His thesis was used in the economics courses in several colleges, and he served the United States Resources Planning Board. He was, when he died, chief of the Africa Unit of the Division of Economic Development in the United Nations. He just returned last winter from a mission to Somaliland, East Africa. The most important fact about him in the mind of this nation was that one or two of his grandparents were of Negro descent.

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But he epitomized in his short life the disappointment and frustration of a modern man of African descent. He was never offered a first-class academic appointment. He had chosen an area of study, Economics, which no one in this nation today dare study save as a branch of higher mathematics.

He went to Africa to study one of the most miserably exploited regions of the world, with a history of struggle coming down 4000 years from the Egyptian 12th dynasty to yesterday when the United Nations handed Somaliland back to the Italians. Wracked by the fever of a terrible climate, this young scholar came back to a nation where the social group to which he was bound was torn in leadership. His friends were railing at William Patterson for telling the story of Negro genocide to the UN. He found me, whose daughter had been his teacher, hand-cuffed and threatened with jail for talking of Peace. He found it impossible to write or talk Economics in a nation which was owned by Big Business both in physical

body and literary soul. He killed himself.

Not many persons would react so tragically to news of Africa and her children; yet nearly everyone suddenly faced with the problems of Africa today is at least astonished.

You have seldom heard of revolt in Africa and indeed you have seldom heard of Africa, because Africa for long years has not been regarded as "news". No American press correspondents are regularly stationed in Africa and cablegrams sent from Africa usually treat solely of its white inhabitants or their interests. College courses on Africa are rare.

36-11-149

This was unusual before 1600. To the Greeks Africa was in many respects what Europe is to us. The Romans said, "Semper novi quid ex Africa." (Always something new out of Africa). Today, after 300 years of studied effort not to see or hear of Africa, Africa is forcing itself on the world's attention.

The whole story of the present upheaval cannot be compressed in a short paper. I plan therefore to follow the modern history of the Nile valley down to South Africa and then to indicate more briefly the other areas of unrest and revolt.

Just as the cotton kingdom rose to power in America in 1820, Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan and made it the greatest slave market of the modern world, to furnish ivory for the pianos of America and soldiers and servants for the Turkish empire. British philanthropy had been able in the 19th century to stop the slave trade because it was becoming unpopular and unprofitable. Nevertheless, in the valley of

Nile a new slavery became the opening door to a new colonial imperialism in which England and France and Germany, joined at last by the United States, annexed a continent, submerged its labor and stole its vast wealth. As a result there is today revolt in North Africa, revolution in West Africa, murder in Kenya, fierce strain in the Sudan and the Belgian Congo, unrest in Tanganyika, rebellion in Egypt, and in South Africa the beginning of a world war of races along the color line.

For a thousand years or more tribes of North Central Africa have been moving south. First to escape West African expansion, and later to flee from Mohammedan imperialism, which Mohammed Ali in the Sudan personified. Some of these black men adapted Mohammedan culture and rebuilt it in the Western Sudan, but others moved south in waves, building and overthrowing kingdoms like the Kitwara, the Congo, and the high culture of Zymbabwe. Late in the 18th century the Bantu, as they came to be called, appeared in South Africa. Here the Dutch met them, and later the English met Dutch and Bantu.

For 130 years after the advent of the English there ensued here one of the weirdest phantasmagorias this world has seen. It marked revolution in the relations of white Europe and black Africa. Here, far below the Great Lakes on the high plateau of the South, men fought for half a century until they not only destroyed and rebuilt peoples but struggled to make diamonds and gold the center of a new world trade, a new domination of human beings, and a new rule of wealth and capital. The Dutch pioneers strove to absorb or enslave the Hottentots and to fight with black invading Bantu; and then they fought against white English settlers to avoid political control. The blacks, now called

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Xosa, now Kaffirs, now Zulus, fought to drive back the white devils and cast off the evil that encompassed them. The British fought for empire.

When the Crimean war began the modern effort of Europe to control the middle east, and just before the terrible Indian mutiny which warned Britain in Asia, one tribe in Africa attempted the most horrible mass suicide of modern times. The main body of warriors had been pushed back until panic seized them, and two years after the Crimean War, at the command of a prophet, the people killed their cattle which were their wealth and high cultural symbol. They sowed no crops, they saved only their long spears, and hoped thus to bring a whirlwind to sweep the whites into the sea and to call their own heroes back from the dead. 100,000 Zulus in supreme sacrifice starved to death on the high plateau which covered the gold and diamonds of the world.

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This tragic symbolism did not change, it only lighted with flame the course of the world and Africa. More tribes of black men moved south from the Zambesi River. The stubborn Boers still strove to establish an independent state beyond the Vaal River near the Indian Ocean.

1870 was the year of doom for Africa. It was the year of the battle of Sedan, and the year after the Suez Canal was opened. Gladstone had become Prime Minister of England. In South Africa stood three men, each over 6 feet tall and massive of frame. The oldest was the Dutchman, Paul Kruger, a stern, bible-worshiping fanatic, who hated the British and despised the blacks. The youngest was Cecil Rhodes, a grey-eyed blond, under age, who had come to Africa to recover from tuberculosis.

The third, Lobengula, was King of the Metebele, dark bronze in color, naked but for his parakeet feather and loin cloth, 37 years old, who had just become king of a nation risen from the conquests of the terrible Zulu chieftain Chaka, and which had established itself on the high hills between the Limpopo and the Zambesi.

These three fought for Africa. There was a fourth man who should have been here, but David Livingstone, the missionary, died in 1871, and with him died all hope of an ethical solution of the African problem.

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The attitude of Europe toward Africa was changing. Africa, instead of being an unknown land, source of stolen slave labor, was suddenly to become a source of diamonds and gold, so that the world's luxury and wealth was to be measured by its products. Stock companies centering in the capitals of the world replaced the individual exploiter. Organized commerce with African products began to belt the world, helped by new ways of making steel and of communicating by telegraph and telephone, with new explosives for killing natives.

Of the three leaders of South Africa, Kruger was protagonist. His forefathers had fought the Hottentots and had mingled their blood with them. The Dutch-Hottentot mulattoes moved into the south center of Africa, and on their land diamonds were later found. The Dutch fought the Zulus in the east for 25 years and then trekked north and northeast, where Kruger as a young officer was fighting at 17, against Dingaan, Chaka's successor. The South African Boer Republic then formed had been promised its independence by the English, but was annexed to Great Britain in 1877 by Disraeli, representing the new colonial

imperialism. This led to war between England and the Boers until Bladstone, returned to power, gave South Africa its independence in 1881, three years before gold was found.

Here enters Lobengula. Chaka, the Zulu military genius, had conquered the tribes of Bantu and welded them into a mighty kingdom which the whites feared and the blacks dare not oppose. The Matebele had fled from him north and west, and over the Matebele Lobengula became king in 1870. His people could and did fight; but Lobengula had seen the horror of war. He was a man of peace; distraught and bewildered, but honest and unselfish. He had seen the result of fighting the whites and sought to appease and avoid them. Here Cecil Rhodes came on the scene.

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Cecil Rhodes was not a fighter, nor was he a man of peace. He was a man who sincerely believed he could build a good world by himself, being a liar and a thief. Cecil John Rhodes was born in England in 1853, one of a clergyman's family of twelve. It was this man who put new meaning into the wars of Africa. Sick with tuberculosis, he landed in South Africa at the age of 18, four years after that great diamond, the Star of Africa, worth $125,000, had been found on the farm of a mulatto at Kimberley. Diamonds soon came to be the high sign of luxury, extravagance and wealth, bedizening the bare breasts of all the prostitutes of London, Paris and New York, and furnishing wedding rings to marry the white world to cupidity and avarice.

Rhodes, after coming to South Africa in 1870 was soon earning $500 a week, and returned to England three years later, already rich before he was of age. He sought college training and matriculated at Oxford.

It was here he got his inspiration and felt called to rule the world. It was here that he heard the great John Ruskin, grey-haired, with burning eyes, prophet of empire, summon before him in those old, arched and crenelated halls, the young gentlemen of England to: "A destiny now possible to us, the highest ever set before a nation; to be accepted or refused. Will you youth of England make your country again a real throne of kings, a sceptered isle, for all the world a source of light."

Rhodes returned to South Africa filled with a vision of making England master of the wealth of that land, with millions of Negroes to extract the wealth from the rich earth, and with Rhodes himself to unite South Africa with the Valley of the Nile.

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In South Africa the English soon made good their claim of ownership of Bricqualand, where the diamonds lay. They followed Rhodes up into the great central section of South Africa, Bechuanaland, and further north to Uganda. Eventually they established a Protectorate of East Africa and gave away the land of Kenya.

Meantime, in the Valley of the Nile, things too had begun to happen. The English had glanced at the citadel of Africa, which is Ethiopia. In 1867 they had moved against the Emperor, so that Ethiopia's armies were quickly overthrown and Theodore, King of the Kings of Ethiopia, putting a pistol in his mouth, blew out his brains. His conqueror became a British Earl. But Britain retreated. She did not yet try conquest.

When the Suez Canal, started by the French, was finished in 1869, it became the umbilical cord of British colonial imperialism from Gibraltar to Bombay. It then was clear to the British that they

must dominate the Nile Valley. But the French also were looking at the Nile as the western boundary of an empire which began with Algeria in 1830. After the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck added Tunis to France, despite the fact that Tunis was ancient Carthage, and Italy was insanely determined to annex it, from the premiership of Crispi to the dictatorship of Mussolini. Here Italy planned to restore the Roman Empire.

But a French empire in Africa began instead to arise. Slowly but surely French outposts moved east, past Lake Chad and south to Guinea where the British had already been fighting, stealing and intriguing for 200 years and were watching carefully as France dug the Suez Canal.

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Egypt also entered, sending the English freebooter, called Chinese Gordon, down into the Sudan ostensibly to stop the slave trade, but really to encroach on Ethiopia. Stanley, the American, and Leopold of Belgium, conspiring together, seized in the center of Africa a territory 14 times the size of Belgium. The European scramble for Africa started.

Disraeli, succeeding Gladstone the great liberal, bought the shares of the Suez Canal from the Khedive of Egypt in 1875, sold them to England and in 1876 flattered Victoria by making her Empress of India, the zenith of British imperialism.

Thus three European nations were converging on the Valley of the Nile: Britain, France and Italy, and were led by liquor and missionaries, guns and explorers. In 1876 France and England jointly took charge of the Suez Canal, while the English "Chinese" Gordon, too often drunk, moved up the Nile -- to save the Sudan for Egypt by reopening the slave

trade.

Suddenly in 1883 in the Sudan the blacks revolted, led by the Mahdi who killed Gordon. For thirteen years Britain was stopped dead in her tracks on her march up the Nile. But Italy, hungry for North Africa, was urged on by England to hasten attack upon Ethiopia and the Red Sea.

Then, with Rhodes in South Africa in 1884 on the Ridge of White Waters, in the midst of the independent Boer state, gold was discovered. Gold, the touchstone and symbol of wealth from ancient Thebes to modern New York. Gold, which added to the diamonds and afterward to copper, made South Central Africa the greatest single center for the exploitation of wealth and enslavement of human labor that the world knew. Rhodes organized and centralized the diamond and gold business and began to regiment the workers. But the stubborn Boers were in the way, with a republic independent of England, which stretched straight across the gold fields.

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Paul Kruger became president of the Boer state in 1883, just as the Mahdi rebelled in the Sudan; and that same year his European kinfolk, the Germans, appeared in Southwest Africa.

Negroes from all South and Southcentral Africa were gradually being herded into the diamond fields and gold mines, and new and astonishing wealth began to pour into Europe. There were black revolts and white attacks. Thousands of whites and blacks died. A Zulu Assigai killed the Prince Imperial of France.

But the prize of Africa was vast. Today out of Africa comes 98% of the diamonds of the world; 80% of the cobalt; 75% of the sisal hemp; 70% of the palm oil; 70% of the cocoa; 60% of the gold; 35% of the

phosphates; 30% of the chrome and manganese; 20% of the copper and 15% of the coffee. This was the prospect that beckoned colonial imperialism in 1880.

Rhodes had to have the Boers out of his way. They had resisted unexpectedly and fiercely in 1880-1881, before gold was found. But Rhodes now pressed on. He sowed ill-will between Matabele and Boers by conniving at the murder of Kruger's envoy to Lobengula. Through the missionary, Moffat, he secured by fraud from the suspicious and unwilling Lobengula the celebrated Rudd concession to dig for gold. In 1889 he formed the British South African Company in England, and the year before had secured the diamond monopoly of the world.

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Rhodes now circled around the Boers to gain control of Matabeleland in order to sell more shares of his South African company. With this land in his control he could prospect for gold not only there but in Mashonaland beyond where the blacks had once built the great civilisation of Zimbabwe, which probably Lobengula's forefathers had overthrown.

Even if no gold was found, shares would sell and the power of Rhodes in Africa would increase. Rhodes therefore sent his friend, Jameson, into Matebeleland to start the quarrel. Jameson promised his followers 600 acres of land and 20 gold claims each and their share of 200,000 cattle. With them he raided the Matebele, mowing them down with the newly-invented Maxim guns.

The Matebele fought back. "With furious courage they flung themselves upon the British artillery", the English general said. "No civilized troops could have withstood the terrible fire which they did that day for at most half as long."

Lobengula was beaten. He appealed to Queen Victoria but his letters had been deliberately mislaid. He tried every strategy, but the white bishop of Mashonaland prayed God "that the wicked Matabele be destroyed". On poured the English troops to help God out. The black king, sick with disappointment blew up his capital city. He dismissed his warriors:"You have done your best, my soldiers. You can help me no more. Go now to your kraals. Go sweetly. Go in peace." Turning toward the river that streamed into the Zambesi, the last fighting king of the Zulus died, wrapped in the skins of his sixteen black oxen.

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Rhodes was now in sight of success, despite the fact that in 1893 Kruger was re-elected President of the Boer Republic. Lobengula was dead, and his territory was renamed Rhodesia. Rhodes was able to dump a million shares of his South African Company on the London world market, and they were unloaded at $40 a share. One year later, in 1890, Rhodes had become Prime Minister of Cape Colony, dominant province of South Africa; and on the London market he became master of the gold and diamonds of the world. He was so rich he did not know his wealth.

Meantime, in the Valley of the Nile, while both the English and the Egyptians were fighting the Kalifa who succeded the Mahdi, the Italians moved in to control the Emperor Johannes of Ethiopia. He was killed and was succeeded by Menelik, whom the Italians had helped to power and considered their tool. They pretended that he had signed a treaty handing over the control of the foreign affairs of Ethiopia to Italy. This Menelik angrily denied. When war ensued in 1896 he killed 25,000 Italians at Adua. Crispi resigned. Italy retreated.

For a moment the white western world held its breath. Black Menelik was making alliance, political and industrial, with France, which had already resulted in a railway to the sea. The French were slowly approaching the Nile from the west, and Ethiopia was to meet them from the east. It looked as though Great Britain might never control the Nile valley.

It was then that the Tory Prime Minsiter, Salisbury, discovered that the soldier of fortune, Chinese Gordon, now dead 12 years, had been a martyr and must be avenged. He sent General Kitchener to the Nile armed with the new explosive dynamite invented in 1886. Kitchener's army killed 27,000 Sudanese, recaptured their capital, Khartoum, dug the Mahdi from his grave and publicly defiled his corpse. He then turned to the French and gave warning. France was not ready to go to war with Britain over the control of the Nile. It was agreed at Fashoda to give the Nile to Britain, and the French army never met Menelik.

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The explorer, the missionary, the prospector, the trader, the hunter and the soldier, all played their parts. Religion, cheap gin, syphilis and arbitrary government by distant rulers came to nations of farmers and hunters, black and white. The great diamond hole at Kimberley was dug two miles down into the ground. Johannesburg, a miniature New York, raised its towers on the windswept high veld of the Witwatersrand over a world of gold. This dominion of the Boers was now penned in completely by the British.

Feverishly Cecil Rhodes, facing death and spitting up his lungs in blood, pursued his world-grasping path. With the end of the

Matebele war in 1893 he straddled Africa. One foot was planted on the Cape of Good Hope where he was Prime Minister. The other in Rhodesia, so named in 1895, where he represented the British South Africa Company. He chose his grave there beside the graves of the mighty Zulu kings. Beneath him was Kimberley and the diamond mines. What he still lacked was political control of the gold of Johannesburg, which his incorporated companies owned.

In Johannesburg lived Englishmen and other Europeans far outnumbering the Boers. They had long thought of seizing power by force. Rhodes considered the time now ripe, and encouraged his pal, Dr. Jameson, now in Rhodesia where he had been victorious over the dead Lobengula. Jameson prepared to make alliance with the greedy Uitlanders of Johannesburg. They planned the raid and seizure. He lurched out, but the stubborn Boers met him. He was quickly overthrown and the fat was in the fire. Rhodes had to resign from the Cape Colony government and was compelled to meet a new rebellion of the Matebele; and also parliamentary investigation in London. His grip had slipped seriously, but he never wavered. If he could save Rhodesia he was safe in Britain, and Britain would yet rule the world.

The new war in Matebeleland was bitter. The natives no longer rushed to certain death into the mouths of machine guns. They lurked and attacked by surprise. A fifth of the white troops were soon dead and the rest were hiding in the guarded towns. The cost of the war mounted to frightening heights which threatened to swamp the London market of Rhodes' South African Company. Its shares began to drop perilously.

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Rhodes, a huge, purple-faced giant who had never had wife nor child, set his square jaws grimly. He would win by lies if he could not by force. He rushed to Matebeleland in person. He pleaded with the blacks. He procured the murder of the chief witch doctor. He called off the white police. He promised freedom. He threatened unending war. He pleaded for Peace until the head chief yielded; "It is Peace, my father", he said.

Then Rhodes whirled. In London he faced Parliament, and backed by the Queen, the Prime Minister and the German Kaiser, won complete vindication for himself, and a knighthood for Jameson. He rushed back to Africa with Kruger, the re-elected president before him and the British army behind him. But instead of quick and overwhelming victory came four long and awful years of bitter, cruel war which shocked the world. Before the Boer War stopped Cecil Rhodes was dead at 49, muttering, "So much to do, do little done."

But Rhodes had done far more than he thought. He had degraded the colored world. His fantastic career had made Europe mad for colonial wealth and power, and particularly Germany and Italy, jealous of England, insisted on a redistribution of colonies. This demand, and the resistance of Britain and France, plunged civilization in 1914 into the First World War.

The unbearable strain of that war disrupted the industrial organization of the world and helped socialists to re-organize industry for the benefit of workers rather than owners. All Europe began testing Socialism, but it had its most far-reaching experiment in Russia.

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in 1917. Thereupon 16 nations, including the United States, tried to stop it. Depression stopped them. Then at last Germany and Italy united to overthrow the USSR. Britain and France tried to cooperate with them, but Germany asked too high a price so that Russia finally had to be asked to join the West to hold back Germany. This was done, and then in our day Britain, France and America joined again to crush Socialism and restore Colonialism.

In the 100 years between 1817 and 1917 there took place in the world 204 wars, before the Soviet Union was formed. Seven of these wars were of great magnitude, culminating in the First World War. At least 40 of these conflicts were large scale fights, involving many thousands of soldiers, and 150 of them meant murder and destruction among millions of persons. If now, as so many persons think today, Communism is the chief cause and threat of war, what caused the more than 200 wars of the 19th century, before the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born? The answer is: Greed, Cupidity, Avarice; ruthless desire for private gain at any cost to public welfare. And the subject of my words is that this same unbridled Greed which caused war yesterday is causing it today and threatening it tomorrow.

Can any thoughtful person in the light of this history assume that our present causes of war are unconnected with the recent past, and find a new cause in the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union? Is Communism today the cause of war or has war been the cause of Communism? If goaded by a terrible age of exploitation in Europe as well as Asia and Africa, nations have arisen to cast off their yoke, even if the new plan of government does not please us is War the only answer? Have we

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in the last century proposed any better answer? If we really want peace and see in Peace the only beginning to real human progress, must not our peace begin with peace with the Soviets and not end with blunt refusal even to talk Peace, and with preparations for war on a scale which threatens to bankrupt civilization; and particularly with this senseless war in Korea?

If the United States and England are going to insist that the sort of world which they built in the 19th century must not be altered, and that any attempt at alteration will mean world war, then world war it will be. The world will never again submit to Anglo-Saxon rule.

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Yet this is what Great Britain and the United States propose in Africa today. Britain bought the cooperation of the whites of the Union of South Africa by giving them independence and control of land and black labor until two million whites had eight million serfs. Then Britain let the whites of Kenya retain the land she had given them after the First World War for two cents an acre, and helped force the natives who owned the land to work for these whites at $10 a month. She placed in Kenya the largest store of munitions in the Empire for eventual attack on Asia. Yesterday Britain signed a treaty to subject six million more Negroes in South Central Africa to the ownership of two hundred thousand whites.

After this the inevitable is happening. In West Africa came revolt in 1948 that barely escaped civil war with riot and mutiny. It has freed thirty million natives and brought them within a step of independence. In Kenya secret murder in the hills is now terrifying the colony.

In the Union of South Africa Negroes and Indians, Africa and Asia, have begun passive resistence which the whites are going to try to smash by force. Back of Malan, who leads this effort, is the United States. We have loaned South Africa 90 millions and nearly every great American corporation is investing money there. Our consul last year called South Africa the most promising young nation on earth.

In Africa is beginning that war of races which may start the Third World War in conjunction with revolt in Asia. Under such circumstances conceive of a Secretary of State asking America to believe that we are threatened by a Russian plot in Africa to encircle the United States. What we are threatened with and have been for a hundred years is unbridled Greed of Europe and now of the United States, determined to rule mankind by force.

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To prevent this surge toward total war, this murder and crippling of our sons, universities and schools, common citizens and particularly organized labor, must summon courage and understanding to know the truth and to speak their convictions. In this day we can no longer depend on the press for the facts, since the press belongs to Big Business and Big Business wants war. Radio, television and the public platform are no longer open to free discussion. College classrooms, where once New England dared talk of anything in which human beings were interested, are today becoming halls of scared silence or employment agencies. All the more reason that each of us seek out the truth and dare express our convictions even at the cost of persecution.

Du Bois [Freedomways 1965]

Mar. 1953
West Town

ON THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

I find that audiences are fond of asking speakers to talk about the future, and most speakers are only too willing to accede to this request, since there is no immediate danger that their prophesies will be contradicted by facts. Usually, however, I avoid this preferred temptation, since my attempts at prophesy in the last half century have not been conspicuously successful. Today, therefore, I am not going to tell you what will happen in the future, because I do not know. But I am going to emphasize certain present facts and tendencies of which I am afraid you are not fully aware.

Social problems change more often and in more ways than physical problems because of the unpredictable variations in human feelings and choices. Probably most of these emotions and conclusions are subject more or less indirectly to the same physical laws as those which dominate sticks and stones. But there is enough of volition to make it necessary for persons who are studying a human problem or trying to conduct their action in accordance with its present manifestations, to keep a wary eye on changes and current facts.

For instance, in the United States during the young manhood of Frederick Douglass the Negro problem was the problem of slavery. There were, of course, minor and connected problems, but they were all subjected to the main problem of human freedom. Then suddenly, between 1863 and 1876 the Negro problem became a problem of political enfranchisement and party government, which rapidly descended into race war, leading to temporary attempts to grapple with problems of work and education; but finally ending in practical disfranchisement of the Negro race in 1876. From 1876 until our day,

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the race problem in the United States has been primarily a struggle to regain the right to vote, in the midst of caste discrimination, changing slowly but definitely to a problem of the right to work and to be trained for work at all levels; and to a struggle for broad civil and social rights.

Most of you, I think, assume that this is still the Negro problem, but you must be warned that it is not wholly or mainly that; and the reason that it is not is because of the fundamental changes now spreading over the whole world. Whereas in the 18th century the world thought that progress and emancipation were coming from popular education and universal suffrage, we now know that more fundamental than these important rights is the economic organization of the world; that is, the way in which the labor of human beings is organized to satisfy human needs. This question is so fundamental that all other questions of political power, education and human happiness, depend upon it. This is the basic reason for the rise of philanthropy, socialism, and the attempt at complete realization of Socialism through communism. It is immaterial whether or not you like or accept Socialism or Communism. The absolute compulsion of your facing the problem which they try to solve is inescapable.

While I am sure most of you realize this world wide change of emphasis, I doubt if you see how this affects the Negro problem, because most American Negroes of education and property have long since over-simplified their problem and tried to separate it from all other social problems. They conceive that their fight is simply to have the same rights and privileges as other American citizens. They do not for a moment stop to question how far the organization of work and distribution of wealth in America

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is perfect, nor do they for a moment conceive that the economic organization of America may have fundamental injustices and shortcomings which seriously affect not only Negroes, but the world.

Just as Booker Washington in his day assumed that American ideals were complete and right, and that all we had to do was to fight to imitate and attain them, so today we Negroes are largely quite swept away by the miracles of American industry, the huge accumulation of wealth, and the conspicuous expenditure which we find about us. Our idea of heaven is to be rich Americans, to make the kind of show in home, dress and automobiles that is so popular in America, and to suffer, in our effort to be able to do these things, no discriminationon account of race or color.

This is dangerously short-sighted. We American Negroes are part of the working force of the world. Not only do we represent an important segment of the American working class, but also of the working class of Europe, Asia and Africa and of the other Americas. In this respect we occupy a strategic place, in that a large and growing segment of us have on the whole better training than the mass of the world's workers outside of the United States and Europe; and secondly because we are in such direct touch with the world's greatest industrial organization that we can easily imitate its methods and share its gains and repeat its fatal mistakes.

We must therefore see our duty of joining and cooperating with that part of the world's population which is going forward toward a better economic organization, and in not yielding to the temptation of joining our interests with those who are using their power and advantages to make industry serve their selfish interests and distorted ideals.

I remember once in Charleston, South Carolina, when a well educated

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Negro pointed out to me the tenement houses which he was renting to poor workers at huge profit. In Atlanta I have seen an insurance society bought by a Negro group from whites, which was cheating and stealing from the workers with exactly the same methods that the white company had used, and piling up fortunes for young colored men. In fact, the more widely and successfully colored business men follow the methods of white business men, the more many of us regard them as unusually successful.

All these considerations affect and must in the future more largely than now, affect what we call now the Negro problem. And any assessment of the future aspects of this problem must take the matters which I have emphasized into serious and careful consideration.

There is today in America a confusion of mind so tragic and so misleading that our whole thought and philosophy is distorted. At the very time that economics, that is, the study of work and income, is of foremost importance for our well being, economics is not being studied in our schools. Neither in the elementary schools nor in colleges are students learning about the philosophy of money and exchange production and trade, wealth and saving. Our university students are pouring into chemistry and physics, and deserting history and sociology. Why? Because to us the basic problem is how large an income we can get; how much money we can control; what careers for our children will insure them the most wealth.

The object of our ambition is rising to higher and higher income brackets; and what we see as progress is escaping from manual labor to white collar jobs; thence to employing others to work for us; then to owning so much property that we need not work ourselves so that we may sit in stark idleness or grovel in dissipation, having never learned anything to

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do except to arrange to have nothing to do. From this contradiction arises the strange paradox that poverty in the worker must be perpetual in order that he be compelled to work for the rich.

To most Americans this paradox is at once true and impossible. They sit dumb and bemused before it. Yet a little thought, a little clear teaching in the home and the elementary schools, a minimum of leadership from the universities where past experience could sit beside present knowledge, and our eyes could see and our deaf ears hear. What is Life but the attempt of human beings to be happy and contented in a world which with all its ill has a mass of sun and waters, trees and flowers, beauty and love. To realize this at its highest we need food, clothes and shelter. We need health of body and balance of mind. We want to know what this world is, how its wonderful law act, who its peoples are, how they think and act, and how what they have done in years and ages past may guide us today. We want to see, realize and conceive Beauty in form and line and color. We want to know our own souls and the myriad-sided souls of others, and then to imagine what might be if what is should grow to what we wish. This is Life, and this is the end and fairytale of Life. We know this and yet we sit dumb and muddled before it, seeing the world as a twisted contradiction.

Yet the problem is simple. We have a rich land: earth and water, minerals and vegetables of every sort; breath-taking scenery in mountain, ocean, river and vale. We have combed the races of earth for strength, intelligence and daring. All that is asked is that each of us do all we can first to supply our own wants in food and shelter, health and learning; but more

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than that: that we do for others what they need done and cannot do for themselves and yet which must be done, lest we suffer. Beyond that there are many tasks which all working together can do faster and better than many working apart. All for one and one for all is an axiom of life, and to refuse to let all work in common would be as silly as to let no one work alone. All this is clear and true, and yet it is blinded in our eyes. The object of work for many is not to work. The end of labor is not to do what must be done but to get somebody else to do it. The wealth of the nation -- the land and water, the coal and oil, the iron and aluminum, ought not belong to the nation some say, but to those who by chance or cheating have legal power to make you pay their price for what God gave them. Even if ten or ten thousand men combine and in sweated sacrifice make steel, wheat, corn, meat or shoes, the result of the combined labor belongs to one or a few of them while the others scramble to keep from starving. What has gone wrong? It is clear the workers do not understand the meaning of work. Work is service, not gain. The object of work is life, not income. The reward of production is plenty, not private fortune. We should measure the prosperity of a nation not by the number of millionaires but by the absence of poverty, the prevalence of health, the efficiency of the public schools, and the number of people who can and do read worthwhile books.

Toward all this we strive, but instead of marching breatforward we stagger and wander, thinking that food is raised not to eat but to sell at a good profit; that houses are built not to shelter the masses but to make real estate agents rich; and solemnly declaring that

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without private profit there can be no food nor homes. All this is ridiculous. It has been disproven centuries ago. The greatest thinkers of every age have inveighed against concentration of wealth in the hands of the few and against the poverty, disease and ignorance of the masses of men.

We have tried every method of reform. A favorite effort was force by war, but the loot stolen by murder went to the generals not to the soldiers. We tried through religion to lead men to sacrifice and right treatment of their fellow men. But the priests too often stole the fruits of sacrifice and concealed the truth.

In the seventeenth century of our modern European era we sought leadership in Science, and dreamed that Justice might rule through natural law. But we misinterpreted law to mean that most men were slaves and white Europeans were of right masters of the world. In the eighteenth century we turned toward the ballot in the hands of the worker to force a just division of the fruits of labor among the toilers. But the capitalists, fattening on black slavery and land monopoly and on private monopoly of capital, forced the modern worker into a new slavery which built a new civilization of the world with colored slaves at the bottom, white serfs between, and the power still in the hands of the rich.

But one consideration halted this plan. The serfs and even the slaves had begun to learn to think. Some bits of education had stimulated them and some of the real scientists of the world began to use their knowledge for the masses and not solely for ruling classes. It became more and more a matter of straight thinking. What is work? It

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is what all must contribute to the common good. No man in this world has a right to be idle. It is the bounden duty of each to contribute his best to the well being of all. Of what men gain or do by their efforts all have a right to share, not to the extent of all they may want, but certainly to the extent which they really need. We feared yesterday that if all the reasonable needs of all men were met most would still starve. We know better than that today. All may eat and none need starve unless some insist on cake when others have no bread. And that, says modern Justice, is crime even if the starving man be Negro, Mexican or Korean.

From this program, even from any attempt to realize it in any way, many of the most powerful nations today and many influential persons not only are opposed, but threaten world war on nations and hell and damnation on people who even dare think, much less talk, of a world without poverty, ignorance and disease. Of attempts to realize such a world organized civilization deliberately lies.

Let me cite one instance: England a few years ago adopted social medicine and arranged that every Englishman should get free medical attention, hospitalization, medicines and dental care. It was a desperately needed reform. There is no reason on earth why such a measure should not be characteristic of every civilized nation ~~on earth~~. Yet every disaster was predicted, and every lie scattered to stop it. It was tried in Britain. It was a marked success. Even world reaction has not dared even essay to displace it. The utmost that Churchill attempted was to restore a small payment for false teeth! Despite the marked success of this simple act of justice to human citizens, the

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physicians of the United States launched an outrageous propaganda, backed by money, advertising and lecturing, until every ordinary American is firmly convinced that Social Medicine in England is a failure and that any step toward it in America would be Revolution! Even Negro physicians, administering to a sick and diseased people who need social medicine more than any part of this nation, have with but few honorable exceptions lined themselves with those distinguished white Americans fighting to defend disease and death.

This brings me to the crux of my message. We Negroes are not fighting tonight against slavery. That fight is won. We are not fighting in vain for the ballot. We hold the balance of political power in the north, and either we get the vote in the south or we come north and get it here. But we are fighting and fighting desperately the economic battle for the right to work and to get from our work food, housing, education, health and a chance to live as human beings. But in this fight we are not alone. With us stand and must stand whether they will or no, the white workers of America and of the world. The continuation of a colonial world of slaves and serfs cheek by jowl with a free world of workers with modern technique is no longer possible. The effort to achieve this by yelling "Communism" and by propelling this nation to pour death and degradation on helpless Korea and to seek in every way to enslave China must and will fail.

You as voters and intelligent citizens must force Peace on the professional soldiers and the business leaders who make fortunes on war and murder, and you must let the world know that this is your simple and unwavering program: The abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance the

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world over among women and men of all races, religions and colors; To accomplish this by just control of concentrated wealth and the overthrow of monopoly. To insure that income depends on work and not on privilege or chance. That Freedom is the heritage of man and by freedom we do not mean freedom from the laws of nature, but freedom to think and believe, to express our thoughts and dream our dreams, and to maintain our rights against secret police, witchhunters or any other sort of modern fool or tyrant.

Work and ever increasing categories of work must be carried on for the common good; work like education, forest preservation and flood control, the suppression of epidemics, research into disease, the broad planning of cities, the allocation and integration of industry. If all this must be done for the good of all it cannot be done by private initiative. It cannot be carried on for private profit. It must be planned. It must be conducted under discipline, and any set of social leaders who try to stop this social progress are enemies of mankind and destroyers of human culture.

The four freedoms come not by slavery to corporations and monopoly of press, cinema, radio and television, but by united social effort for the common good so that decently fed healthy and intelligent people can be sure of work, not afraid of old age, and hold high their heads to think and say what they damn please without fear of liars, informers, or a sneaking FBI.

This is the life and the conception of life which today is being denied. Instead of regarding work as honorable and necessary, and its

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object human service, we look on work as something to avoid, and its object as private profit and so far as possible profit for the man who does not do the work. Most Americans believe that without the incentive of private profit industry would collapse. No! The object of work is what it does for human beings and in all the long history of mankind this has been the open and avowed end of human toil.

It is only in the curious interval of modern history marked by the discovery of America and the theft of capital monopolized by force and used to enslave most of mankind to work for the few, that a theory of human life has arisen which reduces the people of Asia, Africa and the islands to toil for the wealth of Europe and North America; and even in these lands makes most workers, although better paid than colored workers, yet too poor to be healthy and intelligent.

When, then, modern world revolution started, of which that of Russia is but a part, revolution which has changed the face of industry in every modern nation, here in America there has started a desperate effort to lead this nation into witch-hunting and world war, to stop this world trend toward abolition of labor exploitation, and a real brotherhood of man, and to abolish forever the vulgar rule of private wealth. Thus the Peace movement epitomizes in itself the world uplift today and of this American Negroes must become increasingly aware if they do not want to fall behind progress and hold back the March of Mankind.

This does not call for force nor revolution. It does call for courage even to the loss of jobs; for daring to think and guts at least to listen; to the refusal to mistake money made by gamblers either at policy or on the stock market, or display of clothes or homes as progress.

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Progress is Peace, and peace is time for food, homes for love, health for happiness, and books to read.

Awake, awake,
Put on thy Strength, O Zion,
Put on they beautiful robes.

COPY

TO THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, BUDAPEST, 1953

Again the World Peace Council meets without real representation from the United States of America; without voice from the very nation which most of you regard as the main threat to Peace. Why does America remain silent?

I venture to send you an explanation; not that you are entirely unaware of much which I will say; not that I am logically the rightful spokesman — on the contrary I am perhaps the last whom my countrymen would themselves select. For I am, as you well know, an hereditary outcast at home, whose black fathers were once enslaved and whose brothers are still despised. Yet by birth and education and long years of work, in some respects I represent the United States and can speak with a certain clairvoyance which is vouchsafed the outsider who lives within, and the insider who does not belong. My words then may bring needed emphasis to your deliberations.

Let me look back with you over the short history of America whose youth and late rush to world influence must be considered. Singular good fortune has repeatedly spelled doom for these fortunate isles. Prodigal gift of rich and endless land has nurtured greed. Strong and willing labor has invited slavery. Rivalries of race and cultures have quickened talent, until, mad with our very prosperity, we let Liberty choke Equality and Brotherhood die at birth. Yet we drew continual strength from all the world: from Asia came Faith; from Africa, Work with Song; from Europe, Civilization. In such a new world of singular opportunity with freedom of movement and freedom of trade over unprecedented stretches of territory, we have grown rich and healthy, powerful and keen, with rare technical mastery of the forces of nature and a reckless self-confidence born of youth and inexperience. Blind to history and ignorant of human nature, we see Life as the strife of Individuals and have small concept of the age-old social bodies or of the eternal Society of Man.

America of today lightly forgets that she was once a colony dominated by an empire and gained autonomy only by violent revolution; by throwing off just such bonds as she now helps to impose on peoples of Asia and Africa. Wildly and erratically down the years our ways have wandered: from conquest of the wilderness to conquest of Mexico; from domestic serfdom to a system of industrial slavery stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific That leadership which the masses must find if they survive, came to us from time to time because of our unhampered and often lawless freedom and never reached peaceful, consistent and planned progress. We threw off dictatorship of property and religion. We spread common school education and approached universal suffrage, limited by slavery and color of skin. Then in blood and destruction we emerged into a vision of democracy unlimited by race, religion or wealth. Again our triumph spelled doom. The freedom which we thought we had gained for black mankind became freedom for the exploiter of land and labor. In the last half of the 19th century individual wealth, however gained, became more important in popular esteem than human freedom, and the new industry became the master and not the servant of the new democracy.

But even American individualism had to yield to social compulsion as the Frontier closed on our western borders. The free west became owned and ordered. The individual highwayman of industry could no longer ride at will. Exploitation of Labor and Raw Material became instead a matter of more intense effort and more subject to integrated and planned capitalism. The flow of cheap immigrant labor dwindled, the black freedmen began to fight for the freedom that was eluding them, white labor began to organize against capital. But Labor was divided: Irishman against Negro and German against Scandinavian and foreign-born against native. On new and intricate skills and machines

climbed the mechanic and the white collar worker; over all ruled the Manager and over him the Financier.

We became a money-mad people, ruled increasingly by corporal wealth and ruthless in our methods of gain. Freedom became license and democracy a matter of barter and sale. Yet there was intelligence and vision enough for fierce battle for reform in the last quarter of the century and the United States entered the 20th century determined to stand with the progressive forces of mankind in Science, Government and Humanity with Labor poised to hearken to Europe and fight for socialism.

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As the fight of Labor grew more intense and the labor vote forced the rate of profit down and raised wages, a vision of a path to new profits came to American capital. This path was not new; it was very old, but it seemed new to a new people. It was the old colonial expansion. It started with the sugar and fruit of Hawaii and turned to conquest of Spanish islands; it crept down old paths to Central and South America. It excluded European participation with a new Monroe Doctrine designed now to protect investment and not human liberty.

Until the First World War we thought only of colonial expansion in the Americas. This war for the redistribution of Asiatic and African colonies found, therefore, the United States cold and disposed to withdraw into isolation until two temptations pulled us in opposite directions: one, led by Woodrow Wilson, would save the world for democracy and wage war to end war; the other looked on the disaster of the world as our business opportunity to supplant Europe in the exploitation of the Eastern World. We tore into this path with such concentrated effort that we not only completely threw over Wilson's idealistic League of Nations, but joined European reaction against Socialism and the new-born Soviet Union. With characteristic American impulse and blind zeal we knocked the very foundations out from under modern

capitalism: -- the Gold Standard, the world market, free land and cheap colonial labor. For a decade world industry and trade reeled, colonial peoples staggered to their feet while the Soviet Union built unshakable foundations.

Then the Old World, led by two mad men, tried to achieve new world domination. Britain, France and the United States joined Hitler and Mussolini to rebuild colonial imperialism. But the new masters asked too high a price, although Britain and France made every effort at accommodation, and deeply sympathized with the Fascist plan to arrest Communism. But in America poverty, unemployment and despair spread so far that Franklin Roosevelt displaced the old individualism with a new socialism and under the tutelege of Harry Hopkins even joined American skill to Soviet strength while Britain and France reluctantly followed.

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Fascism and Hitlerism fell and colonialism started to follow. A Golden Age of Mankind dawned: a planned economy for a distracted and tottering world, upheld by some vast vision of equal, unexploited, healthy peoples being led to learn the long and laboriously accumulated wisdom of mankind by a new concept of Democracy. San Francisco followed Potsdam, Yalta, Teheran and Stalingrad -- followed falteringly and haltingly but surely, until tired, Franklin Roosevelt dropped in death.

It was then that the long strained weaknesses of the United States again appeared. Far less than other peoples is the United States a unity. We have no national patriotism. We worship success as Wealth and Wealth as Power. We are far too young for cultural integration. We are a congeries not only of races, nations and cultural patterns, but all these lack time for understanding and historic interpretation. In place of a national consciousness has arisen a fiercely believed-in folk-lore of individual prowess,

hammering out personal success. We forgot or never knew our dependence on each other.

There crept into our polity, beside differences of race and culture new class distinctions of rich, middle-class and poor; investors, employers, technicians, skilled laborers and common laborers, beside criminals. Managers displaced employers; better paid labor shared in exploitation of poorer paid and all American labor exploited Negroes and colonial peoples. Organized finance directed industry, distributed capital and planned economy. Having actually lost least by war and destruction American Industry started after the great depression of the thirties to reorganize world trade and industry and replace Great Britain as banker of mankind. But it met two stunning rebuffs. First, Communism did not collapse as America expected but grew in strength and extent so that Eastern Europe was closed to western exploitation. Second, China, which America regarded as already in her power under the puppet, Chiang Kai Chek, was reorganized under a communist regime in alliance with the Soviet Union. American business regarded this as plot and betrayal, and the Korean War began as an effort to regain control of Chinese labor and raw materials.

This change of outlook and aim, which never would have occurred under Roosevelt, developed to full orientation under his accidental successor, Harry Truman. Truman was a provincial western politician, without broad learning or wide experience. He had no thought of ever questioning the absolute superiority of the American Way of Life. Under the direction of Big Business, Truman completely reversed the policies of Roosevelt. He became suspicious and inimical toward the Soviet Union; made war in Korea and announced the Truman doctrine of armed limitation of the spread of communism. Trade, industry and finance through tighter and more conscious control of the whole

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economy of the nation began to plan an anti-socialistic world. The Hitler plan of thought control was further developed. The old American folklore of pioneer enterprise, individual initiative and reward of private prowess was emphasized. News gathering and distribution, broadcasting, publication of books, periodicals and newspapers came increasingly under the centralized control of organized capital. Public opinion was skillfully aroused to suspect and hate the Soviet Union and to oppose her designs by a military preparedness surpassing anything the world ever knew. A false scare of imminent war nearly forced universal military service through Congress and did accomplish wide drafting of youth into the military forces. As opposition developed skillful efforts began to silence it. Confessed informers, liars and traitors were publicized and rewarded while advocates of peace and friendship were intimidated. Teachers and writers were dismissed; radicals, progressives and liberals jailed; a congressional inquisition, unhampered by the usual legal limitations was installed, and the pulpit either silenced or taken into loud alliance. Never before in America has there been such suppression of freedom of thought and expression of opinion.

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When you judge the United States today, bear this in mind. Not the America of intelligence and courage is forcing war on the world, but the America half-informed and deliberately misled which regards such a gathering as the World Peace Council as a conspiracy against civilization and seriously sees in socialism and communism plots to overthrow the American Way of Life. Thus an hysterical nation is blundering toward a resurgence of religious dogma and is turning a Prince of Peace into a God of War. What happens? It is hard to paint the present scene in America in conceivable tones. May I essay. I select from an endless list of specific cases ten which illustrate

our spiritual Reign of Terror:

1. There is scarcely in the land a University or college from which there has not been dismissed either from long service or from the start of a promising career, one or more professors, accused of "sympathy" with "communism."

2. The Attorney-General of the United States has drawn up a long list of organizations, which, without hearing evidence or giving reasons he declares are "subversive" because of some connection past or present with Communistic or Socialistic ideas. Alleged membership in any of these organizations can mean loss of job or benefits of public housing.

3. From the public schools of New York and a dozen other large cities, successful teachers of ten, twenty or more years have been summarily dismissed for belonging to some "subversive" organization or for refusing to say whether or not they ever belonged to the Communist Party.

4. The eleven official heads of the Communist Party are in jail not accused of illegal acts but because communist writers have at various times and places wrote of revolution and since this government is declared in present danger these leaders are in jail for what they might sometime do.

5. The strong defense of labor unions which Franklin Roosevelt established has been sabotaged by new laws and administration. Aggressive labor unions have been outlawed and their leaders persecuted. On the Atlantic coast the handling of cargoes involve crimes of all sorts. On the Pacific coast stevedores are well organized and social benefits available. This was achieved by Harry Bridges ten years ago. Ever since Bridges has been persecuted as a "Communist." Year after year this persecution has persisted with varying charges. The government has used as witnesses well-known liars and stool pigeons. The case is still in court.

6. A notable leader of the United Nations Organization was Alger Hiss, a promising young man who had occupied responsible government positions. On the testimony of a confessed traitor Hiss was arrested and accused of betraying secret data to the Soviet Union. He was tried and ~~acquitted.~~ He was arrested again and tried ~~for lying at his first trial.~~ He was convicted and given a jail sentence. Prominent Americans attested their belief in his integrity. Although now eligible for parole he has been denied it on account of "public opinion."

7. Frederick Field, descendant of two of America's outstanding families, one of America's experts on Asia, who strongly sympathized with the new Chinese Republic was sent to jail because he refused to reveal the names of contributors to a bail fund which was used legally to keep accused persons out of jail until tried.

8. The Rosenbergs, hard-working young parents of small children, ~~are in jail.~~ They were not tried for treason but for conspiracy to give secrets to the Soviet Union in time of peace. Their accusers, who confessed treason, furnished no proof against the Rosenbergs ~~but bare~~ unsupported assertion. One of them was not punished, the other given fifteen years, while the victims were sentenced to death.

9. ~~Last month~~ When a group in Chicago planned a Memorial Meeting for Stalin a crowd entered the hall, beat the participants and while police looked on, burned Peace literature in the streets.

10. A wounded American prisoner in Korea wrote his mother in California of his good treatment and the desire for peace. Comrades signed this letter and his mother read it at a Peace Rally. She was subjected to a series of persecution. When the soldier was released he was segregated and not allowed to communicate with his family.

The underlying cause of this sort of action, of which I have indicated only a few samples is caused by the extraordinary propaganda which has led America to believe:

That universal selfishness brings total prosperity.

That without private profit Industry cannot carry on.

That poverty for most men is inevitable.

That most ~~men~~ human and especially colored ~~men~~ peoples are incapable of civilization.

That the United States is in danger of violent overthrow by foreign attack

That Socialism is a fool's dream and Communism a scoundrel's conspiracy.

Intelligent America knows better than this but intelligent America is afraid of losing status and the chance to earn a living. The schools teach but a minimum of elementary economics and students are avoiding history and the social sciences and crowding into physics, chemistry and "business." No progressive thinker and few liberals can get books published or broadcast or can lecture on public platforms. Such persons cannot travel on American passports unless they swear not only that they are not and never have been Communists, that they do not and never have belonged to any of the "subversive" organizations", but they must also convince the Department of State that they will not while abroad support or encourage any policies of the "Communist Movement," anywhere.

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This is the situation in which we find ourselves. We have not yet been able to better it. We have tried to bring the matter to political decision in the last two presidential campaigns. Our first leader deserted the cause. The Progressive Party ticket in the second campaign was disfranchised in twenty-two states and in the rest it was refused public hearing to such extent that our candidate and platform were almost unknown. Since the campaign the Government has started a remorseless effort to imprison and impoverish our recent candidate, Vincent Hallinan, by seizing his property and accusing him of income tax fraud over a period of five years.

36-11-33

The new administration, headed by a general, is dominated by business men interested in war and colonial expansion and rich by their profits. It began with a threat to attempt the dismemberment of the Soviet Union by bribery and suborning of treason. It threatened to annul the treaties and understandings which ended the Second World War; it is striving to arm Germany, Japan and Western Europe in firm pact to join the United States in military alliance against the Soviet Union; it denies recognition to China. < insert A)

In this dark hour what can be done? Nothing but unswerving determination to persist in appeal to the intelligence and conscience of America. Emphasis on the great Truth that only by union of Communist social ideals and American mechanical skill can this world be saved. One day this fact must force itself on the United States. Until then, have pity on us, Mankind, and patience with us.

I speak as an American, and as an American who wishes for America fulfillment of its most glorious destiny. I wipe away all memory of ill, I forget things hard to forget and remember only how many peoples have found beneath the Stars and Stripes, hope and sanctuary. I stand myself too near

Army people of the Negro race

A.

For a century and more the United Stsaes has had vigorous peace movements religious and civil . Today there are corporations endowed with millions of dollars dedicated to forwarding peace among the nations. Yet the only active ones who work for peace, even with the Soviet Union and China, are the Peace Crusade both threatened with listing as "subversive" by the Government. The Peace Information Center of 1950 was closed by persecution as agent of a 'foreign Principal' The Quakers still resist war but are very moderate and refuse all cooperation with other agencies. Thus the organized peace movement in this nation is literally almost scared to death. Yet it is not dead and it will never die

36-11-35

Eternity not to cling to firm belief that one day the United States of America, struggling with her own soul today as once she strove to emancipate four million slaves, will again fight down suspicion and distrust, repudiate greed and devote her skill and wealth not to murder but to more abundant life for all men.

Once in the dawn of this century British and American capitalists sent out the steamship Titanic, as a mechanically perfect machine; so perfect that it defied God, ignored warning and arrogantly drove straight into the icy jaws of Death. Today, some American dream that with the Atom bomb, with Japanese and German soldiers, the United States will rule the earth, with the aid of colonial peoples conquering each other for America. But we know in our hearts that this dream is mad. With the sympathy of the wiser world we will yet seek the light and find it, without violence and without war.

36-11-34

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to:
Montague
Bernal
Padmore

TO THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, BUDAPEST, 1953

Again the World Peace Council meets without real representation from the United States of America; without voice from the very nation which most of you regard as the main threat to Peace. Why does America remain silent?

I venture to send you an explanation; not that you are entirely unaware of much which I will say; not that I am logically the rightful spokesman - - on the contrary I am perhaps the last whom my countrymen would themselves select. For I am, as you well know, an hereditary outcast at home, whose black fathers were once enslaved and whose brothers are still despised. Yet by birth and education and long years of work, in some respects I represent the United States and can speak with a certain clairvoyance which is vouchsafed the outsider who lives within, and the insider who does not belong. My words then may bring needed emphasis to your deliberations.

36-10-179

Let me look back with you over the short history of America whose youth and late rush to world influence must be considered. Singular good fortune has repeatedly spelled doom for these fortunate isles. Prodigal gift of rich and endless land has nurtured greed. Strong and willing labor have invited slavery. Rivalries of race and cultures have quickened talent, until, mad with our very prosperity, we let Liberty choke Equality and Brotherhood die at birth. Yet we drew continual strength from all the world: from Asia came Faith; from Africa, Work with Song; from Europe, Civilization. In such a new world of singular opportunity with freedom of movement and freedom of trade over unprecedented stretches of territory, we have grown rich and healthy, powerful and keen, with rare technical mastery of the forces of nature and a reckless self-confidence born of youth and inexperience. Blind to history and ignorant of human nature, we see Life as the strife of individuals and have small concept of the age-old social bodies or of the eternal Society of Man.

America of today lightly forgets that she was once a colony dominated by an empire and gained autonomy only by violent revolution; by throwing off just such bonds as she now helps to impose on peoples of Asia

and Africa. Wildly and erratically down the years our ways have wandered: from conquest of the wilderness to conquest of Mexico; from domestic serfdom to a system of industrial slavery stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. That leadership which the masses must find if they survive, came to us from time to time because of our unhampered and often lawless freedom and never reached peaceful consistant and planned progress. We threw off dictatorship of property and religion. We spread common school education and approached universal suffrage, limited by slavery and color of skin. Then in blood and destruction we emerged into a vision of democracy unlimited by race, religion or wealth. ~~Then~~ again our triumph spelled doom. The freedom which we thought we had gained for black mankind became freedom for the exploiter of land and labor. In the last half of the 19th century individual wealth, however gained, became more important in popular esteem than human freedom and the new industry became the master and not the servant of the new democracy.

36-10-180

But even American individualism had to yield to social compulsion as the Frontier closed on our western borders. The free west became owned and ordered. The individual highwayman of industry could no longer ride at will. Exploitation of Labor and Raw Material became instead a matter of more intense effort and more subject to integrated and planned capitalism. The flow of cheap immigrant labor dwindled, the black freedmen began to fight for the freedom that was eluding them, white labor began to organize against capital. But Labor was divided: Irishman against Negro and German against Scandinavian and foreign-born against native. On new and intricate skills and machines climbed the mechanic and the white collar worker; over all ruled the Manager and over him the Financier.

We became a money-mad people, ruled increasingly by corporal wealth and ruthless in our methods of gain. Freedom became license and democracy a matter of barter and sale. Yet there was intelligence and vision enough for fierce battle for reform in the 1 st quarter of the century and the United States entered the 20th century determined to stand with the progressive forces of mankind in Science, Government and Humanity with Labor poised to hearken to Europe and fight for socialism.

As the fight of Labor grew more intense and the labor vote forced the rate of profit down and raised wages a vision of a path to new profits came to America capital. This path was not new; it was very old, but it seemed new to a new people. It was the old colonial expansion. It started with the sugar and fruit of Hawaii and turned to conquest of Spanish islands; it crept down old paths to Central and South America. It excluded European participation with a new Monroe Doctrine designed now to protect investment and not human liberty.

36-10-181

Until the First World War we thought only of colonial expansion in the Americas. This war for the redistribution of Asiatic and African colonies found, therefore, the United States cold and disposed to withdraw into isolation until two temptations pulled us in opposite directions: one, led by Woodrow Wilson would save the world for democracy and wage war to end war; the other, looked on the disaster of the world as our business opportunity to supplant Europe in the exploitation of the Eastern World. We tore into this path
poan with such concentrated effort that we not only completely threw over Wilson's idealistic League of Nations, but joined European reaction against Socialism and the new-born Soviet Union. With characteristic American impulse and blind zeal we knocked the very foundations out from under modern capitalism: - the Gold Standard, the world market, free land and cheap colonial labor. For a decade world industry and trade reeled, colonial peoples staggered to their feet while the Soviet Union built unshakeable foundations.

Then the Old World, led by two mad men tried to achieve world domination. Britain, France and the United States joined Hitler and Mussolini to rebuild colonial imperialism. But the new masters asked too high a price, although Britain and France made every effort at accommodation, ~~but Franklin Roosevelt~~ and deeply sympathized with the Fascist plan to arrest communism. But in America poverty, unemployment and despair spread so far that Franklin Roosevelt displaced the old individualism with a new socialism and under the tutelege of Harry Hopkins even joined American skill to Soviet strength while Britain and France reluctantly followed.

Fascism and Hitlerism fell and colonialism started to follow. A

Golden Age of Mankind dawned; a planned economy for a distracted and tottering world, upheld by some vast vision of equal, unexploited, healthy peoples being led to learn the long and laboriously accumulated wisdom of mankind by a new concept of Democracy. San Francisco followed Potsdam, Yalta, Teheran and Stalingrad -- followed falteringly and haltingly but surely, until, tired Franklin Roosevelt dropped in death.

36-10-182

It was then that the long strained weaknesses of the United States again appeared. Far less than other peoples is the United States a unity. We have no national patriotism. We worship success as Wealth and Wealth as Power. We are far too young for cultural integration. We are a congeries not only of races, nations and cultural patterns, but all these lack time for understanding and historic assimilation. In place of a national consciousness has arisen a fiercely believed-in folk-lore of individual prowess, hammering out personal success. We forgot or never knew our dependence on each other.

There crept into our polity, beside differences of race and culture new class distinctions of rich, middle-class and poor; investors, employers, technicians, skilled laborers and common laborers, beside criminals. Managers displaced employers; better paid labor shared in exploitation of poorer paid and all American labor exploited Negroes and colonial peoples. Organized finance directed industry, distributed capital and planned economy. Having actually lost least by war and destruction American Industry started after the great depression of the thirties to reorganize world trade and industry and replace Great Britain as banker of mankind. But it met two stunning rebuffs. First, Communism did not collapse as America expected but grew in strength and extent so that Eastern Europe was closed to western exploitation. Second, China, which America regarded as already in her power under the puppet, Chiang kai Chek, was reorganized under a communist regime in alliance with the Soviet Union. American business regarded this as plot and betrayal and the Korean War began as an effort to regain control of Chinese labor and raw materials.

This change of outlook and aim, which never would have occurred under Roosevelt, developed to full orientation under his accidental successor,

36-10-183

Harry Truman. Truman was a provincial western polititian, without broad learning or wide experience. He had no thought of ever questioning the absolute superiority of the American Way of Life. Under the direction of Big Business, Truman completely reversed the policies of Roosevelt. He became suspicious and inimical toward the Soviet Union; made war in Korea and announced the Truman doctrine of armed limitation of the spread of communism. Trade, industry and finance through tighter and more conscious control of the whole economy of the nation began to plan an anti-socialistic world. The Hitler plan of thought control was further developed. The old American folklore of pioneer enterprise, individual initiative and reward of private prowess was emphasized. News gathering and distribution, broadcasting, publication of books, periodicals and newspapers came increasingly under the centralized control of organized capital. Public opinion was skillfully aroused to suspect and hate the Soviet Union and to oppose her designs by a military prepardness surpassing anything the world ever know. A false scare of imminent war nearly forced universal military service through Congress and did accomplish wide drafting of youth into the military forces. As opposition developed skillful efforts began to silence it. Confessed infamous liars and traitors were publicized and rewarded while advocates of peace and friendship were intimidated Teachers and writers were dismissed, radicals, and progressives and liberals jailed; a congressional inquisition unhampered by the usual legal limitations was installed and the pulpit either silenced or taken into loud alliance. Never before in America has there been such suppression of freedom of thought and expression of opinion.

When you judge the United States today, bear this in mind. Not the America of intelligence and courage is forcing war on the world, but the America of half-informed and deliberately misled which regards such a gathering as the World Peace Council as a conspiracy against civilization and seriously sees in socialism and communism plots to overthrow the American Way of Life. Thus an hysterical nation is blundering toward a resurgence of religious dogma and is turning a Prince of Peace into a God of War. What happens? It is hard to paint the present scene in America in conceivable tones. May I

36-10-184

essay. I select from an endless list of specific cases ten which illustrate our spiritual Reign of Terror:

1. There is scarcely in the land a University or college from which there has not been dismissed either from long service or from the start of a promising career, one or more profes ors, accused of "sympathy" with "communism".

2. The Attorney-General of the United States has drawn up a long list of organizations, which, without hearing evidence or giving reasons he declares are "subversive" because of some connection past or present with Communistic or Socialistic ideas. ~~Alleged membership in any of these organizations can mean loss of job or benefits of public housing.~~ Copy

3. From the public schools of New York and a dozen other large cities, successful teachers of ten, twenty or more years have been summarily dismissed for belonging to some "subversive" organization or for refusing to say whether or not they ever belonged to the Communist Party.

4. The eleven official heads of the Communist Party are in jail not accused of illegal acts but because communist writers have at various times and places wrote of revolution and since this government is declared in present danger these leaders are in jail for what they might sometime do.

5. The strong defense of labor unions which Franklin Roosevelt established has been sabotaged by new laws and administration. Aggressive labor ~~leaders~~ unions have been outlawed and their leaders persecuted. On the Atlantic coast the handling of cargoes involve crimes of all sorts ~~and low pay~~. On the Pacific coast stevadores are well organized, ~~pay is good~~ and social benefits available. This was achieved by Harry Bridges ten years ago. Ever since Bridges has been persecuted as a "Communist". Year after year this persecution has persisted with varying charges. The government has used as witnesses well-known liars and stool pidgeons. The case is still in Court

6. A notable leader of the United Nations Organization was Alger Hiss, a promising young man who had occupied responsible government positions. On the testimony of a confessed traitor Hiss was arrested and accused of betraying secret data to the Soviet Union. He was tried and acquitted. He was arrested again and tried for lying at his first trial. He was convicted and given a jail sentence. Prominant Americans attested their belief in his integrity. Although now eligivle for parole he has been denied it on account of "public opinion".

7. Frederick Field, descendant of two of America's outstanding families, one of America's experts on Asia, who strongly sympathized with the new Chinese Republic was sent to jail because he refused to reveal the names of contributers to a bail fund which was used legally to keep accused persons out of jail until tried.

to your friends in the Soviet Union

are in jail

8. The Rosenburgs, hard-working young parents of small children, ~~have been sentenced to die.~~ They were not tried for treason but for conspiracy in time of peace. Their accusers, who confessed treason, furni hed no proof against the Rosenburgs but bare assertion. One of them was not punished, the other given fifteen ye rs, while the victims were sentenced to death.

9. Last month when a group in Chicago planned a Memorial Meeting for Stalin a crowd entered the hall, beat the participants and while police looked on burned Peace literature in the streets.

10. A wounded American prisoner in Korea wrote his mother in California of his good treatment and the desire for peace. Comrades signed this letter and his mother read it at a Peace Rally. She was subjected to a series of persecution. When the soldier was released he was segregated and not allowed to communicate with his family

36-10-185

The underlying cause of this sort of action, of which I have indicated only a few samples is caused by the extraordinary propoganda which has led America to believe:

That universal selfishness brings total prosperity

That without private profit Industry cannot ~~exist.~~ carry on

That poverty for most men is inevitable

That most men and expecially colored men are incapable of civilization.

That the United States is in danger of violent overthrow.

That Socialism is a fool's dream and Communism a scoundrel's conspiracy.

Intelligent America knows better than this but intelligent America is afraid of losing status and the chance to earn a living. The schools teach but a minimum of elementary economics and students are avoiding history and the social sciences and crowding into physics, chemistry and "business". No progressive thinker and few liberals can get books published, ~~sam~~ or broadcast or lecture on public platforms. Such persons cannot travel on American passports unless they swear not only that they are not and never have been Communists, that they do not and never have belonged to any of the "subversive" organizations" but they must also convince the Department of State that they will not while abroad support or encourage any policies of the "Communist Movement", anywhere.

This is the situation in which we find ourselves. We have not yet been able to better it. We have tried to bring the matter to political decision in the last two presidential campaigns. Our first leader deserted the cause. The Progressive Party ticket in the second campaign was disfranchised in twenty-two states and in the rest it was refused public hearing to such extent that out candidate and platform were almost unknown. Since the campaign the Government has started ~~up~~ a remorseless effort to imprison and impoverish our recent candidate, Vincent Hallinan, by seizing his property and accusing him of income tax fraud over a period of five years.

30-10-186

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I speak as an American, and as an American who wishes for America fulfilment of its must glorious destiny. I wipe away all memory of ill. I forget things hard to forget and remember only how many peoples have found beheath the Stars and Stripes, hope and ~~refuge~~ sanctuary. I stand myself too near Eternity not to cling to firm belief that one day the United States of America, struggling with her own soul today as once she strove to emancipate four million slaves, will again fight down suspicion and distrust, repudiate greed and devote her skill and wealth not to murder but to more abundant life for all men.

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With colonial peoples
Conquering each other
for us

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36-10-187

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[The above is slightly changed from the text sent M. Joliot-Curie]

Du Bois

April 12, 1953

BKlyn,

JAN 31, 1954
Dorchester
mass

PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

WAR IS A VICIOUS HUMAN HABIT: A THROW-BACK TO PRIMEVAL BARBARISM, AN ANACHRONISM WHICH SHAMES RELIGION AND RETARDS CIVILIZATION. BEFORE THIS CENTURY WAR MAY AT TIMES HAVE BEEN THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS. SINCE WORLD WARS HAVE COME AND THE ATOMIC AGE, THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WAR IS THE SUPREME DISASTER. THERE IS NOTHING WORSE.

WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO END WAR?" MORE WAR! WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY?" LESS DEMOCRACY! WHAT ARE WE GETTING FROM THIS "COLD WAR FOR FREEDOM?" LESS FREEDOM TO THINK AND MORE FREEDOM TO KILL. WHAT WILL COME IF WAR IN KOREA BECOMES WAR AGAINST CHINA AND A THIRD WORLD WAR, WITH JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ARMED ALLIES? THE END OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND A LONG RETURN TO BARBARISM. PEACE, THEN! PEACE NOW! PEACE FOREVER!

BS-8-143

-2-

THIS AMERICA OF OURS, HOPE OF OUR DREAMS, REFUGE OF MANKIND, HAS BEFORE OUR VERY EYES BECOME THE GREATEST WARMONGER OF ALL HISTORY. NEVER BEFORE IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND HAS A NATION PLANNED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION ON THE SCALE NOW ENVISIONED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. WITH ONE BURST OF FLAME WE KILLED AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI 200,000 HUMAN BEINGS, AGED AND INFANTS; SICK AND HELPLESS; UNARMED AND UNWARNED; -- AN ATTACK AS HORRIBLE AS IT WAS NEEDLESS, -- A DEED WHICH CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER FORGET!

WHY IS THIS NATION, THE MOST SECURE FROM FOREIGN ATTACK OF ANY IN THE WORLD, RUSHING TO WAR? WHAT IS IT THAT HAS LITERALLY SCARED US TO DEATH? NO FOREIGN FOE HAS TOUCHED OR THREATENED OUR SHORES; NO NATION HAS PLANNED OUR DESTRUCTION. OUR ECONOMY IS SOUND UNLESS WE LET WAR UPSET IT; OUR TECHNIQUE IS UNSURPASSED; OUR ABILITY AND TALENT HAVE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MOST FAVORED NATIONS OF MEN. WHY THEN HAVE WE GONE COMPLETELY OUT OF OUR MINDS AND EMBARKED ON A FANTASTIC PLAN OF WORLD CONTROL AT THE COST OF NATIONAL IMPOV-

ERISHMENT, MORAL RUIN AND THE HATE OF MANKIND?

WE SEEK TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA IS CAUSED SOLELY BY THE DESIGNS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, A NATION SEPARATED FROM US BY THE WIDTH OF THE WORLD, WHICH HAS NEVER ATTACKED US, NEVER TAKEN OUR TERRITORY, BUT WHO SOME OF US [redacted] IS SO DETERMINED TO RUIN US THAT IN SHEER DEFENSE WE MUST RUIN OURSELVES! WHENCE THEN, COMES THIS [redacted] Belief?

[redacted]

MANY SEE BACK OF THIS BELIEF THE PROPAGANDA OF A GROUP OF BUSINESS MEN IN AMERICA, WHO SEEK TO REVIVE A SYSTEM OF WORLD INDUSTRY LONG SINCE DOOMED TO EXTINCTION. UNDER THIS SYSTEM, A CLASS WITHIN A NATION, OR A WHOLE NATION, LIVED IN COMFORT, LUXURY AND POWER ON THE LAND AND LABOR OF OTHER CLASSES OR PEOPLE TOO POOR, TOO IGNORANT, AND TOO SICK TO RESIST. THIS SYSTEM, UNDER ITS VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE, CHATTEL SLAVERY, SERFDOM, CLASS STRUCTURE, COLONIALISM AND CENTRALIZED REGULATION OF PRICES AND MARKETS, HAS EXISTED SO LONG,

35-8-144 of

YIELDED SUCH FABULOUS PROFITS, AND SUPPORTED SUCH [redacted] comfortable CIVILIZATION AMONG A FAVORED FEW, THAT MANY MEN BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECTION OF MOST MEN TO A POWERFUL FEW IS INEVITABLE, AND THAT ITS DISAPPEARANCE WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE NOW KNOW IT.

THIS SYSTEM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL OF WORLD INDUSTRY REACHED ITS CULMINATION IN THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, AND ITS SPECTACULAR SUCCESS FIRED THE IMAGINATION AND ENVY OF ALL EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE FORGOT THE REVOLT AGAINST IT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY; WE IGNORED THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH INTRODUCED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND POPULAR EDUCATION AMONG WHITE WORKERS, AND WE IGNORED THE EFFORTS TO EXTEND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS OVER INDUSTRY, AND THE DREAMS OF INCLUDING THE MASS OF DARKER WORKERS AMONG THE ENFRANCHISED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

THE 20th CENTURY DAWNED WITH FOUR WORLD-SHAKING EVENTS:

THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO REDISTRIBUTE COLONIES AMONG IMPERIAL POWERS.
REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.
THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO STOP THE PLAN FOR A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.
THE REVOLT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES.

ALL THIS WAS LOGICAL: WIDE JEALOUSY among THE NATIONS MONOPOLIZING LAND AND LABOR IN THE COLONIAL REGIONS; THE ATTEMPT TO REDISTRIBUTE THIS MONOPOLY BY WAR; AND THE OVERWHELMING COST OF THE STRUGGLE, BRINGING INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE AND THE ATTEMPT OF TWO DICTATORS TO MAKE A DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIAL CONTROL BY ANOTHER WAR; AND FINALLY THE NATURAL RISE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TO TAKE CHARGE OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

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THE ATTEMPT OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, JOINED BY JAPAN, TO CHANGE THE FACE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, SO THREATENED THE WESTERN WORLD THAT WE WERE GLAD TO ACCEPT THE HELP OF THE NEW SOVIET UNION, WHICH WE HAD ONCE JOINED FIFTEEN OTHER NATIONS TO OVERTHROW. THE SOVIETS LAID DOWN 17 MILLION LIVES AND BILLIONS OF THEIR NEW INDUSTRY TO SAVE US FROM FASCISM.

HERE DAWNED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FACE A NEW WORLD: NOT NECESSARILY A WORLD OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM OR OF UNREGULATED PRIVATE CAPITALISM, BUT A WORLD BASED ON GOOD WILL AND SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY INTO WORK AND INCOME AS AFFECTING HUMAN PROGRESS. THIS EFFORT, EARNESTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WAS OVERTURNED COMPLETELY BY HARRY TRUMAN AS THE TOOL OF BIG BUSINESS. IF A BUCHANAN BEFORE A LINCOLN WAS A NATIONAL CALAMITY, A TRUMAN AFTER A ROOSEVELT WAS A WORLD DISASTER WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS MAY NOT RETRIEVE.

THE LAST ELECTION WAS IN ESSENCE A MANDATE FOR PEACE. MOST PERSONS VOTED AGAINST A LIBERAL LIKE STEPHENSON WHO SPOKE ENGLISH, HAD A SENSE OF HUMOR AND A CULTURAL BACKGROUND, BECAUSE HE ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TRUMAN POLICIES WHICH ENVISIONED CONTINUED WAR IN KOREA AND EVENTUAL WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THEY DID NOT CONSIDER THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET AT ALL BECAUSE ALTHOUGH IT WAS FOR PEACE IT WAS AT BEST A LONG TIME PROGRAM WHICH HAD NO CHANCE TO INSURE PEACE NOW.

IN ADDITION, the Progressives COULD NOT PUT their ATTITUDE AND ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE PUBLIC IN THE PUBLIC PRESS, ON THE OPEN PLATFORM, NOR THROUGH RADIO OR TELEVISION. AS A PARTY IT WAS DISFRANCHISED IN 22 STATES AND SILENCED IN NEARLY ALL THE REST. ITS TREATMENT WAS NOT MERELY THE DEFEAT OF A PARTY BUT IT MADE A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT AT PRESENT very difficult, AND WITHOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD PARTY, DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF ALL VOTERS STOOD THE KOREAN WAR; THIS LONG DRAWN-OUT SLAUGHTER AND DESTRUCTION, WITH SUFFERING AND POVERTY AND DISEASE; AND WITH ITS INTOLERABLE STRAIN ON THE ECONOMY AND FAITH OF THE WHOLE WORLD. NO ORDINARY CITIZEN, NO SOLDIER IN THE FIELD, NOR DRAFTEE could EASILY EXPLAIN WHY WE were FIGHTING IN THAT POOR FAR EASTERN LAND, IN A WAR FINANCED AND MANNED CHIEFLY BY THE UNITED STATES WHICH was KILLING AND CRIPPLING OUR SONS IN A MANEUVER TO PREPARE FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR. THIS WAR WAS STARTED BY HARRY TRUMAN WITHOUT AUTHORITY FROM CONGRESS ON THE THEORY THAT THE CIVIL WAR IN KOREA WAS AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION TO SPREAD COMMUNISM.

35-8-146

WE REITERATED THAT CHARGE, REPORTED THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ~~AND EXHIBITED IN THE UNITED STATES ACTUAL RUSSIAN EQUIPMENT~~. WE USED OUR VAST INFLUENCE TO FORCE THE UNITED NATIONS TO ENTER THE WAR AFTER WE had BEGUN IT, AND TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS PURSUIT. IT HAS SINCE BEEN PROVEN BY AMERICAN AUTHORS LIKE I.F. STONE THAT THE KOREAN REVOLT WAS LONG PLANNED BY SOUTH KOREA AT THE DEMAND OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS EXPANDING TOWARD CHINA. FACING THIS DILEMMA THE NATION ELECTED EISENHOWER, ON THE CHANCE THAT ALTHOUGH A GENERAL, HE MIGHT BE SINCERE IN WANTING TO STOP WAR, SINCE HIS ADVISERS WOULD BE BUSINESS MEN WHO WOULD FEAR FINANCIAL CRISIS. IN ANY CASE HE COULD NOT BE WORSE THAN TRUMAN!

IT IS STILL CLEAR THAT THE KOREAN WAR WAS A STEP IN OUR PLAN FOR EXPANDING BUSINESS IN ASIA, WHERE WE BET ON THE WRONG HORSE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WE BACKED AND SUPPORTED WITH ARMS, MONEY AND EXPERT ADVICE FROM THE HIGHEST SOURCES, CHIANG KAI-SHEK, EVEN AFTER OUR OWN GENERALS AND POLITICAL EMISSARIES WARNED US OF HIS UTTER MORAL WORTHLESSNESS AND HIS CERTAIN POLITICAL AND MILITARY FAILURE.

DESPITE THIS REPEATED ADVICE, WE FOLLOWED INVESTORS WHO WERE SURE THAT EVEN IF CHIANG FAILED, THE DISRUPTED REMAINS OF THE ONCE GREAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT WERE BOUND TO FALL INTO OUR HANDS AND WE WOULD REPLACE GREAT BRITAIN AS MASTER OF THAT PARADISE FOR INVESTORS, WITH ITS CHEAP, SKILLED LABOR UNSPOILED BY TRADE UNIONS; ITS WEALTH OF RESOURCES AND BOUNDLESS STRETCH OF TERRITORY. THUS THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME MASTER OF THE MAJOR PART OF THE CONTINENT OF ASIA.

WHEN, TO THE UNBOUNDED SURPRISE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS AND OF OUR LEADERS IN THE THEORY OF A NEW AMERICAN RULERSHIP OF THE WORLD THROUGH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, CHIANG KAI-SHEK WAS DRIVEN OUT OF CHINA BY THE VERY ARMS WHICH WE HAD FURNISHED HIM, WE APPEARED NOT ONLY AS FOES OF HIS CONQUERORS, BUT AS PERSECUTORS OF ALL AMERICANS AT HOME WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH, DEFENDED OR AIDED THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CHINA. ABOVE ALL, WE ATTRIBUTED TO RUSSIAN PLOT, A RESULT REALLY DUE TO OUR SHORTSIGHTED GREED.

35-8-142

OUR WAR IN KOREA BECAME AT BOTTOM A WAR AGAINST FREE CHINA, AND CHINA KNEW IT. WE INDUCED THE UNITED NATIONS TO JOIN US IN BRANDING CHINA AS AN OUTLAW.

AGAINST LAW AND DECENCY AND AGAINST THE WILL OF MANY COUNTRIES, THE UNITED NATIONS PERMITTED CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND SEVEN MILLION SERFS UNDER HIS CONTROL TO PERCH BEHIND OUR WARSHIPS ON A LITTLE ISLAND THE SIZE OF VANCOUVER AND TO PRETEND TO REPRESENT AND SPEAK FOR 460 MILLION PEOPLE ON A TERRITORY LARGER THAN THE UNITED STATES.

CHINA WARNED THE UNITED STATES THAT SHE WOULD NOT PERMIT THIS COUNTRY IN ITS WAR ON KOREA TO CROSS THE CHINESE BOUNDARY WITHOUT RESISTENCE. WE TREATED THE PROTEST WITH THE LORDLY DISTAIN WE USUALLY SHOW TOWARD COLORED PEOPLES. OUR VALIANT MCARTHUR MARCHED STRAIGHT TO THE CHINESE BORDER AND THE CHINESE SENT HIM AND HIS ARMY RUNNING 400 MILES IN THE MOST DISASTROUS RETREAT AMERICAN ARMIES HAVE SUFFERED SINCE BULL RUN. AND ALL BECAUSE A SUPERCILIOUS AND COCKSURE GENERAL DID NOT THINK CHINESE DARED FIGHT AMERICANS. WITH VAST AND COSTLY PREPARATION OUR FORCES FINALLY REGAINED SOUTH KOREAN TERRITORY BUT DID NOT ATTEMPT AGAIN TO INVADE CHINA. AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR THE SOVIET UNION PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE GONE ON FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. THE CHINESE AND KOREANS HAVE YIELDED

POINT AFTER POINT: ON PUSHING THE BOUNDARY OF SOUTH KOREA MANY MILES NORTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL, WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED; ON HAVING THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTED ON A COMMISSION FOR ARBITRATION; ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. BUT FINALLY ON THE MATTER OF RETURN OF PRISONERS WHICH WE HAD ONCE AGREED TO IN ACCORD WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION, WE NOW INSISTED COULD BE RETURNED ONLY AFTER WE HAD ASCERTAINED THEIR DESIRES. CHINA AND NORTH KOREA AT FIRST REFUSED ASSENT; DOUBTLESS THEY FELT THAT YIELDING HERE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMANDS. [RECENTLY omitted in JAN 1954 THEY HAVE YIELDED, IF THE PRISONERS WHO DO NOT WISH TO RETURN ARE SENT TO A NEUTRAL COUNTRY AND THAT THERE THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO INTERVIEW THEM BEFORE FINAL DECISION IS MADE.]

35-8-149

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOT ONLY SUPPORTED AND PAID FOR OUR MILITARY PROGRAM IN KOREA, BUT ALSO WE ARE HELPING FRENCH CAPITALISTS PUT DOWN LONG DRAWN-OUT REVOLT IN VIET-NAM WHICH HAS FOLLOWED YEARS OF RUTHLESS THEFT AND CRUELTY; WE ARE HELPING BRITAIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE

LINE OF INFLUENCE TO INDUCE INDIA TO JOIN US IN ENMITY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. We are helping by money & material to reconstitute Africa

NEVETHELESS THIS NATION WANTS DESPERATELY TO STOP THE KOREAN WAR WHICH HAS COST US 300,000 WAR CASUALTIES AND DEATHS BY DISEASE AND ACCIDENT; IT HAS RAISED TAXES AND PRICES TO HEIGHTS WHICH ARE MULTIPLYING ~~AND THREATENS STRIKES AND~~ LABOR DISORDER and threatening TO DISRUPT OUR WHOLE ECONOMY; IT IS TRANSFORMING OUR WHOLE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION INTO TRAINING FOR WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, AND IS SETTING THE WHOLE OF ASIA AGAINST US AND PUSHING MUCH OF EUROPE INTO DISTRUST AND BITTER ENMITY; WE ARE SPENDING ~~[illegible]~~ something TO HELP BACKWARD LANDS, BUT USUALLY ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT THEY BECOME OUR ALLIES IN WAR AGAINST COMMUNISM.

BALANCING OUR EXPLOITS IN ASIA WE HAVE GIVEN MUCH HELP TO EUROPE. BUT AMERICANS MUST NOT MISINTERPRET THIS AID. IT WAS NOT CHARITY TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS; IT WAS ARMS, GOODS AND MATERIAL FURNISHED EUROPEAN CAPITALISTS FOR INVESTMENT AND FOR ENABLING THEM TO RESIST THE RISING AND SOCIALISTIC DEMANDS OF LABOR. IT WAS

ALSO SO USED AS TO FACILITATE PROFITABLE INVESTMENT OF OUR OWN FUNDS; AND LATELY IT HAS CONSISTED OF LOANS FOR EUROPEAN REARMAMENT AT A RATE WHICH EUROPE PROTESTS IS TOO RAPID FOR HER OWN RECOVERY. WE HAVE SOUGHT THUS TO UNITE EUROPE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM AND WE HAVE TRIED AT THE SAME TIME TO ARM JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS A DANGEROUS PROGRAM AND IS BEING RECEIVED WITH HESITATION AND RELUCTANCE BY THE WORLD. FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ARE REFUSING TO GO FORWARD WITH THEIR PROMISES OF REARMAMENT, AND Italy is going Communist EUROPE EVIDENTLY REGARDS THE FEAR OF WAR WITH THE SOVIETS AS LESSENING.

35-8-150

MEANTIME THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES BEHIND THE "IRON CURTAIN" HAVE GROWN IN GENERAL PROSPERITY; IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MANUFACTURES; IN HEAVY INDUSTRY AND LONG-TIME VENTURES FOR GENERAL DEVELOPMENT. THEY ALL HAVE EXCELLENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, AND THEY FIGHT DISEASE SUCCESSFULLY. THEY SHOW INNER STRESS AND STRUGGLE, AND YET THERE IS NO SIGN OF REVOLT, DESPITE OUR OPEN ENCOURAGEMENT AND our OFFERS OF $100 MILLION TO SPIES AND SABOTEURS FOR FOMENTING INNER REVOLT.

THE SOVIETS WERE THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH THE WEST COULD PUT DOWN FASCISM, AND WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT THESE NATIONS SEEM CERTAIN TO SURVIVE AND TO DEVELOP even with the atom bomb THEIR WAY OF LIFE. THERE IS TODAY NO APPARENT COMBINATION OF NATIONS CAPABLE OF REDUCING COMMUNIST NATIONS TO SUBSERVIENCE BY FORCE. COMMUNISM TODAY RULES AT LEAST HALF OF MANKIND.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE NO RECENT MOVEMENT THAT CAN BE CALLED AGGRESSION AND HAS CEASELESSLY ADVOCATED A WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SORE PRESSED TO IGNORE AND HAVE RETALIATED BY MAKING IT DANGEROUS FOR AMERICANS TO ADVOCATE PEACE AND IMPOSSIBLE FOR MOST OF THEM TO ATTEND PEACE CONGRESSES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

THE TERRIBLE FAREWELL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS A COUNCIL OF DESPAIR. NATIONS ARE NOT COMPELLED TO FIGHT UNLESS THEY FEAR PEACE MORE THAN WAR. THE PRICE OF PEACE TODAY FOR THE UNITED STATES IS FREEDOM FOR COLORED PEOPLES WITH THE RIGHT TO SELL THEIR LABOR AT SUCH PRICE AS THEY CAN GET; TO OWN THEIR LAND;

TO SEEK EDUCATION. IT DEMANDS THE RIGHT OF HALF THE WORLD TO ADOPT SOCIALISM IF IT WISHES, AS A WAY OF LIFE. IF THE EXPERIMENT FAILS, THE FAILURE IS CHIEFLY THEIRS. CERTAINLY OUR SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT MADE MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAPPY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH IT HAS ADDED TO THE WEALTH AND POWER OF A FEW. IT IS NOT ONLY WRONG BUT AS IT NOW SEEMS, IMPOSSIBLE, FOR THE UNITED STATES TO COMPEL MANKIND NOT TO MAKE THIS VAST EXPERIMENT. CERTAINLY THE ATTEMPT TO STOP IT BY FORCE MAY DESTROY CIVILIZATION.

35-8-151

WITH THE ELECTION OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT WE AND THE REST OF CIVILIZATION AWAIT THE MOVE TOWARD PEACE WHICH MUST COME UNLESS WE MOVE TOWARD BANKRUPTCY OR A THIRD WORLD WAR. EISENHOWER'S FIRST STEP WAS HIS PROMISED VISIT TO KOREA. THIS PROVED, ~~SO FAR AS OUTSIDERS CAN JUDGE,~~ TO BE A MILITARY INSPECTION SUCCEEDED BY A COUNCIL OF WAR, WHICH GENERAL MCARTHUR EVENTUALLY ATTENDED. ~~I CAN NOT SEE~~ IN THESE ACTIONS, there was no ~~ANY~~ REAL PLAN FOR PEACE. THE UNITED STATES IN CURRENT UNITED NATIONS SESSIONS TOOK THE FAMILIAR STAND THAT IF CHINA AND NORTH KOREA WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR LAST WORD ON KOREAN PEACE, WAR WOULD CONTINUE. WE CONTINUED

TO FORECAST WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, HELPED BY SPIES, PROPAGANDA AND FOMENTED REVOLUTION. [THE INDIAN PROPOSAL ACCEPTED THIS LAST WORD, WHICH WAS REJECTED BY CHINA; BUT WITH A COUNTER-PROPOSAL OF A CEASE-FIRE IMMEDIATELY AND SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATION ON ALL OTHER SUBJECTS. THIS WE REJECTED WITH CONTEMPT. THE PRESIDENT HAS LOST NO OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THE SHORT-COMINGS OF COMMUNISM AND THE PROBABILITY OF EVENTUAL WAR.] omitted Jan/54

THE NEXT OCCURRENCE OF FIRST INTEREST ~~IS~~ was THE EISENHOWER CABINET. THIS IS UNDER THE COMPLETE CONTROL OF millionaire BIG BUSINESS, WITH A BACK-LOG OF MILITARY SUPPORT; ~~IT~~ ALL THE COMBINED MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS, FINANCIAL POOLS AND CARTELS WHICH TODAY CONTROL THE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST LANDS, is represented. IF THE WORLD STOPS WAR, IT WILL BE BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS SEES MORE PROFIT AND POWER IN A PROGRAM OF PEACE THAN IN A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE ANSWER TO THIS LIES MAINLY IN OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN OUR LABOR MOVEMENT. [~~THE DEATHS OF TWO PROMINENT LABOR LEADERS MAY INFLUENCE THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION.~~] omit Jan/54

omitted Jan 15 ?

PHILLIP MURRAY BECAME IN HIS LATER YEARS A FANATIC ON RED-BAITING AND WILLIAM GREEN ALWAYS REPRESENTED CAPITAL AS THE OBJECT OF LABOR UNIONS MORE THAN ANY PLAN OF SOCIAL CONTROL. THE POLICY OF GREEN WILL BE PURSUED BY HIS SUCCESSOR BUT WITH LESS PERSONAL INFLUENCE. REUTHER WHO NOW HEADS THE CIO IS A MODERN LABOR POLITICIAN WITH NO FIRMLY HELD IDEALS.

AS LONG, THEN, AS WAGES REMAIN HIGH AND RISE CONTINUALLY WITH PRICES, AND THERE IS LITTLE UNEMPLOYMENT, LABOR WILL SUBMIT TO WAR. THE MERE FEAR OF PEACE YESTERDAY COST THE STOCK MARKET GAMBLERS FIVE BILLION DOLLARS. BUT WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT DEPEND TODAY ON THE CONTINUING HIGH PROFITS OF WAR INDUSTRY. IF WE HAVE PEACE, PROFITS WILL FALL, WAGES WILL DROP AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL ENSUE. IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT BANKRUPTCY TO TRY TO PRODUCE WAR MATERIALS AT THE PRESENT RATE AND PAY FOR IT WITH HIGH TAXES ON THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASSES. A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAN BE ADOPTED TO REPLACE WAR EXPENDITURE, BUT SUCH A PROGRAM CONGRESS OPPOSES AND THE

35-8-153

omit
PRESIDENT DOES NOT ADVOCATE, BECAUSE IT INEVITABLY MEANS SOCIALISM.

WITHOUT SUCH A SOCIAL PROGRAM AND WITH PEACE, THE PROTEST AGAINST HIGH TAXATION WILL BECOME IRRESISTIBLE AND FALL OF PRICES WILL ENSUE. THE BANKS, WITH THEIR VAST POWER, CAN SLOW UP THE STAMPEDE, BUT HOW LONG IT IS NOT EASY TO PREDICT. A FINANCIAL COLLAPSE IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE, AND THE FACT THAT WE HAVE THUS FAR AVOIDED ONE WILL BE OF LITTLE AVAIL. IF WE CANNOT AVOID A CRISIS, WE WILL STILL HAVE PEACE, BUT PEACE AT THE PRICE OF ADOPTING IN 1954 THE SAME KIND OF SOCIALISTIC NEW DEAL WE TURNED TO IN 1930. IT IS THE VERY REAL FEAR OF THIS BY BIG BUSINESS THAT KEEPS US AT WAR AND THREATENS US WITH MORE WAR. BUT WILL CONTINUED WAR SAVE US? FOR A LITTLE TIME, PERHAPS, BUT NOT BY ANY POSSIBILITY FOR LONG. THIS HAS BEEN A CENTURY OF WAR ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. IT CANNOT LAST. THAT WE ALL KNOW. NO TERROR OF BOMB OR SIZE OF ARMIES OR MILITARY EXPENDITURE CAN ACCOMPLISH THE IMPOSSIBLE. EITHER PEACE TODAY OR PEACE TOMORROW AND IN NEITHER CASE CAN WE AVOID AN AWFUL

or have we avoided

COST IN DESTRUCTION, DEATH AND CRIPPLING OF YOUTH, INSANITY AND CRIME.

IMAGINE A SPEAKER OF THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SAYING IN HIS ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS, "WERE IT NOT FOR THE ADVENT OF MARXISM, EUROPE TODAY MIGHT BE PEACEFUL AND HAPPY. CHINA MIGHT BE FREE. CERTAINLY OUR SONS WOULD NOT BE FIGHTING IN KOREA." IS MARTIN UNAWARE THAT IN THE LAST 138 YEARS, BEGINNING BEFORE MARX WAS BORN, THERE HAVE BEEN 300 WARS, NOT A TENTH OF WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM; THAT CHINA HAS NOT BEEN AS FREE AS IT IS NOW IN A THOUSAND YEARS, AND THAT THE BEGINNING OF WAR IN KOREA DATES BACK 1200 YEARS?

35-8-154

OUR ABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID WAR OR UNEMPLOYMENT, SOCIALISM OR BANKRUPTCY DOES NOT DEPEND SOLELY ON OUR OWN EFFORTS IN OUR OWN NATION. RATHER IT DEPENDS TO A VERY LARGE EXTENT ON THAT WORLD OF TRADE AND CONTROL THROUGH INVESTMENT WHICH IT HAS BEEN OUR UNREMITTING EFFORT FOR TWO CENTURIES TO DRAW WITHIN OUR INFLUENCE AND MAKE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR COMFORT AND POWER. BY THIS I MEAN THE COLONIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA; THE SOUTHERN NATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT;

THE SO-CALLED NEAR EAST AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS. FOR NOW MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES, THESE REGIONS HAVE PROVIDED US WITH FOOD, LUXURIES AND RAW MATERIALS FOR OUR TRADE AND STORES AND FACTORIES, AND TODAY NO MATTER WHAT WE WISH TO DO, THEIR THOUGHT AND PLANS, THEIR REVOLT AND HATE ARE NOT SIMPLY MATTERS OF FOREIGN NEWS AND SCIENTIFIC CURIOSITY, BUT MATTERS OF OUR DAILY LIFE AND CONCERN. THESE NATIONS, RACES AND PEOPLES ARE TODAY IN INCREASING UNREST AND FERMENT. IT DOES NOT MATTER JUST WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS FERMENT. THE HARD FACT IS THAT IT EXISTS AND INCREASES. IN ASIA IT HAS FREED IN OUR DAY FROM WHITE CONTROL A THOUSAND MILLION BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLE. OF THIS WE ARE AWARE AND THIS HAS DRIVEN US TO WAR AND KEEPS US FIGHTING IN VAIN TO STOP THE TREND.

RECENTLY A NEW MASS OF RACIAL AND COLONIAL PROBLEMS HAS FACED US AND THIS IS THE REVOLT IN AFRICA. AFRICA IS INTRICABLY BOUND TO AMERICA, NOT ONLY BY PAST HISTORY BUT BY PRESENT TRADE. ON AFRICA WE DEPEND TODAY FOR PALM OIL

AND RUBBER; COCOA AND COPPER; GOLD AND DIAMONDS; URANIUM AND ZINC; LEATHER AND SPICES; IRON AND TIN, AND A HUNDRED OTHER MATERIALS; AND ON HUMAN LABOR FOR US AT A PRICE ONE-TENTH AS HIGH AS WE PAY LABORERS AT HOME. THESE GOODS AND THIS LABOR MAKES OUR WAY OF LIFE SO ENJOYABLE AND MAKES THE TEMPER OF AFRICANS INCREASINGLY BITTER AND VENGEFUL, DESPITE THE TALES OF MISSIONARIES OR THE PROPAGANDA OF POINT 4.

WHEN THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE DIED IT GAVE BIRTH TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. PROFIT ON AFRICAN COLONIES THEN GREW FROM THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ATTEMPT OF CECIL Rhodes TO OPEN A ROAD FROM CAPE TO CAIRO OVER THE PLATEAU OF KENYA. AMERICAN CAPITAL IS TODAY THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF THE MALAN GOVERNMENT OF BLACK SERFS WHO ARE WITHOUT TRADE UNIONS OR THE RIGHT TO VOTE. IN KENYA FIVE MILLION NATIVES HAVE BEGUN TO BOIL OVER AND MURDER AND DESTROY BECAUSE 240,000 SQUARE MILES OF THEIR best LANDS HAVE BEEN STOLEN BY WHITES ~~SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR,~~ TO SUPPORT AN ARISTOCRACY WHO USE BLACK LABOR AT SLAVE

35-8 155

WAGES AND ALLOW THEM ALMOST NO VOICE TO PROTEST. IN WEST AFRICA OPEN REBELLION DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, PLAYED DOWN IN OUR PRESS, HAS SET UP ONE BLACK STATE WITH NEGRO RULE, WHILE ANOTHER WILL SOON FOLLOW. FIGHTING WITH THE BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA ARE 200,000 EAST INDIANS, KIN OF 350,000,000 OTHER INDIANS IN ASIA. HOW LONG DO THE WHITES OF THE WORLD THINK THEY CAN RULE AND OPPRESS THESE MASSES OF COLORED PEOPLES? HOW LONG CAN THE BLACK LABORERS BE FOOLED BY ACCUSATIONS THAT SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE CAUSE OF COLONIAL DISTRESS, WHEN RUSSIA HAS NO COLONIES AND IS THE ONE EXCEPTION WHICH SAVES THE PRESENT WORLD STRUGGLE FROM BECOMING A WAR OF RACES?

IT IS FANTASTIC TO DREAM OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY. IT IS THE PATRIOTIC DUTY OF ALL AMERICANS TO CRY HALT! FIRST PEACE ON EARTH, THEN AN EFFORT TO ABOLISH POVERTY AND IGNORANCE AND TO DECREASE DISEASE; AND THEN WORK FOR REAL BROTHERHOOD AMONG MEN, NOT AS PHILANTHROPY BUT FOR SELF-PROTECTION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

[PART OF SPEECH??]

LATELY, AS YOU KNOW, THE WHOLE WAR SITUATION IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN CHANGED BY THE NEW OFFERS OF PEACE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS THE PLAN OF RETURNING PRISONERS TAKEN IN THE KOREAN WAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR WISH, AND ADOPTS IN ESSENCE THE UNITED STATES PLAN FOR UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT. THE OFFERS DO NOT, NATURALLY, ACCEPT EVERYTHING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED, BUT NEVERTHELESS THE OFFER IS BROAD. WE CAN AND DO SUSPECT IT. WE CAN ALSO CONTINUE TO STALL AND OBJECT. WE CAN INCREASE OUR DEMANDS, AS IN THE CASE OF THE DIVISION OF KOREA AND THE DISPOSAL OF FORMOSA.

BUT IF PEOPLE LIKE YOU INSIST, PEACE ON EARTH IS IN SIGHT. OUR SOLDIERS CAN RETURN FROM ABROAD AND WE CAN STOP TRYING TO ARM THE EARTH FOR WAR. TAXES CAN COME DOWN AND WE CAN STILL HAVE MONEY FOR MORE EDUCATION, FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE, FOR HOUSING AND FOR FLOOD CONTROL.

35-8-59

IF HOWEVER YOU CONTINUE TO BE MISLED BY HYSTERICAL FEAR OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM, WAR WILL CONTINUE, AND YOU WILL GO ON TOWARD THE INEVITABLE PENALTY OF THOSE PERSONS AND PEOPLES WHO IN THE PAST HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER THE EARTH, and failed.

-23-

~~PENALTY OF THOSE PERSONS AND PEOPLES WHO IN THE PAST HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER THE EARTH.~~

POINT AFTER POINT;// ON PUSHING THE BOUNDARY OF SOUTH KOREA/MANY MILES NORTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL/ WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED;// ON HAVING THE SOVIET UNION/REPRESENTED ON A COMMISSION FOR ARBITRATION;/ ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS// BUT FINALLY/ ON THE MATTER OF RETURN OF PRISONERS/ WHICH WE HAD ONCE AGREED TO/IN ACCORD WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION// WE NOW INSISTED/COULD BE RETURNED/ONLY AFTER WE HAD ASCERTAINED THEIR DESIRES.// CHINA AND NORTH KOREA/AT FIRST REFUSED ASSENT;/ DOUBTLESS THEY FELT/THAT YIELDING HERE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMANDS.// RECENTLY THEY HAVE YIELDED.// IF THE PRISONERS WHO DO NOT WISH TO RETURN/ARE SENT TO A NEUTRAL COUNTRY/AND THAT THERE/THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO INTERVIEW THEM/BEFORE FINAL DECISION IS MADE.// FINALLY WE HAVE ASKED/AND DENIED/ TWO-THIRDS OF KOREA/AND ALL OF FORMOSA

P THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/HAVE NOT ONLY SUPPORTED AND PAID FOR/ ~~OUR~~ THE MILITARY PROGRAM/IN KOREA// BUT ALSO WE ARE HELPING FRENCH CAPITALISTS/ PUT DOWN LONG DRAWN-OUT REVOLT/IN VIET-NAM/WHICH HAS FOLLOWED YEARS/OF RUTHLESS THEFT/AND CRUELTY;// WE ARE HELPING BRITAIN/IN SOUTHEAST ASIA/AND WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE

cut from Prospects of Peace when given in March Jan 54

POINT AFTER POINT: ON PUSHING THE BOUNDARY OF SOUTH KOREA MANY MILES NORTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL, WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED; ON HAVING THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTED ON A COMMISSION FOR ARBITRATION; ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. BUT FINALLY ON THE MATTER OF RETURN OF PRISONERS WHICH WE HAD ONCE AGREED TO IN ACCORD WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION, WE NOW INSISTED COULD BE RETURNED ONLY AFTER WE HAD ASCERTAINED THEIR DESIRES. CHINA AND NORTH KOREA AT FIRST REFUSED ASSENT; DOUBTLESS THEY FELT THAT YIELDING HERE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMANDS. RECENTLY THEY HAVE YIELDED, IF THE PRISONERS WHO DO NOT WISH TO RETURN ARE SENT TO A NEUTRAL COUNTRY AND THAT THERE THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO INTERVIEW THEM BEFORE FINAL DECISION IS MADE.

[redacted] Jan 54

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOT ONLY SUPPORTED AND PAID FOR OUR MILITARY PROGRAM IN KOREA, BUT ALSO WE ARE HELPING FRENCH CAPITALISTS PUT DOWN LONG DRAWN-OUT REVOLT IN VIET-NAM WHICH HAS FOLLOWED YEARS OF RUTHLESS THEFT AND CRUELTY; WE ARE HELPING BRITAIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE

55-8-64

PHILLIP MURRAY BECAME IN HIS LATER YEARS A FANATIC ON RED-BAITING AND WILLIAM GREEN ALWAYS REPRESENTED CAPITAL AS THE OBJECT OF LABOR UNIONS MORE THAN ANY PLAN OF SOCIAL CONTROL. THE POLICY OF GREEN WILL BE PURSUED BY HIS SUCCESSOR BUT WITH LESS PERSONAL INFLUENCE. REUTHER WHO NOW HEADS THE CIO IS A MODERN LABOR POLITICIAN WITH NO FIRMLY HELD IDEALS.

35-8-54

AS LONG, THEN, AS WAGES REMAIN HIGH AND RISE CONTINUALLY WITH PRICES, AND THERE IS LITTLE UNEMPLOYMENT, LABOR WILL SUBMIT TO WAR. THE MERE FEAR OF PEACE YESTERDAY COST THE STOCK MARKET GAMBLERS FIVE BILLION DOLLARS. BUT WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT DEPEND TODAY ON THE CONTINUING HIGH PROFITS OF WAR INDUSTRY. IF WE HAVE PEACE, PROFITS WILL FALL, WAGES WILL DROP AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL ENSUE. IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT BANKRUPTCY TO TRY TO PRODUCE WAR MATERIALS AT THE PRESENT RATE AND PAY FOR IT WITH HIGH TAXES ON THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASSES. A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES FOR THE COMMON GOOD CAN BE ADOPTED TO REPLACE WAR EXPENDITURE, BUT SUCH A PROGRAM CONGRESS OPPOSES AND THE

(1)

Script for Telecast of the American Labor Party on Monday, April 13, 1953 at 9:30 P.M. over Station WABD, Channel 5.

Announcer: (Opening, over title card on screen)

The American Labor Party salutes a great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the eighth anniversary of his death.

(Dissolve to medium shot of Marcantonio and Du Bois)

Announcer: The participants in tonight's program are the Honorable Vito Marcantonio and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Marcantonio: Eight years ago yesterday Franklin D. Roosevelt died. With his death there passed into history a great era of American government truly of the people, for the people and by the people. The Age

(50 seconds) of Roosevelt took its place with the Age of Jefferson, the Age of Jackson and the Age of Abraham Lincoln.

Roosevelt led the American people towards the achievement of many

46-10-91

Marcantonio: (cont'd) milestones in the endeavors of the common man for security and freedom.

Today we find what seems a wilful conspiracy to buyy with the man, his deeds and his words.

Dr. Du Bois, undoubtedly this is not the first time that this has occurred in the history of our nation. I am sure you can tell us the instances in history when the agents of slavery and the mouthpieces of the big and powerful have made efforts to besmirch and destroy the memory of those who nobly gave of themselves in defense of the freedom and best interests of their fellow countrymen.

46-10-92

D

DU BOIS: THERE ARE INDEED OTHER GREAT AMERICANS/ WHOM WE HAVE TRIED TO FORGET:// CHARLES SUMNER IS UNKNOWN TODAY,/ OUR GREATEST DEFENDER/ OF DEMOCRACY SINCE THOMAS JEFFERSON,/ WHO WAS NEARLY/ BEATEN TO DEATH/ ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE/ FOR TELLING THE TRUTH;// WENDELL PHILLIPS,/ WHO

DU BOIS: (cont'd) CHAMPIONED FREEDOM/ NOT ONLY FOR BLACK LABOR/ BUT FOR WHITE;// THADDEUS STEVENS,/ PAINTED AS ONE/ WHOSE LIFE WAS HATE,/ IN FACT/ WAS FOREMOST CHAMPION/ OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS,// AND WHO INSISTED/ THAT THE BALLOT FOR NEGROES/ WITHOUT FOOD AND SHELTER/ WAS A FARCE.// LAST AND NOT LEAST, (1 minute) OUR GREATEST HISTORIANS/ IGNORE FREDERICK DOUGLASS,/ CORNERSTONE OF [redacted] ABOLITION [redacted],// WHOM TILTON CALLED/ "THE NOBLEST SLAVE/ THAT EVER GOD SET FREE."

46-10-93

3A

Marcantonio: I am confident, though, Doctor, that the American people will not forget the Roosevelt who gave them the inspiration to carry on in (10 seconds) one of America's darkest moments back in 1933.

(Roosevelt Voice)

"This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive (20 seconds) and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

[redacted]

46-10-94

D

DU BOIS:

(1½ minutes)

WE WHO TODAY/ SHRIEK FREEDOM FROM THE HOUSETOPS,/ FORGET THE LAST FREEDOM/ WHICH FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT/ PROCLAIMED.// A WEST AFRICAN WROTE ME YESTERDAY/ -- "I OFTEN WONDER/ WHY A GREAT COUNTRY/ LIKE THE UNITED STATES/ SHOULD BE SO FRIGHTENED".// HE DID NOT EXAGGERATE.// WE SEE RUSSIAN PLANES/ IN EVERY EXPLOSION./ COLLEGE STUDENTS/ ARE TOO SCARED/ EVEN TO ASK QUESTIONS.// TEACHERS OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY/ HAVE GONE INTO HIDING.// PREACHERS/ ARE SILENT OR EVASIVE.// IN THIS ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR/ WE ARE LETTING OURSELVES/ BE TAXED INTO POVERTY/ AND SPENDING OUR SUBSTANCE/ FOR MUNITIONS/ AND HORRIBLE MACHINES/ OF MURDER/ AND DESTRUCTION/ RATHER THAN FOR EDUCATION, FIGHTING DISEASE AND SPREADING FLOOD CONTROL.// THE OPEN FORUM WHERE AMERICANS/ USED TO INQUIRE/ INTO ALL KNOWLEDGE/ HAS CLOSED ITS DOORS/ OR OPENED ONLY ONE SIDE.// WE MUST INDEED FEAR FEAR ITSELF.

46-01-95

Marcantonio:

(1½ minutes)

Over America today there has fallen a pall of fear. In many places tyranny reigns over the minds of men. We seem to have forgotten that tyranny cannot be confined, cannot be quarantined. Deprive anyone of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, and you deprive everyone. Impose tyranny on any section of the country, or on any minority, and it spreads to engulf the entire nation. The fountain-head of tyranny has been for many years the inquisition of today .... The Un-American Activities Committee, the similar Senate Committees, the McCarthy and the Jenner Committees. When I was in Congress I led the fight against them, and back in 1942 I made a speech against what was then the Un-American Activities, the Dies Committee. I sent a copy of that speech to Franklin D. Roosevelt. I now hold here in my hands his reply. It is very short and I shall take a moment to read it.

46-01-94

(Reading of Roosevelt Letter by Marcantonio)

This letter shows Roosevelt's skill in fighting against those who would suppress any form of dissent or disagreement. Roosevelt also used humor as a great weapon:

(Roosevelt Voice): These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me or on my wife or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala."

(20 seconds)

DU BOIS:

THE ABILITY TO LAUGH AND STILL FIGHT IS MORE VALUABLE THAN TEARFUL SELF-PITY. // IT WAS THIS RARE GIFT WHICH FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT POSSESSED. // IT WAS THIS WHICH ENABLED HIM TO EXPOSE THE ATTACK ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN THIS LAND. // CONSIDER THE ANOMALY OF A FREE DEMOCRACY WHICH OPENLY AND PERSISTENTLY PRACTICES COLOR CASTE BOTH BY LAW AND CUSTOM. // IF WE COMPLAIN THAT OUR NEGRO CITIZENS ARE POOR AND IGNORANT, WHAT

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

CAN WE ANSWER WHEN THE WORLD POINTS OUT THAT THE SCHOOLS NEGROES ATTEND ARE POOR AND FEW AND THAT THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY NOR PAID EQUAL WAGES FOR THE SAME WORK WHICH WHITE LABORERS PERFORM?

(1½ minutes)

ROOSEVELT GAVE THE ONLY SENSIBLE ANSWER TO THIS WHEN HE SAID THAT DISCRIMINATION IN WORK BECAUSE OF COLOR IS WRONG. // HE ESTABLISHED THE FIRST FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION IN 1941 TO ENSURE THAT AMERICAN LABOR SHOULD BE PAID FOR ITS WORK AND NOT FOR ITS COLOR. // SOUTHERNERS, BY A FILIBUSTER IN CONGRESS KILLED THE FEPC IN 1946, BUT 7 STATE LAWS AND SEVERAL CITY ORDINANCES STILL CONTINUE THIS JUST

Marcantonio: It is significant that Roosevelt delivered this speech before the Teamsters Union. Roosevelt was indeed a great champion of American labor. Never, since he died, has there been anyone in the White House who made the interests and the problems of the man and woman who work for a living, his concern and his problems.

Marcantonio: (cont'd)

(1½ minutes)

It was under Roosevelt's leadership that we obtained for American labor the minimum wage and hour law, the Magna Charta of labor -- the National Labor Relations Act, which was enacted at his request. It was Roosevelt who vetoed the iniquitous Smith-Connally Act, and I am sure that if he had lived he would have gallantly fought against the equally iniquitous Taft-Hartley Law of today.

46-10-99

Roosevelt more than anyone else in his time realized that great gains for labor could be secured only with a nation at peace; that social gains would be sacrificed if the nation were geared to an economy of war.

His leadership of America in World War II, the war foisted upon us by a ruthless enemy, never diverted Roosevelt from the essential

Marcantonio: (cont'd) task which he assumed, that of making his first objective the achievement of world peace.

(Roosevelt Voice):

"We can and we will achieve such peace. We have learned that we cannot live alone at peace. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that the only way to have a friend is to be one. We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust, or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction."

(52 seconds)

46-10-100

DU BOIS: WE ARE NOT ARMING OURSELVES WITH THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS OF WHICH THE WORLD EVER DREAMT BECAUSE WE WANT HUMAN BEINGS TO DIE AND THEIR PROPERTY TO BE DESTROYED. // NO, WE ARE NOT DEVILS OF THAT SORT! WE ARM FOR WORLD-WIDE WAR BECAUSE WE HAVE LISTENED TO AND BELIEVE

DU BOIS: (cont'd) THOSE WHO TELL US THAT WE OURSELVES ARE IN GRAVE DANGER. // THIS WE SHOULD KNOW IS UNTRUE. // IF ANY NATION IN THE WORLD TODAY FEARS AMERICA IT IS BECAUSE ~~SO STUBBORNLY~~ WE SEEM DETERMINED TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO LIVE AS THEY WISH.

(2½ minutes)

46-10-101

THESE NATIONS INCLUDE NOT ONLY COMMUNIST, BUT CAPITALIST AND NEUTRAL STATES. // NO NATION IN THE WORLD TODAY WISHES TO CHANGE OUR WAY OF LIFE BY FORCE. // WHY NOW ARE WE TOLD THIS (FALSEHOOD) ~~LIE~~ WITH ENDLESS REPETITION IN NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE, BOOK, PLAY AND BROADCAST? // ONLY BECAUSE THERE ARE POWERFUL INTERESTS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO CONTROL COMMUNICATION, AND HOPE TO GAIN WEALTH AND MORE POWER THROUGH WORLD WAR; // WHO WANT LAND FREE AND LABOR CHEAP NOT ONLY IN ASIA AND AFRICA BUT IN RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS // WHO WANT TO BREAK THE POWER OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN

DU BOIS: (cont'd) THIS NATION AND IN WESTERN EUROPE SO AS TO INCREASE PRIVATE PROFIT, // AND WHO STILL CHERISH THE DREAM OF A SOUTH AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN AREA CONTROLLED BY BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN CORPORATIONS. // WE MUST SEE THROUGH THIS WICKED CONSPIRACY. // WE MUST LEARN WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SISTER STATES. // IN THE NEW CHINA. // WE MUST INSIST ON KNOWING THE FACTS OF THE WAR IN KOREA. // THE NATION WHICH WILLINGLY LISTENS TO LIES AND REFUSES TO KNOW THE TRUTH WILL NEVER BE FREE.

46-10-102

*

CEASE FIRE NOW. // BRING BACK OUR TROOPS FROM EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA; // DISMANTLE OUR COSTLY FORTS THAT CIRCLE THE WORLD. // STOP OUR AID TO EMPIRES TRYING TO CONQUER COLONIAL PEOPLES. // REFUSE LONGER TO SUPPORT men ~~HENCHMEN~~ LIKE CHIANG KAI SHEK, SYNGMAN RHEE AND BAO DAI. // CUT OUR IMPOSSIBLE TAX BURDEN; HOUSE OUR PEOPLE; EDUCATE OUR CHILDREN AND DECLARE A WORLD POLICY OF PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN!

Marcantonio: I am confident that with a Roosevelt in the White House the story would have been different on June 27, 1950. There would never have been almost 25,000 Americans uselessly killed in Korea. I opposed that war then because I felt it was unconstitutionally begun and against the best interests of our nation and our people. We were told that it would last only a few months - it has gone into almost 3 years - a useless war not in the defense of a single American interest nor a single American principle. We were plunged into a war in which the Chinese people had to fight, just as we would have had to fight if there had been a Chinese Army on Mexican soil, for Korea is to China what Mexico is, geographically, to the United States.

46-10-103

But as to who began the war and whether or not it should have been started, as I wrote to President Eisenhower in a recent letter, are questions over which further discussion at this time can be of

Marcantonio: (cont'd) no avail. History will pass its irrevocable judgment. This debate is behind us. What is before us is to achieve what President Eisenhower described last October as an early and honorable end to this war. Our people and people everywhere pray fervently for this result.

The proposal of Premier Chou En lai of China meets every requirement of the American people's objective of an early and honorable end of this war. It is in consonance with the principles of the Indian proposal accepted by the United Nations. I endorsed the Indian resolution at the time it was proposed.

46-10-104

Therefore, we can no better commemorate the memory of America's great peacemaker, who fought a war indeed to make it the last war of mankind, than by dedicating our minds, our energies and prayers towards achieving an immediate peace in Korea.

Script for Telecast of the American Labor Party on Monday, April 13, 1953 at 9:30 P.M. over Station WABD, Channel 5.

Announcer: (Opening, over title card on screen)

The American Labor Party salutes a great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the eighth anniversary of his death.

(Dissolve to medium shot of Marcantonio and Du Bois)

Announcer: The participants in tonight's program are the Honorable Vito Marcantonio and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Marcantonio: Eight years ago yesterday Franklin D. Roosevelt died. With his death there passed into history a great era of American government truly of the people, for the people and by the people. The Age

(50 seconds) of Roosevelt took its place with the Age of Jefferson, the Age of Jackson and the Age of Abraham Lincoln.

Roosevelt led the American people towards the achievement of many

46-10-24

milestones in the endeavors of the common man for security and freedom.

Marcantonio: (cont'd)

Today we find what seems a wilful conspiracy to buyy with the man, his deeds and his words.

Dr. Du Bois, undoubtedly this is not the first time that this has occurred in the history of our nation. I am sure you can tell us the instances in history when the agents of slavery and the mouthpieces of the big and powerful have made efforts to besmirch and destroy the memory of those who nobly gave of themselves in defense of the freedom and best interests of their fellow countrymen.

DU BOIS: THERE ARE INDEED OTHER GREAT AMERICANS WHOM WE HAVE TRIED TO FORGET: CHARLES SUMNER IS UNKNOWN TODAY, OUR GREATEST DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY SINCE THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO WAS NEARLY BEATEN TO DEATH ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE FOR TELLING THE TRUTH; WENDELL PHILLIPS, WHO

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

CHAMPIONED FREEDOM NOT ONLY FOR BLACK LABOR BUT FOR WHITE; THADDEUS STEVENS, PAINTED AS ONE WHOSE LIFE WAS HATE, IN FACT WAS FOREMOST CHAMPION OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AND WHO INSISTED THAT THE BALLOT FOR NEGROES WITHOUT FOOD AND SHELTER WAS A FARCE. LAST AND NOT LEAST, OUR GREATEST HISTORIANS IGNORE FREDERICK DOUGLASS, CORNERSTONE OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT, WHOM TILTON CALLED "THE NOBLEST SLAVE THAT EVER GOD SET FREE."

(1 minute)

Marcantonio: I am confident, though, Doctor, that the American people will not forget the Roosevelt who gave them the inspiration to carry on in one of America's darkest moments back in 1933.

(10 seconds)

(Roosevelt Voice) "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

(20 seconds)

DU BOIS:

58-01-94

DU BOIS: WE WHO TODAY SHRIEK FREEDOM FROM THE HOUSETOPS, FORGET THE LAST FREEDOM WHICH FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT PROCLAIMED. A WEST AFRICAN WROTE ME YESTERDAY -- "I OFTEN WONDER WHY A GREAT COUNTRY LIKE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE SO FRIGHTENED". HE DID NOT EXAGGERATE. WE SEE RUSSIAN PLANES IN EVERY EXPLOSION. COLLEGE STUDENTS ARE TOO SCARED EVEN TO ASK QUESTIONS; TEACHERS OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY HAVE GONE INTO HIDING. PREACHERS ARE SILENT OR EVASIVE. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR WE ARE LETTING OURSELVES BE TAXED INTO POVERTY AND SPENDING OUR SUBSTANCE FOR MUNITIONS AND HORRIBLE MACHINES OF MURDER AND DESTRUCTION RATHER THAN FOR EDUCATION, FIGHTING DISEASE AND SPREADING FLOOD CONTROL. THE OPEN FORUM WHERE AMERICANS USED TO INQUIRE INTO ALL KNOWLEDGE HAS CLOSED ITS DOORS OR OPENED ONLY ONE SIDE. WE MUST INDEED FEAR FEAR ITSELF.

(1½ minutes)

Marcantonio: Over America today there has fallen a pall of fear. In many places tyranny reigns over the minds of men. We seem to have forgotten that tyranny cannot be confined, cannot be quarantined. Deprive anyone of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, and you deprive everyone. Impose tyranny on any section of the country, or on any minority, and it spreads to engulf the entire nation. The fountainhead of tyranny has been for many years the inquisition of today .... The Un-American Activities Committee, the similar Senate Committees, the McCarthy and the Jenner Committees. When I was in Congress I led the fight against them, and back in 1942 I made a speech against what was then the Un-American Activities, the Dies Committee. I sent a copy of that speech to Franklin D. Roosevelt. I now hold here in my hands his reply. It is very short and I shall take a moment to read it.

(1½ minutes)

96-10-86

(Reading of Roosevelt Letter by Marcantonio)

This letter shows Roosevelt's skill in fighting against those who would suppress any form of dissent or disagreement. Roosevelt also used humor as a great weapon:

(Roosevelt Voice): These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me or on my wife or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala."

(20 seconds)

DU BOIS: THE ABILITY TO LAUGH AND STILL FIGHT IS MORE VALUABLE THAN TEARFUL SELF-PITY. IT WAS THIS RARE GIFT WHICH FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT POSSESSED. IT WAS THIS WHICH ENABLED HIM TO EXPOSE THE ATTACK ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN THIS LAND. CONSIDER THE ANOMALY OF A FREE DEMOCRACY WHICH OPENLY AND PERSISTENTLY PRACTICES COLOR CASTE BOTH BY LAW AND CUSTOM. IF WE COMPLAIN THAT OUR NEGRO CITIZENS ARE POOR AND IGNORANT, WHAT

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

(1½ minutes)

CAN WE ANSWER WHEN THE WORLD POINTS OUT THAT THE SCHOOLS NEGROES ATTEND ARE POOR AND FEW AND THAT THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY OR PAID EQUAL WAGES FOR THE SAME WORK WHICH WHITE LABORERS PERFORM?

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Marcantonio: It is significant that Roosevelt delivered this speech before the Teamsters Union. Roosevelt was indeed a great champion of American labor. Never, since he died, has there been anyone in the White

94-10-84

Marcantonio: (cont'd)

(1½ minutes)

House who made the interests and the problems of the man and woman who work for a living, his concern and his problems.

It was under Roosevelt's leadership that we obtained for American labor the minimum wage and hour law, the Magna Charta of labor -- the National Labor Relations Act, which was enacted at his request. It was Roosevelt who vetoed the iniquitous Smith-Connally Act, and I am sure that if he had lived he would have gallantly fought against the equally iniquitous Taft-Hartley Law of today.

Roosevelt more than anyone else in his time realized that great gains for labor could be secured only with a nation at peace; that social gains would be sacrificed if the nation were geared to an economy of war.

His leadership of America in World War II, the war foisted upon us by a ruthless enemy, never diverted Roosevelt from the essential

Marcantonio: (cont'd) task which he assumed, that of making his first objective the achievement of world peace.

(Roosevelt Voice):

"We can and we will achieve such peace. We have learned that we cannot live alone at peace. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that the only way to have a friend is to be one. (52 seconds) We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust, or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction."

DU BOIS: WE ARE NOT ARMING OURSELVES WITH THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS OF WHICH THE WORLD EVER DREAMT BECAUSE WE WANT HUMAN BEINGS TO DIE AND THEIR PROPERTY TO BE DESTROYED. NO, WE ARE NOT DEVILS OF THAT SORT: WE ARM FOR WORLD-WIDE WAR BECAUSE WE HAVE LISTENED TO AND BELIEVE

46-10-88a

DU BOIS: (cont'd) (2½ minutes) THOSE WHO TELL US THAT EITHER WE DESTROY THE WORLD OR WE WILL BE DESTROYED. THIS WE SHOULD KNOW IS A WICKED LIE. IF MOST NATIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY FEAR AMERICA IT IS NOT BECAUSE THEY WANT TO HURT US, BUT BECAUSE SO STUBBORNLY WE SEEM DETERMINED TO HURT THEM AND TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO LIVE AS THEY WISH.

Removed

THESE NATIONS INCLUDE NOT ONLY COMMUNIST, BUT CAPITALIST AND NEUTRAL STATES. NO NATION IN THE WORLD TODAY WISHES TO CHANGE OUR WAY OF LIFE BY FORCE UNLESS THAT WAY OF LIFE MEANS THAT NO ONE ELSE CAN TRY ANY OTHER WAY. WHY NOW ARE WE TOLD THIS LIE WITH ENDLESS REPETITION IN NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE, BOOK, PLAY AND BROADCAST? ONLY BECAUSE THERE ARE POWERFUL INTERESTS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO CONTROL COMMUNICATION AND HOPE TO GAIN WEALTH AND MORE POWER THROUGH WORLD WAR; WHO WANT LAND FREE AND LABOR CHEAP NOT ONLY IN ASIA AND AFRICA BUT IN RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS; WHO WANT TO BREAK THE POWER OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN

(cropped part) underneath

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

(2½ minutes)

THOSE WHO TELL US THAT WE OURSELVES ARE IN GRAVE DANGER. THIS WE SHOULD KNOW IS UNTRUE. IF ANY NATION IN THE WORLD TODAY FEARS AMERICA IT IS BECAUSE SO STUBBORNLY WE SEEM DETERMINED TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO LIVE AS THEY WISH.

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988-01-24

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

THIS NATION AND IN WESTERN EUROPE SO AS TO INCREASE PRIVATE PROFIT, AND WHO STILL CHERISH THE DREAM OF A SOUTH AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN AREA CONTROLLED BY BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN CORPORATIONS. WE MUST SEE THROUGH THIS WICKED CONSPIRACY. WE MUST LEARN WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SISTER STATES, IN THE NEW CHINA; WE MUST INSIST ON KNOWING THE FACTS OF THE WAR IN KOREA. THE NATION WHICH WILLINGLY LISTENS TO LIES AND REFUSES TO KNOW THE TRUTH WILL NEVER BE FREE.

CEASE FIRE NOW. BRING BACK OUR TROOPS FROM EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA; DISMANTLE OUR COSTLY FORTS THAT CIRCLE THE WORLD. STOP OUR AID TO EMPIRES TRYING TO CONQUER COLONIAL PEOPLES; REFUSE LONGER TO SUPPORT SCOUNDRELS LIKE CHIANG KAI SHEK, SYNGMAN RHEE AND BAO DAI; CUT OUR IMPOSSIBLE TAX BURDEN; HOUSE OUR PEOPLE; EDUCATE OUR CHILDREN AND DECLARE A WORLD POLICY OF PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN!

46-10-84

Marcantonio:

I am confident that with a Roosevelt in the White House the story would have been different on June 27, 1950. There would never have been almost 25,000 Americans uselessly killed in Korea. I opposed that war then because I felt it was unconstitutionally begun and against the best interests of our nation and our people. We were told that it would last only a few months - it has gone into almost 3 years - a useless war not in the defense of a single American interest nor a single American principle. We were plunged into a war in which the Chinese people had to fight, just as we would have had to fight if there had been a Chinese Army on Mexican soil, for Korea is to China what Mexico is, geographically, to the United States.

But as to who began the war and whether or not it should have been started, as I wrote to President Eisenhower in a recent letter, are questions over which further discussion at this time can be of

Marcantonio: (cont'd)

no avail. History will pass its irrevocable judgment. This debate is behind us. What is before us is to achieve what President Eisenhower described last October as an early and honorable end to this war. Our people and people everywhere pray fervently for this result.

The proposal of Premier Chou En lai of China meets every requirement of the American people's objective of an early and honorable end of this war. It is in consonance with the principles of the Indian proposal accepted by the United Nations. I endorsed the Indian resolution at the time it was proposed.

Therefore, we can no better commemorate the memory of America's great peacemaker, who fought a war indeed to make it the last war of mankind, than by dedicating our minds, our energies and prayers towards achieving an immediate peace in Korea.

46-10-90

THE MARCANTONIO - DU BOIS TELEVISION PROGRAM
April 13, 1953

(Burying the memory of Roosevelt - Marcantonio; Burying the memory of other great Americans - DuBois. 1 minute)

There are indeed other great Americans whom we have tried to forget: Charles Sumner is almost unknown today; ~~a gentleman and~~ a ~~scholar~~, our greatest defender of democracy since Thomas Jefferson, who was nearly beaten to death on the floor of the Senate for telling the truth. Wendell Phillips, who championed freedom not only for black labor but for white; Thaddeus Stephens, painted as one whose life was hate, in fact, was foremost champion of our public schools, and ~~who~~ insisted that the ballot for Negroes without food and shelter was a farce. Last and not least, our greatest historians ignore Frederick Douglass, corner stone of the abolition movement, well. ~~whom Tilton~~ called "the noblest slave that ever God set free."

36-11-36

(The Four Freedoms - Marcantonio; Freedom from Fear - Du Bois. 1½ minutes)

We who today shriek freedom from the housetops, find it all too easy to forget the last Freedom which Franklin Delano Roosevelt proclaimed -- freedom from Fear. A West African wrote me yesterday "I often wonder why a great country like the United States should be so frightened out of its wits." He did not exaggerate. We see Russian planes in every explosion. Our college students are too scared even to ask questions; our teachers of economics and sociology have gone into hiding. Our preachers are silent or evasive. In this

atmosphere of fear we are letting ourselves be taxed into poverty and spending our substance for ~~munitions and~~ horrible machines of ~~murder and~~ destruction rather than for education, fighting disease and spreading flood control. The open forum where Americans used to inquire into all knowledge, has closed its doors or opened only one side. We must indeed fear Fear itself.

(Falla - Roosevelt could fight and laugh. Marcantonio-Du Bois. 1½ minutes)

The ability to laugh and still fight is far more valuable than tearful self-pity. It was this rare gift ~~which~~ of Franklin Delano Roosevelt ~~possessed. It was this~~ which enabled him to face the attack on civil rights in this land ~~and expose its fundamental failures.~~ Consider the anomaly of refuses to support a UN commission on human rights a free democracy which openly and persistently practices color caste both by law and custom. If we complain that our Negro citizens are poor and ignorant, what can we answer when the world points out that the schools Negroes attend are poor and few and that they are not allowed to work according to ability or paid equal wages for the same work which white laborers perform? Roosevelt gave the only sensible answer to this when he said that discrimination in work because of color is wrong. He thereupon established the first Federal Employment Practices Commission in 1941 ~~to ensure that American labor should be paid for its work and not for its color.~~ Southerners by a filibuster ~~in Congress~~ killed the FEPC in 1946 but 7 state laws and several city ordinances still continue this just policy.

36-11-37

(Peace - Du Bois. 2½ minutes)

We have not become the most warlike nation in all history because we hate our fellow men. We are not arming ourselves with the most destructive weapons of which the world ever dreamt because we want human beings to die and

their property destroyed. No, we are not devils of that sort! We arm for desperate and world-wide war, because we have listened to and believe those who solemnly tell us that either we destroy the world or we will be destroyed. This we should know is a wicked lie. If most nations in the world today hate and fear America it is not because they want to hurt us, but because so clearly and stubbornly we seem determined to hurt them and to make it impossible for them to live as they wish. These nations include not only communist, but capitalist and neutral states. No nation in the world today wishes to change our way of life by force unless that way of life means that no one else can try any other way. Why now are we told this lie with insistence and endless repetition in newspaper, magazine, book, play and broadcast? Only because there are persons and powerful interests in the United States and elsewhere who control communication and hope to gain wealth and more power through world war. Who want land free and labor cheap not only in Asia and Africa but in Russia and the Balkans; who want to break the power of organized labor in this nation and in western Europe so as to increase private profit, and who still cherish the dream of a South America and Caribbean area controlled by British, French and American corporations. We must see through this wicked conspiracy. We must learn just what is going on in the ~~Soviet~~ Union and ~~in its~~ sister ~~states;~~ in the new and struggling China; we must insist on knowing the facts of the war in Korea. The nation which willingly listens to lies and refuses to know the truth will never be free.

36-11-28

Cease fire now. Bring back our troops from ~~Europe, Asia and Africa~~ abroad; dismantle our ~~costly~~ forts that circle the world. Stop ~~our~~ aid to empires trying to conquer colonial peoples ~~struggling desperately to be free;~~ refuse ~~longer~~ to support scoundrels like Chiang Kai Shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai;

cut our ~~impossible~~ tax burden, house our people, educate our children and declare a world policy of Peace on Earth, Good-Will to men.

(Marcantonio, 3 minutes)

36-11-39

SCRIPT FOR TELECAST OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY ON MONDAY, APRIL 13, 1953 AT 9:30 P.M. OVER STATION WARD, CHANNEL 5.

36-10-77

ANNOUNCER: (OPENING, OVER TITLE CARD ON SCREEN)

The American Labor Party salutes a great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the eight anniversary of his death.

(DISSOLVE TO MEDIUM SHOT OF MARCANTONIO AND DU BOIS)

ANNOUNCER: The participants in tonight's program are the Honorable Vito Marcantonio and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

MARCANTONIO: Eight years ago yesterday Franklin D. Roosevelt died. With his death there passed into history a great era of American government truly of the people, for the people and by the people. The Age of Roosevelt took its place with the Age of Jefferson, the Age of Jackson and the Age of Abraham Lincoln.

(50 seconds)

Roosevelt led the American people towards the achievement of many milestones in the endeavors of the common man for security and freedom.

Today we find what seems a wilful conspiracy to bury with the man, his deeds and his words.

Dr. Du Bois, undoubtedly this is not the first time that this has occurred in the history of our nation. I am sure you can tell us the instances in history when the agents of slavery and the mouthpieces of the big and the powerful have made efforts to besmirch and destroy the memory of those who nobly gave of themselves in defense of the freedom and best interests of their fellow countrymen.

36-10-78

DU BOIS: There are indeed other great Americans whom we have tried to forget: Charles Sumner is unknown today, [redacted], our greatest defender of democracy since Thomas Jefferson, who was nearly beaten to death on the floor of the Senate for telling the truth; Wendell Phillips, who championed freedom not only for black labor but for white; Thaddeus Stevens, painted as one whose life was hate, in fact was foremost champion of our public schools, who and insisted that the ballot for Negroes without food and shelter was a farce. Last and not least, our greatest historians ignore Frederick Douglass, cornerstone of the abolition movement, whom Tilton called "the noblest slave that ever God set free."

(1 minute)

MARCANTONIO: I am confident, though, Doctor, that the American people will not forget the Roosevelt who gave them the inspiration to carry on in one of America's darkest moments back in 1933.

(10 seconds)

(ROOSEVELT VOICE)

"This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

(20 seconds)

DU BOIS: He who today shriek freedom from the housetops, ~~find it all too~~ [redacted] forget the last Freedom which Franklin Delano Roosevelt proclaimed [redacted]. A West African wrote me yesterday -- "I often wonder why a great country like the United States should be so frightened ~~out of its wits~~" He did not exaggerate. We see Russian planes in every explosion. [redacted] college students are too scared even to ask questions; [redacted] teachers of economics and sociology have gone into hiding. [redacted] preachers are silent or evasive. In this atmosphere of fear we are letting ourselves be taxed into poverty and spending our substance for munitions and horrible machines of

DU BOIS: (cont'd) murder and destruction rather than for education, fighting disease and spreading flood control. The open forum where Americans used to inquire into all knowledge has closed its doors or opened only one side. We must indeed fear Fear itself.

(1½ minutes)

MARGANTONIO: Over America today there has fallen a pall of fear. In many places tyranny reigns over the minds of men. We seem to have forgotten that tyranny cannot be confined, cannot be quarantined. Deprive anyone of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, and you deprive everyone. Impose tyranny on any section of the country, or on any minority, and it spreads to engulf the entire nation. The fountainhead of tyranny has been for many years the inquisition of today....the Un-American Activities Committee, the similar Senate Committees, The McCarthy and the Jenner Committees. When I was in Congress I led the fight against them, and back in 1942 I made a speech against what was then the Un-American Activities, the Dies Committee. I sent a copy of that speech to Franklin D. Roosevelt. I now hold here in my hands his reply. It is very short and I shall take a moment to read it.

(1½ minutes)

36-10-79

(READING OF ROOSEVELT LETTER BY MARGANTONIO)

This letter shows Roosevelt's skill in fighting against those who would suppress any form of dissent or disagreement. Roosevelt also always used humor as a great weapon:

(ROOSEVELT VOICE): "These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me or on my wife or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala."

(20 seconds)

DU BOIS: The ability to laugh and still fight is even more valuable than tearful self-pity. It was this rare gift which Franklin Delano Roosevelt possessed. It was this which enabled him to face the

36-10-80

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

attack on civil rights in this land ~~and expose its fundamental~~ fallacies... Consider the anomaly of a free democracy which openly and persistently practices color caste both by law and custom. If we complain that our Negro citizens are poor and ignorant, what can we answer when the world points out that the schools Negroes attend are poor and few and that they are not allowed to work according to ability or paid equal wages for the same work which white laborers perform?

(1½ minutes)

Roosevelt gave the only sensible answer to this when he said that discrimination in work because of color is wrong. He ~~thereupon~~ established the first Federal Employment Practices Commission in 1941 to ensure that American labor should be paid for its work and not for its color. Southerners, by a filibuster in Congress killed the FEPC in 1946, but 7 state laws and several city ordinances still continue this just policy.

MANGANTONIO: It is significant that Roosevelt delivered this speech before the Teamsters Union. Roosevelt was indeed a great champion of American labor. Never, before or since he died, has there been anyone in the White House who made the interests and the problems of the men and women who work for a living, his concern and his problems.

(1½ minutes)

It was under Roosevelt's leadership that we obtained for American labor the minimum wage and hours labor law, the Magna Charta of labor - the National Labor Relations Act, which was enacted at his request. It was Roosevelt who vetoed the iniquitous Smith-Connally Act, and I am sure that if he had lived he would have gallantly fought against the equally iniquitous Taft-Hartley Law of today.

Roosevelt more than anyone else, in his time realized that great gains

36-10-21

MARGANTONIO: (cont'd) for labor could be secured only with a nation at peace; that social gains would be sacrificed if the nation were geared to an economy of war.

His leadership of America in World War II, the war foisted upon us by a ruthless enemy, never diverted Roosevelt from the essential task which he assumed, that of making his first objective the achievement of world peace.

(ROOSEVELT VOICE):

"We can and we will achieve such peace. We have learned that we cannot live alone at peace. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that the only way to have a friend is to be one.

(52 seconds) We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust, or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction."

DU BOIS: ~~We have now become the most warlike nation in all history because we hate our fellow men.~~ We are not arming ourselves with the most destructive weapons of which the world ever dreamt because we want human beings to die and their property to be destroyed. No, we are not devils of that sort: We arm for ~~communism and~~ world-wide war because we have listened to and believe those who solemnly tell us that ~~either we destroy the world or we will be destroyed.~~ We ourselves are in grave danger This we should know is ~~a mistake~~ untrue If most nations in the world today ~~hate and~~ fear America it is ~~not because they want to hurt us, but~~ because ~~so stupidly~~ we seem determined ~~to hurt them and~~ to make it impossible for them to live as they wish.

(2½ minutes) These nations include not only communist, but capitalist and neutral states. No nation in the world today wishes to change our way of

36-10-82

DU BOIS: (cont'd)

life by force [unless that way of life means that no one else can try any other way.] Why now are we told this lie with [illegible] and endless repetition in newspaper, magazine, book, play and broadcast? Only because there are [illegible] powerful interests in the United States [illegible] who control communication and hope to gain wealth and more power through world war; who want land free and labor cheap not only in Asia and Africa but in Russia and the Balkans; who want to break the power of organized labor in this nation and in western Europe so as to increase private profit and who still cherish the dream of a South American and Caribbean area controlled by British, French and American corporations. We must see through this wicked conspiracy. We must learn [illegible] what is going on in the Soviet Union and in its sister states; in the new and [illegible] China; we must insist on knowing the facts of the war in Korea. The nation which willingly listens to lies and refuses to know the truth will never be free.

Cease fire now. Bring back our troops from Europe, Asia and Africa; dismantle our costly forts that circle the world. Stop our aid to empires trying to conquer colonial peoples [illegible] [illegible]; refuse longer to support [scoundrels like men] Chiang Kai Shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai; cut our impossible tax burden, house our people, educate our children and declare a world policy of peace on earth, goodwill to men.

MARCANTONIO: I am confident that with a Roosevelt in the White House the story would have been different on June 27, 1950. There would never have been almost 25,000 Americans uselessly killed in Korea.

(2½ minutes) I opposed that war then because I felt it was unconstitutionally

MANSANSONIO: (cont'd)

begun and against the best interests of our nation and our people. We were told then that it would last only a few months - it has gone into almost 3 years - a useless war not in the defense of a single American interest nor a single American principle. We were plunged into a war in which the Chinese people had to fight, just as we would have had to fight if there had been a Chinese Army on Mexican soil, for Korea is to China what Mexico is, geographically, to the United States.

But as to who began the war and whether or not it should have been started, as I wrote to President Eisenhower in a recent letter, there is a question over which further discussion at this time can be of no avail. History will pass its irrevocable judgment. This debate is behind us. What is before us is to achieve what President Eisenhower described last October as an early and honorable end to this war. Our people and people everywhere pray fervently for this result.

The proposal of Premier Chou En lai of China meets every requirement of the American people's objective of an early and honorable end of this war. It is in consonance with the principles of the Indian proposal accepted by the United Nations. I endorsed the Indian resolution at the time it was proposed.

Therefore, we can no better commemorate the memory of America's great peacemaker, who fought a war indeed to make it the last war of mankind, than by dedicating our minds, our energies and prayers towards achieving an immediate peace in Korea.

36-10-83

SCRIPT FOR TELECAST OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
ON MONDAY, APRIL 13, 1953 AT 9:30 P.M.
OVER STATION WABD, CHANNEL 5

final draft

ANNOUNCER: (OPENING, OVER TITLE CARD ON SCREEN)

The American Labor Party salutes a great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the eighth anniversary of his death.

(DISSOLVE TO MEDIUM SHOT OF MARCANTONIO AND DuBOIS)

ANNOUNCER: The participants in tonight's program are former Congressman Vito Marcantonio, the State Chairman of the American Labor Party, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished author and scholar.

MARCANTONIO: (50 seconds) Eight years ago yesterday Franklin D. Roosevelt died. With his death there passed into history a great era of American government truly of the people, for the people and by the people. The Age of Roosevelt took its place with the Age of Jefferson, the Age of Jackson and the Age of Abraham Lincoln.

Roosevelt led the American people towards the achievement of many milestones in the endeavors of the common man for security and freedom.

Today we find what seems a wilful conspiracy to bury with the man, his deeds and his words.

Dr. DuBois, undoubtedly this is not the first time that this has occurred in the history of our nation. I am sure you can tell us the instances in history when the agents of slavery and the mouthpieces of the big and the powerful have made efforts to besmirch and destroy the mamory of those who nobly gave of themselves in defense of the freedom and best interests of their fellow countrymen.

DuBOIS There are indeed other great Americans whom we have tried to forget: Charles Sumner is unknown today, a gentleman and a scholar,

47-10-24

DuBois (Cont'd) our greatest defender of democracy since Thomas Jefferson, who was nearly beaten to death on the floor of the Senate for telling the truth; Wendell Phillips, who championed freedom not only for black labor but for white; Thaddeus Stevens, painted as one whose

(1 minute) life was hate, in fact was foremost champion of our public schools, who insisted that the ballot for Negroes without food and shelter was a farce. Last and not least, our greatest historians ignore Frederick Douglass, cornerstone of the abolition movement, whom Tilton called "the noblest slave that ever God set free."

MARCANTONIO: I am confident, though, Doctor, that the American people will not forget the Roosevelt who gave them the inspiration to carry on

(10 seconds) in one of America's darkest moments back in 1933.

(ROOSEVELT) (VOICE) "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief

(20 seconds) that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

89-01-94

DuBOIS We who today shriek freedom from the housetops, find it all too easy to forget the last freedom which Franklin Delano Roosevelt proclaimed -- Freedom from fear. A West African wrote me yesterday -- "I often wonder why a great country like the United States should be so frightened out of its wits." He did not exaggerate. We see Russian planes in every explosion. Our college students are too scared even to ask questions; our teachers of economics and sociology have gone into hiding. Our preachers are silent or evasive. In this atmosphere of fear we are letting ourselves be taxed into poverty and spending our substance for munitions and horrible machines of murder and destruction rather than for education, fighting disease and spreading flood control. The open

DuBOIS (Cont'd.) (1½ minutes) forum where Americans used to inquire into all knowledge has closed its doors or opened only one side. We must indeed fear Fear itself.

MARCANTONIO: Over America today there has fallen a pall of fear. In many places tyranny reigns over the minds of men. We seem to have forgotten that tyranny cannot be confined, cannot be quarantined. Deprive anyone of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, and you deprive everyone. Impose tyranny on any section of the country, or on any minority, and it spreads to engulf the entire (1½ minutes) nation. The fountainhead of tryanny has been for many years the inquisition of today...the Un-American Activities Committee, the similar Senate Committees, the McCarthy and the Jenner Committees. When I was in Congress I led the fight against them, and back in 1942 I made a speech against what was then the Un-American Activities, the Dies Committee. I sent a copy of that speech to Franklin D. Roosevelt. I now hold here in my hands his reply. It is very short and I shall take a moment to read it.

46-10-69

(READING OF ROOSEVELT LETTER BY MARCANTONIO)

This letter shows Roosevelt's skill in fighting against those who would suppress any form of dissent or disagreement. Roosevelt also used humor as a great weapon:

(ROOSEVELT) (VOICE) (20 seconds) "These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me or on my wife or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala."

DU BOIS: The ability to laugh and still fight is far more valuable than tearful self-pity. It was this rare gift which Franklin Delano Roosevelt possessed. It was this which enabled him to

DuBOIS (cont'd)

face the attack on civil rights in this land and expose its fundamental failures. Consider the anomaly of a free democracy which openly and persistently practices color caste both by law and custom. If we complain that our Negro citizens are poor and ignorant, what can we answer when the world points out that the schools Negroes attend are poor and few and that they are not allowed to work according to ability or paid equal wages for the same work which white laborers perform?

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It was under Roosevelt's leadership that we obtained for American labor the minimum wage and labor law, the Magna Charta of labor -- the National Labor Relations Act, which was enacted at his request. It was Roosevelt who vetoed the iniquitous Smith-Connally Act, and I am sure that if he had lived he would have gallantly fought against the equally iniquitous Taft-Hartley Law of today.

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46-91-96

MARCANTONIO: (Cont'd) great gains for labor could be secured only with a nation at peace; that social gains would be sacrificed if the nation were geared to an economy of war.

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(2½ minutes) we ourselves are in great danger. This we know is untrue. If any nations in the world today fear America it is because we seem determined to make it impossible for them to live as they wish. These nations include not only communist, but capitalist and neutral states. No nation in the world today wishes to change our way of life by force. Why now are we told this lie with insistence and endless repetition in newspaper, magazine, book, play and broadcast? Only because there are persons and

12-01-94

DuBOIS (Cont'd)

powerful interests in the United States and elsewhere who control communication and hope to gain wealth and more power through world war; who want land free and labor cheap not only in Asia and Africa but in Russia and the Balkans; who want to break the power of organized labor in this nation and in western Europe so as to increase private profit and who still cherish the dream of a South America and Caribbean area controlled by British, French and American corporations. We must see through this wicked conspiracy. We must learn just what is going on in the Soviet Union and in its sister states; in the new and struggling China; we must insist on knowing the facts of the war in Korea. The nation which willingly listens to lies and refuses to know the truth will never be free.

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MARCANTONIO:

(2½ minutes)

I am confident that with a Roosevelt in the White House the story would have been different on June 27, 1950. There would never have been almost 25,000 Americans uselessly killed in Korea. I opposed that war then because I felt it was unconstitutionally begun and against the best interests of our nation and our people. We were told then that it would last only a few months - it has gone into almost 3 years - a useless war not in the defense of a single American interest nor a single American principle. As

46-10-24

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46-10-73

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Du Bois

April 19,1953

Warsaw Memorial

36-11-137

POLAND

TEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH 10,000 JEWS LAY DEAD IN WARSAW, AND THERE DISAPPEARED THE GREATEST MODERN CENTER OF JEWISH CULTURE. // THIS TRAGEDY OTHERS CAN DISCUSS BETTER THAN I. // I HAVE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS I COULD DO BEST BY CALLING YOUR ATTENTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NATION WHICH WAS THE CENTER OF THIS DRAMA, THAT IS, POLAND. // FEW NATIONS OF MODERN TIMES HAVE HAD A MORE TRAGIC STORY. // NEARLY A THOUSAND YEARS AGO SLAVIC TRIBES SET UP THIS STATE, WHICH FLOURISHED AND FELL apart until A DUKE OF LITHUANIA UNITED THE COUNTRY. // DURING THE 14th, 15th AND 16th CENTURIES and Poland REACHED ITS GOLDEN AGE. // It GREW AN EMPIRE WHICH STRETCHED FROM THE BALTIC TO THE BLACK SEA. // IT BECAME THE CHAMPION OF EUROPE AGAINST EXPANDING MOHAMMEDANISM. // THE ARTS AND SCIENCES FLOURISHED AND CULMINATED IN THE GREAT ASTRONOMER COPERNICUS, WHO FIRST SAW THE EARTH REVOLVING AROUND THE SUN. // AT THE SAME TIME, THERE BEGAN TO APPEAR those DECAY WHICH LASTED UNTIL THE 20th CENTURY. // THAT WAS THE RULE OF A SELFISH,

-2-

aristocracy WHO DOMINATED THE LEGISLATURE, ELECTED THE KINGS, MONOPOLIZED THE LAND AND REDUCED THE PEASANTS TO SERFDOM. // IN THE 17th CENTURY, POLAND STAGGERED UNDER THE ATTACKS OF SWEDEN AND RUSSIA, BUT SPECTACULARLY rose TO LEADERSHIP IN EUROPE. // AS THE OLD CHRONICLE SAYS, "THERE WAS A MAN CALLED OF GOD AND HIS NAME WAS JOHN." // IT WAS THIS JOHN SOBIESKY WHO SAVED VIENNA FROM THE TURKS AND thus DECIDED THE NEXT 500 YEARS OF WORLD HISTORY. THAT WAS BUT A SPURT BEFORE DEATH IN THE 18th CENTURY // WHEN POLAND CEASED TO BE AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY AND WAS THREE TIMES DIVIDED AMONG ITS POWERFUL NEIGHBORS, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA.

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IP MEANTIME THERE WAS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, A FOREIGN ELEMENT THAT HAD LONG PLAYED ITS PART IN POLAND // AND THAT WAS THE JEWS. // DURING THE FALL OF ROME THIS HOMELESS PEOPLE APPEARED IN EUROPE AND FROM THE 9th UNTIL THE 12th CENTURY EN-
JOYED (in many LOCALITIES) A GOLDEN AGE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. // THEN WITH THE CRUSADES, THEY STAGGERED UNDER OPPRESSION AND BEGAN A NEW WANDERING. // AND A FRANTIC EFFORT TO FIND AT ONCE OCCUPATION, CULTURAL TOLERATION, AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION. // IN ENGLAND, SPAIN,

FRANCE AND HOLLAND/ THE RESULTS ~~IS~~ are WELL KNOWN.// IN GERMANY/ (after desperate effort) A ~~NEW~~ BASIS OF ACCOMMODATION/ BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS/ WAS REACHED IN THE 18TH CENTURY.// BUT, BEFORE THAT/ GERMAN JEWS ~~BEGAN~~ had begun TO MIGRATE TO POLAND.

POLAND WAS A BACKWARD COUNTRY,/ WITH AN ARISTOCRACY/ OWNING LARGE STRETCHES OF LAND/ AND NEEDING CAPITAL FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT.// THEY WELCOMED, at first THE INCOMING JEWS/ AS BANKERS, AND TRADERS;/ AND GRANTED THEM PRIVILEGES, PROTECTION AND ALMOST UNLIMITED RIGHTS OF TRADE.// THERE WERE, DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES/ FEWER ANTI-SEMITIC OUTBREAKS/ OR FRICTION/ BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS/ THAN IN CENTRAL EUROPE in Poland.

BUT WHEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH/ BEGAN TO SPREAD ITS INFLUENCE/ IN POLAND/ AND TRIED/ ~~NOT~~ ONLY TO ATTACK JEWISH RELIGION/ BUT TO OVERCOME PROTESTANT HERESY/ AND THE SPREAD/ OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH.// PERSECUTION OF JEWS BEGAN.// BUT IT WAS NOT SIMPLY/ RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.// IT WAS AT BOTTOM/ THE STRUGGLE OF COMPETING PERSONS/ AND GROUPS/ TO EARN THEIR BREAD AND BUTTER.// AND IT WAS MADE MORE INSOLUBLE/ BECAUSE ~~ONE~~ one GROUP/ DIFFERED IN RELIGION,/ IN INHERITED CULTURE/ IN PERSONAL

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APPEARANCE AND IN RACE.// BECAUSE OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS,/ this GROUP/ COULD BE IDENTIFIED and SEGREGATED/ AND/ BLAMES AND FEARS FASTENED UPON ~~THEM~~ IT.

FROM THE 14th TO THE 18th CENTURY/ COMPETITION BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS/ FOR THE SAME OCCUPATIONS/ DROVE THE JEWS, largely OUT OF BANKING/ INTO TRADING,/ CONCENTRATING THEM IN THE TOWNS/ WHICH THE LANDHOLDING NOBILITY/ CAME TO DOMINATE.// THEN TRANSFORMING SHOPKEEPERS/ INTO ARTISANS,/ WHERE THEY COMPETED WITH THE CRAFT GILDS/ WHICH EXCLUDED THEM.// AND FINALLY DEVELOPING INTO FIERCE COMPETITION/ between CAPITALIST EXPLOITERS AND ~~THE~~ among TRADE ~~UNIONS~~ GUILDS.// CONSEQUENTLY, WITH THE 18th CENTURY/ ANTI-SEMITISM REACHED ITS HIGH POINT IN POLAND.// ALL OF THE RESULTS OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION/ IN TRADE,/ IN SKILLS, and IN STOREKEEPING,/ WAS CONCENTRATED/ UPON THE JEWS.// AND THE EMPHASIS was/ PARTICULARLY LAID/ UPON RELIGION, because that was best understood by the mass/ RITUAL MURDERS WERE CHARGED,/ SCHOOLBOYS AND SEXTONS/ HAD TO BE BRIBED/ TO PROTECT JEWS ON THE STREETS.// GHETTOS ~~MULTIPLIED~~ multiplied, AND THE MASS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE/ WERE FORCED INTO DIRE POVERTY.// BY THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY/ THE SO-CALLED JEWISH QUESTION/ WAS THE LEADING SOCIAL/ AND POLITICAL PROBLEM/ IN POLAND.

Great Poles like Chopin/ took refuge in Paris/ and Polish culture/ flourished abroad/ rather than at home

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AND THIS TOOK PLACE/JUST AT THE TIME/WHEN THE NATION NEEDED ALL ITS STRENGTH/TO DEAL WITH THOSE PROBLEMS/WHICH AROSE AFTER PARTITION.

THE PEASANTS,/FORMING 80% OF THE POPULATION,/WERE IN ABJECT POVERTY.// AND THEIR PLIGHT,/PARTICULARLY THEIR HABITUAL DRUNKENNESS,/WAS BLAMED ON JEWISH INN-KEEPERS.// THERE WERE A MILLION JEWS IN POLAND/AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY,/AND 2/3 OF THEM/LIVED IN CITIES AND TOWNS,/AND COMPETITION/IN EVERY KIND OF WORK/WHICH THEY WERE PRACTICALLY/COMPELLED TO DO/INCREASED.// EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS/WERE MADE:/ THEY SHOULD BE SEGREGATED;/ THEY SHOULD BE SETTLED ON STATE LANDS;/ THEY SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC WORKERS/ON STATE PROJECTS.// THERE SHOULD BE SPECIAL JEWISH TOWNS;/ THEY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO RISE/TO OCCUPATIONS OR CALLINGS/WHICH WOULD BRING THEM RESPECT.// THEY COULD NOT (FOR INSTANCE) SERVE IN THE ARMY/OR HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE.// AND NOT EVEN THE MOST PROGRESSIVE POLE/DARED DEMAND POLITICAL RIGHTS/FOR THE JEWS.// IT WAS THIS CONCERTED NATIONAL ATTACK/THAT WELDED THE JEWISH PEOPLE/INTO A STRONG SOCIAL/AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE/ WITH/ THIS INFLUENCE CAN BE both felt and criticized IN THE WORLD TODAY.

STRESS ON EDUCATION AND FAMILY; ON PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS DOGMA

36-11-142

THERE ENSUED/TWO PECULIAR DEVELOPMENTS.// FIRST/IT MAY RIGHTLY BE SAID/THERE WAS NO 19th CENTURY IN POLAND.// THAT IS/THERE WAS LITTLE/OF THAT DEVELOPMENT OF TECH-NOLOGY/AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY/WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 19TH CENTURY/IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY.// THERE WAS NO LAND REFORM.// SECONDLY,/THERE WAS A NEW MOVEMENT/ TOWARD INTEGRATION AND UNDERSTANDING/BETWEEN JEWS AND POLES.// A NEW GENERATION OF JEWS/HAD ABSORBED AND PROMULGATED/A MUTUAL CULTURE/AND REGARDED THEMSELVES/AND WERE REGARDED BY MANY/AS POLES.// WITH WISE LEADERSHIP/THERE MIGHT HAVE COME/SUCH A UNION OF THESE ELEMENTS/AS TO BUILD A NEW POLISH NATION.// BUT THIS WAS RETARDED/BE-CAUSE/reactionary Poles/aristocrats, merchants + artisans/FEARED NOTHING MORE/THAN THE EXTENSION/OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP TO JEWS/(INCREASED FREEDOM of INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE)/AND THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY/BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS.// NEVERTHELESS, DURING THESE YEARS/OF ARMED STRUGGLE/AGAINST THE RUSSIAN OPPRESSOR/FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD/BETWEEN JEW AND POLE/INCREASED.// BUT COULD NOT GO FAR/so long as/ THE BASIC ECONOMIC COMPETITION,/ WHICH WAS THE REAL SOURCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM,/ PERSISTED// - THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN the TWO GROUPS/OF SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS/ - STILL/continued to exist.

36-11-143

// IN THE LAST TWO DECADES/ OF THE 19TH CENTURY,/ THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND/ QUICKENED.// BIG INDUSTRY/ BEGAN TO COME IN/ AND TO PRESS THE SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS.// THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY/ AND AGRICULTURE/ BECAME DEPENDENT ON BANKS.// AND JEWISH OWNERS OF BANKS/ THUS CAME UNDER NEW ATTACK.// INDEED, THIS/ CAPITALISM/ WAS CALLED A JEWISH INVENTION.// AND THE ACCUSATIONS STRENGTHENED/ BECAUSE THE NEW ~~INDUSTRY WAS~~ INDUSTRIES LIKE TEXTILES WERE LARGELY CARRIED ON/ IN LARGE CITIES/ AND OWNED BY JEWS.// ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LAND HUNGER/ OF THE PEASANTS INCREASED/ AND SOCIALISM APPEARED IN THE VILLAGES.// THE FEAR OF SOCIALISM/ PRESSED THE LANDLORDS/ INTO A MOVEMENT/ WHICH MADE ANTI-SEMITISM THE REFUGE OF Land monopoly/ and THE CHIEF PLANK IN ITS PLATFORM.// ~~AND~~ THESE ELEMENTS/ WERE FUSED INTO THE NEW NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY/ HELPED ON BY THE CLERGY.

THE FAILURE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/ EARLY IN THE 20TH CENTURY/ ENDED PROSPECTS/ OF POLISH LIBERATION (THROUGH) ~~THROUGH~~ SOCIALISM/ ~~FROM~~ RUSSIA/ AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY/ TURNED UPON THE (alleged) INTERNAL ENEMY,/ THE JEWS.// VIOLENT ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION/ REACHED ITS PEAK IN 1912.// "DO NOT BUY FROM THE JEWS"/ BECAME A SLOGAN.// AND ALL KINDS OF ACCUSATIONS/ WERE MADE

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AGAINST THEM:-// GREED;/ HATRED OF GENTILES;/ THE JEWISH WILL/ TO DOMINATE THE WORLD.// EVEN THEIR POVERTY/ WAS PICTURED/ AS A DANGER TO THE POLES.// AND IN RECOIL/ ZIONISM SPREAD AMONG POLISH JEWS/ ~~AND WAS ACCUSED OF BEING~~ (and was interpreted as) A PLOT/ TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH STATE/ IN POLAND// WITH POLES/ UNDER ITS DOMINATION.//

~~THE POLES~~ POLAND FOUGHT WITH GERMANY/ AND AUSTRIA/ AGAINST RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES/ IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR.// AFTER THE WAR/ POLAND WAS DECLARED AN INDEPENDENT KINGDOM,/ BUT THE GERMANS OCCUPIED THE COUNTRY.// POLAND JOINED THE WEST/ IN TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS;/ BUT WHEN PILSUDSKI DIED/ THE POLISH PARLIAMENT/ WAS REDUCED TO BE THE TOOL OF THE MILITARY/ AND POLAND SWUNG TOWARD FASCISM/ AND AWAY FROM THE ALLIES.

THE LAND QUESTION/ STILL WAS NOT FACED.// MORE THAN HALF THE LAND/ WAS OWNED BY THE NOBILITY,// AND THE PEASANTRY,/ ~~WAS CROWDED~~ WAS CROWDED ON HOLDINGS/ TOO SMALL TO MAKE A LIVING.// POLAND LOST/ THE PRE-WAR RUSSIAN MARKETS/ AND COULD NOT RECOVER/ FROM THE WORLD CRISIS OF 1929.// THE STANDARD OF LIVING/ BECAME THE LOWEST IN EUROPE.

EVEN THIS INCREASED ANTI-SEMITISM. // POLES DEMANDED THE EXPULSION OF JEWS FROM POLAND AND THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT INDEMNITY.

HITLER DECLARED WAR ON POLAND IN SEPTEMBER, 1939. / HE OCCUPIED FRANCE A YEAR LATER. // AND IN JUNE, 1941 / HE INVADED RUSSIA. // THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS / AFTER ITS LEADERS FOUND / THAT THEY COULD GAIN NO TREATY / WITH THE WEST / HAD SIGNED A NON-AGGRESSION PACT / WITH GERMANY / IN AUGUST, 1939 (as the only alternative) // EVERY NATION CONNECTED WITH THIS FANTASTIC SET OF OCCURRENCES WAS IN CONTRADICTORY PARADOX. // FRANCE WAVERED / BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND COMPLETE SURRENDER. // GREAT BRITAIN HESITATED / BETWEEN RECOGNIZING THE SOVIET UNION / MAKING PEACE WITH GERMANY / AND GOING TO WAR FOR POLAND. THE SOVIET UNION WAS STALLED / BETWEEN HOLDING ITS TERRITORY INTACT / OR YIELDING ENOUGH / TO EITHER GERMANY / OR THE WEST / TO BRING THAT PEACE DO NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL. // PARTICULARLY / POLAND WAS ABSOLUTELY AT WAR / WITH ITS OWN SOUL. // IT WANTED TO WREST THE UKRAINE / FROM THE SOVIET UNION; / IT WANTED TO REPEL GERMANY; / IT WANTED TO KEEP CLOSE ALLIANCE / WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. // AND OF ALL THESE ELEMENTS / THE THREE MILLION JEWS / IN (IT DARED NOT ACCEPT SOVIET AID AGAINST GERMANY)

36-11-145

POLAND / WERE IN THE MOST DISASTROUS PREDICAMENT // HESITATING BETWEEN THE DEMANDS OF POLAND / OF GERMANY, / OF THE SOVIET UNION / OF BRITAIN; / AND ABOVE ALL / TRYING TO BE TRUE / TO THEIR OWN SELVES / THEIR TRADITION OF CULTURE / AND THEIR ANCIENT RELIGION.

THE SOVIET UNION AND GERMANY / ARRIVED AT A NON-AGGRESSION PACT in 1939. / THEN SUDDENLY / GERMANY INVADED POLAND, / AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN. // INTO POLAND FROM THE EAST / CAME THE SOVIET TROOPS. // WITHOUT WARNING, / GERMANY TURNED AND ATTACKED THE SOVIETS in 1941, / AND ALL OF POLAND / WAS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION. // DURING THESE WAR YEARS / POLAND PASSED THROUGH HELL. // THE GERMANS METHODICALLY EXTERMINATED / A LARGE PART OF THE POPULATION / BY MASSACRES AND STARVATION / AND TRIED TO REDUCE THE REST / TO SLAVERY. // THREE MILLION JEWS, / REPRESENTING THE NATION / THAT HAD BEEN IN POLAND / FOR TEN CENTURIES, / WERE NEARLY ALL KILLED, / LEAVING LESS THAN 100,000.

~~THE HITLER INVASION HAD / ALMOST WIPED OUT THE JEWS / OF POLAND.~~ / WHAT SHOULD THE REST DO? // THE HITLER MURDERS BEGAN IN MARCH, 1942 / [redacted] AT FIRST / THE ADVICE WAS SUBMISSION (accommodation-yielding) / AND THEN AT LAST / THE REMNANT TURNED / AND FOUGHT

36-11-146

THE TERRIBLE FIGHT/WHICH WE COMMEMORATE TODAY.// FIVE MONTHS THEY FOUGHT/AND DIED.// AND OUT OF THEIR DEATH/ AROSE A NEW POLAND./A POLAND OF POLES (GERMANS) AND JEWS./ UNITED IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT/TO BUILD A NEW CIVILIZATION.

EARLY IN 1945/THE GERMAN TROOPS/WERE EXPELLED FROM POLAND// AND AT THE YALTA CONFERENCE/OLD POLAND/WAS MERGED WITH THE NEW POLAND/BY HAVING THE HEAD OF THE POLISH EXILES admitted TO THE LUBLIN GOVERNMENT.// THIS WAS THE GOVERNMENT/ THAT WAS RECOGNIZED/BY ENGLAND/AND THE UNITED STATES.//

26-11-147

UNITED

BUT THE ~~new~~ POLAND/TRIED THE OLD TACTICS/OF CONTROL BY LANDLORDS AND ARISTOCRATS/UNTIL MEN LIKE ANDERS AND MIKOLÁJCZYK/WERE EXPELLED.// COMMUNISTS AND LEFT-WING SOCIALISTS/TOOK POWER.// LARGE ESTATES WERE BROKEN UP/AND INDUSTRIES PARTIALLY NATIONALIZED// POLAND BECAME A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY/ON THE SOVIET MODEL.// AND THE POLES STARTED WITH ASTOUNDING ENERGY/TO REBUILD THEIR DEVASTATED COUNTRY/AND TO WORK WITH THEIR JEWISH COMPATRIOTS/AS CITIZENS OF A COMMON COUNTRY.

IT WAS THIS BACKGROUND/OF COMPLICATED HISTORY/AGAINST WHICH/THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF POLAND/HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART//AND IN WHICH/THE GREAT TRAGEDY/WHICH TODAY/WE CELEBRATE WAS PLAYED.

Warsaw Memorial

POLAND

TEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH 10,000 JEWS LAY DEAD IN WARSAW, AND THERE DISAPPEARED THE GREATEST MODERN CENTER OF JEWISH CULTURE. THIS TRAGEDY OTHERS CAN DISCUSS BETTER THAN I. I HAVE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS I COULD DO BEST BY CALLING YOUR ATTENTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NATION WHICH WAS THE CENTER OF THIS DRAMA, THAT IS, POLAND. FEW NATIONS OF MODERN TIMES HAVE HAD A MORE TRAGIC HISTORY. NEARLY A THOUSAND YEARS AGO SLAVIC TRIBES SET UP THIS STATE, WHICH FLOURISHED AND FELL [redacted] apart until. A DUKE OF LITHUANIA [redacted] UNITED THE COUNTRY, [redacted] DURING THE 14th, 15th AND 16th CENTURIES Poland REACHED ITS GOLDEN AGE. It grew [redacted] TO AN EMPIRE WHICH STRETCHED FROM THE BALTIC TO THE BLACK SEA. IT BECAME THE CHAMPION OF EUROPE AGAINST EXPANDING MOHAMMEDANISM. THE ARTS AND SCIENCES FLOURISHED AND CULMINATED IN THE GREAT ASTRONOMER COPERNICUS, WHO FIRST SAW THE earth [redacted] REVOLVING AROUND THE SUN. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE BEGAN TO APPEAR THE seeds OF THE DECAY WHICH LASTED UNTIL THE 20th CENTURY. THAT WAS THE RULE OF A SELFISH, [redacted]

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aristocracy [redacted] WHO DOMINATED THE LEGISLATURE, ELECTED THE KINGS, MONOPOLIZED THE LAND AND REDUCED THE PEASANTS TO SERFDOM. In the 17th century Poland staggered under the attacks of Sweden + Russia, but [redacted] spectacularly rose POLAND [redacted] TO LEADERSHIP IN EUROPE. AS THE OLD CHRONICLE SAYS, "THERE WAS A MAN CALLED OF GOD AND HIS NAME WAS JOHN." IT WAS THIS JOHN SOBIESKY WHO SAVED VIENNA FROM THE TURKS AND [redacted] thus decided the next 500 years of world history. [redacted] THAT WAS BUT A SPURT BEFORE DEATH IN THE 18th CENTURY, WHEN POLAND CEASED TO BE AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY AND WAS THRICE TIMES DIVIDED AMONG ITS POWERFUL NEIGHBORS, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA.

MEANTIME THERE WAS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, A FOREIGN ELEMENT THAT HAD LONG PLAYED ITS PART IN POLAND, AND THAT WAS THE JEWS. During [redacted] THE FALL OF ROME THIS HOMELESS PEOPLE APPEARED IN EUROPE AND FROM THE 9th UNTIL THE 12th CENTURY ENJOYED, in many localities A GOLDEN AGE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. THEN WITH THE CRUSADES, THEY STAGGERED UNDER OPPRESSION AND BEGAN A NEW WANDERING, AND A FRANTIC EFFORT TO FIND AT ONCE OCCUPATION, CULTURAL TOLERATION, AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION. IN ENGLAND, SPAIN,

46-10-54

FRANCE AND HOLLAND THE RESULTS are WELL KNOWN. IN GERMANY after desperate effort A NEW BASIS OF ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS WAS REACHED IN THE 16TH CENTURY. BUT even BEFORE THAT GERMAN JEWS had BEGUN TO MIGRATE TO POLAND.

POLAND WAS A BACKWARD COUNTRY, WITH AN ARISTOCRACY OWNING LARGE STRETCHES OF LAND AND NEEDING CAPITAL FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT. THEY WELCOMED at first THE INCOMING JEWS AS BANKERS, AND TRADERS; AND GRANTED THEM PRIVILEGES, PROTECTION AND ALMOST UNLIMITED RIGHTS OF TRADE. THERE WERE, DURING THE MIDDLE AGES FEWER ANTI-SEMITIC OUTBREAKS OR FRICTION BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS early in Poland THAN IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

BUT WHEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BEGAN TO SPREAD ITS INFLUENCE IN POLAND AND TRIED NOT ONLY TO ATTACK JEWISH RELIGION BUT TO OVERCOME PROTESTANT HERESY AND THE SPREAD OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH, PERSECUTION OF JEWS BEGAN. BUT IT WAS NOT SIMPLY RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION. IT WAS AT BOTTOM THE STRUGGLE OF COMPETING PERSONS AND GROUPS TO EARN THEIR BREAD AND BUTTER. AND IT WAS MADE MORE INSOLUBLE BECAUSE THE ONE GROUP DIFFERED IN RELIGION, IN INHERITED CULTURE, IN PERSONAL

APPEARANCE AND IN RACE. BECAUSE OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS, this GROUP COULD BE IDENTIFIED, and SEGREGATED, AND BLAMES AND FEARS FASTENED UPON it

FROM THE 14th TO THE 18th CENTURY COMPETITION BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS FOR THE SAME OCCUPATIONS DROVE THE JEWS largely OUT OF BANKING INTO TRADING, CONCENTRATING THEM IN THE TOWNS WHICH THE LANDHOLDING NOBILITY CAME TO DOMINATE; THEN TRANSFORMING SHOPKEEPERS INTO ARTISANS, WHERE THEY COMPETED WITH THE CRAFT GILDS WHICH EXCLUDED THEM; AND FINALLY DEVELOPED INTO FIERCE COMPETITION between THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITERS AND among TRADE gilds. CONSEQUENTLY, WITH THE 18th CENTURY ANTI-SEMITISM REACHED ITS HIGH POINT IN POLAND. ALL OF THE RESULTS OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION IN TRADE, IN SKILLS, IN STOREKEEPING, were CONCENTRATED UPON THE JEWS, AND THE EMPHASIS was PARTICULARLY LAID UPON RELIGION, because that was best understood by the mass. RITUAL MURDERS WERE CHARGED. SCHOOLBOYS AND SEXTONS HAD TO BE BRIBED TO PROTECT JEWS ON THE STREETS. GHETTOS multiplied, AND THE MASS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WERE FORCED INTO DIRE POVERTY. BY THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY THE CALLED JEWISH QUESTION WAS THE LEADING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEM IN POLAND.

Great Poles like Chopin took refuge in Paris; & Polish culture flourished abroad rather than at home.

AND THIS TOOK PLACE JUST AT THE TIME WHEN THE NATION NEEDED ALL ITS STRENGTH TO DEAL WITH THOSE PROBLEMS WHICH AROSE, AFTER PARTITION.

THE PEASANTS, FORMING 80% OF THE POPULATION, WERE IN ABJECT POVERTY, AND THEIR PLIGHT, PARTICULARLY THEIR HABITUAL DRUNKENNESS, WAS BLAMED ON JEWISH INN-KEEPERS. THERE WERE A MILLION JEWS IN POLAND AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY, AND 2/3 OF THEM LIVED IN CITIES AND TOWNS, and COMPETITION IN EVERY KIND OF WORK WHICH THEY WERE PRACTICALLY COMPELLED TO DO INCREASED. EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS WERE MADE: THEY SHOULD BE SEGREGATED; THEY SHOULD BE SETTLED ON STATE LANDS; THEY SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC WORKERS ON STATE PROJECTS; THERE SHOULD BE SPECIAL JEWISH TOWNS; THEY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO RISE TO OCCUPATIONS OR CALLINGS WHICH WOULD BRING THEM RESPECT; THEY COULD NOT, for instance, SERVE IN THE ARMY OR HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE; AND NOT EVEN THE MOST PROGRESSIVE POLE DARED DEMAND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE JEWS. IT WAS THIS CONCERTED NATIONAL ATTACK THAT WELDED THE JEWISH PEOPLE INTO A STRONG SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE, With stress on education and family, and criticized philosophy + religious dogma, WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT IN THE WORLD TODAY.

46-10-52

THERE ENSUED TWO PECULIAR DEVELOPMENTS: FIRST IT MAY RIGHTLY BE SAID THERE WAS NO 19th CENTURY IN POLAND, THAT IS THERE WAS little OF THAT DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 19TH CENTURY IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY. THERE WAS NO LAND REFORM. SECONDLY, THERE WAS A NEW MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JEWS AND POLES, A NEW GENERATION OF JEWS HAD ABSORBED AND PROMULGATED A MUTUAL CULTURE AND REGARDED THEMSELVES AND WERE REGARDED BY MANY AS POLES. WITH WISE LEADERSHIP THERE MIGHT HAVE COME SUCH A UNION OF THESE ELEMENTS AS TO BUILD A NEW POLISH NATION. BUT THIS WAS retarded BECAUSE reactionary Poles, aristocrats, merchants + artisans FEARED NOTHING MORE THAN THE EXTENSION OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP TO JEWS, increased freedom of industrial enterprise AND THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS. NEVERTHELESS, DURING THESE YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN OPPRESSOR FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN JEW AND POLE INCREASED, BUT COULD NOT GO FAR so long as THE BASIC ECONOMIC COMPETITION, WHICH WAS THE REAL SOURCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM planted -- THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN the TWO GROUPS OF SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS -- STILL continued to exist.

IN THE LAST TWO DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY, THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND QUICKENED. BIG INDUSTRY BEGAN TO COME IN AND TO PRESS THE SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE BECAME DEPENDENT ON BANKS, AND JEWISH OWNERS OF BANKS THUS CAME UNDER NEW ATTACK. INDEED, THIS finance CAPITALISM WAS CALLED A JEWISH INVENTION. AND THE ACCUSATIONS STRENGTHENED BECAUSE THE NEW ~~THIS~~ INDUSTRY, like textiles, WAS LARGELY CARRIED ON IN LARGE CITIES AND OWNED BY JEWS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LAND HUNGER OF THE PEASANTS INCREASED AND SOCIALISM APPEARED IN THE VILLAGES. THE FEAR OF SOCIALISM PRESSED THE LANDLORDS INTO A MOVEMENT WHICH MADE ANTI-SEMITISM, the refuge of land monopoly, THE CHIEF PLANK IN ITS PLATFORM. ~~AND~~ THESE ELEMENTS WERE FUSED INTO THE NEW NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HELPED ON BY THE CLERGY.

THE FAILURE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION EARLY IN THE 20TH CENTURY ENDED PROSPECTS OF POLISH LIBERATION ~~FROM~~ through RUSSIA, AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TURNED UPON THE alleged INTERNAL ENEMY, THE JEWS. VIOLENT ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION REACHED ITS PEAK IN 1912. "DO NOT BUY FROM THE JEWS" BECAME A SLOGAN, AND ALL KINDS OF ACCUSATIONS WERE MADE

AGAINST THEM:-- GREED; HATRED OF GENTILES; THE JEWISH WILL TO DOMINATE THE WORLD. EVEN THEIR POVERTY WAS PICTURED AS A DANGER TO THE POLES, AND IN RECOIL ZIONISM SPREAD AMONG POLISH JEWS AND [redacted] was interpreted as A PLOT TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH STATE IN POLAND WITH POLES UNDER ITS DOMINATION.

~~THE POLES~~ Poland FOUGHT WITH GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AGAINST RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AFTER THE WAR, POLAND WAS DECLARED AN INDEPENDENT KINGDOM, BUT THE GERMANS OCCUPIED THE COUNTRY. POLAND JOINED THE WEST IN TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS; BUT WHEN PILSUDSKI DIED THE POLISH PARLIAMENT WAS REDUCED TO BE THE TOOL OF THE MILITARY AND POLAND SWUNG TOWARD FASCISM AND AWAY FROM THE ALLIES.

THE LAND QUESTION STILL WAS NOT FACED. MORE THAN HALF THE LAND WAS OWNED BY THE NOBILITY, AND THE PEASANTRY, [redacted], WAS CROWDED ON HOLDINGS TOO SMALL TO MAKE A LIVING. POLAND LOST THE PRE-WAR RUSSIAN MARKETS AND COULD NOT RECOVER FROM THE WORLD CRISIS OF 1929. THE STANDARD OF LIVING BECAME THE LOWEST IN EUROPE.

EVEN THIS INCREASED ANTI-SEMITISM. POLES DEMANDED THE EXPULSION OF JEWS FROM POLAND AND THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT INDEMNITY.

HITLER DECLARED WAR ON POLAND IN SEPTEMBER, 1939. HE OCCUPIED FRANCE A YEAR LATER. AND IN JUNE, 1941, HE INVADED RUSSIA. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, AFTER ITS LEADERS FOUND THAT THEY COULD GAIN NO TREATY WITH THE WEST, HAD SIGNED A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH GERMANY IN AUGUST, 1939, as the only alternative. EVERY NATION CONNECTED WITH THIS FANTASTIC SET OF OCCURRENCES WAS IN CONTRADICTORY PARADOX. FRANCE WAVERED BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND COMPLETE SURRENDER. GREAT BRITAIN HESITATED BETWEEN RECOGNIZING THE SOVIET UNION, MAKING PEACE WITH GERMANY, AND GOING TO WAR FOR POLAND. THE SOVIET UNION WAS STALLED BETWEEN HOLDING ITS TERRITORY INTACT OR YIELDING ENOUGH TO EITHER GERMANY OR THE WEST TO BRING THAT PEACE so NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL. PARTICULARLY, POLAND WAS ABSOLUTELY AT WAR WITH ITS OWN SOUL. IT WANTED TO WREST THE UKRAINE FROM THE SOVIET UNION; IT WANTED TO REPEL GERMANY; IT WANTED TO KEEP CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. It dared not accept Soviet aid against Germany. AND OF ALL THESE ELEMENTS THE THREE MILLION JEWS IN

46-10-58.

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~~THE HITLER INVASION HAD ALMOST WIPED OUT THE JEWS OF POLAND.~~ WHAT SHOULD THE REST DO? THE HITLER MURDERS BEGAN IN MARCH, 1942, [redacted] AT FIRST THE ADVICE WAS SUBMISSION, accommodation, yielding, AND THEN AT LAST THE REMNANT TURNED AND FOUGHT

TERRIBLE FIGHT WHICH WE COMMEMORATE TODAY. FIVE MONTHS THEY FOUGHT AND DIED. AND OUT OF THEIR DEATH AROSE A NEW POLAND, A POLAND OF POLES Germans AND JEWS, UNITED IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT TO BUILD A NEW CIVILIZATION.

EARLY IN 1945 THE GERMAN TROOPS WERE EXPELLED FROM POLAND, AND AT THE YALTA CONFERENCE OLD POLAND WAS MERGED WITH THE NEW POLAND BY HAVING THE HEAD OF THE POLISH EXILES admitted TO THE LUBLIN GOVERNMENT. THIS WAS THE GOVERNMENT THAT WAS RECOGNIZED BY ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THE United POLAND TRIED THE OLD TACTICS OF CONTROL BY LANDLORDS AND ARISTOCRATS UNTIL MEN LIKE ANDERS AND MIKOLAJCZYK WERE EXPELLED. COMMUNISTS AND LEFT-WING SOCIALISTS TOOK POWER. LARGE ESTATES WERE BROKEN UP AND INDUSTRIES PARTIALLY NATIONALIZED. POLAND BECAME A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY ON THE SOVIET MODEL, AND THE POLES STARTED WITH ASTOUNDING ENERGY TO REBUILD THEIR DEVASTATED COUNTRY AND TO WORK WITH THEIR JEWISH COMPATRIOTS AS CITIZENS OF A COMMON COUNTRY.

IT WAS THIS BACKGROUND OF COMPLICATED HISTORY AGAINST WHICH THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF POLAND HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART AND IN WHICH THE GREAT TRAGEDY WHICH TODAY WE CELEBRATE WAS PLAYED.

Du Bois April 19,1953

Warsaw Memorial

POLAND

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19-10-91

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FRANCE AND HOLLAND THE RESULTS ~~ARE~~ WELL KNOWN. IN GERMANY, ~~A~~ after desperate effort BASIS OF ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS WAS REACHED IN THE 18TH CENTURY. BUT even BEFORE THAT GERMAN JEWS had begun TO MIGRATE TO POLAND.

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46-10-62

APPEARANCE AND IN RACE. BECAUSE OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS, their GROUP COULD BE IDENTIFIED, and SEGREGATED, AND BLAMES AND FEARS FASTENED UPON it.

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Great Poles like Chopin took refuge in Paris, and Polish culture flourished abroad rather than at home.

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THE PEASANTS, FORMING 80% OF THE POPULATION, WERE IN ABJECT POVERTY, AND THEIR PLIGHT, PARTICULARLY THEIR HABITUAL DRUNKENNESS, WAS BLAMED ON JEWISH INN-KEEPERS. THERE WERE A MILLION JEWS IN POLAND AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY, AND 2/3 OF THEM LIVED IN CITIES AND TOWNS, and COMPETITION IN EVERY KIND OF WORK WHICH THEY WERE PRACTICALLY COMPELLED TO DO INCREASED. EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS WERE MADE: THEY SHOULD BE SEGREGATED; THEY SHOULD BE SETTLED ON STATE LANDS; THEY SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC WORKERS ON STATE PROJECTS; THERE SHOULD BE SPECIAL JEWISH TOWNS; THEY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO RISE TO OCCUPATIONS OR CALLINGS WHICH WOULD BRING THEM RESPECT; THEY COULD NOT, for instance, SERVE IN THE ARMY OR HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE; AND NOT EVEN THE MOST PROGRESSIVE POLE DARED DEMAND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE JEWS. IT WAS THIS CONCERTED NATIONAL ATTACK THAT WELDED THE JEWISH PEOPLE INTO A STRONG SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE. With this stress on education and family, on philosophy and religious dogma, WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT [redacted] TODAY.

39-01-94

THERE ENSUED TWO PECULIAR DEVELOPMENTS: FIRST IT MAY RIGHTLY BE SAID THERE WAS NO 19th CENTURY IN POLAND, THAT IS THERE WAS little OF THAT DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 19TH CENTURY IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY. THERE WAS NO LAND REFORM. SECONDLY, THERE WAS A NEW MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JEWS AND POLES. A NEW GENERATION OF JEWS HAD ABSORBED AND PROMULGATED A MUTUAL CULTURE AND REGARDED THEMSELVES AND WERE REGARDED BY MANY AS POLES. WITH WISE LEADERSHIP THERE MIGHT HAVE COME SUCH A UNION OF THESE ELEMENTS AS TO BUILD A NEW POLISH NATION. BUT THIS WAS retarded BECAUSE reactionary Poles, aristocrats, merchants & artisans FEARED NOTHING MORE THAN THE EXTENSION OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP TO JEWS, increased freedom of industrial enterprise AND THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS. NEVERTHELESS, DURING THESE YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN OPPRESSOR FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN JEW AND POLE INCREASED, BUT COULD NOT GO FAR so long as THE BASIC ECONOMIC COMPETITION, WHICH WAS THE REAL SOURCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM, persisted -- THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN the TWO GROUPS OF SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS -- STILL continued to exist.

IN THE LAST [redacted] DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY, THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND QUICKENED. BIG INDUSTRY BEGAN TO COME IN AND TO PRESS THE SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE BECAME DEPENDENT ON BANKS, AND JEWISH OWNERS OF BANKS THUS CAME UNDER NEW ATTACK. INDEED, THIS finance CAPITALISM WAS CALLED A JEWISH INVENTION. AND THE ACCUSATIONS STRENGTHENED BECAUSE THE NEW [redacted] INDUSTRY, like textiles, WAS LARGELY CARRIED ON IN LARGE CITIES AND OWNED BY JEWS. ON THE OTHER HAND THE LAND HUNGER OF THE PEASANTS INCREASED AND SOCIALISM APPEARED IN THE VILLAGES. THE FEAR OF SOCIALISM PRESSED THE LANDLORDS INTO A MOVEMENT WHICH MADE ANTI-SEMITISM THE CHIEF PLANK IN ITS PLATFORM. [redacted] THESE ELEMENTS WERE FUSED INTO THE NEW NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HELPED ON BY THE CLERGY. the refuge of land monopoly and

THE FAILURE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION EARLY IN THE 20TH CENTURY ENDED PROSPECTS OF POLISH LIBERATION [redacted] RUSSIAN, AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TURNED UPON THE INTERNAL ENEMY, THE JEWS. VIOLENT ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION REACHED ITS PEAK IN 1912. "DO NOT BUY FROM THE JEWS" BECAME A SLOGAN, AND ALL KINDS OF ACCUSATIONS WERE MADE through Socialism alleged

AGAINST THEM:— GREED; HATRED OF GENTILES; THE JEWISH WILL TO DOMINATE THE WORLD. EVEN THEIR POVERTY WAS PICTURED AS A DANGER TO THE POLES, AND IN RECOIL ZIONISM SPREAD AMONG POLISH JEWS AND [redacted] A PLOT TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH STATE IN POLAND WITH POLES UNDER ITS DOMINATION. [redacted] was interested in

[redacted] Poland FOUGHT WITH GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AGAINST RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AFTER THE WAR, POLAND WAS DECLARED AN INDEPENDENT KINGDOM, BUT THE GERMANS OCCUPIED THE COUNTRY. POLAND JOINED THE WEST IN TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS; BUT WHEN PILSUDSKI DIED THE POLISH PARLIAMENT WAS REDUCED TO BE THE TOOL OF THE MILITARY AND POLAND SWUNG TOWARD FASCISM AND AWAY FROM THE ALLIES.

THE LAND QUESTION STILL WAS NOT FACED. MORE THAN HALF THE LAND WAS OWNED BY THE NOBILITY, AND THE PEASANTRY, [redacted] WAS CROWDED ON HOLDINGS TOO SMALL TO MAKE A LIVING. POLAND LOST THE PRE-WAR RUSSIAN MARKETS AND COULD NOT RECOVER FROM THE WORLD CRISIS OF 1929. THE STANDARD OF LIVING BECAME THE LOWEST IN EUROPE.

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THE TERRIBLE FIGHT WHICH WE COMMEMORATE TODAY. FIVE MONTHS THEY FOUGHT AND DIED. AND OUT OF THEIR DEATH AROSE A NEW POLAND, A POLAND OF POLES, Germans AND JEWS, UNITED IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT TO BUILD A NEW CIVILIZATION.

EARLY IN 1945 THE GERMAN TROOPS WERE EXPELLED FROM POLAND, AND AT THE YALTA CONFERENCE OLD POLAND WAS MERGED WITH THE NEW POLAND BY HAVING THE HEAD OF THE POLISH EXILES admitted TO THE LUBLIN GOVERNMENT. THIS WAS THE GOVERNMENT THAT WAS RECOGNIZED BY ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THE United POLAND TRIED THE OLD TACTICS OF CONTROL BY LANDLORDS AND ARISTOCRATS UNTIL MEN LIKE ANDERS AND MIKOLAJCZYK WERE EXPELLED. COMMUNISTS AND LEFT-WING SOCIALISTS TOOK POWER. LARGE ESTATES WERE BROKEN UP AND INDUSTRIES PARTIALLY NATIONALIZED. POLAND BECAME A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY ON THE SOVIET MODEL, AND THE POLES STARTED WITH ASTOUNDING ENERGY TO REBUILD THEIR DEVASTATED COUNTRY AND TO WORK WITH THEIR JEWISH COMPATRIOTS AS CITIZENS OF A COMMON COUNTRY.

IT WAS THIS BACKGROUND OF COMPLICATED HISTORY AGAINST WHICH THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF POLAND HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART AND IN WHICH THE GREAT TRAGEDY WHICH TODAY WE CELEBRATE WAS PLAYED.

99-10-66

AND THIS TOOK PLACE JUST AT THE TIME WHEN THE NATION NEEDED ALL ITS STRENGTH TO DEAL WITH THOSE PROBLEMS WHICH AROSE AFTER PARTITION. (A) IT WAS THIS CONCERTED NATIONAL ATTACK THAT WELDED THE JEWISH PEOPLE INTO A STRONG SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE, WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT IN THE WORLD EVEN TODAY.

35-2-302

THERE ENSUED TWO PECULIAR DEVELOPMENTS: FIRST IT MAY RIGHTLY BE SAID THERE WAS NO 19TH CENTURY IN POLAND, THAT IS THERE WAS NONE OF THAT DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE 19TH CENTURY IN ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY. THERE WAS NO LAND REFORM. SECONDLY, THERE WAS A NEW MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JEWS AND POLES, SINCE A NEW GENERATION OF JEWS HAD ABSORBED AND PROMULGATED A MUTUAL CULTURE AND REGARDED THEMSELVES AND WERE REGARDED BY MANY AS POLES. WITH WISE LEADERSHIP THERE MIGHT HAVE COME SUCH A UNION OF THESE ELEMENTS AS TO BUILD A NEW POLISH NATION. BUT THIS WAS POSTPONED BECAUSE POLISH REACTION FEARED NOTHING MORE THAN THE EXTENSION OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP TO JEWS, AND THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY BETWEEN POLES AND JEWS.

NEVERTHELESS, DURING THESE YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN OPPRESSOR FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN JEW AND POLE INCREASED, BUT COULD NOT GO FAR SINCE THE BASIC ECONOMIC COMPETITION, WHICH WAS THE REAL SOURCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM, -- THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO GROUPS OF SMALL MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS -- STILL EXISTED.

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(B)(C) THE POLES FOUGHT WITH GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AGAINST RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AFTER THE WAR, POLAND WAS DECLARED AN INDEPENDENT KINGDOM, BUT THE GERMANS OCCUPIED THE COUNTRY. POLAND JOINED THE WEST IN TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS; BUT WHEN PILSUDSKI DIED THE POLISH PARLIAMENT WAS REDUCED TO BE THE TOOL OF THE MILITARY AND POLAND SWUNG TOWARD FASCISM AND AWAY FROM THE ALLIES.

THE LAND QUESTION WAS NOT FACED. MORE THAN HALF THE LAND WAS OWNED BY THE NOVILITY AND THE PEASANTRY, 80% OF THE POPULATION, WAS CROWDED ON HOLDINGS TOO SMALL TO MAKE A LIVING. POLAND LOST THE PRE-WAR RUSSIAN MARKETS AND COULD NOT RECOVER FROM THE WORLD CRISIS OF 1929. THE STANDARD OF LIVING BECAME THE LOWEST IN EUROPE.

EVEN THIS INCREASED ANTI-SEMITISM. POLES DEMANDED THE EXPULSION OF JEWS FROM POLAND AND THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT INDEMNITY.

HITLER DECLARED WAR ON POLAND IN SEPTEMBER, 1939. HE OCCUPIED FRANCE A YEAR LATER. AND IN JUNE, 1949, HE INVADED RUSSIA. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, AFTER ITS LEADER FOUND THAT THEY COULD GAIN NO TREATY WITH THE WEST, HAD SIGNED A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH GERMANY IN AUGUST, 1939. EVERY NATION CONNECTED WITH THIS FANTASTIC SET OF OCCURRENCES WAS IN CONTRADICTORY PARADOX. FRANCE WAVERED BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND COMPLETE SURRENDER. GREAT BRITAIN HESITATED BETWEEN RECOGNIZING THE SOVIET UNION, MAKING PEACE WITH GERMANY, AND GOING TO WAR FOR POLAND. THE SOVIET UNION WAS STALLED BETWEEN HOLDING ITS TERRITORY INTACT OR YIELDING ENOUGH TO EITHER GERMANY OR THE WEST TO BRING THAT PEACE NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL. PARTICULARLY, POLAND WAS ABSOLUTELY AT WAR WITH ITS OWN SOUL. IT WANTED TO WREST THE UKRAINE FROM THE SOVIET UNION; IT WANTED TO REPEL GERMANY; IT WANTED TO KEEP CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. AND OF ALL THESE ELEMENTS THE THREE MILLION JEWS IN

35-2-298

POLAND WERE IN THE MOST DISASTROUS PREDICAMENT, HESITATING BETWEEN THE DEMANDS OF POLAND, OF GERMANY, OF THE SOVIET UNION, OF BRITAIN; AND ABOVE ALL, TRYING TO BE TRUE TO THEIR OWN SELVES, THEIR TRADITION OF CULTURE, AND THEIR ANCIENT RELIGION.

THE SOVIET UNION AND GERMANY ARRIVED AT A NON-AGGRESSION PACT. THEN SUDDENLY GERMANY INVADED POLAND, AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN. INTO POLAND FROM THE EAST CAME THE SOVIET TROOPS. WITHOUT WARNING, GERMANY TURNED AND ATTACKED THE SOVIETS, AND ALL OF POLAND WAS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION. DURING THESE WAR YEARS POLAND PASSED THROUGH HELL. THE GERMANS METHODICALLY EXTERMINATED A LARGE PART OF THE POPULATION BY MASSACRES AND STARVATION AND TRIED TO REDUCE THE REST TO SLAVERY. THREE MILLION JEWS, REPRESENTING THE NATION THAT HAD BEEN IN POLAND FOR TEN CENTURIES, WERE NEARLY ALL KILLED, LEAVING LESS THAN 100,000.

THE HITLER INVASION HAD ALMOST WIPED OUT THE JEWS OF POLAND. WHAT SHOULD THE REST DO? THE HITLER MURDERS BEGAN IN MARCH, 1942 AND ENDED A YEAR LATER. AT FIRST THE ADVICE WAS SUBMISSION, AND THEN AT LAST THE REMNANT TURNED AND FOUGHT

THE TERRIBLE FIGHT WHICH WE COMMEMORATE TODAY. FIVE MONTHS THEY FOUGHT AND DIED. AND OUT OF THEIR DEATH AROSE A NEW POLAND, A POLAND OF POLES AND JEWS, UNITED IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT TO BUILD A NEW CIVILIZATION.

IT WAS THIS BACKGROUND OF COMPLICATED HISTORY AGAINST WHICH THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF POLAND HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART AND IN WHICH THE GREAT TRAGEDY WHICH TODAY WE CELEBRATE, WAS PLAYED.

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(1)

Poland

Modern

Probably no nation has had a more tragic history than Poland. ~~It began~~ In the early 9th century ~~when~~ certain slavic tribes occupied the country and ~~gained the upper hand.~~ They fought the nations round about. ~~The kingdom broke~~ up but was restored in the early 14th century. ~~Then came their strife with the Teutonic knights, and~~ Finally a duke of Lithuania united the country, and during the 14th, 15th and 16th century we have what has been called "the golden age of Poland". There were, during that time incessant wars with Hungary, Russia, the Tartars and the Turks, but the state grew to an empire which reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Poland became the champion of Christianity against Mohamedanism. Arts and sciences flourished, and culminated with Copernicus. But also, there were seeds of decay, and the petty nobles began that rule of the country which lasted down until the 20th century. They dominated the legislature, and elected the kings, while the peasants were reduced to serfdom which was little better than slavery. The Jesuits made Catholicism dominant in the 17th dentury, and there were efforts of Poland to conquer Russia. ~~Discontent~~ and rebellion ensued. Sweden conquered the conntry and Russia attacked it. ~~John the third,~~ John Sobieski, saved ~~the~~ Vienna and temporarily restored the greatness of Poland. But with his death Poland ceased to be an independent country. Three powerful neighbors, Russia, Prussia and Austria successively partitioned the country, during the latter part of the 18th century ~~in 1772, 1793 and 1796,~~ so that Poland disappeared from the European map.

Within the country, ~~however,~~ gradually there arose a new spirit of rebellion led by Kosciusko, ~~in 1794.~~ Napoleon restored Poland in part, but after ~~again~~ his defeat ~~was fatal and~~ the Congress of Vienna set up a Polish kingdom only nominally

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independent under the Russian tzar. Insurrection in Russian-Poland took place in 1830. But with its overthrow thousands of Poles emigrated abroad, especially to Paris, which became a center of Polish revolutionary activities. New Polish rebellions came in 1848 and in 1863 the Russians began a program of Russification, followed by a similar program in Prussian-Poland as a part of Bismarck's policy. Only in Galicia did the Poles enjoy any autonomy.

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The first World War ~~gave Poland an opportunity for independence.~~ led by Pilsudski the Poles fought against Russia alongside Germany and Austria against the Allies. In 1916 Poland was declared an independent kingdom, but as Germany occupied the country and controlled the government, Pilsudski resigned and was imprisoned. The peace at Versailles made Poland independent and gave it access to the Baltic Sea. It was proposed to restore to Russia parts of ~~the~~ eastern regions ~~P.....~~ inhabited by Russians, but Poland insisted on its 1772 borders and ~~war with Russia came in 1920.~~ joined the West in attack on the Soviet Union

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Reforms were undertaken and there was some industrialization but the condition of the peasantry was wretched under the landholders, and in 1926 Pilsudski again became virtual dictator. After his death Parliament was again reduced to a mere tool of the colonels, and Poland swung toward ~~the axis~~ Fascist powers and away from the allies.

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Hitler in 1939 demanded the return of Danzig, and Germany and Russia arrived at a non-aggression pact. Germany then invaded Poland and precipitated the 2nd World War. Soviet troops invaded Poland from the East, and Poland was partitioned between Germany and the Soviet Union. When Germany attacked Russia all of Poland passed under German occupation. During the war years Poland passed through hell. The Germans methodically exterminated a large part of the population by massacres and starvation, and tried to reduce the

rest to servitude. The three million Jews who had been migrating from central Europe since the 2th century were nearly all exterminated except less than 100,000. These Jews, mostly small trades people, segregated and rigidly orthodox, spoke Yiddish rather than Polish. The Poles organized an underground resistance movement, and a Polish government-in-exile was established first in France, then in London. Polish prisoners-of-war in Russia formed a corps under General Anders.

When the Russian troops entered Poland a provisional government was set up at Lublin. A Polish uprising in 1944 at Warsaw failed. Early in 1945 the German troops were expelled from Poland. At the Yalta conference the government-in-exile was merged with the new government by having its head Mikolakczyk joined the Lublin government. This government was recognized by England and the United States. At the Potsdam conference sections of Prussia, East of the Oder and Neisse Rivers, including Danzig and part of east Russia, were placed under Polish administration. Then the German population was transported from these territories and three million Poles were in part repatriated. Large estates were broken up and industries nationalized in part.

Underground forces operated and the government/block received a large majority. Mikolakczyk fled abroad. Communists and left-wing Socialist took power and Poland became a People's Democracy on the Soviet model. The Poles then started with astounding energy to rebuild their devastated country.

The history of the Jewish people in Poland has been extraordinary, and most of you probably know it much better than I. Certainly you know the story told many times of the Jewish innkeeper who during the insurrection of 1863 risked his life to save that of a Polish nobleman, whom he hid in a

cellar. As he brought down some food to the cellar the Jew failed to take off his hat, and the Polish aristocrat flew into a rage, stamped his feet and shouted, "Take off your hat, you dirty Jew!"

During the middle ages there were fewer anti-Semitic outbreaks in Poland than in central Europe, due to the fact that the country's development was retarded. The early Jewish immigrants came from the West, as money-lenders and traders. They played an important role in the development of the backward country, since the landed nobility required money to develop agriculture on their large estates.

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In the 13th and 14th centuries the rise of towns brought need for more capital which was supplied by Jews and Jews were encouraged to come in and were granted privileges, protection, and practically unlimited rights of trade.

As the Catholic Church spread its influence in Poland anti-Semitism began to arise, because Christianity here had entered late and there were numbers of heretical sects. In the 13th century the Catholic Church asked for segregation of Jews with ghettos in towns, less the Christians become "infected with the superstitions of the Jews." By the close of the 12th century schoolboys were attacking Jews on the streets. But at the same time Jews were minting the coins circulating in Poland with Hebrew inscriptions.

When the development of towns came in the 14th century a Polish merchant class began to struggle against Jewish competitors, and restrictions on money lenders turned the Jews to commercial pursuits, and this antagonism between Polish and Jewish traders lasted up until this century and was a main source of anti-Semitism. This anti-Semtism in the 14th and 15th century had clearly an economic character. The pogroms began in the 14th century and increased late in the 15th in the more retarded regions. In 1463 Polish crusaders,

marching against the Turks plundered not only Jews but Protestant heretics.

Jews now began to be accused of ritual murders against Christian children, and on the other hand, in many of the larger towns the rights of Jewish town merchants were limited, and in Krakow they were almost excluded from commerce.

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During the 16th and 17th centuries Poland was consolidated under the dominance of the nobility but were so backward economically that the bourgeoisie were very weak and not able to give support to the king against the nobility. The nobility used its political power to suppress the bourgeoisie and the cities and towns for the most part became property of the nobility or subject to their officials. Polish Jewry, therefore, changed. Money-lending disappeared and was replaced by commerce. Jews were excluded from large cities except during fairs and on market days.

Thereupon, by the 18th century the Jews began to turn to handicraft, and half of all Jewish city dwellers became craftsmen. Many of these were protected by noblemen until a third of the Jewish population settled in villages owned exclusively by nobility. There they acted as innkeepers stewards of mills and breweries, managers of dairy farms. A considerable number managed to farm entire villages from the landholders, thus getting the power to rule over the peasants. Instead of being subjected to the king the majority of the Jews now living in small towns and villages became, like the peasants, subjects of the noblemen. Anti-Semitism, therefore, began to appear among the bourgeoisie and centered around the matter of economic competition. The acitivity of Jews as tailors, furriers, goldsmiths, aroused the indignation of non-Jewish artisans. They were excluded from the craft gilds, and their work was disparaged.

The Jewish artisans excluded from the guilds started production of standard articles and became promoters of the capitalistic commercialization

process. They had a monopoly controlof the raw materials needed by the artisans such as skins and furs. In all the anti-Jewish riots of the 17th century the most active groups were recruited from the artisans. ~~Jewish physicians also were attacked as "quacks".~~

The Jews were economically indispensable to the noblemen and at this time the peasants were too ignorant and illiterate to show much distinct anti-Semitism. In the large cities where the Jews were forbidden to live they often were allowed to live in the palaces of the magnates or the land stores and shops, paying high rent sums for and protection.

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The grand Polish lards were attacked as protectors of the Jews to the detriment of the Poles. Nevertheless, later the Polish nobility began to despise the Jews from they used even more than the lower Christian classes. With the help of the Jesuits Poland saw a wave of religious fanaticism which reached a high point in the 18th century. It was directed first against Protestants and members of the Greek orthodox church, but was more severe in the case of the Jews. Anti-Jewish riots, especially on the occasion of religious festivals and processions, became more frequent. Numerous ritual murder trials took place. Schoolboys and sextons were bribed to keep Jews from being assaulted while passing through the streets. The masses of the Jews in the 17th century were in dire poverty, which was another excuse for marking them.

Toward the end of the 18th century the Jewish question was a leading social and political problem, just when the country was dealing with the problems which arose after the first partition. The peasants, who formed 80% of the population were in abject poverty, and the question of political rights in the towns had to be discussed. The miserable condition of the

peasants brought habitual drunkenness and Jewish innkeepers were blamed for this situation. Of the 900,000 Jews in Poland at the end of the18th century 2/3 of them were in the cities and towns. There, their competition with the bourgeoisie increased anti-Semitism. They wanted the Jews settled as peasants on private and state lands, or laborers on public works. Some asked for special Jewish towns.

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~~This accusation was strengthened because the textile industry, which was the main industry of the country, was largely carried on in factories in the large cities and they were owned by Jews.~~

It has been said there never was a 19th century in Poland. That is, the great industrial and technical development of western Europe did not appear in Poland. The ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ serfs were emancipated as early as 1807, but remained burdened with feudal obligations, and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that ~~he was~~ they were enfranchised and the small land-holdings which he had.given.him.as.property. Their social condition, however, was not much improved. There was no land reform, and the unparalleled poverty of the peasants who constituted more than 3/4 of the population, was the main hindrance to normal development of capital in Poland. The low purchasing power of the population did not encourage the growth of industry and trade. As Karl Marx said, the attitude of the nobility toward the Jews in Poland was unparalleled in any other country.

The bourgeoisie of Poland in the second half of the 19th century was ~~filled with~~ composed of impoverished noblemen who could not readjust themselves after the liberation of the serfs. The Polish noblemen objected to Jews serving in the army and holding public office. Even the most progressive never demanded political rights for the Jews. The Poles still regarded

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commerce with distrust and trade was identified with swindling and deceit. Since 2/3 of all the people engaged in these vocations were Jews, and Petty trade was dominated by them, and they came to be associated in the minds of ~~many~~ of the people with the idea of the swindler. The new Polish bourgeoisie instead of embracing political liberalism as in aother countries, joined with the reactionary landlords and clergy. Culturally Jews and Poles became separate in religion, in dress, and in language. They were regarded as strangers in the land. Poland now had the largest Jewish population in Europe and they were concentrated in compact areas. Before the 2nd World War the ~~th~~ 3¼ million Jews in Poland constituted about 10% of the population and 1/3 of the urban population. This was favorable to a flourishing Jewish national life and a peculiar exclusivness. Religious fanaticism grew and paralleled the fanaticism of the Polish Catholics. ~~Some of~~ The progressive elements in Polish society, large merchants and industrialists, realized that the economic development of the country was incompatible with restrictions on Jews, such as ghettos, exclusion from craft and merchant guilds, restrictions on acquiring real estate, and special taxes.

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During the first half of the 19th century also there had come a new group of Jewish merchants, bankers and industrialists and professional men who had absorbed Polish culture and regarded themselves as Poles. The reactionary Poles, however, feared nothing more than the extension of rights of citizenship to these Jews, and they violently attacked the ~~Jewish autocracy~~. The insurrection of January 1863 stopped anti-Semitic agitation for several years, ~~The Jewish~~ bourgeoisie and intellectuals ~~displayed patriotism in supporting the uprising~~ and brought admiration from the most malignant anti-Semites. The idealism of Jewish patriotism in Poland was especially noticeable against Russia, since the Jewish intellectuals, ~~despite orthodoxy~~, supported the insurgents. This

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because ~~special~~ restrictions on Jews had been abolished just on the eve of the outbreak. ~~During~~ During these years of armed struggle against the Russian oppressor there was increased friendship and brotherhood between the two nations living on one soil. Yet the main source of anti-Semitism, the competition of the petty bourgeois, had not disappeared. It reappeared to spread anti-Jewish prejudice.

In the last two decades of the 19th century the economic development of Poland was accelerated. The small merchants and artisans were restricted by big industry. The development of artisans and farmers became dependent on the banks, and Jewish capitalism was made the scapegoat. Indeed, capitalism was called a "Jewish invention". The accusation was strengthened because the textile industry, which was the main industry of the country, was largely carried on in factories in the large cities and they were owned by Jews. At the same time, the land hunger of the poor peasantry increased so as to expand the socialist movement to the villages. The fear of socialism thus pressed the landlords into the movement which made anti-Semitism the chief plank in its platform. These elements were fused into the National Democratic Party, and the clergymen joined them.

The failure of the Russian Revolution of 1905 ended prospects of Polish liberation and the National Democratic Party now turned on the internal enemy, the Jew. The violent anti-Jewish agitation reached its peak in 1912, with a boycott against Jews. "Do not buy from the Jews" became from now on a slogan. All sorts of accusations were brought against the Jews. Greed, Self-Conceit, Hatred of Gentiles, Jewish will to dominate the world. They could not be represented, however, as entirely a rich bourgeoisie, since the mass of the Jewish population was in dire poverty.

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Bul This poverty was pictured as a danger to the Poles. Zionism became widely prevalent now among Polish Jews. But the charge was made that the Jews were really trying to establish a Jewish state in Poland with Poles under their domination. The whole blame for the downfall of Poland was placed on the Jews.

In the independent Poland established after the First World War the agrarian question was not met. More than half the land was owned by the nobility and the peasantry, amounting to 73% lived on holdings too small to make a living. Moreover, Poland lost the pre-war Russian markets and could not recover from the world crisis of 1929. The standard of living became the lowest in Europe. This increased the anti-Semtitic movement. When Pilsudski died in 1935, new extreme fascist organizations came into being. They wanted the Jews expelled from Poland entirely and their property confiscated without indemnity. This propaganda did not find strong support among the masses of the population. The peasant riots of 1937 in Galicia were directed against the semi-fascist government and Jews were not assaulted. The struggle of Poles and Jews against the Nazis in the 2nd World War was indication of a new era.

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35-2-292

POLAND

Ten years ago this month 10,000 Jews lay dead in Warsaw, and there disappeared in Warsaw the greatest modern center of Jewish culture. This tragedy others can discuss better than I. I have thought that perhaps I could do best by calling your attention to the history of the nation which was the center of this great drama, that is, Poland. Few nations of modern times have had a more tragic history. Nearly a thousand years ago Slavic tribes set up this state which flourished and fell but was restored. A duke of Lithuania first united the country, and during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries it reached its Golden Age. Poland expanded to an empire which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It became the champion of Europe against expanding Mohammedanism. The arts and sciences flourished and culminated in the great astronomer Copernicus who first saw the world revolving around the Sun.

At the same time there began to appear the seeds of the decay which lasted until the 20th century. That was the rule of a selfish, petty nobility who dominated the legislature, elected the kings, monopolized the land and reduced the peasants to serfdom.

Late in the 17th century, Poland spurted to leadership in Europe. As the old chronicle says, "there was a man called of God and his name was John." It was this John Sobiesky who saved Vienna from the Turks and temporarily saved Europe. That was but a spurt before death for the 18th century. When Poland ceased to be an independent country and was three times divided among its powerful neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

In the 19th century Kosciusko rebelled against Russia and Prussia and Napoleon tried to restore Poland. But the Congress of Vienna set up a

Polish kingdom dependant on Russia. Insurrection shook the nation in 1830 and drove thousands of Polish leaders abroad, especially to Paris which became a center of Polish revolutionary and cultural activities.

Meantime there was, as you well know, a foreign element that had long played its part in Poland, and that was the Jews. After the fall of Rome this homeless people appeared in Europe and from the 9th until the 12th century enjoyed a golden age of cultural development. Then with the Crusades they staggered under oppression and began a new wandering, and a frantic effort to find at once occupation, cultural toleration, and social integration. In England, Spain, France, ~~Engkand~~ and Holland the result is well known. In Germany a new basis of accommodation between Jews and Christians was reached in the 18th century. But before that German Jews began to migrate to Poland ~~where a new and peculiar problem evolved.~~ Poland was a backward country, with an aristocracy owning large stretches of land and needing capital for its development. They welcomed the incoming Jews as bankers, and traders, and granted them privileges, protection and almost unlimited rights of trade. There were, during the middle ages fewer anti-Semitic outbreaks or friction between Jews and Christians than in central Europe.

35-2-293

But when the Catholic church began to spread its influence in Poland, and tried not only to attack Jewish religion but to overcome protestant heresy and the spread of the Greek Orthodox church, persecution of Jews began. But it was not simply religious persecution. It was at bottom the struggle of competing persons and groups to earn their bread and butter. And it was made more insoluble because these groups differed in religion, in inherited culture, in personal appearance and in race. Because of these

From the 14th to the 18th century competition between ~~the~~ Poles and Jews for the same occupations drove the Jews out of banking into trading, concentrating them in the towns which the landholding nobility came to dominate; then transforming shopkeepers into artisans where they competed with the craft guilds which excluded them; and finally developed into fierce competition of the capitalist exploiters and the trade unions. Consequently with the 18th century,

characteristics, groups could be identified, segregated and blame and fears fastened upon them.

In the 14th century competition arose between Jewish and Polish merchants. Restrictions on money-lending drove the Jews more largely into commerce. As the power of the landholders increased the city shopkeepers + artisans became correspondingly weak and could not, as in France and England, protect the king against the nobility. The nobility thereupon oppressed the merchants and took over not only the countryside but the cities and the towns. The Jews therefore, pushed out of trade, began to turn to handicrafts, and to seek where alone under the protection of the nobility who owned the towns they could make a living. They became innkeepers, stewards, and farm managers, and together with the peasants, were almost entirely under the domination of the landholding noblemen.

In the towns, therefore, competition between Jews and Poles arose not only among the shopkeepers, but among the artisans. The Polish artisans excluded the Jews from the craft gilds; the shopkeepers disparaged Jewish work; so that again in order to earn a living the Jews began to shift in their occupations and started in Poland that mass production of standard articles which indicated the beginning of capitalistic commercialism. They took control of the raw materials which the artisans needed, and thereupon riots took place which were in essence not anti-Jewish but the protest of the worker against the owner.

anti-Semitism reached its high point in Poland. All of the results of economic competition in trade, in skills, in storekeeping, was concentrated upon the Jews and the emphasis particularly laid upon religion. Ritual murders were charged. Schoolboys and sextons

because that was best understood

had to be bribed to protect Jews on the streets. Ghettos expanded, and the mass of the Jewish people were forced into dire poverty. By the end of the 18th century the so-called Jewish question was the leading social and political problem in Poland. And this took place just at the time when the nation needed all its strength to deal with those problems which arose after partition.

The peasants, forming 80% of the population, were in abject poverty, and their plight, particularly their habitual drunkenness, was blamed on Jewish innkeepers. There were a million Jews in Poland at the end of the 18th century, and 2/3 of them lived in cities and towns, ~~where~~ with competition in every kind of work which they were practically compelled to do, was increased. Extraordinary demands were made. -They should be segregated; they should be settled on state lands; they should be made public workers on state projects; there should be special Jewish towns; they must not be allowed to rise to occupations or callings which would bring them respect; they could not serve in the army or hold public office; and not even the most progressive Pole dared demand political rights for the Jews.

It was this concerted national attack that welded the Jewish people into a strong social and religious culture, whose influence can be felt in the world even today. There ensued two peculiar developments: First it may rightly be said there was no 19th century in Poland, that is, there was none of that development of technology and organization of industry which characterized the 19th century in England, France and Germany. There was no land reform. Secondly, there was a new movement toward integration and understanding between Jews and Poles because since a new generation ~~of Jewish bankers, merchants and professional men~~ had absorbed and promulgated

a mutual culture and regarded themselves and were regarded by many, as Poles. With wise leadership there might have come such a union of these elements as to build a new Polish nation. But this was postponed because Polish reaction ~~among the Poles~~ feared nothing more than the extension of rights of citizenship to Jews and the recognition of social equality ~~to this Jewish group~~. Nevertheless the insurrection of 1863 against Russia halted reactionary anti-Semitism because the Jewish intellectuals gave this rebellion its support and did this even in the face of determined bribery and yielding in extreme attitudes by some of the Poles.

35-2-297

During these years of armed struggle against the Russian oppressor, ~~nevertheless,~~ friendship and brotherhood between Jew and Pole increased, but could not go far since the basic economic competition, which was the real source of anti-Semitism, - the struggle between two groups of small merchants and ~~two groups of~~ artisans, still existed.

In the last two decades of the 19th century, the economic development of Poland quickened. Big industry began to come in and to press the small merchants and artisans. The development of industry and agriculture became dependent on banks and Jewish owners of banks thus came under new attack. Indeed, this capitalism was called a Jewish invention. And the accusations strengthened because the new textile industry was largely carried on in large cities and owned by Jews. On the other hand, the land hunger of the peasants increased and Socialism appeared in the villages. This fear of Socialism pressed the landlords into a movement which made anti-Semitism the chief plank in its platform, (in order to divert?) and these elements were fused into the new National Democratic Party, helped on by the clergy.

The failure of the Russian Revolution early in the 20th century ended prospects of Polish liberation from Russia, and the National Democratic party turned upon the internal enemy, the Jews. Violent anti-Jewish agitation reached its peak in 1912. "Do not buy from the Jews" became a slogan, and all kinds of accusations were made against them -- Greed; hatred of Gentiles; the Jewish will to dominate the world. Even their poverty was pictured as a danger to the Poles, and in recoil Zionism spread among Polish Jews and was accused of being a plot to establish a Jewish state in Poland with Poles under its domination.

The Poles fought against Russia and the allies with Germany and Austria in the first World War. After the war, Poland was declared an independent kingdom, but the Germans occupied the country. ~~Pilsudski was imprisoned.~~ Poland joined the west in trying to overthrow the Soviets, ~~1926~~ Pilsudski ~~again became dictator~~, but when he died the Polish Parliament was reduced to be the tool of the military and Poland swung toward fascism and away from the allies.

The land question was not faced. More than half the land was owned by the nobility and the peasantry (60% of the population) was crowded on holdings too small to make a living. Poland lost the pre-war Russian markets and could not recover from the world crisis of 1929. The standard of living became the lowest in Europe. Even this increased anti-Semitism. ~~The death of Pilsudski in 1935 brought fascism into full control.~~ The Poles demanded the expulsion of Jews from Poland and the confiscation of their property without indemnity.

Hitler declared war on Poland in September, 1939. He occupied France a year later. And in June, 1949, he invaded Russia. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, after its leader found that they could gain no

treaty with the west, had signed a non-aggression pact with Germany in August, 1939. Every nation connected with this fantastic set of occurrences was in contradictory paradox. France wavered between resistance and complete surrender. Great Britain hesitated between recognizing the Soviet Union, making peace with Germany, and going to war for Poland. The Soviet Union was stalled between holding its territory intact or yielding enough to either Germany or the West to bring that peace necessary for survival. Particularly, Poland was absolutely at war with its own soul. It wanted to wrest the Ukraine from the Soviet Union; it wanted to repel Germany; it wanted to keep close alliance with Great Britain and France. And of all of these elements the three million Jews in Poland were in the most disastrous predicament, -- hesitating between the demands of Poland, of Germany, of the Soviet Union, of Britain; and above all, trying to be true to their own selves, their tradition of culture, and their ancient religion.

35-2-300

~~In 1939 Hitler turned on Poland.~~ The Soviet Union and Germany arrived at a non-aggression pact. Then suddenly Germany invaded Poland, and the Second World War began. Into Poland from the East came the Soviet troops. ~~Then~~ Without warning, Germany turned and attacked the Soviets, and all of Poland was under German occupation. During these war years Poland passed through hell. The Germans methodically exterminated a large part of the population by massacres and starvation and tried to reduce the rest to slavery. Three million Jews, representing the nation that had been in Poland for ten centuries, were nearly all killed, leaving less than

100,000.

The Hitler invasion had almost wiped out the Jews of Poland. What should the rest do? The Hitler murders began in March, 1942 and ended a year later. At first the advice was submission, and then at last the remnant turned and fought the terrible fight which we commemorate today. Five months they fought and died. And out of their death arose a new Poland, a Poland of Poles and Jews, united in a tremendous effort to build a new civilization.

35-2-301

Early in 1945 the German troops were expelled from Poland, and at the Yalta conference old Poland was merged with the new Poland by having the head of the Polish exiles join to the Lublin government. This was the government that was recognized by England and the United States.

But the old Poland tried its old tactics of control by landlords and aristocrats until men like Anders and Mikolajczyk were expelled. Communists and left-wing Socialists took power. Large estates were broken up and industries partially nationalized. Poland became a People's Democracy on the Soviet model, and the Poles started with astounding energy to rebuild their devastated country and to work with their Jewish compatriots as citizens of a common country.

It was this background of complicated history against which the Jewish people of Poland have played their part and in which the great tragedy which today we celebrate, was played out.

June 22, 1953

TO THE THIRD WORLD STUDENT CONGRESS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

Yesterday I attended the funeral and burial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They were executed by the United States government on the charge of conspiring to furnish secret information concerning atomic weapons to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I do not for a moment believe that they were guilty of this charge, or indeed, guilty of any charge except that of being Communists, and even this was never proven.

Their death, after long court procedure is to all thoughtful Americans a terrible injustice and cause for widespread loss of hope in our present government.

At the same time, the death of this young couple, parents of children, was in a sense a magnificent victory. In the face of a virtual promise from the President of the United States that they need not die if they would reveal the names of their co-conspirators and details of their actions. For three years this temptation has been dangled before them and up until their last breath officials waited and telephone lines were cleared for them to take advantage of it.

Despite this they walked to their death in silence and dignified courage, bearing testimony to the great words of the poet:

"'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the Truth he ought to die."

To you, young men and women poised on the threshold of the last half of the century it may at first seem useless and untrue to tell you to look upon the death of the Rosenbergs as a symbol of hope and encouragement

61-11-36

and yet, looking back over the history of the world one easily can see that this is the truth and inner meaning of this outrage. Again and again powers in their might, governments in their rage, have struck tremendous blows against new ideas and against the integrity of human souls. Again and again it has seemed impossible that before such blows men could recover or ideas survive. And yet that is just what has occurred, and because of that, in the face of disaster we still have civilisation and we still see it growing and expanding and pushing forward toward ultimate triumph.

This, however, can only occur if people and particularly young people, believe this, and instead of despair take new courage from disaster and gird themselves to march forward.

I trust that this will be the message of your Congress.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York

243 w 125
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Fernwith Bros Stock

June 1953

W.E.B. DU BOIS

WHAT SMALL THINGS/DETERMINE THE COURSE OF HUMAN LIVES!// MINE, FOR INSTANCE,/ HAS BEEN CONDITIONED/BY THE COLOR OF MY SKIN.// THIS FACT,/ TRIVIAL OF ITSELF,/ SEEMED OF COSMIC IMPORTANCE/IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD/IN 1868,/ THE YEAR IN WHICH I WAS BORN. AT THAT TIME/IN RELIGION, COLOR OFTEN MEANT/THE CURSE OF GOD;//IN SCIENCE/IT MEANT INFERIORITY;/ IN SOCIAL RELATIONS/IT MEANT POVERTY.// MY COLOR THEREFORE/BEGAN AT AN EARLY AGE/TO CONSUME MY THOUGHT AND ACTION.// FIFTY YEARS AGO I WROTE:/ "THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE."

36-11-1

MY FAMILY CAME OF TWO STRAINS:/ THE BLACK BURGHARDTS/WERE BROUGHT TO THE VALLEY OF THE HUDSON/ 250 YEARS AGO/AS SLAVES.// BY 1750 THEY HAD BECOME/FREE PEASANT FARMERS AND LABORERS.// THEY WERE STURDY AND ROUGH,/ WITH LARGE FAMILIES/AND LUST FOR LIFE.// MARY (of the 4th generation) BURGHARDT/WAS OTHELLO'S YOUNGEST CHILD/OF A BROOD OF SEVEN.// THE DU BOIS FAMILY/WERE FRENCH HUGUENOTS/WHO CAME TO ~~THE VALLEY OF THE HUDSON~~ New York.// SOME EMIGRATED

TO THE BAHAMAS/AS LOYALISTS/DURING THE American REVOLUTION.// THERE MY MULATTO GRANDFATHER,/ ALEXANDER,/WAS BORN.// HIS SON ALFRED/MARRIED MARY BURGHARDT/AND I WAS THEIR ONLY CHILD.

I REMEMBER WELL/WHEN AS A CHILD/I FIRST REALIZED/THAT I WAS A "PROBLEM".// I WAS A LITTLE BOY/THERE IN NEW ENGLAND,/ WHERE THE DARK HOUSATONIC/WINDS BETWEEN THE HOOSAC AND TAGHKANIC HILLS/TO THE SEA.// IN A SMALL WOODEN SCHOOLHOUSE,/ SOMEONE INDUCED US/TO BUY VISITING CARDS,/ GORGEOUSLY PRINTED,//AND EXCHANGE WITH EACH OTHER.// THE EXCHANGE WAS MERRY/UNTIL UNEXPECTEDLY/ ONE GIRL,/ NEWLY COME TO US,/ REFUSED MY CARD --/ REFUSED IT PEREMPTORILY,/WITH A GLANCE.// IT DAWNED ON ME/ SUDDENLY/THAT I WAS DIFFERENT/FROM THESE OTHER CHILDREN/FOR REASONS DEEPER/THAN MY COLOR.// I WAS SHUT OUT FROM THEIR WORLD/BY A VAST VEIL.

36-11-2

THEY THAT WALKED IN DARKNESS/SANG SONGS IN THE OLDEN DAYS/ -- SORROW SONGS,/ FOR THEY WERE SICK AT HEART.// SINCE CHILDHOOD/THESE SONGS/HAVE STIRRED ME STRANGELY/ THEY CAME TO ME UNKNOWN/AND YET AT ONCE I KNEW THEM/AS OF ME AND MINE.// WHEN LATER I CAME TO NASHVILLE/I SAW THAT TEMPLE/BUILDED OF THIS GREAT MUSIC/AND TOWERING OVER

THE PALE CITY.// TO ME AT SEVENTEEN/ JUBILEE HALL/ SEEMED MADE OF THESE SONGS/ THEMSELVES./ ITS BRICKS WERE RED WITH BLOOD/ ITS WINDOWS DARK/ WITH THE DUST OF TOIL.// OUT OF THEM EACH MORNING/ ROSE FOR ME/ BURSTS OF MELODY/ FULL OF THE VOICES OF THE PAST/ FULL OF THE ~~TONES~~ SOULS/ OF MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS./

36-11-3

LITTLE OF BEAUTY/ HAS AMERICA GIVEN THE WORLD/ SAVE THE RUDE GRANDEUR/ GOD HIMSELF/ STAMPED ON HER FACE.// IN THIS NEW WORLD/ THE HUMAN SOUL HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF/ IN VIGOR AND INGENUITY/ NOT IN BEAUTY./ BUT BY FATEFUL CHANCE/ THE NEGRO FOLKSONG,/ THE RHYTHMIC SONG OF THE SLAVE/ STANDS TODAY/ NOT SIMPLY AS THE ONLY AMERICAN MUSIC,/ BUT AS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL EXPRESSION/ OF MODERN ART/ BORN THIS SIDE OF THE SEAS.

I NOT ONLY/ WANTED TO GO TO COLLEGE,/ BEING ONE OF THE FEW/ IN MY CLASS WHO DID,/ BUT I CHOSE HARVARD,// THIS PROVED (at the time) IMPOSSIBLE./ IT TOOK MORE MONEY/ TO GO TO HARVARD/ THAN I HAD OR COULD GET./ HOWEVER FOUR CHURCHES/ IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD/ RAISED A SCHOLARSHIP FOR ME/ TO ENTER FISK UNIVERSITY/ IN TENNESSEE.// MY FAMILY WERE NOT EAGER/ FOR ME TO GO SOUTH,/ BUT I WENT GLADLY. IT WAS MY FIRST GREAT ADVENTURE.

I WAS VERY HAPPY/ DURING THE THREE YEARS/ I SPENT AT FISK.// I WAS THRILLED TO BE/ FOR THE FIRST TIME/ AMONG SO MANY PERSONS/ OF MY OWN COLOR// OR RATHER OF SUCH VARIED/ AND EXTRAORDINARY COLORS,/ WHICH I HAD NEVER GLIMPSED BEFORE!// THEY WERE BOUND TO ME/ BY EXCITING AND ETERNAL TIES.// I MET UPSTANDING AND RESOURCEFUL/ YOUNG COLORED MEN,/ AND THE MOST BEAUTIFUL GIRLS/ I HAD EVER SEEN.// I HAD INSPIRING TEACHERS/ AND I LEARNED ABOUT THE WORLD.// FINALLY, AFTER PERSISTENT CORRESPONDENCE,/ I SECURED A SCHOLARSHIP TO HARVARD/ AND ENTERED (there) ON GRADUATION FROM FISK.

36-11-4

AS A SORT OF OBLIGATO/ FOLLOWING MY MAIN LIFE WORK/ WENT MY WRITING.// I BECAME AUTHOR OF 15 BOUND VOLUMES,/ 18 PAMPHLET STUDIES,/ 20 VOLUMES OF THE CRISIS MAGAZINE,// MANY ARTICLES/ IN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS,/ AND A MASS OF LECTURES AND UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS./

THIS WRITING HIGH-LIGHTED MY CAREER./ MY FIRST IDEA/ WAS THAT WHAT WE CALL THE NEGRO PROBLEM/ WAS MAINLY A MATTER OF IGNORANCE.// THAT IF WE KNEW THE FACTS/ CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS/ AND CONDITIONS,/ WE COULD EASILY/ COME TO CONCLUSIONS/ CONCERNING SOLUTIONS.

36-11-5

I BEGAN/THIS SEARCH FOR FACTS/ WITH MY STUDY/OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA,/ WHICH WAS MY DOCTOR'S THESIS/ AND WAS PUBLISHED IN 1896/AS THE FIRST VOLUME/OF THE HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES.// NEXT I UNDERTOOK/AN INTENSIVE STUDY OF THE NEGROES OF PHILADELPHIA.// I VISITED 5000 COLORED FAMILIES/IN THEIR HOMES/AND WORKED OUT THEIR SOCIAL STATUS,/ THEIR HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION.// THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PUBLISHED THIS/IN 1899.

THEN I WENT TO ATLANTA UNIVERSITY/TO GIVE HALF MY TIME TO TEACHING/AND HALF TO A SYSTEMATIC STUDY/OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS/IN THE UNITED STATES.// I LAID OUT PLANS/ FOR A CENTURY OF INVESTIGATION/AND FOLLOWED IT FOR THIRTEEN YEARS.// THIS WORK WAS UNIQUE OF ITS KIND/ IN THE NATION/AND CAME TO BE KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD.// NO BOOK ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO/ WHICH PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1900 AND 1925/WAS NOT INDEBTED TO OUR WORK./ BUT LACK OF FUNDS/COMPELLED ME eventually TO GIVE UP THIS DREAM.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON/ BECAME THE MOST PROMINENT MAN/ OF NEGRO DESCENT/ IN AMERICA,/ AFTER ~~THE~~ His SPEECH/ ~~WHICH HE MADE~~/AT THE COTTON STATES EXPOSITION/ IN ATLANTA/IN 1895.

36-11-6

HE SAID TO WHITE AND BLACK:// "IN ALL THINGS/ THAT ARE PURELY SOCIAL/ WE CAN BE AS SEPARATE AS THE FINGERS,// YET ONE AS THE HAND/ IN ALL THINGS/ESSENTIAL TO MUTUAL PROGRESS".// I APPLAUDED THIS SPEECH/WHEN IT WAS DELIVERED.// BUT DURING THE NEXT TEN YEARS/THE INTERPRETATION/ PUT ON IT/ALARMED ME MORE AND MORE.// MR. WASHINGTON ~~LECTURED WIDELY,~~// ~~AND GRADUALLY~~ TOOK ~~THIS~~ the STAND:// "NEGROES (that) SHOULD NOT DEMAND THE VOTE/AT PRESENT;// COLLEGE EDUCATION/WAS NOT NEEDED NOW/ BY NEGROES;/ THEY SHOULD BE TRAINED/AS ARTISANS AND SKILLED HOUSEHOLD WORKERS;// THEY SHOULD WORK HARD AND SAVE;/ THEY SHOULD NOT WASTE TIME/DEMANDING CIVIL RIGHTS/ SUCH PRIVILEGES/WOULD COME WHEN DESERVED.// HE SPENT MUCH TIME CRITICIZING NEGROES/FOR LAZINESS AND CRIME/AND SAID LITTLE ABOUT WHITE LYNCHING/AND INJUSTICE.// NOT ONLY THIS,/ BUT DURING THIS TIME/THE SOUTH PUT OVER/ALMOST WITHOUT PROTEST/A WHOLE SET OF "JIM-CROW" LAWS;// DISFRANCHISING NEGROES ~~IN MOST STATES~~/AND DISCRIMINATING against them IN TRAVEL/AND CIVIL RIGHTS.// WHEN A YOUNG NEGRO,/ MONROE TROTTER OF BOSTON,/ WAS PUT IN JAIL/FOR TRYING TO MAKE WASHINGTON/STATE PUBLICLY/JUST WHAT HIS ATTITUDE WAS/ ~~ON NEGROES VOTING.~~// I CALLED A NATIONAL MEETING/OF NEGROES/IN 1905.

THIS WAS THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT. // WE DEMANDED FULL POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES AT ONCE. // WE ADMITTED THE NECESSITY OF TRAINING IN INDUSTRY, BUT INSISTED ON THE RIGHT TO HIGHER TRAINING AS THE ONLY BASIS FOR PROGRESS.

36-11-7

LIBERAL WHITES IN 1909 FORMED THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AND I WAS INVITED TO ~~COOPERATE~~ JOIN. // MOST MEMBERS OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT MERGED WITH THE NEW ORGANIZATION, AND IN 1910 I GAVE UP MY RESEARCH AT ATLANTA TO COME TO NEW YORK AS ONE OF THE OFFICERS OF THIS NEW ORGANIZATION.

FOR THE NEXT ~~FORTY YEARS~~ GENERATION THE NAACP LED THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. // FROM 1910 TO 1934 I HELPED [redacted] ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE CRISIS MAGAZINE ~~WHICH I FOUNDED~~. // IN THIS MONTHLY PERIODICAL I PUT EMPHASIS ON NEWS AND FACTS ABOUT NEGROES AND RACE RELATIONS; // I PUBLISHED PICTURES OF NEGROES, THEIR ACTIVITIES, THEIR CHILDREN, THEIR GRADUATES. // FOR TWENTY YEARS THE CRISIS WAS SELF-SUPPORTING, PAYING MY SALARY, THE RENT, AND ALL EXPENSES OF PRODUCTION. // AT ONE TIME IT REACHED A CIRCULATION OF 100,000. // WITH THE DEPRESSION ITS INCOME FELL OFF.

MY INTEREST IN AFRICA BEGAN NATURALLY WITH MY KNOWLEDGE THAT I WAS OF AFRICAN DESCENT. // IT REACHED A CLIMAX WHEN I VISITED WEST AFRICA IN 1923 AS SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO LIBERIA. // NEGRO ART I LEARNED FROM HEARing HAMPTON SINGERS RENDER THE FOLK SONGS. // I SAW AFRICAN SCULPTURE AND HANDIWORK AND READ OF THEIR INFLUENCE ON MODERN EUROPEAN ART. // FROM PADDLES LIKE THESE AND KNIVES I KNEW THAT THE AFRICAN ARTISAN IS NEVER CONTENT TO MAKE A TOOL USEFUL; HE MUST ALSO MAKE IT BEAUTIFUL. // AFRICA TOO HAS LED IN TECHNIQUE: NEGROES FIRST WELDED IRON; NOTE THIS SUIT OF CHAIN ARMOR; IT WAS MADE BY BLACK SUDANESE 500 YEARS AGO. // EACH OF ITS MORE THAN 25,000 RINGLETS WAS SHAPED BY HAND. // THIS FEELING FOR COMBINING BEAUTY AND USE, WITH INFINITE PAINS IS PECULIARLY AFRICAN. // THESE CHAINS FOR SLAVES ARE AMERICAN!

36-11-8

WHEN THE FIRST WORLD WAR ENDED, I WAS INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE OF AFRICA. // I ASKED THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO CALL A CONFERENCE ON AFRICA IN PARIS AT THE TIME OF THE PEACE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES. // THIS WAS REFUSED. // BUT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT PERMITTED ME TO ASSEMBLE IN PARIS IN 1919 A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS OF 58 DELEGATES UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF BLAISE DIAGNE THE FRENCH BLACK UNDER-SECRETARY OF COLONIES. // LATER IN PARIS, LONDON, BRUSSELS, LISBON, NEW YORK AND MANCHESTER OTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES WERE HELD

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR ~~THE NEGRO SENT ME ABROAD TO REPORT ON THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS.~~ I ASKED THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO CALL A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER THE FUTURE OF AFRICA ~~AT THE TIME OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.~~ IT REFUSED, BUT I SECURED THE CONSENT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE BLACK UNDER-SECRETARY OF COLONIES. ~~NEGROES NOT ALREADY IN FRANCE WERE NOT GRANTED PASSPORTS TO ATTEND,~~ BUT WE ASSEMBLED A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS OF 58 DELEGATES IN PARIS IN 1919. LATER WE CALLED TOGETHER FOUR OTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES, THE LAST IN 1945.

IN 1935 I PUBLISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION. THIS MARKED A RETURN TO MY SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION, AND SOUGHT TO REFUTE THE LEGEND THAT BLACK FREEDMEN WERE THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE DISORDERS IN THE SOUTH FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR. I MAINTAINED THAT ON THE CONTRARY, THE NEGROES GAVE THE SOUTH FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION, THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE POOR WHITES, AND THE DIVIDING UP OF THE PLANTATIONS. THIS WORK I FINISHED AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY WHERE I ~~RETURNED~~ WENT TO TEACH ~~WORK, 1934 to 1944.~~ (In 1934 Ten years later) AFTER RETIREMENT, I RETURNED TO THE NAACP AS DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH.

A CHANGE CAME IN MY STATUS IN 1948. IT WAS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT CIVILIZATION COULD NOT MUCH LONGER PERMIT THE MAJORITY OF MEN TO REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND DISEASED. EVERYWHERE EFFORTS WERE INCREASING TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH ~~SOCIALISM.~~ (by banks + Corp Govt + control) WITH THIS TREND I HAD LONG BEEN IN SYMPATHY AND NOW SAW IT THREATENED BY CONTINUED WORLD WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NAACP HAD BEEN FORMED TO DEAL WITH ONE SPECIFIC PROBLEM. ANY ATTEMPT TO BROADEN ITS OBJECTS MIGHT ALIENATE SOME OF ITS SUPPORT. ALSO IT MIGHT INVITE A CHARGE OF SUBVERSION FROM THE GOVERNMENT. (Colonialism)

PERSONALLY, I FAVORED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT, (keeping it) ~~I~~ WAS AGAINST COLONIALISM. ~~I~~ FAVORED PEACE AND (or) FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE BELIEFS I MUST HOLD TO AND EXPRESS. BUT I TRIED IN ALL EXPRESSIONS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY AND NOT AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAACP. THE DIRECTORS OF THE NAACP, HOWEVER, FELT THAT THEY COULD NOT ALLOW AN OFFICER OF MY PROMINENCE TO EXPRESS SUCH VIEWS AND REMAIN ON THE STAFF. I WAS THEREFORE DISMISSED IN 1948.

36-11-14

I TOOK AN UNPAID POSITION/IN PAUL ROBESON'S COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS/ AND CONTINUED WITH MY WORK// WHEN, IN 1949,/ LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES/CALLED THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE/FOR WORLD PEACE/IN NEW YORK,/ I EAGERLY TOOK PART. LATER THAT SAME YEAR/I ATTENDED THE GREAT PEACE CONFERENCE/ IN PARIS.// ALONG WITH 25 PROMINENT AMERICANS/ I WAS INVITED/TO ATTEND THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW.

BACK IN AMERICA/I JOINED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/AND RAN FOR STATE SENATOR.// I BECAME PRESIDENT/OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER/ WHICH WAS DESIGNED/TO LET THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA/ KNOW HOW THE PEACE MOVEMENT/ WAS SPREADING IN THE WORLD// AND PARTICULARLY/ TO CIRCULATE/THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL/AGAINST ATOMIC WEAPONS.

AS A RESULT OF THIS,/ I AND FOUR OTHER OFFICIALS/OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER,/WHO WERE HONEST, UNSELFISH BELIEVERS/IN A GREAT CAUSE,/ WERE INDICTED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT/AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL."// WE DENIED THIS, BUT WERE TAKEN TO COURT,/ WHERE I WAS HANDCUFFED/AND FINGER PRINTED.

9-10

IT WAS BY THIS TIME/INCREASINGLY CLEAR/ THAT CIVILIZATION COULD NOT MUCH LONGER/PERMIT THE MAJORITY OF MEN/TO REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK// EVERYWHERE EFFORTS WERE INCREASING/ TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS/ BY SUBSTITUTING (MORE & LESS) GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/FOR CONTROL BY INDIVIDUALS ~~BANKS~~/AND CORPORATIONS// WITH THIS TREND/I HAD LONG BEEN IN SYMPATHY/AND I NOW SAW IT THREATENED/ BY CONTINUANCE OF WORLD WAR.// I TREREFOR WROTE MY BOOK/ON "COLOR AND DEMOCRACY," AGAINST COLONIALISM/AND DISFRANCHISEMENT;// I WROTE " THE WORLD AND AFRICA"/IN DEFENSE OF THE BLACK RACE.// I EDITED/AN APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS/ON THE PLIGHT OF NEGROES/ IN THE UNITED STATES.

36-11-10 I ATTENDED THE UNO IN SAN FRANCISCO

I FAVORED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT /AGAINST THE OLD PARTIES/WHICH WERE FOR WAR AND MONOPOLY// AND I ASKED FOR FRIENDSHIP/BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AND THE SOVIET UNION.// IN FURTHERANCE OF THESE POLICIES/ I ATTENDED PEACE CONGRESSES/IN NEW YORK, PARIS AND MOSCOW.

A WEEK AFTER THE INDICTMENT/I AND SHIRLEY GRAHAM/WERE MARRIED./WE TOURED THE UNITED STATES/TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE.// A COMMITTEE UNDER ALICE CITRON SENT CORRESPONDENCE/ALL AROUND THE WORLD./AND THE SUPPORT WHICH WE RECEIVED WAS UNIVERSAL AND ENCOURAGING.// AFTER SPENDING $55,000/IN COURT EXPENSE./ WE WERE FINALLY ACQUITTED/OF THIS ABSURD CHARGE.

MY LIFE HAS BEEN LONG/AND INTERESTING.// DESPITE ITS DISAPPOINTMENTS./ I HAVE LOVED LIVING.// AS I LOOK BACK TODAY/I ATTRIBUTE MY SATISFACTION/TO GOOD HEALTH AND WORK WORTH DOING.// THIS WORK/CENTERED AROUND THE PROBLEM OF COLOR/AND THUS HEMMED ME IN/FROM BROADER FIELDS.// I STILL REGARD IT/AS A GREAT PROBLEM OF THIS CENTURY.

BUT I SEE NOW/AS I DID NOT FIFTY YEARS AGO/ THAT BACK OF A COLOR DISCRIMINATION/ LURKS A MORE FUNDAMENTAL EVIL/WHICH BOTH OBSCURES AND IMPLEMENTS IT.// THIS IS THE WILLINGNESS/ OF CIVILIZED MEN/TO LIVE AND THRIVE/AT THE PRICE/OF THE POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/ OF MOST OF THEIR FELLOW MEN.// TO MAINTAIN THIS PRIVILEGE/THEY HAVE LONG WAGED WARS./ UNTIL TODAY/WAR THREATENS TO BECOME UNIVERSAL AND CONTINUOUS.//

36-11-11

BACK OF WAR AND GREED/ FLOURISHES/AS THEIR EXCUSE, COLOR PREJUDICE.// PEACE, THEN,/ IS THE GATE TO JUSTICE/AND THENCE THE PATH LEADS/ THROUGH WORK/ TO BROTHERHOOD/ ACROSS THE COLOR LINE.

36-11-12

1st Edition

June 1953

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. DU BOIS, 1868 - 1953

IT IS STRANGE WHAT SMALL THINGS DETERMINE THE COURSE OF HUMAN LIVES. MY LIFE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS BEEN CONDITIONED BY THE COLOR OF MY SKIN. THIS FACT, TRIVIAL OF ITSELF, WAS OF COSMIC IMPORTANCE IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME I WAS BORN.

SO STRONGLY DID COLOR AND RACE ABSORB MY THOUGHT THAT FIFTY YEARS AGO I SAID: "THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE." COLOR AND RACE ARE NOT PROBLEMS, BUT THEY OUTLINE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS BENEATH.

NATURALLY I SOON LEARNED THAT MY SKIN WAS DARK BECAUSE OF MY AFRICAN DESCENT AND I BEGAN TO TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN AFRICA. THE FACTS I HAD TO LEARN AS ANY STRANGER WOULD.

FIRST, I WAS STIRRED BY REVELATIONS OF NEGRO ART LIKE THE FOLK SONGS, WHICH I FIRST LEARNED FROM HEARING THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE SINGERS.

LATER IN LIFE I SAW SPECIMENS OF AFRICAN PLASTIC ART AND OF HANDIWORK. I LEARNED WHAT A DECISIVE INFLUENCE AFRICAN ART HAD ON MODERN ART.

I SAW THAT THE AFRICAN ARTISAN WAS SO SCHOOLED THAT HE WAS NEVER CONTENT TO MAKE A TOOL WHICH WAS SIMPLY USEFUL. IT HAD ALSO TO BE CAREFULLY ORNAMENTED, AS IN THE CASE OF THESE PADDLES, AND THESE CONGO KNIVES.

IRON WAS PROBABLY FIRST WELDED IN AFRICA AND THIS SUIT OF CHAIN ARMOR WAS MADE BY BLACK SUDANESE AT LEAST FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. EVERY LITTLE IRON RING OF THE 25,000 WHICH IT CONTAINS WAS MADE BY HAND.

AND HERE ARE CHAINS OF SLAVES. BUT THEY WERE MADE IN ENGLAND.

MY FAMILY LINE COMES FROM TWO STREAMS. ONE, PREDOMINANTLY EUROPEAN, IS REPRESENTED BY MY GRANDFATHER ALEXANDER AND HIS SON, ALFRED; MY MOTHER'S FAMILY THE BLACK BURGHARDTS, LIVED IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS FOR OVER 200 YEARS, AS FARMERS AND LABORERS. HERE ALFRED DU BOIS MARRIED MARY BURGHARDT AND I, THEIR ONLY CHILD, WAS BORN IN 1868.

46-11-60

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. Du BOIS, 1868 - 1953

I WAS BORN ON CHURCH STREET, GREAT BARRINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS. THIS IS MY HIGH SCHOOL CLASS OF 1884, OF WHICH I WAS THE YOUNGEST. I EARNED SOME MONEY OUTSIDE SCHOOL HOURS BY MOWING LAWNS AND SPLITTING KINDLING.

I WANTED TO GO TO HARVARD COLLEGE, BUT I HAD NOT ENOUGH MONEY. HOWEVER, CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES GAVE ME A SCHOLARSHIP FOR FISK UNIVERSITY IN TENNESSEE.

THIS WAS TO ME AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE. I WAS THRILLED TO BE FOR THE FIRST TIME AMONG SO MANY PEOPLE OF MY OWN COLOR OR RATHER OF SUCH VARIED AND SUCH EXTRAORDINARY COLORS, WHICH I HAD ONLY GLIMPSED BEFORE, BUT WHO WERE BOUND TO ME BY NEW AND EXCITING AND ETERNAL TIES.

AFTER GRADUATING I SECURED A SCHOLARSHIP AT HARVARD, WHERE I TOOK MY A.B. IN 1890. I STAYED TWO MORE YEARS IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL. THE SLATER FUND SENT ME ABROAD IN 1892 FOR TWO MORE YEARS' STUDY, AND IN 1894 I CAME HOME READY FOR MY LIFE WORK.

49-11-61

THERE OPENED BEFORE ME FOUR MAIN LINES OF WORK WHICH I FOLLOWED: FIRST, THERE WAS THE SEARCH FOR THE TRUTH, ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATED TO NEGRO PEOPLES. MY IDEA WAS THAT WHAT WE CALL THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS REALLY A PROBLEM OF IGNORANCE; THAT FIRST WE SHOULD KNOW THE FACTS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS AND FROM THAT COME TO CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING METHODS OF SETTLING THESE PROBLEMS.

I BEGAN THIS SEARCH FOR FACTS BY MY STUDY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. EVENTUALLY THIS THESIS WAS PUBLISHED AS THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL STUDIES IN 1896.

LATER I UNDERTOOK A STUDY OF NEGROES IN PHILADELPHIA. I STUDIED THE LIFE OF 5000 PERSONS, THEIR HISTORY, EXPERIENCES AND PRESENT CONDITION. I MADE A MAP OF THEIR SOCIAL STATUS.

THEN I WENT TO ATLANTA UNIVERSITY TO TEACH AND GIVE HALF MY TIME TO STUDIES OF THE NEGRO'S PROBLEMS. IN THE NEXT THIRTEEN YEARS WE ISSUED 15 STUDIES WHICH CAME TO BE KNOWN AROUND THE WORLD. FINALLY THE PLAN HAD TO BE GIVEN UP FOR LACK OF FUNDS.

MEANTIME, STRONG RESENTMENT WAS RISING AMONG THE YOUNGER COLORED PEOPLE BECAUSE OF THE DOCTRINES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, WHICH MINIMIZED THE VALUE OF COLLEGE EDUCATION AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND EMPHASIZED TRAINING FOR INDUSTRY. TO PROTEST AGAINST THIS THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT WAS FORMED IN 1906 TO DEMAND FULL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR AMERICAN NEGROES. AFTER THREE YEARS THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT MERGED WITH WHITE LIBERALS TO FORM THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. I CAME TO NEW YORK IN 1910 TO BECOME ONE OF ITS EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

THIS MARKED THE SECOND MAIN LINE OF MY LIFE WORK. I REALIZED THAT I MUST TURN ASIDE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY FROM STUDY, AND DEVOTE MYSELF TO AGITATION SO THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE ACTION IN THE LIGHT OF TRUTH. THE FIVE INCORPORATORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE WERE: MYSELF: MARY WHITE OVINGTON; A MILITANT WHITE WOMAN; OSWALD VILLARD, THE GRANDSON OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON; JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, MINISTER OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH; AND A YOUNG JEWISH BANKER, WALTER E. SACHS.

46-11-68

FOR OVER 40 YEARS THE NAACP HAS LED THE FIGHT FOR NEGRO EMANCIPATION. I HELPED TO CARRY ON THIS WORK FROM 1910 TO 1934 BY LECTURES, CONFERENCES AND EDITING THE CRISIS MAGAZINE. THE CRISIS WAS STARTED ON MY OWN RESPONSIBILITY. I PUT SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON NEWS CONCERNING COLORED PEOPLE, IN THE SECTION CALLED "ALONG THE COLOR LINE." WE PRINTED PICTURES OF COLORED PEOPLE AND THEIR ACTIVITIES; OF NEGRO GRADUATES AND OF CHILDREN.

OUR TOTAL JOB WAS TO MAKE A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THINKING NEGROES CONCERNING THEIR PLACE IN AMERICA AND THEIR FUTURE IN THE WORLD.

BETWEEN 1912 AND 1930 THE CRISIS WAS SELF-SUPPORTING AND REACHED FOR A TIME A CIRCULATION OF OVER 100,000 COPIES. WITH THE DEPRESSION ITS INCOME FELL OFF.

ALONG WITH MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND AGITATION FOR THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES CAME THE EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT MY INTEREST IN AFRICA.

IN 1900 AT THE REQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT I COLLECTED 32 CHARTS AND 500 PHOTOGRAPHS, MAPS AND PLANS TO ILLUSTRATE THE CONDITION OF AMERICAN NEGROES FOR THE PARIS EXHIBITION. THE EXHIBIT RECEIVED A GOLD MEDAL.

THIS SAME YEAR I ATTENDED A PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE; AND IN 1911, THE GREAT WORLD RACES CONGRESS, BOTH IN LONDON.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE NAACP SENT ME TO PARIS TO REPORT ON THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS. I ASKED THE AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION TO CALL A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS AT THE TIME OF THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES. THEY REPLIED THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT SUCH A MEETING. I TURNED TO THE FRENCH BLACK UNDER-SECRETARY OF WAR, BLAISE DIAGNE, WHO HAD SECURED 75,000 BLACK TROOPS TO DEFEND FRANCE. HE GAINED THE CONSENT OF PRIME MINISTER CLEMENCEAU, AND WE HELD A CONGRESS OF 58 DELEGATES IN PARIS IN 1919.

IN 1921 WE HELD A MORE IMPORTANT CONGRESS, MEETING SUCCESSIVELY IN LONDON, PARIS AND BRUSSELS. IN 1923 A SMALLER CONGRESS MET IN LISBON, PORTUGAL, AND I WENT TO AFRICA AS SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AND ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY OF THE UNITED STATES TO LIBERIA ON THE OCCASION OF THE SECOND INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT KING.

ALONG WITH MY MAIN ACTIVITIES WENT OTHER PARALLEL EFFORTS QUITE AS IMPORTANT AND EVEN MORE HUMAN. FOR INSTANCE, I BEGAN MY FAMILY LIFE BY MARRYING IN 1896 NINA GOMER OF IOWA, OF NEGRO AND ALSACIAN DESCENT. WE LIVED TOGETHER FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND HAD TWO CHILDREN, BUT LOST THE LITTLE SON IN INFANCY. THE DAUGHTER STILL LIVES AND IS A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER. SHE HAS A DAUGHTER.

ALONG WITH ALL MY EFFORTS RAN MY WRITINGS. DURING THE ERA OF MY SCIENTIFIC SEARCH FOR TRUTH I PUBLISHED MY BOOK ON THE SLAVE TRADE, MY SERIES OF ATLANTA STUDIES, AND THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO.

46-11-63

DURING THE PERIOD OF AGITATION FOR NEGRO RIGHTS I PUBLISHED FIVE BOOKS IN ADDITION TO THE TWENTY ANNUAL VOLUMES OF THE MONTHLY, CRISIS MAGAZINE. THESE INCLUDED THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK; A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN; A NOVEL CALLED THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE; A SECOND VOLUME OF ESSAYS, DARKWATER; A BOOK ON THE GIFTS WHICH BLACK FOLK MADE TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

MY WRITINGS INCLUDED POEMS AND PLAYS. MY LITTLE THEATRE MOVEMENT IN HARLEM WON SECOND PLACE IN A NATION-WIDE CONTEST. TO CELEBRATE THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIPATION I STAGED PAGEANTS IN NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON AND FINALLY IN THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL.

WRITINGS IN THE AFRICAN PHASE OF MY CAREER WERE A LITTLE BOOK ON THE NEGRO IN 1915; A NOVEL CALLED DARK PRINCESS; AND A STUDY OF NEGRO HISTORY, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW.

THIS CULMINATED IN BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN 1935. THIS WORK REFUTED THE LEGEND THAT THE DISORDERS WHICH FOLLOWED THE CIVIL WAR WERE DUE MAINLY TO NEGRO FREEDMEN BUT THAT ON THE CONTRARY, NEGROES HELPED ESTABLISH THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN THE SOUTH, STARTED NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION, AND BEGAN THE SUBDIVISION OF LAND.

THIS BOOK WAS FINISHED AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY BECAUSE IN 1934 I LEFT THE NAACP. THE CRISIS WAS NO LONGER SELF-SUPPORTING AND I WANTED TO INTRODUCE A BROADER PROGRAM FOR THE NAACP. BUT I WAS 66 AND THOUGHT MY ACTIVE YEARS HAD PASSED. I BELIEVED YOUNGER PERSONS SHOULD UNDERTAKE REFORM.. MY FRIEND, JOHN HOPE, THE PRESIDENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, INVITED ME TO RETURN THERE AND I ACCEPTED.

IN THE 10 YEARS WHICH I SPENT THERE I FINISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION; I FOUNDED AND FOR FOUR YEARS EDITED A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE RELATIONS CALLED PHYLON; I RE-ORGANIZED ON A BROADER SCALE MY FORMER STUDIES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THIRTY SOUTHERN NEGRO COLLEGES. I PLANNED AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO AND IN 1936 WAS CHOSEN ITS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF BY A NOTABLE GROUP.

49-11-64

JAMES HARDY DILLARD; EUGENE KINCKLE JONES; JAMES WELDON JOHNSON; MORDECAI W. JOHNSON; WALDO G. LELAND; J.E. SPINGARN; MONROE N. WORK; ALAIN LOCKE; ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG; CHARLES H. WESLEY; ROBERT R. MOTON; RAYFORD W. LOGAN; AND BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI COOPERATED.

THAT YEAR, 1936, I TRAVELLED AROUND THE WORLD TO STUDY RACE RELATIONS AT FIRST HAND.

I WAS EXPECTING TO END WORKING DAYS HERE WHEN I WAS SUDDENLY RETIRED FOR AGE ON A SALARY OF $150 A MONTH TO BE REDUCED AFTER FIVE YEARS. I WAS STARTLED AND BITTER. NOT ONLY WAS MY LIFEWORK INTERRUPTED, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY CAREER I FACED THE PROBLEM OF SHEER BREAD AND BUTTER.

MY INCOME HAD ALWAYS BEEN SMALL. MY ONLY SAVING WAS A HOME IN BALTIMORE.

UNEXPECTEDLY I IMMEDIATELY RECEIVED SEVERAL OFFERS OF EMPLOYMENT. THE MOST ATTRACTIVE CAME FROM THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. I WAS OFFERED THE POSITION NOMINALLY CALLED DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH BUT WAS ALLOWED TO DO ANY WORK I WISHED TO DO SO LONG AS IT DID NOT INTERFERE WITH THE REGULAR ASSOCIATION WORK. I ACCEPTED GLADLY AND RETURNED TO NEW YORK IN 1944.

MY CAREER FROM 1934 TO THE PRESENT INCLUDING THE 10 YEARS IN ATLANTA MAY BE CALLED "EFFORTS FOR GENERAL SOCIAL PROGRESS." IT VARIED FROM SCIENTIFIC STUDY TO EFFORTS FOR WORLD PEACE. I LECTURED IN HAITI ON EDUCATION. I WROTE COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, A PROTEST AGAINST NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT AND COLONIALISM; I PUBLISHED A PRELIMINARY VOLUME TO THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO SINCE NO FUNDS FOR A LARGER WORK WERE AVAILABLE. THE NAACP SENT ME TO THE UNO AT SAN FRANCISCO IN 1945 AS CONSULTANT. THERE I WROTE STATEMENTS AND PETITIONS AND INTERVIEWED DELEGATES. THIS SAME YEAR I ATTENDED THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, AND IN 1947 WROTE THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

THEN CAME ANOTHER CHANGE IN MY CAREER IN 1948. IT WAS CLEAR THAT A RICH AND RESOURCEFUL CIVILIZATION COULD NO LONGER ALLOW THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND TO REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK. EFFORTS SPREAD EVERYWHERE TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH SOCIALISM AND WITH THIS TREND I HAD LONG BEEN IN SYMPATHY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NAACP HAD BEEN FORMED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ONE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF NEGRO EQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES. ANY CHANGE FROM THIS PROGRAM WOULD HAVE ALIENATED MUCH OF THEIR SUPPORT, WHITE AND BLACK. I MADE NO ATTEMPT TO ALTER THIS POLICY OF THE NAACP, BUT PERSONALLY I FAVORED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT; WAS AGAINST COLONIALISM, AND ADVOCATED PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE BELIEFS I COULD NOT SURRENDER, AND THE NAACP FELT IT COULD NOT ALLOW AN OFFICER AS PROMINENT AS I TO EXPRESS SUCH VIEWS. IT THEREFORE DISMISSED ME IN 1948.

46-11-66

I TOOK AN UNPAID POSITION IN PAUL ROBESON'S COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND WENT ON WITH MY WORK. WHEN, IN 1949, LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES CALLED THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE I EAGERLY TOOK PART. LATER THAT SAME YEAR I ATTENDED THE GREAT PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS. ALONG WITH 25 PROMINENT AMERICANS, I WAS INVITED TO ATTEND THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW.

BACK IN AMERICA I JOINED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND RAN FOR STATE SENATOR. I BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER, WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO LET THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA KNOW HOW THE PEACE MOVEMENT WAS SPREADING IN THE WORLD AND PARTICULARLY TO CIRCULATE THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST ATOMIC WEAPONS.

AS A RESULT OF THIS I AND FOUR OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION WERE INDICTED AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." WE DENIED THIS BUT WERE TAKEN TO COURT, WHERE I WAS HANDCUFFED AND FINGER PRINTED.

A WEEK AFTER THE INDICTMENT I AND SHIRLEY GRAHAM WERE MARRIED. WE TOURED THE UNITED STATES TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE. A COMMITTEE UNDER ALICE CITRON SENT CORRESPONDENCE ALL AROUND THE WORLD, AND THE SUPPORT WHICH WE RECEIVED WAS UNIVERSAL AND ASTONISHING. WE WERE FINALLY ACQUITTED OF THIS ABSURD CHARGE, I CONTINUED TO LECTURE AND WRITE.

MAY I REPEAT. THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE. NOT THAT RACE OR COLOR ARE PROBLEMS IN THEMSELVES. THEY MERELY OUTLINE THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS BENEATH: WORK AND WAGE; KNOWLEDGE AND HEALTH. FOR THESE I HAVE LIVED AND WORKED ACROSS THE COLOR LINE.

29-11-94

W. E. B. Du Bois

June 1953

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THE LIFE OF W.E.B. DU BOIS, 1868 - 1953

WHAT SMALL THINGS DETERMINE THE COURSE OF HUMAN LIVES. MINE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS BEEN CONDITIONED BY THE COLOR OF MY SKIN. THIS FACT, TRIVIAL OF ITSELF, WAS OF COSMIC IMPORTANCE IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME I WAS BORN.

SO STRONGLY DID COLOR AND RACE ABSORB MY THOUGHT THAT FIFTY YEARS AGO I SAID: "THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE." ~~OF COURSE COLOR AND RACE OF THEMSELVES ARE NOT PROBLEMS, BUT THEY OUTLINE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS THAT LIE BENEATH.~~

NATURALLY I SOON LEARNED THAT MY SKIN WAS DARK BECAUSE OF MY AFRICAN DESCENT AND I BEGAN TO TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN AFRICA. I HAD TO LEARN OF AFRICA, AS ANY OTHER STRANGER WOULD.

FIRST, I WAS STIRRED BY REVELATIONS OF NEGRO ART LIKE THE FOLK SONGS, WHICH I FIRST HEARD FROM THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE SINGERS.

LATER I SAW SPECIMENS OF AFRICAN SCULPTURE AND OF HANDIWORK. I LEARNED WHAT DECISIVE INFLUENCE AFRICAN ART HAD ON MODERN ART.

I REALIZED THAT THE AFRICAN ARTISAN WAS NEVER CONTENT TO MAKE A TOOL WHICH WAS SIMPLY USEFUL. IT HAD ALSO TO BE CAREFULLY ORNAMENTED, AS IN THE CASE OF THESE PADDLES, AND THESE CONGO KNIVES.

IRON WAS PROBABLY FIRST WELDED IN AFRICA AND THIS SUIT OF CHAIN ARMOR WAS MADE BY BLACK SUDANESE AT LEAST FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. EVERY LITTLE RING OF THE 25,000 WHICH IT CONTAINS WAS MADE BY HAND.

AND HERE ARE CHAINS OF AFRICAN SLAVES. BUT ALTHOUGH FOUND IN AFRICA, THEY WERE MADE IN ENGLAND.

AND NOW AS TO MY OWN DESCENT. MY FAMILY LINE COMES FROM TWO STREAMS. ONE, PREDOMINANTLY EUROPEAN, IS REPRESENTED BY MY MULATTO GRANDFATHER, ALEXANDER, BORN IN THE WEST INDIES OF FRENCH HUGUENOT DESCENT. MY MOTHER'S FAMILY, THE

46-11-53

DuBois

BLACK BURGHARDTS, LIVED IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS FOR OVER 200 YEARS, AS SLAVES, FREE FARMERS AND LABORERS. HERE ALFRED DU BOIS, SON OF ALEXANDER, MARRIED MARY BURGHARDT AND I, THEIR ONLY CHILD, WAS BORN IN 1868.

I WAS BORN ON CHURCH STREET IN THE LOVELY VILLAGE OF GREAT BARRINGTON. I ATTENDED THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL IN 1884. I WAS THE YOUNGEST IN A CLASS OF EIGHT. WHILE IN SCHOOL I EARNED SOME MONEY DOING CHORES LIKE MOWING LAWNS AND SPLITTING KINDLING.

I WANTED TO GO TO HARVARD COLLEGE, BUT I HAD NOT ENOUGH MONEY. HOWEVER CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES NEAR BY GAVE ME A SCHOLARSHIP FOR FISK UNIVERSITY IN TENNESSEE.

THIS WAS AN EXTRADRDINARY EXPERIENCE FOR ME, ALTHOUGH MY FAMILY FEARED TO HAVE ME GO SOUTH. I WAS THRILLED TO BE FOR THE FIRST TIME AMONG SO MANY PEOPLE OF MY OWN COLOR, OR RATHER OF SUCH VARIED AND EXTRAORDINARY COLORS, WHICH I HAD ONLY GLIMPSED BEFORE, BUT WHO WERE NOW BOUND TO ME BY NEW AND EXCITING AND ETERNAL TIES. I SAW RESOURCEFUL YOUNG MEN AND BEAUTIFUL GIRLS. I HAD INSPIRING TEACHERS AND WAS VERY HAPPY. YET I WAS STILL DETERMINED TO GO TO HARVARD, AND AFTER GRADUATING FROM FISK I SECURED A SCHOLARSHIP there BY CORRESPONDENCE. HERE I TOOK MY A.B. IN 1890, AND STAYED TWO MORE YEARS IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL. THE SLATER FUND, AFTER I MADE A VIGOROUS FIGHT, SENT ME ABROAD IN 1892 FOR TWO MORE YEARS' STUDY. IN 1894 I CAME HOME READY FOR MY LIFE WORK.

THEREAFTER MY LIFE FELL INTO TWO MAIN LINES: 23 YEARS OF TEACHING AND STUDYING THE NEGRO PROBLEMS AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN GEORGIA; AND 28 YEARS OF AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA FOR THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF NEGROES IN NEW YORK.

WITH THESE MAIN INTERESTS WENT MY CONCERN FOR AFRICA WHICH BEGAN WITH MY BOOK ON THE NEGRO IN 1915; MY PROMOTION OF A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS

DURING THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND OTHER CONGRESSES LATER. IT CULMINATED WITH MY VISIT TO LIBERIA AS SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AND ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY IN 1923.

TO THESE MAIN DIVISIONS OF LIFE WORK WENT AS COMMENT, MY WRITING: THE 15 BOUND VOLUMES PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1896 AND 1952; BESIDES A LARGE NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES AND A MASS OF UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS.

MY BOOKS HIGHLIGHTED MY WORK. MY IDEA WAS THAT WHAT WE CALL THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS REALLY A PROBLEM OF IGNORANCE; THAT FIRST WE SHOULD KNOW THE FACTS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS AND FROM THAT COME TO CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING METHODS OF SETTLING THESE PROBLEMS.

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BETWEEN 1912 AND 1930 THE CRISIS WAS SELF-SUPPORTING AND REACHED FOR A TIME A CIRCULATION OF OVER 100,000 COPIES. WITH THE DEPRESSION ITS INCOME FELL OFF.

IN 1900 AT THE REQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT I COLLECTED 32 CHARTS AND 500 PHOTOGRAPHS, MAPS AND PLANS TO ILLUSTRATE THE CONDITION OF AMERICAN NEGROES FOR THE PARIS EXHIBITION. THE EXHIBIT RECEIVED A GOLD MEDAL.

THIS SAME YEAR I ATTENDED A PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE; AND IN 1911, THE GREAT WORLD RACES CONGRESS, BOTH IN LONDON.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE NAACP SENT ME TO PARIS TO REPORT ON THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS. I ASKED THE AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION TO CALL A

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS AT THE TIME OF THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES. THEY REPLIED THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT SUCH A MEETING. I TURNED TO THE FRENCH BLACK UNDER-SECRETARY OF WAR, BLAISE DIAGNE, WHO HAD SECURED 75,000 BLACK TROOPS TO DEFEND FRANCE. HE GAINED THE CONSENT OF PRIME MINISTER CLEMENCEAU, AND WE HELD A CONGRESS OF 58 DELEGATES IN PARIS IN 1919.

IN 1921 WE HELD A MORE IMPORTANT CONGRESS, MEETING SUCCESSIVELY IN LONDON, PARIS AND BRUSSELS. IN 1923 A SMALLER CONGRESS MET IN LISBON, PORTUGAL.

ALONG WITH MY MAIN ACTIVITIES WENT OTHER EFFORTS QUITE AS IMPORTANT AND EVEN MORE HUMAN. FOR INSTANCE, I BEGAN MY FAMILY LIFE BY MARRYING IN 1896 NINA GOMER OF IOWA, OF NEGRO AND ALSACIAN DESCENT. WE LIVED TOGETHER FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND HAD TWO CHILDREN, BUT LOST THE LITTLE SON IN INFANCY. THE DAUGHTER STILL LIVES AND IS A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER. SHE HAS A DAUGHTER.

46-11-57

BETWEEN 1900 AND 1920 I PUBLISHED FIVE BOOKS IN ADDITION TO THE TWENTY ANNUAL VOLUMES OF THE MONTHLY, CRISIS MAGAZINE. THESE INCLUDED: THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK; A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN; A NOVEL CALLED THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE; A SECOND VOLUME OF ESSAYS, DARKWATER; A BOOK ON THE GIFTS WHICH BLACK FOLK MADE TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

MY WRITINGS INCLUDED POEMS AND PLAYS. MY LITTLE THEATRE MOVEMENT IN HARLEM WON SECOND PLACE IN A NATION-WIDE CONTEST. TO CELEBRATE THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIPATION I STAGED PAGEANTS IN NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON, AND FINALLY IN THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL.

MY INTEREST IN AFRICA LED TO, IN 1915, A NOVEL CALLED DARK PRINCESS; AND A STUDY OF NEGRO HISTORY, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW, IN 1934.

I PUBLISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN 1935. THIS WORK REFUTED THE LEGEND THAT THE DISORDERS WHICH FOLLOWED THE CIVIL WAR WERE DUE MAINLY TO NEGRO FREEDMEN BUT THAT ON THE CONTRARY, NEGROES HELPED ESTABLISH THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN

THE SOUTH, STARTED NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION, AND BEGAN THE SUBDIVISION OF LAND.

THIS BOOK WAS FINISHED AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, BECAUSE IN 1934 I LEFT THE NAACP. THE CRISIS WAS NO LONGER SELF-SUPPORTING AND I WANTED TO INTRODUCE A BROADER PROGRAM FOR THE NAACP TO INCLUDE LABOR UNIONS, A MORE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, AND OTHER SOCIAL REFORM. BUT I WAS 66 AND THOUGHT MY ACTIVE YEARS HAD PASSED. I BELIEVED YOUNGER PERSONS SHOULD UNDERTAKE ANY NEEDED CHANGES IN PROGRAM WHICH WOULD CALL FOR LONG EFFORT. JUST AT THIS JUNCTURE MY FRIEND, JOHN HOPE BECAME PRESIDENT OF A NEWLY ENDOWED ATLANTA UNIVERSITY AND INVITED ME TO RETURN THERE. I ACCEPTED.

IN THE 10 YEARS WHICH I SPENT THERE I FINISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION; I FOUNDED AND FOR FOUR YEARS EDITED A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE RELATIONS CALLED PHYLON; I RE-ORGANIZED ON A BROADER SCALE MY FORMER STUDIES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THIRTY SOUTHERN NEGRO COLLEGES. I PLANNED AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO AND IN 1936 WAS CHOSEN ITS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF BY A NOTABLE GROUP OF COLORED AND WHITE SCHOLARS.

THAT YEAR, 1936, I TRAVELLED AROUND THE WORLD TO STUDY RACE RELATIONS AT FIRST HAND.

I WAS EXPECTING TO END MY WORKING DAYS HERE AT ATLANTA WHEN PRESIDENT HOPE DIED AND I WAS RETIRED FOR AGE ON A SALARY OF $150 A MONTH TO BE REDUCED AFTER FIVE YEARS. I WAS STARTLED AND BITTER. NOT ONLY WAS MY LIFEWORK SERIOUSLY INTERRUPTED, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY CAREER I FACED THE PROBLEM OF SHEER BREAD AND BUTTER.

MY INCOME HAD ALWAYS BEEN SMALL. I HAD SUPPORTED MY FAMILY IN COMFORT AND HAD NO DEBTS. BUT MY ONLY SAVING WAS A 7 ROOM COTTAGE IN BALTIMORE.

UNEXPECTEDLY HOWEVER, I IMMEDIATELY RECEIVED SEVERAL OFFERS OF EMPLOYMENT. THE MOST ATTRACTIVE CAME FROM THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF

[Following pages missing]

COLORED PEOPLE. I WAS OFFERED A POSITION NOMINALLY CALLED "DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH" BUT WAS FREE TO DO ANY WORK I WISHED SO LONG, OF COURSE, AS I DID NOT INTERFERE WITH THE REGULAR ASSOCIATION WORK. I ACCEPTED GLADLY AND RETURNED TO NEW YORK IN 1944.

I LECTURED IN HAITI THAT YEAR ON "EDUCATION." I WROTE COLOR AND DEMOCRACY TO PROTEST AGAINST NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT AND COLONIALISM; I PUBLISHED A PRELIMINARY VOLUME TO THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO SINCE NO FUNDS FOR THE LARGER WORK WERE AVAILABLE. THE NAACP SENT ME TO THE UNO AT SAN FRANCISCO IN 1945 AS CONSULTANT. THERE I WROTE STATEMENTS AND PETITIONS AND INTERVIEWED DELEGATES. THIS SAME YEAR I ATTENDED A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, AND IN 1947 WROTE THE WORLD AND AFRICA. I solicit an official

46-11-54

THERE CAME ANOTHER CHANGE IN MY CAREER IN 1948. IT WAS CLEAR THAT A RICH AND RESOURCEFUL CIVILIZATION COULD NO LONGER ALLOW THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND TO REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK. EFFORTS SPREAD EVERYWHERE TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH SOCIALISM AND WITH THIS TREND I HAD LONG BEEN IN SYMPATHY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NAACP HAD BEEN FORMED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ONE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF NEGRO EQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES. ANY CHANGE FROM THIS PROGRAM WOULD HAVE ALIENATED MUCH OF THEIR SUPPORT, WHITE AND BLACK. Moreover it might have split the NAACP

I MADE NO ATTEMPT TO ALTER THIS POLICY, BUT PERSONALLY I FAVORED A THIRD PROGRESSIVE PARTY MOVEMENT; WAS AGAINST COLONIALISM, AND ADVOCATED PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE BELIEFS I COULD NOT SURRENDER, NOR COULD I REFRAIN FROM EXPRESSING THEM. I WAS, HOWEVER, CAREFUL TO EXPLAIN THAT I WAS SPEAKING FOR MYSELF AND NOT FOR THE NAACP. THE NAACP, HOWEVER, FELT IT COULD NOT ALLOW AN OFFICER AS PROMINENT AS I TO EXPRESS SUCH VIEWS. IT THEREFORE DISMISSED ME IN 1948.

3rd Ed

[1953]

1.

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. Du BOIS

WHAT SMALL THINGS DETERMINE THE COURSE OF HUMAN LIVES! MINE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS BEEN CONDITIONED BY THE COLOR OF MY SKIN. THIS FACT, TRIVIAL OF ITSELF, SEEMED OF COSMIC IMPORTANCE IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME WHEN I WAS BORN.

SO STRONGLY DID COLOR AND RACE ABSORB MY THOUGHT THAT FIFTY YEARS AGO I SAID, "THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE."

NATURALLY I SOON LEARNED THAT MY SKIN WAS DARK BECAUSE OF MY AFRICAN DESCENT AND I EARLY BEGAN TO TAKE SPECIAL INTEREST IN AFRICA. BUT I HAD TO LEARN ABOUT IT AS ANY STRANGER WOULD.

I WAS FIRST STIRRED BY REVELATIONS OF NEGRO ART LIKE THE FOLK SONGS, WHICH I FIRST HEARD SUNG BY THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE SINGERS.

LATER I CAME TO KNOW AFRICAN SCULPTURE AND HANDIWORK AND LEARNED WHAT DECISIVE INFLUENCE AFRICA HAD ON MODERN EUROPEAN ART.

THE AFRICAN ARTISAN WAS NEVER CONTENT SIMPLY TO MAKE A USEFUL TOOL. HE MUST ALSO MAKE IT BEAUTIFUL. HE MUST ORNAMENT IT AS HE DID THESE PADDLES AND THESE KNIVES.

46-11-38

2.

IRON WAS FIRST WELDED IN AFRICA AND THIS SUIT OF CHAIN ARMOR WAS MADE BY BLACK SUDANESE FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. SEE HOW EVERY LITTLE RING OF THE 25,000 WHICH IT HAS WAS CAREFULLY MADE BY HAND.

THE CRUDE CHAINS, HOWEVER, WHICH MANACLED AFRICAN SLAVES CAME TO AFRICA FROM ENGLAND.

AND NOW AS TO MY OWN DESCENT: MY FAMILY COMES FROM TWO STRAINS. ONE WAS PREDOMINANTLY EUROPEAN AND WAS REPRESENTED BY MY MULATTO GRANDFATHER, ALEXANDER DU BOIS, BORN IN THE BAHAMAS OF FRENCH HUGUENOT DESCENT.

MY MOTHER'S FAMILY, THE BURGHARDTS WERE BLACK AFRICANS BROUGHT TO THE VALLEY OF THE HUDSON 250 YEARS AGO. STARTING AS SLAVES THEY BECAME FREE FARMERS AND LABORERS. HERE ALFRED DUBOIS, SON OF ALEXANDER MET AND MARRIED MARY BURGHARDT. I WAS THEIR ONLY CHILD AND WAS BORN IN GREAT BARRINGTON, IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1868.

I WAS BORN IN THIS LOVELY VILLAGE ON CHURCH STREET AND CAME UP IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS I EARNED A LITTLE MONEY BY DOING CHORES: BY MOWING LAWNS OR SPLITTING KINDLING FOR THE NEIGHBORS' STOVES. I WAS GRADUATED FROM THE HIGH SCHOOL IN 1884, THE YOUNGEST IN A CLASS OF 13.

I NOT ONLY WANTED TO GO TO COLLEGE, BEING ONE OF THE FEW IN MY CLASS WHO DID, BUT I CHOSE HARVARD AS MY COLLEGE. THIS PROVED IMPOSSIBLE. IT TOOK MORE MONEY TO GO TO HARVARD THAN I HAD OR COULD GET. HOWEVER, FOUR CHURCHES IN MY COMMUNITY RAISED A SCHOLARSHIP FOR ME TO ENTER FISK UNIVERSITY IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE. MY FAMILY WERE NOT EAGER FOR ME TO GO SOUTH, BUT I WENT GLADLY. THIS WAS MY FIRST GREAT ADVENTURE.

I WAS VERY HAPPY DURING THE THREE YEARS I SPENT AT FISK. I WAS THRILLED TO BE FOR THE FIRST TIME AMONG SO MANY PERSONS OF MY OWN COLOR, OR RATHER OF SUCH VARIED AND EXTRAORDINARY COLORS, WHICH I HAD NEVER GLIMPSED BEFORE. THESE PEOPLE WERE BOUND TO ME BY EXCITING AND ETERNAL TIES. I MET UPSTANDING AND RESOURCEFUL YOUNG COLORED MEN AND THE MOST BEAUTIFUL GIRLS I HAD EVER SEEN. I HAD INSPIRING TEACHERS AND I LEARNED ABOUT THE WORLD.

I WAS, HOWEVER, STILL DETERMINED TO GO TO HARVARD AND BY PERSISTENT CORRESPONDENCE

4-6-11-39

I SECURED A SCHOLARSHIP THERE ON GRADUATION FROM FISK. I TOOK MY A.B. AT HARVARD IN 1890, STUDYING UNDER GREAT TEACHERS LIKE WILLIAM JAMES AND GEORGE SANTAYANA. I SECURED FELLOWSHIPS FOR A FURTHER TWO YEARS IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL.

THEN, AFTER VIGOROUS CONTENTION WITH THE SLATER FUND, UNDER EX-PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD HAYES, I WAS GIVEN A FELLOWSHIP TO STUDY ABROAD.

IN 1894, I RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES TO BEGIN MY LIFE WORK. MY LIFE THEREAFTER FELL INTO TWO MAIN LINES: 23 YEARS OF TEACHING AND STUDYING THE NEGRO PROBLEMS AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN GEORGIA; AND 28 YEARS OF AGITATION FOR THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES CARRIED ON MOSTLY IN NEW YORK.

ALONG WITH THESE MAIN INTERESTS CONTINUED MY INTEREST IN AFRICA ON WHICH I PUBLISHED FIVE BOOKS, PROMOTED FIVE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES AND IN 1923, VISITED AFRICA AS SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO LIBERIA. LATER THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT NAMED ME KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE ORDER OF AFRICAN REDEMPTION.

ALSO, AS A SORT OF OBLIGATO TO MY MAIN WORK WENT MY WRITING. I BECAME AUTHOR OF 15 BOUND VOLUMES, 18 PAMPHLET STUDIES, 20 VOLUMES OF THE CRISIS MAGAZINE, MANY ARTICLES IN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS AND A MASS OF LECTURES AND UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS.

THIS WRITING HIGH-LIGHTS MY CAREER. MY FIRST IDEA WAS THAT WHAT WE CALL THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS MAINLY A MATTER OF IGNORANCE. THAT IF WE KNEW THE FACTS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS AND CONDITIONS, WE COULD EASILY COME TO CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING SOLUTIONS.

I BEGAN THIS SEARCH FOR FACTS WITH MY STUDY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN AMERICA WHICH WAS MY DOCTOR'S THESIS AND WAS PUBLISHED IN 1896 AS THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES. NEXT I UNDERTOOK AN INTENSIVE STUDY OF THE NEGROES OF PHILADELPHIA. I VISITED 5000 COLORED FAMILIES IN THEIR HOMES AND WORKED OUT THEIR SOCIAL STATUS, THEIR HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION. THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PUBLISHED THIS IN 1899.

THEN I WENT TO ATLANTA UNIVERSITY TO GIVE HALF MY TIME TO TEACHING AND HALF TO A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. I LAID OUT PLANS FOR A CENTURY

46-11-40

OF INVESTIGATION AND FOLLOWED IT FOR THIRTEEN YEARS. THIS WORK WAS UNIQUE OF ITS KIND IN THE NATION AND CAME TO BE KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD. NO BOOK ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1900 AND 1925 WAS NOT INDEBTED TO OUR WORK. BUT LACK OF FUNDS COMPELLED ME TO GIVE UP THIS DREAM.

BUT EVEN BEFORE POVERTY STOPPED THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY STUDIES, I AND MANY OTHER YOUNG NEGROES WERE BEING DRAWN FROM MY PROGRAM OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY BY RESENTMENT AT THE DOCTRINES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, THE MOST PROMINENT NEGRO LEADER OF THAT DAY. WASHINGTON MINIMIZED THE VALUE OF COLLEGE TRAINING FOR NEGROES AND HELPED MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR ATLANTA UNIVERSITY TO SUPPORT MY RESEARCH. HE ADVOCATED TRAINING FOR INDUSTRY. HE DECRIED AGITATION FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS.

IN 1906, WE YOUNG NEGROES CAME TOGETHER AND FORMED THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT TO DEMAND FULL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR AMERICAN NEGROES. LIBERAL WHITES, in 1909, FORMED THEIR NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE AND I WAS INVITED TO COOPERATE.

3 MOST MEMBERS OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT MERGED WITH THE NEW ORGANIZATION AND IN 1910 I GAVE UP MY RESEARCH AT ATLANTA TO COME TO NEW YORK AS ONE OF THE OFFICERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

I REALIZED THAT AT LEAST TEMPORARILY I MUST TURN ASIDE FROM SCIENTIFIC STUDY AND DEVOTE MYSELF TO PERSUADING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO TAKE ACTION IN LIGHT OF THE TRUTH ABOUT NEGROES WHICH THEY ALREADY KNEW. IN 1911, THE NAACP WAS INCORPORATED BY MYSELF, REPRESENTING THE NEGRO RACE, A YOUNG WHITE WOMAN, THE GRANDSON OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, THE ABOLITIONIST AND A YOUNG JEWISH BANKER.

4 FOR THE NEXT FORTY YEARS THE NAACP LED THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. FROM 1910 TO 1934 I HELPED BY LECTURES AND ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE CRISIS MAGAZINE WHICH I FOUNDED. IN THIS MONTHLY PERIODICAL I PUT EMPHASIS ON NEWS AND FACTS OF RACE RELATIONS. I PUBLISHED PICTURES OF NEGROES, THEIR ACTIVITIES, THEIR CHILDREN, THEIR GRADUATES. FOR 20 YEARS THE CRISIS WAS SELF SUPPORTING, PAYING MY SALARY, THE RENT AND ALL EXPENSES OF PRODUCTION. AT ONE TIME IT REACHED A CIRCULATION OF 100,000. WITH THE DEPRESSION ITS INCOME FELL OFF.

11-11-41

5 AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE NAACP SENT ME ABROAD TO REPORT ON THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS. I ASKED THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO CALL A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS AT THE TIME OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. IT REFUSED BUT I SECURED THE CONSENT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE HELP OF BLAISE DIAGNE, THE BLACK UNDER-SECRETARY OF FRENCH COLONIES. NEGROES NOT ALREADY IN FRANCE WERE REFUSED PASSPORTS TO ATTEND, BUT WE ASSEMBLED A PAN*AFRICAN CONGRESS OF 58 DELEGATES WHICH MET IN PARIS IN 1919. LATER WE CALLED TOGETHER FOUR OTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES.

ALONG WITH MY MAIN ACTIVITIES WENT OTHER EFFORTS QUITE AS IMPORTANT AND EVEN MORE HUMAN. FOR INSTANCE, I BEGAN FAMILY LIFE IN 1896 BY MARRYING NINA GOMER OF IOWA, OF NEGRO AND ALSCIAN DESCENT. WE LIVED TOGETHER FOR HALF A CENTURY AND HAD TWO CHILDREN. THE LITTLE BOY DIED IN INFANCY, BUT THE DAUGHTER STILL LIVES AND IS A HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER. SHE HAS A DAUGHTER.

BETWEEN 1900 AND 1920 I PUBLISHED FIVE BOOKS: THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK; A LIFE OF

JOHN BROWN, A NOVEL, ANOTHER BOOK OF ESSAYS AND AN EXAMINATION OF NEGRO GIFTS TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

MY EFFORTS ALSO INCLUDED POEMS AND PLAYS. MY LITTLE THEATRE MOVEMENT IN HARLEM TOOK SECOND PRIZE IN A NATION-WIDE CONTEST: MY PAGEANT "THE STAR OF ETHIOPIA" WAS WITNESSED BY THOUSANDS IN NEW YORK WHEN WE CELEBRATED 50 YEARS OF EMANCIPATION, AND LATER IN WASHINGTON, PHILADELPHIA AND THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL.

IN 1935, I PUBLISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION. THIS MARKED A RETURN TO MY SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION AND SOUGHT TO REFUT THE LEGEND THAT BLACK FREEDMEN WERE THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE DISORDERS IN THE SOUTH FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR. I MAINTAINED THAT ON THE CONTRARY THE NEGROES GAVE THE SOUTH FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION, THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE POOR WHITES AND THE DIVIDING UP OF THE PLANTATIONS.

THIS BOOK WAS FINISHED AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, BECAUSE IN 1934, I HAD SEVERED MY CONNECTION WITH THE NAACP. THE CRISIS WAS NO LONGER SELF-SUPPORTING AND I BELIEVED THAT THE PROGRAM OF THE NAACP SHOULD BE BROADENED TO MEET THE CHANGING OUTLOOK IN THE WORLD. BUT

24-11-94

I WAS 66, AND NORMALLY APPROACHING THE END OF MY WORKING DAYS. IT WAS, I THOUGHT THE TASK OF YOUNGER MEN TO GUIDE THAT CHANGE WHICH AN ORGANIZATION OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OLD NEEDED. JUST AT THIS JUNCTURE, MY CLOSE FRIEND, JOHN HOPE, BECAUSE PRESIDENT OF THE REORGANIZED AND NEWLY ENDOWED ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. HE URGED ME TO JOIN HIM IN BUILDING A REAL UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH. I ACCEPTED, AGAINST THE EARNEST PROTEST OF THE NAACP.

IN THE TEN YEARS FROM 1834 to 1844, WHICH I SPENT IN THIS SECOND STAY IN ATLANTA, I FINISHED BLACK RECONSTRUCTION: I FOUNDED AND FOR FOUR YEARS EDITED A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE CALLED "PHYLON": I BEGAN TO REORGANIZE ON A BROADER SCALE THE OLD ATLANTA STUDIES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS BY SECURING THE COOPERATION OF NEARLY ALL NEGRO COLLEGES TO CENTER THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT ATLANTA. I JOINED THE PLAN TO PUBLISH AN ENCLYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO AND IN 1936 WAS CHOSEN EDITOR-IN-CHIEF BY A NOTABLE BOARD OF EDITORS, BLACK AND WHITE, SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN.

I WAS EXPECTING TO END MY WORKING DAYS IN THESE EFFORTS WHEN MY FRIEND PRESIDENT HOPE DIED. MY WORK CONTINUED SEVERAL YEARS BUT SUDDENLY WITHOUT NOTICE IN 1944 I WAS RETIRED ON

A SMALL PENSION. I WAS STARTLED AND BITTER. NOT ONLY WAS MUCH OF MY UNFINISHED WORK THREAT* ENED WITH RUIN BUT I MYSELF FACED THE SHEER PROBLEM OF BREAD AND BUTTER.

UNEXPECTEDLY HOWEVER I RECEIVED SEVERAL OFFERS OF EMPLOYMENT. THE MOST ATTRACTIVE CAME FROM THE NAACP. I WAS OFFERED A SALARIED POSITION WITH NOMINAL DUTIES AND FREEDOM TO WORK AS I CHOSE, PROVIDED MY WORK WAS IN LINE WITH THE OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION. I AC CEPTED AND RETURNED TO NEW YORK IN I944.

THAT YEAR I LECTURED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF HAYTI ON EDUCATION. I WROTE "COLOR AND DEMOCI CRACY IN I945;THAT YEAR THE NAACP APPOINTED ME AS CONSULTANT TO REPRESENT THEM AT THE UNO AT SAN FRANCISCO. THERE I PREPARED STATEMENTS WROTE ARTICLES AND LECTURED. I INTER VIEWED SOME OF THE DELEGATES. ALSO IN I945, I ATTENDED A FIFTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS IN ENGLAND WHERE I MET THE LEADERS OF THE WEST AFRICAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT. IN I947, I WROTE "THE WORLD AND AFRICA" AND PUBLISHED A PRELIMINARY VOLUME OF THE "ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO I ALSO EDITED A PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE NAACP TO PLACE THE PLIGHT OF AMERICAN N NEGROES BEFORE THE WORLD.

A CHANGE CAME IN MY STATUS IN I948. it was becoming increasingly clear that civilizatio,

I2

COULD NOT MUCH LONGER PERMIT THE MAJORITY OF MEN TO REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND DISEASED EVERYWHERE EFFORTS WERE SPREADING TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH SOCIALISM. WITH THIS TREND I HAD LONG BEEN IN SYMPATHY AND NOW THE WORLD SAW THIS PROGRAM THREATEN BY CONTINUED WORLD WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND THE NAACP HAD BEEN FORMED TO DEAL WITH ONE SPECIFIC PROBLEM ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THIS PROGRAM IN BREADTH OR OBJECT MIGHT ALIENATE SOME OF ITS SUP PORT AND PERHAPS INVITE A CHARGE OF SUBVERSION FROM A REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

PERSONALLY I FAVORED A RADICAL THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT. I OPPOSED COLONIALISM. I FAVORED PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE BELIEFS I HELD AND MUST EXPRESS I TRIED HOWEVER IN EXPRESSING THEM ALWAYS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I WAS NOT SPEAKING FOR THE NAACP BUT AS AN INDIVIDUAL. THE DIRECTORS OF THE NAACP HOWEVER FELT THAT THEY COHLD NOT ALLOW AN OFFICIAL OF THEIR BODY PUBLIC EXPRESS HIS OPINIONS IF THEY WER AT VARIANCE WI WITHWITH THEIR POLICY. I WAS THEREFOR DISMISSED IN I948.

I TOOK AN UNPAID POSITION WITH PAUL ROBESON'S COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS. WHEN IN

1949, LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES OF THE NATION CALLED A SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR PEACE IN NEW YORK, I EAGERLY TOOK PART. THAT SAME YEAR I WENT TO PARIS TO ATTEND THE GREAT WORLD PEACE CONGRESS HELD THERE. LATER WHEN THE SOVIET UNION INVITED 25 WELL-KNOWN AMERICANS TO ATTEND A PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW, I ACCEPTED AND WENT.

BACK IN AMERICA, I JOINED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND RAN FOR SENATOR. I BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU, WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO LET AMERICANS KNOW HOW THE PEACE MOVEMENT WAS SPREADING IN THE WORLD AND PARTICULARLY TO CIRCULATE THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST ATOMIC WEAPONS.

AS A RESULT OF THIS, I AND FOUR OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER, HONEST AND UNSELFISH BELIEVERS IN A GREAT CAUSE WERE INDICTED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL." THIS WE DENIED, BUT WERE TAKEN TO COURT, WHERE I WAS HANDCUFFED AND FINGER PRINTED.

FORCES BACK OF THIS INDICTMENT TRIED TO DISRUPT A BIRTHDAY DINNER IN MY HONOR, BUT FAILED. I MARRIED SHIRLEY GRAHAM AND WE TOURED THE NATION TO RAISE FUNDS FOR MY DEFENSE. A COMMITTEE UNDER ALICE CITRON SENT LETTERS AROUND THE WORLD AND THE SUPPORT WE RECEIVED WAS UNIVERSAL AND ASTONISHING. AFTER SPENDING $35,000, IN COURT EXPENSE, WE WERE ALL ACQUITTED OF THIS ABSURD CHARGE.

I TURNED BACK TO WORK, LECTURING ON PEACE, DEFENDING THE ROSENBERGS, AND PRESENTLY WRITING A NOVEL, TO FINISH MY "BLACK RECONSTRUCTION."

MY LIFE HAS BEEN LONG AND INTERESTING. DESPITE ITS DISAPPOINTMENTS, I HAVE LOVED LIVING. LOOKING BACK TODAY I ATTRIBUTE MY SATISFACTION TO GOOD HEALTH AND WORK WORTH DOING. THIS WORK CENTERED ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF COLOR AND THUS HEMMED ME IN FROM BRAODER FIELDS.

I STILL REGARD IT AS A GREAT PROBLEM OF THIS CENTURY. BUT I SEE NOW AS I DID NOT 50 YEARS AGO THAT BACK OF RACE AND COLOR DISCRIMINATION LURKS A MORE FUNDAMENTAL EVIL WHICH BOTH OBSCURES AND IMPLEMENTS IT: THIS IS THE WILLINGNESS OF CIVILIZED MEN TO LIVE AND THRIVE AT THE PRICE OF THE POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND

DISEASE OF MOST OF THEIR FELLOW MEN. TO MAINTAIN THIS PRIVILEGE, THEY HAVE LONG WAGED WARS UNTIL TODAY WAR THREATENS TO BECOME UNIVERSAL AND CONTINUOUS. BACK OF WAR AND GREED FLOURISHES AS EXCUSE, COLOR PREJUDICE. PEACE THEN IS THE GATE TO JUSTICE AND THENCE THE PATH LEADS THROUGH WORK TO BROTHERHOOD ACROSS THE COLOR LINE.

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46-11-45

June 1958

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. Du BOIS, 1868 - 1958

It is strange what small things determine the course of human lives. My life, for instance, has been conditioned by the color of my skin. This fact, trivial of itself, was of cosmic importance in the eyes of the world in 1868 when I was born. So strongly did color and race absorb my thought that fifty years ago, when I wrote THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK I said: "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line." This has been proven true, although of course not nearly as clearly and logically as I had in mind. We can, however, see today how the Western European world is becoming ranged against the colored peoples of Asia and Africa, and how differences of color and race serve strongly to outline the deeper problems of our day.

Naturally I soon learned that my skin was dark because of my African descent and I began early to take special interest in Africa. The facts I had to learn as any stranger would. First I became emotionally stirred stirred by revelations of Negro arts like the Negro folk songs, which I first learned from hearing the Hampton Institute singers. Later in life I saw specimens of African plastic art and of handwork. I learned what a decisive influence African art had on modern art. I saw that the African artisan was so schooled in appreciation of beauty that he was never content to make a tool which was simply useful. It had also to be carefully ornamented, as in the case of this paddle, and these Congo knives and this extraordinary suit of armor. Iron was probably first welded by Negroes and this suit of chain armor, hand-wrought by black Sudanese in Africa at least five hundred years ago. Every little iron circlet of the 25,000 which it contains is made by hand. And here are chains of slaves. But they were made in England.

My family line comes from two streams. One, predominantly European,

sprang from French Huguenots who came to America and merged with Africa in the West Indies, and then returned to the valley of the Hudson. My grandfather Alexander represents them, and his son, Alfred. The black Burghardts were brought to the valley of the Hudson by the Dutch in the 17th century, where they lived 200 years. My mother Mary married Alfred, and here they are with me as infant.

36-10-148

As a child I went through the public schools, earning some money outside school hours by mowing lawns and splitting kindling. I was graduated from High School in 1884. This is my class, of which I was the youngest. Here are some of my textbooks. My commencement essay was on "Wendell Phillips."

I wanted to go to Harvard college, but I had no money. I was given a scholarship by Congregational Churches to go to Fisk University in Tennessee. There I had a happy three years and then, having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there and graduated in 1890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years' study, and in 1894 I was ready for my life work.

There opened before me four main lines of work and endeavor which over the years I have come to follow: First there was the search for the truth, especially as it related to Negro peoples. My idea was that what we call the Negro Problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems. I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and give half my time to studies of the Negro's problems. In the next thirteen years we issued 15 studies which came to be known around the world. The idea back of them was to study one problem as thoroughly as we could the first year, and then ten years later to come back to a similar

36-10-149

study, with increased facilities and knowledge. The second year we would take another subject, and then repeat that ten years later, and so on through a cycle of ten different studies over a period of a century.

Of course this ambitious program was never realised. We did, however, keep it up for 13 years, and finally, when we had to give up it was because we could not collect the $5000 a year which the studies cost and which included my salary of $1200.

Meanwhile strong resentment was rising among colored people, especially among young men like Monroe Trotter, against the doctrines of Booker Washington. Trotter was jailed for heckling Washington at a public meeting. I strongly resented this and eventually formed the Niagara movement in 1906. This organisation was merged with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I came to New York in 1910 to become one of the five incorporators of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Among the incorporators besides myself was the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, a liberal white woman, Mary Ovington, John Haynes Holmes, a militant minister of the Community Church, and the young Jewish banker, Walter E. Sachs.

For forty years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has organised and led the fight for Negro emancipation and for real democracy in this nation unlimited by restrictions of race and color. With fixing its basic methods and ideals I had much to do by lectures, and conferences, but especially by my editing the [redacted] magazine which I started on my own responsibility. The CRISIS sought to put special emphasis on two things, news concerning the colored people in America, the West Indies and Africa; and also concerning the peoples of Asia and the islands of the sea. These were arranged in little news notes in the section called

"Along the Color Line". Then the CRISIS tried to print pictures of colored people and their doings. Our covers became notable, and our pictures of graduates and of Negro children. Our total job was to make a clearer statement of the position of thinking Negroes concerning their place in America and their future in the world.

36-10-150

Between 1912 and 1930, the CRISIS was self-supporting, paying all salaries including mine; rent, production and distribution. It reached for a time a circulation of over 100,000 copies monthly and a cash income of over $70,000 a year. With the depression, its income fell off and it no longer paid its cost but had to depend in part on subvention from the NAACP. This main organisation continued to grow in influence and power.

Along with these two lines of effort -- search for truth and agitation for the rights of Negroes in the United States, arose naturally the effort to transmute my lifelong interest in Africa into action. This was brought into action as early as 1900, when the United States Government commissioned me to make a series of charts illustrating the condition of American Negroes for the Paris Exposition. By a series of charts and photographs we illustrated the increase in the Negro population, the roots of the African slave trade, education and illiteracy, landholding and home owning. There were thirty-two charts, five hundred photographs and numerous maps and plans. I received a gold medal for this exhibit. This exhibit attracted many Negro visitors from all over the world and some of them met in London and held a Pan-African Conference.** After the First World War, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent me to Paris to study the treatment of American Negro troops. I took advantage of the trip to attempt to start a Pan-African movement.

I attended the great World Races Congress in 1911, of which Felix Adler and I were American secretaries.

36-10-151

I asked the American Peace Commission to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris. They said it was impossible and that the French government would not permit. I turned to the French government through Blaise Diagne, the black under-Secretary of War who had secured the 75,000 black troops to defend Paris. He secured the consent of Clemenceau, the Prime Minister. But the Negroes of the various countries of the world, including the United States, were not allowed to come to the Congress. Nevertheless, a Congress of fifty-eight delegates was assembled in Paris in 1919.

From that beginning we went further. In 1921 we held a large and important Congress, meeting successively in London, Paris and Brussells. We had some two hundred representatives from all over the world, and aroused not only the interest of Europe, but the opposition of the imperial powers. In 1923 we had a small third Congress in Lisbon, Portugal. Then I went to Africa as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia on the occasion of the second inauguration of President King. I tried in 1925 to have a fourth Pan African Congress in Tunis, but the French would not allow it so that finally the Congress was held in New York, interesting but small. There were no further attempts to hold congresses until 1945 when we met in Manchester, England, and there was present Nkrumah, the present Prime Minister designate of the Gold Coast, and Kenyatta, who has been accused of fomenting unrest in Kenya.

Along with my main activities went other efforts quite as important and even more human. For instance, I began my family life by marrying in 1898 while still teaching at Wilberforce, Nina Gomer of Iowa, of Negro and Alsacian descent. We lived together fifty-three years and had two children, but lost the little son in infancy. The daughter still lives and is a junior

I made between 1915 and 1953 seven visits to islands in the West Indies predominantly inhabited byppeoples of Negro descent.

36-10-152

high school teacher. She has a daughter.

Along with all my efforts, as a sort of obbligato, ran my writings. I think at bottom I conceived myself as a writer as well as a scientist, and certainly much more so than an agitator or propagandist. During the era of my scientific search for truth I published my book on the slave trade, my series of Atlanta studies, and the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. During the period of agitation for Negro rights I published five larger works in addition to twenty annual volumes of the monthly, CRISIS magazine. These included a book of essays, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, my biography of JOHN BROWN, a novel of the cotton crop called THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE, a further volume of essays called DARKWATER, and a consideration of the gifts which black folk had made to American civilization. This culminated in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION in 1935, which belonged in a sense to the activities of my search for truth. This work was begun on a grant from the Rosenwald Fund while I was still with the NAACP. I decided to leave that organization in 1934; first because the CRISIS was no longer self-supporting and secondly because I conceived of a broader program for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which I was not able myself to initiate.

Writings which touched the African phase of my career were a little book on the Negro in the Home University Library in 1915, a novel portraying the strife between white and colored peoples called DARK PRINCESS in 1928, and a larger study of Negro history, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW in 1939.

June 1953

1st draft

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. DuBOIS, 1868 - 1953

It is strange what small things determine the course of human lives. My life, for instance, has been conditioned by the color of my skin. This fact, trivial of itself, was of cosmic importance in the eyes of the world in 1868 when I was born. So strongly did color and race absorb my thought that fifty years ago, when I wrote THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK I said: "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line." This has been proven true, although of course not nearly as clearly and logically as I had in mind. We can, however, see today how the Western European world is ranged against the colored peoples of Asia and Africa, and how differences of color and race serve strongly to outline the deeper problems of our day.

36-11-43

Naturally I soon learned that my skin was dark because of my African descent and I began early to take special interest in Africa. The facts I had to learn as any stranger would. First, I became emotionally stirred by revelations of Negro art like the folk songs, which I first learned from hearing the Hampton Institute singers. Later in life I saw specimens of African plastic art and of handiwork. I learned what a decisive influence African art had on modern art. I saw that the African artisan was so schooled in appreciation of beauty that he was never content to make a tool which was simply useful. I had also to be carefully ornamented, as in the case of this paddle, these Congo knives. Iron was probably first welded by Negroes and this suit of chain armor was made by black Sudanese in Africa at least five hundred years ago. Every little iron circlet of the 25,000 which it contains is made by hand. And here are chains of slaves. But they were made in England.

My family line comes from two streams. One, predominantly European,

sprang from French Huguenots who came to America, merged with Africa in the West Indies, and then returned to the valley of the Hudson. My grandfather Alexander represents them, and his son, Alfred. The black Burghardts were brought to the valley of the Hudson by the Dutch in the 17th century, where they lived over 200 years. My mother Mary Burghardt married Alfred Du Bois and here they are with me, their only child.

As a child I went through the public schools of Great Barrington earning some money outside school hours by mowing lawns and splitting kindling. I was graduated from High School in 1884. This is my class, of which I was the youngest . Here are some of my textbooks. My commencement eassy was on Wendell Phillips."

36-11-44

I wanted to go to Harvard College, but I had no money. I was, however, given a scholarship by Congregational Churches to go to Fisk University In Tennessee. There I had a happy three years and then, having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there, graduated in 1890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years' study, and in 1894 I was ready for my life work.

There opened before me four main lines of work and endeavor which over the years I followed: First, there was the search for the Truth, especially as it related to Negro peoples. My idea was that what we call the Negro Problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems. I began this search for facts by undertaking an intensive study of Negroes in Philadelphia, making a house to house survey, asking questions. Then I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and give half my time to studies of the Negro's problems. In the next thirteen years we issued 15 studies which came to be known around the world. The idea back of these investigations was to study one problem as thoroughly as we could the first year, and then ten years

later to come back to a similar study, with increased facilities and knowledge. The second year we would take another subject, and then repeat that ten years later, and so on through a cycle of ten different studies over a period of a century.

Of course this ambitious program was never realized. We did, however, keep it up for 13 years, and finally, when we had to give up it was because we could not collect the $5000 a year which the studies cost which included my salary of $1200.

54-1-96

Meanwhile strong resentment was rising among colored people, especially from young men like Monroe Trotter, alert editor of a Negro newspaper in Boston, against the doctrines of Booker T. Washington. Trotter was jailed for heckling Washington at a public meeting. I strongly protested against this jailing and rallied others around me into an organization which became known as the Niagara Movement. This organization, formed in 1906, was made up of young Negroes who demanded full civil and political rights. After three years we merged with other protestors to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I came to New York in 1910 to become one of its five incorporators and an executive officer.

This marked the second main line of my life work. From the lynching and lawlessness of the South, I had begun to realize that ignorance of the facts was not the sole cause of the Negro problems. That behind this lay ill-will and the willingness to gain by the degradation of black workers. I must therefore turn aside, at least temporarily from study and measurement to agitation and persuation, to what we now call "propaganda", but propaganda based on my knowledge of the truth. My emotional nature was thus loosed from its rigorous restraint and I began to plead for justice.

Besides myself, the incorporators of the NAACP were: a brave, zealous young woman, Mary White Ovington; the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison;

John Haynes Holmes, militant minister of the Community Church and a young jewish banker, Walter E. Sachs.

For forty years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has organized and led the fight for Negro emancipation and for real democracy in this nation unlimited by restrictions of race and color. With fixing its basic methods and ideals I had much to do by lectures and conferences but especially by editing the CRISIS MAGAZINE which I started on my own responsibility. The CRISIS sought to put special emphasis on two things: news concerning the colored people in America, the West Indies and Africa and ~~////~~ news concerning the peoples of Asia and the islands of the sea. These were arranged in little items in the section called "Along the Color Line". The CRISIS also printed pictures of colored people and their doings. Our covers became notable as well as our pictures of Negro graduates and children. Our total job was to make a clearer statement of the position of thinking Negroes concerning their place in America and their future in the world.

36-11-46

Between 1912 and 1930, the CRISIS was self-supporting, paying all salaries including mine, rent, production and distribution. For a time it reached a circulation of over 100,000 copies monthly and a cash income of over $70,000 a year. With the depression its income fell off, but the main organization continued to grow in influence and power.

Along with these two lines of effort - search for truth and agitation for the rights of Negroes in the United States - arouse naturally the effort to transmute my lifelong interest in Africa into action. This happened as early as 1900 when the United States Government commissioned me to make a series of charts illustrating the condition of American Negroes for the Paris Exposition. There were thirty-two charts, five hundred photographs and numerous maps and plans. I received a gold medal for this exhibit. Negro visiters from all over the world

viewed this exposition. Some of them afterwards met in London and held a Pan-African Conference.

I attended the great World Races Congress in London in 1911. Felix Adler, the great Jewish educator and I were American secretaries.

After the First World War, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent me to Paris to study the treatment of ~~American~~ Negro troops. I took advantage of the trip to began a Pan-African movement. I asked the American Peace Commission to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris. They said that the French government would not permit such a meeting. I turned to the French government through Blaise Diagne, the black under-Secretary of War who had secured the 75,000 black troops to defend Paris. He secured the consent of Clemenceau, the Prime Minister. However, Negroes of various countries of the world, including the United States, were not allowed to attend. Nevertheless, a Congress of fifty-eight delegates was assembled in Paris in 1919.

36-11-47

From that beginning we went further. In 1921 we held a large and important Congress, meeting successively in London, Paris and Brussells. We had some two hundred representatives from all over the world, and aroused not only the interest of Europe, but the opposition of the imperial powers. In 1923 we had a small third Congress in Lisbon, Portugal. Then I went to Africa as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia on the occasion of the second inauguration of President King. In 1925 I tried to have a fourth Pan-African Congress in Tunis, but the French would not allow it. Finally this Congress was held in New York City. There were no further attempts to hold Congresses until 1945 when we met in Manchester, England. This meeting was attended by Nkrumah, the present Prime Minister designate of the Gold Coast and by Kenyatta, who has been accused of fomenting unrest in Kenya.

Between 1915 and 1953 I made seven visits to islands in the West Indies predominantly inhabited by peoples of Negro descent.

Along with my main activities went other parrellell efforts quite as important and even more human. For instance, I began my family life by marrying in 1896, while still teaching at Wilberforce, Nina Gomer of Iowa, of Negro and Alsacian descent. We lived together fifty-three years and had two children, but lost the little son in infancy. The daughter still lives and is a Junior High School teacher. She has a daughter.

36-11-42

Along with all my efforts, as a sort of obbligato, ran my writings. Fundamentally I have always conceived myself as a writer as well as a scientist, and certainly much more than as agitator or propagandist. During the era of my scientific search for truth I published my book on the slave trade, my series of Atlanta studies, and the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. During the period of agitation for Negro rights I published five larger and more distinctly literary works in addition to twenty annual volumes of the monthly, CRISIS MAGAZINE. These included a book of essays, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, my biography of John Brown, a novel of the cotton crop called QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE, a further volume of essays called DARKWATER, a consideration of the gifts black folk had made to American civilization.

My writing in itself, subtly but naturally, divided itself into recording facts and efforts to do this with taste and literary skill and also to achieve art in other ways. For instance I wrote plays and poems and encouraged such contributions to the CRISIS * to the distress of some of its sterner readers. My poem on the Atlanta riot was widely quoted and once in a little theatre movement which I helped promote in Harlem, my Krigwa Players won second place in a nation-

wide contest. In the fiftieth year after Emancipation I wrote and staged a pageant in New York, repeated it in Philadelphia and Washington and finally in the Hollywood Bowl, California. These efforts in art expression might have released me from the provincialism of racism. But the color line in the United States did not encourage this.

Writings which touched the African phase of my career were a little book on the Negro in the Home University Library in 1915, a novel protraying the strife between white and colored peoples called DARK PRINCESS and a larger study of Negro history, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW.

This culminated in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION in 1935, which belongs in a sense to the activities of my search for truth. This work was begun on a grant from the ROSENWALD FUND ~~XXXXX~~ while I was still with the NAACP. I decided to leave that organization in 1934; first, because the CRISIS was no long self-supporting and secondly because I conceived of a broader program for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which I was not able to initiate. I thought younger men should carry through. I was sixty-six. I thought my active years had passed. My resignation was received with regret and demands to reconsider but I had decided to accept President John Hope's invitation to return to Atlanta University.

I, therefore, returned to Atlanta University in 1934 for a ten year period in which I finished and published BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, which made it impossible thereafter to repeat the legend that ignorant and venal Negro freedmen were the caused the disasters which followed the Civil War; I founded and, for four years edited a quarterly review of race relations called PHYLON; reorganized on a broader scale my former studies of the Negro problems through the cooperation of thirty southern Negro colleges and the advice of leacing sociologists of the nation.

64-11-93

I planned an Encyclopaeda of the Negro and in 1936 was chosen its Editor-in Chief by a notable group.

That year, 1936, I traveled around the world to study race relations at first hand.

36-11-50

While I was carrying out these plans and expecting to end my life in their development, I was suddenly retired for age on a salary of $150 a month to be reduced after five years. I was startled and bitter. Not only was my life work interrupted but for the first time in my career I faced the problem of bread and butter. I had been no miser. My family was always well housed and clothed. My daughter received good secondary, college training and a master's degree from Columbia. We had traveled a bit and I owed no debts. But my income had always been small and at best had never exceeded $5000 a year. My writings and lectures brought very little and I lost my life insurance when a colored company failed. My only saving was a comfortable seven-room cottage in Baltimore. I was, to be sure, seventy-six years old, but in health and vigor.

Unexpectedly I received several offers of employment. The most attractive came from the NAACP. I was offered the nominal position of Director of Special Research at $5,000 a year and such work as I wished to do so long as it did not interfer with the regular Association work. I accepted gladly and returned to New York in 1944.

My career from 1934 to the present, while broken in 1944, formed what may be called "Efforts for Social Progress," beginning with a return to scientific study and turning to efforts for World Peace and ~~Colored~~ colonial emancipation.

June 1953

On my return to New York, I first went to Haiti on invitation from the government, to lecture on education. I then wrote COLOR AND DEMOCRACY as a protest against Negro disfranchisement and colonialism. Our request for help from several Funds (to publish an Encyclopaedia of the Negro), was finally refused but I published a preliminary volume to quide future scholars.

When the United Nations (Organization), met at San Francisco to set up a permanent body ~~organization~~ the directors of the NAACP were commissioned by the State Department to appoint a consultant. They named me and later added Walter White and Mary Bethune. In San Francisco I sent statements and petitions to commisions; interviewed delegates, and held a few public meetings. I wrote several columns for the Chronicle daily.

26-11-51

This same year I attended a fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, called by the African delegates to the Paris labor union congress. There I met Nkrumah, now premier designate of the Gold Coast, West Africa; and Kenyatta later accused of being involved in the Kenya unrest.

Another change in my career came in 1948, which was inevitable because of the crisis which the world faced in the second half of the century. It was becoming clear that a rich and resourceful civilization could no longer allow the majority of mankind to remain poor, ignorant and sick. Efforts spread everywhere to change these conditions through increased social control of wealth. My thought and ~~efforts~~ work had long been in sympathy with this world trend. On the other hand the NAACP had been formed to settle only one social problem, that of Negro equality in the United States. On no other social reform was there unity of thought in its membership. ~~Moreover, this nation now began to move toward reaction~~ Any change towards wealth control, sympathy with socialism or cooperation with union labor would have alienated much support, (white and black). Moreover the nation now began to move toward reaction in every social reform, to appose the Soviet Union and to regard war as inevitable. I had no power to alter the policy of the NAACP and made no effort to do so. But dispite

my disclaimers, when I favored a Third Party movement, attacked colonial policies and talked Peace, the NAACP was blamed for what I was saying. It was hinted to me that I had been recalled to the NAACP not to work but to rest. I did not and could not take this advice and, as a result, I was dismissed in 1948. I took an unpaid position in Paul Robeson's Council on African Affairs and went on with my work. When, in 1949, liberals and progressives called the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace in New York, I eagerly took part. Later that same year I attended the great Peace Conference in Paris. Then, along with twenty-five prominent Americans, I was invited to attend the Peace Conference in Moscow. I was the only one of the twenty-five who accepted. I went there and on my return visited Poland and Czechoslovakia.

36-11-52

Back in America I became President of the Peace Information Center, which was designed to let the people of America know how the Peace Movement was spreading in the world and particularly to circulate the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons. As a result of this I and other officials of the Peace Information Center were indicted as "agents of a foreign principal." We denied that we were agents, but were taken to court where I was handcuffed and finger printed.

A week after the indictment I and Shirley Graham were married. While out on bail we toured the United States to raise funds for the defense of the five defendants. A committee under Alice Citron sent correspondence all around the world. The support which we received was universal and astonishing.

Finally we were all acquitted of this absurd charge.

I wrote in 1949 a comparative study of the United States and the Soviet Union for which I have not yet secured a publisher. Presently I am trying to finish a novel which will continue Black Reconstruction in fictional form from 1896 to 1954.

June 1953

THE LIFE OF W.E.B. Du BOIS, 1868 - 1953

It is strange what small things determine the course of human lives. My life, for instance, has been conditioned by the color of my skin. This fact, trivial of itself, was of cosmic importance in the eyes of the world in 1868 when I was born. So strongly did color and race absorb my thought that fifty years ago I said: "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line." Color and race are not problems, but they outline more fundamental problems beneath.

38-6-6

Naturally I soon learned that my skin was dark because of my African descent and I began early to take special interest in Africa. The facts I had to learn as any stranger would. First, I became emotionally stirred by revelations of Negro art like the folk songs, which I first learned from hearing the Hampton Insitute singers. Later in life I saw specimens of African plastic art and of handiwork. I learned what a decisive influence African art had on modern art. I saw that the African artisan was so schooled in appreciation of beauty that he was never content to make a tool which was simply useful. It had also to be carefully ornamented, as in the case of this paddle, these Congo knives. Iron was probably first welded by Negroes and this suit of chain armor was made by black Sudanese in Africa at least five hundred years ago. Every little iron ~~circlet~~ of the 25,000 which it contains is made by hand. And here are chains of slaves. But they were made in England.

My family line comes from two streams. One, predominantly European, is represented by my grandfather Alexander and his son, Alfred; my mother's family, the black Burghardts lived in western Massachusetts for over 200 years, as farmers and laborers. Here Alfred Du Bois married Mary Burghardt and I, their only child, was born ~~in 1868.~~

38-6-7

I was born on Church Street, Great Barrington, Massachusetts. This is my High School class of 1884, of which I was the youngest. I earned somemoney outside school hours by mowing lawns and splitting kindling. I wanted to go to Harvard College, but I had no money. I was, however, given a scholarship by Congregational Churches to go to Fisk University in Tennessee. It was to me an extraordinary experience.. I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had only glimpsed before, but who it seemed were bound to me by new and exciting and eternal ties. Never before had I seen young men so self-assured and who gave themselves such airs, and colored men at that; and above all for the first time I saw beautiful girls. Then, having secured a Harvard scholarship I went there, graduated in 1890, and stayed two more years in the Graduate School. The Slater Fund then sent me abroad for two more years' study, and in 1894 I was ready for my life work.

There opened before me four main lines of work and endeavor which over the years I followed: First, there was the search for the Truth, especially as it related to Negro peoples. My idea was that what we call the Negro Problem was really a problem of ignorance; that first we should know the facts concerning race relations and from that come to conclusions concerning methods of settling these problems.

I began this search for facts by my study of the **SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE** of the United States of America. For this I made an intense research in the Harvard library and elsewhere. Eventually this book was published as the first number of the Harvard University studies.

38-6-8

Later I undertook an intensive study of Negroes in Philadelphia, making a house to house survey. I studied the life of this group of 5000 persons, - tracing their ancestry, their experiences, their present occupations and social condition. I made a map of their economic status.

Then I went to Atlanta University to teach history and sociology and give half my time to studies of the Negro's problems. In the next thirteen years we issued 15 studies which came to be known around the world. These studies were continued for thirteen years, but finally the plan had to be given up for lack of funds.

Meantime strong resentment was rising among the younger colored people because of the doctrines of Booker T. Washington which minimized college education and emphasized industrial training. To protest against this the Niagara movement was formed in 1906 to demand full civil and political rights for American Negroes. After three years the Niagara Movement merged with white liberals to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I came to New York in 1910 to become one of the executive officers.

This marked the second main line of my life work. I realized that I must turn aside at least temporarily from study, and devote myself to agitation and persuasion, so that the American people would be willing to take action in the light of Truth. The five incorporators of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were:

a brave, zealous young woman, Mary White Ovington;
the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison;
John Haynes Holmes, militant minister of the Community Church;
and a young Jewish banker, Walter E. Sachs.

38-6-9

For over 40 years the NAACP has led the fight for Negro emancipation, by lectures, conferences and editing the CRISIS magazine. I helped to carry on this work from 1910 to 1934. The CRISIS was started on my own responsibility. I put special emphasis on things concerning colored people. These were arranged in little items in the section called "Along the Color Line." Also we printed pictures of colored people and their activities; of Negro groups? girls and of children; Our xxx total job was to make a clear statement of the philosophy of thinking Negroes concerning their place in America and their future inthe world.

Between 1912 and 1930 the CRISIS was self-supporting and reached for a time a circulation of over 100,000 copies. With the depression its income fell off.

Along with my search for Truth and agitation for the rights of Negroes came the effort to put my interest in Africa into action. In 1900 at the request of the United States government I made a series of 32 charts and collected 500 photographs and maps and plans to illustrate the condition of American Negroes at the Paris Exhibition. The exhibit received a gold medal.

This same year I had a Pan African Conference in London, and in 1911 the Great World Races Congress, also in London.

38-6-10

After the First World War the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent me to Paris, to make a report on the treatment of Negro troops. I asked the American Peace Commission to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris at the time of the Congress of Versailles. They replied that the French government would not permit such a meeting. I therefore turned to the black French Under-Secretary of War, Blaise Diagne, who had secured 75,000 black troops to defend France. He gained the consent of Clemenceau, and while Negroes not already in France were not allowed to come, we held a Pan African Congress of 58 delegates in Paris in 1919. Later in 1921 we held a large and more important Congress, meeting successively in London, Paris and Brusselles. In 1923 a smaller Congress met in Lisbon, Portugal; and I went to Africa as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia on the occasion of the second inauguration of President King. In 1924 a 4th Pan African Congress was held in New York and in 1945 a 5th in Manchester, England. Here I met Nkrumah, the present Prime Minister designate of the Gold Coast, and Kenyatta, since accused of fomenting unrest in Kenya.

Along with my main activities went other parallel efforts quite as important and even more human. For instance, I began my family life by marrying in 1896, while still teaching at Wilberforce, Nina Gomer of Iowa, of Negro and Alsacian descent. We lived together fifty-three years and had two children, but lost the little son in infancy. The daughter still lives and is a Junior High School teacher. She has a daughter.

Along with all my efforts, as a sort of obbligato, ran my writings. Fundamentally I have always conceived myself as a writer as well as a scientist, and certainly much more than as agitator or propagandist. During the era of my scientific search for truth I published my book on the slave trade, my series of Atlanta studies, and the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO. During the period of agitation for Negro rights I published five larger and more distinctly literary works in addition to twenty annual volumes of the monthly, CRISIS magazine. These included a book of essays, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK; my biography of JOHN BROWN; a novel of the cotton crop called QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE; a further volume of essays called DARKWATER; a consideration of the gifts black folk had made to American civilization. My writings included poems and plays. My little theatre movement in Harlem won second place in in a nation-wide contest. In the fiftieth year after Emancipation I wrote and staged pageants in New York, Philadelphia, Washington and finally in the Hollywood Bowl, California.

38-6-11

Writings which touched the African phase of my career were a little book on the Negro in the Home University Library in 1915; a novel portraying the strife between white and colored pwoples called DARK PRINCESS; and a larger study of Negro history, BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW.

This culminated in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION in 1935, which belongs in a sense to the activities of my search for truth. This work refuted the legend that the disorders which followed the

Civil War were due solely to Negro freedmen, but that on the contrary, they helped establish the public school in the south, a new social legislation, and the subdivision of plantations. This book was finished at Atlanta University because in 1934 I left the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The CRISIS was no longer self-supporting and I held that younger people should be encouraged to introduced a broader program for the NAACP. I was sixty-six and thought my active years had passed, and when my friend, John Hope, the president of Atlanta University invited me to return there, I accepted.

In the next 10 years I finished and published BLACK RECONSTRUCTION; I founded and, for four years edited a quarterly review of race relations called PHYLON; re-organized on a broader scale my former studies of the Negro problems through the cooperation of thirty southern Negro colleges and the advice of leading sociologists of the nation. I planned an Encydopedia of the Negro and in 1936 was chosen its Editor-in-Chief by a notable group: James Hardy Dillard; Eugene Kinckle Jones; James Weldon Johnson; Mordecai W. Johnson; Waldo G. Leland, J. E. Spingarn; Monroe N. Work; Alain Locke; Arthur A. Schomburg; Charles H. Wesley; Robert R. Moton; Rayford W. Logan; Bronislaw Malinowski.

That year, 1936, I travelled around the world to study race relations at first hand.

While I was carrying out these plans and expecting to end my life in their development, I was suddenly retired for age on a salary of $150 a month to be reduced after five years. I was

38-6-12

startled and bitter. Not only was my lifework interrupted but for the first time in my career I faced the problem of bread and butter. My income had always been small, and never more than $5000 ax year. My only waving was a home in Baltimore. Unexpectedly I received several offers of employment. The most attractive came from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I was offered the position of Director of Special Research at $5,000 a year and such work as I wished to do so long as it did not interfere with the regular Association work. I accepted gladly and returned to New York in 1944.

38-6-13

My career from 1934 to the present, broken in 1944 by my return from Atlanta to New York, may be called "Efforts for Social Progress." It varied from scientific study to efforts for world peace and colonial emancipation. On my return to New York I lectured in Haiti on invitation from the government; I wrote COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, a protest against Negro disfranchisement and colonialism; I published a preliminary volume to the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent me to the UNO ~~in~~ San Francisco in 1945 as Consultant. There I wrote statements and petitions and interviewed delegates. This same year I attended the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England and in 1947 ~~the~~ wrote THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

Then came another change in my career in 1948 due to the crisis which the world faced in the second half of the century. It was clear that a rich and resourceful civilization could no longer allow the majority of mankind to remain poor, ignorant and sick. Efforts spread everywhere to change these conditions through Socialism and with this trend I had long been in sympathy. On the other hand, the NAACP had been formed to concen-

trate on the one social problem of Negro equality in the United States. Any change from this program would have alienated much of their support, white and black. I made no attempt to alter this policy of the NAACP, but personally I favored a third party movement; attacked colonial policies, and advocated peace with the Soviet Union. While I disclaimed any desire to force my views on the NAACP, nevertheless the NAACP was blamed for what I was saying. It therefore dismissed me in 1948.

38-6-14

I took an unpaid position in Paul Robeson's Council on African Affairs and went on with my work. When, in 1949, liberals and progressives called the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace I eagerly took part. Later that same year I attended the great Peace Conference in Paris. Then, along with twenty-five prominent Americans, I was invited to attend the Peace Conference in Moscow. I was the only one of the twenty-five who accepted. I went there and on my return visited Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Back in America I joined the Progressive Party and ran for State Senator. I became President of the Peace Information Center, which was designed to let the people of America know how the Peace Movement was spreading in the world and particularly to circulate the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons. As a result of this I and other officials of the Peace Information Center were indicted as "agents of a foreign principal." We denied that we were agents, but were taken to court where I was handcuffed and finger printed.

A week after the indictment I and Shirley Graham were married. While out on bail we toured the United States to raise funds for the defense of the five defendants. A committee under Alice Citron sent correspondence all around the world. The support which we received was universal and astonishing.

Finally we were allacquitted of this absurd charge.

I wrote in 1949 a comparative study of the United States with the Soviet Union for which I have not yet secured a publisher. Presently I am trying to finish a novel which will continue BLACK RECONSTRUCTION in fictional form from 1876 to 1954.

38-6-15

36-10-57

THE STALIN PEACE PRIZES

AT THE CELEBRATION OF JOSEPH STALIN'S 70TH BIRTHDAY DECEMBER 21, 1949, THE INTERNATIONAL STALIN PRIZES FOR STRENGTHENING PEACE WERE INSTITUTED. THE DECREE OF THE SUPREME SOVIET SAID:

"THE PRIZES ARE AWARDED TO CITIZENS OF ANY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS OR RACE DISTINCTIONS, FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WARMONGERS AND FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE. PERSONS AWARDED A PRIZE SHALL RECEIVE:

(a) A DIPLOMA
(b) A GOLD MEDAL BEARING THE IMAGE OF STALIN
(c) A MONEY PRIZE OF 100,000 RUBLES. THIS WILL BE PAID IN THE CURRENCY OF THE COUNTRY WHERE THE RECIPIENTS LIVE. (THE CASH VALUE OF THE PRIZE IN AMERICAN MONEY ACCORDING TO PRESENT OFFICIAL RATE IS [redacted] $25,000.)

"A COMMITTEE [redacted] FROM AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD SHALL BE CHOSEN TO NAME ANNUALLY FIVE TO TEN PRIZES.

"THE AWARD IS TO BE MADE EACH YEAR ON THE BIRTHDAY OF JOSEPH [redacted] STALIN - DECEMBER 21, BEGINNING IN 1950."

36-10-58

THE COMMITTEE OF AWARDS WAS AS FOLLOWS:

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE: DMITRI SKOBELTSYN, PROFESSOR IN MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY.

VICE-CHAIRMEN: KUO MO-JO, OF THE ALL-CHINA ASSOCIATION OF WORKERS IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS (CHINA)
LOUIS ARAGON, AUTHOR (FRANCE)

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: MARTIN ANDERSON NEXO (DENMARK); JOHN D. BERNAL (GREAT BRITAIN); JAN DEMEROWSKI (POLAND); BERNHARD KELLERMAN (GERMANY); CONCETTO MARCHESI (ITALY); PABLO NERUDA (CHILE); MIKHAIL SADOVEANU (RUMANIA); ALEXANDER FADEYEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, UNION OF SOVIET WRITERS;
ILYA EHRENBURG, SOVIET WRITER.

36-10-59

THE AWARDS FOR 1950 WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1. FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE, PROFESSOR OF THE COLLEGE DE FRANCE, ~~MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.~~
2. SOONG CHING-LING (MME. SUN YAT-SEN), PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
3. DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON, DEAN OF CANTERBURY (BRITAIN)
4. EUGENIE COTTON, HONORARY DIRECTOR OF THE HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOL IN SEVRES (FRANCE)
5. ARTHUR MOULTON, FORMER PROTESTANT BISHOP (UNITED STATES)
6. PAK DEN AI, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S UNION OF KOREA.
7. HERIBERTO JARA, EX-MINISTER (MEXICO)

PRESENTATION OF THE PRIZES TO THE ABOVE WERE ALL MADE IN MOSCOW EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF BISHOP MOULTON, WHO REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PRIZE.

36-10-60

THE PRIZES FOR 1951 WERE:

1. Kuo Mo-jo, PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
2. PIETRO NENNI, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (ITALY)
3. IKUO OYAMA, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (JAPAN)
4. MONICA FELTON (GREAT BRITAIN) SOCIAL WORKER
5. ANNA SEGHERS, WRITER (GERMANY)
6. JORGE AMADO, WRITER (BRAZIL)

36-10-61

THE PRIZES FOR 1952 WERE:

1. YVES FARGE, OF FRANCE, WHO LED THE FRENCH NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL SINCE ITS INCEPTION.
2. DR. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW OF INDIA, CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL.
3. ELISA BRANCO, PROMINENT MEMBER OF THE BRAZILIAN WOMEN'S FEDERATION.
4. PAUL ROBESON, THE CELEBRATED AMERICAN SINGER.
5. JOHANNES BECHER, LEADING GERMAN POET AND PUBLIC FIGURE
6. THE REV. JAMES ENDICOTT OF CANADA, A ~~TIRELESS~~ FIGHTER FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. IN HIS BOOK, "I ACCUSE" HE EXPOSED THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE GERM WEAPON BY THE "U.N. FORCES" IN KOREA.
7. ILYA EHRENBURG, SOVIET AUTHOR AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE.

ALL OF THEM RECEIVED THEIR AWARDS IN MOSCOW, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PAUL ROBESON, WHO WAS DENIED A PASSPORT BY THE UNITED STATES STATE DEPARTMENT.

36-10-62

FROM THESE FACTS I THINK THIS AUDIENCE WILL EASILY UNDERSTAND HOW GREAT AN HONOR HAS THUS COME TO AMERICA, TO THE NEGRO RACE AND TO PAUL ROBESON. HE IS THUS PLACED AMONG THE GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD AND RECOGNIZED AS A PRIME MOVER IN THE GREATEST CAUSE OF OUR DAY, PEACE. HE IS WITHOUT DOUBT TODAY, AS A PERSON, THE BEST KNOWN AMERICAN ON EARTH, TO THE LARGEST NUMBER OF HUMAN BEINGS. HIS VOICE IS KNOWN IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA, IN THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA AND IN THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS. CHILDREN ON THE STREETS OF PEKING AND MOSCOW, CALCUTTA AND JAKARTHA GREET HIM AND SEND HIM THEIR LOVE. ONLY IN HIS NATIVE LAND IS HE WITHOUT HONOR AND RIGHTS.

OF PAUL ROBESON HIMSELF, I NEED ADD NO WORD TO THIS AUDIENCE. HE FOUGHT HIS WAY UP FROM A LARGE METHODIST MINISTER'S FAMILY IN NEW JERSEY, THROUGH

36-10-63

HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE/ ~~OF~~ OF WHICH /THE WORLD HEARD ONLY /HIS PROWESS ON THE FOOT-BALL FIELD./ /HE STUDIED LAW /AND FACING PRACTICE /TURNED TO ART -+ TO THE MUSIC OF HIS FATHERS /AND THE DRAMA OF LIFE.// HE SANG HIS WAY AROUND THE WORLD /AND ALL OVER THE AMERICAS /UNTIL ONE DAY IN PARIS /HE DARED TELL THE BLACK WORLD /NEVER TO FIGHT /THE ONE NATION /WHICH HAD LEGALLY ABOLISHED /THE COLOR LINE.// HERE WHITE AMERICA /FOUND THE EXCUSE /IT WAS SEARCHING FOR.// IT HASTENED TO SLANDER AND IM-PRISON FROM THE WORLD /THIS GREAT AMERICAN NEGRO.

SONG ON HIS LIPS HE CAME;
SONG ON HIS LIPS HE WENT; -
THIS BE THE TOKEN WE BEAR OF HIM, -
SOLDIER OF DISCONTENT!

MR. ROBESON /RECEIVES THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE /TONIGHT /AT THE HANDS OF HOWARD FAST,/ ESPECIALLY DESIGNATED FOR THIS DUTY /~~BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS~~ BY THE CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE AWARDING COMMINTTEE

6. The Rev. James Endicott of Canada, [redacted] is a tireless fighter for peace and international cooperation. In his book "I Accuse" he exposed the employment of the germ weapon by the "U.N. forces" in Korea.

7. Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet author and Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

All of them received their awards in Moscow, with the exception of Paul Robeson, who was denied a passport by U.S. State Department.

Mr. Robeson receives the Stalin Peace Prize tonight at the hands of Howard Fast, especially designated for this duty by the Union of Soviet Republics.

From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the Negro Race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as a prime mover in the greatest cause of our day, Peace. He is without doubt today as a person the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe Asia and Africa. Children on the streets of Pe kin and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakarta greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights.

Song on his lips he came;
Song on his lips he went; -
This be the token we bear of him, -
Soldier of Discontent!

32-12-36

for the West Indies and South America + on the islands of the seas

Of Paul Robeson himself, I need add no word to this audience. He fought his way up from a large methodist ministers family in New Jersey, through High School and college, of which the world heard only his prowess on the foot-ball field. He studied law and facin practice turned to art -- to the music of his fathers and to the drama of life. He sang his way around the world and all over the Americas until one day in Paris he dared tell the black world never to fight the one nation which had legally abolished the color line. Here white America found the excuse it was searching for. It hastened to slander and imprison from the world this great American Negro

FROM TRUCE TO PEACE

WE HAVE STOPPED THE PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN DELIBERATE MURDER AND DESTRUCTION IN KOREA AND TURNED FROM PRELUDE TO A THIRD WORLD WAR TOWARD A VISION OF UNIVERSAL PEACE AND THE ABOLITION OF WAR AS A METHOD OF PROGRESS.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE, BECAUSE THE WORLD IS DIVIDED BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. THAT SOCIALISM INVOLVES THE SLAVERY OF THE WORKER, GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF LAND, TOOLS AND MATERIALS, AND PLANNED ECONOMY. THEY CONCEIVE THE "FREE WORLD" AS LANDS WHERE WORKERS ARE FREE TO LABOR AS THEY WILL, WHERE PROPERTY IS OWNED mainly BY INDIVIDUALS, AND WHERE THE GOVERNMENT IS DEMOCRATIC. AND MANY ARGUE THAT BETWEEN THESE SYSTEMS OF WORK THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL ONE FORCIBLY CONQUERS THE OTHER.

46-10-136

THE ANSWER TO THIS FIERCELY HELD BELIEF [redacted] IS TWOFOLD: FIRST, IF IT WERE TRUE, HOW WOULD MURDER AND CONTINUOUS AND WORLD-WIDE [redacted] DESTRUCTION SETTLE IT AND PROVE WHICH SYSTEM IS BEST? AND SECONDLY,

IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE WORLD TODAY IS DIVIDED INTO TWO SUCH SYSTEMS. IT IS NOT TRUE NOW, IT NEVER WAS TRUE, AND TO OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE IT NEVER CAN BE TRUE.

WHAT WE HAVE IN THE WORLD, AS ALL MEN KNOW, IS LAW, PHYSICAL, [redacted], MORAL AND STATUTORY. AND LAW LIMITS FREEDOM. ALL LAW EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS ENSLAVES TO SOME EXTENT ALL WHO OBEY IT AND ALL MEN MUST TO SOME DEGREE OBEY LAW. TO QUESTION OR DENY THIS IS IDIOTIC. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS NO CONTRADICTION TO SAY THAT THE USE OF LAW IS TO INCREASE ULTIMATE FREEDOM; THAT MEN HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO USE DISCIPLINE AND COMPULSION IN ONE AREA IN ORDER TO ENLARGE FREEDOM IN ANOTHER AND MORE IMPORTANT AREA.

46-10-137

TO PICTURE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC AS COUNTRIES WHERE, Because of Socialism, THERE IS NO FREEDOM IS AS UNFAIR AND AS UNTRUE AS IT IS TO TALK OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES BEING FREE TO WORK AND ACT AS THEY PLEASE, [redacted] NEITHER OF THESE PICTURES IS TRUE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS TRUE THAT FROM THE BEGINNING OF HUMAN WORK THERE HAS BEEN THE PROBLEM AS TO HOW FAR WORK CAN AND OUGHT TO BE DONE BY THE INDIVIDUAL FOR HIMSELF OR BY GROUPS OF PERSONS WORKING FOR THE COMMON GOOD. AS THE WORLD HAS PROGRESSED THIS WORK OF INDIVIDUALS TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD HAS INCREASED, WHICH IS MERELY ANOTHER WAY OF SAYING THAT THERE HAS BEEN A PROGRESSIVE PREVALENCE OF SOCIALISM FROM THE BEGINNING OF TIME TO OUR OWN DAY. THUS SOCIALISM DOMINATED PRIMITIVE FAMILY LIFE AND BROADENED TO CLAN AND STATE. COMMUNISM WAS USUAL IN SCORES OF EARLY RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC GROUPS, INCLUDING CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, BUDDHISM AND MONASTERIES AND INDIAN TRIBES. AS SOCIETY GREW, SOCIALISM HAD TO PERSIST. SINGLE FARMERS COULD NOT RUN FARMS SATISFACTORILY; EVEN FISHING AND HUNTING CALLED FOR COOPERATION. AND WHEN WEAVING WENT INTO FACTORIES, BUSINESS BECAME SOCIALISTIC. WITH MODERN BIG BUSINESS THIS SOCIALISM BECAME AS WIDE AS INDUSTRY AND BEGAN TO DOMINATE THE STATE AND THE INTER-NATION.

46-10-138

THAT THE SOCIALISTIC FORM OF INDUSTRY HAS TODAY TRIUMPHED NOBODY COULD CLAIM. THE SOVIET UNION HAS REPEATEDLY DECLARED THAT FULL SOCIALISM HAS NOT BEEN REACHED IN RUSSIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE UNITED STATES THE INCREASE OF COMPULSORY WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE GREAT ENDS OF ESTABLISHING AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH SHALL SERVE ALL HAS REACHED TREMENDOUS PROPORTIONS.

ONE WOULD BE LED TO BELIEVE BY CURRENT COMMENT IN AMERICA THAT THE VISITOR TO A STEEL MILL IN THAT GREAT RUSSIAN CENTER ON THE DNIEPER RIVER WOULD SEE CHAINED SLAVES, OBEYING UNQUESTIONED ORDERS TO RUN THE VAST FACTORIES; WHILE IN PITTSBURGH THE FREE AMERICAN CITIZEN ARRIVES AT WORK WHEN HE WILL, DOES WHAT HE WANTS TO DO AT WAGES WHICH HE HIMSELF SETS! THIS IS, OF COURSE, SHEER NONSENSE. IN ALL ESSENTIAL PARTICULARS THE RUSSIAN STEEL MILL WORKS IN THE SAME WAY AS THE AMERICAN TO DO THE SAME JOB. SLAVE LABOR CANNOT MAKE STEEL AND LABOR IN NO FACTORY CAN BE FREE. THE LAW OF GRAVITY WORKS IN BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRY IN BOTH DEPENDS IN THE END ON SCIENCE, DISCIPLINE AND CHARACTER.

46-10-139

IF THEN, WE WILL LOOK FRANKLY AT WHAT IS CALLED BIG BUSINESS ON THE ONE HAND AND WHAT IS CALLED SOCIALISM ON THE OTHER WE WILL THUS SEE THAT INSTEAD OF THEIR BEING ANTAGONISTIC AND CONTRADICTORY SYSTEMS THEY ARE IN MANY RESPECTS THE SAME. // BIG BUSINESS IS SOCIALISM - THAT IS, THE COMPULSORY ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS SO THAT BY PLAN AND LAW THE WORK OF THE WORLD CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, SOCIALISM IS BIG BUSINESS. IT IS USING THE SAME KINDS OF METHODS AND PLANNING FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ~~A NATIONAL WORK~~ THE SAME THING - BUT IT DOES NOT STOP THERE

SINCE THE 17th CENTURY THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE HAVE PUT THEIR FAITH AND EFFORT INTO THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. // CAPITALISM WAS SOCIALISM OF COURSE. // IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT INDIVIDUAL EFFORT TO SATISFY INDIVIDUAL WANT. // NO. // IT WAS SOCIAL EFFORT FOR SOCIAL WANTS. // BUT IT BROUGHT ONE INNOVATION. THE WORKER NO LONGER OWNED AND DISTRIBUTED HIS PRODUCT. // HE BARTERED THAT AND WAS COMPELLED TO BARTER IT FOR WAGES SET BY THE OWNER OF THE TOOLS AND MATERIALS USED. // CONFLICT NATURALLY AROSE: ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS STRIVING TO GET A LARGER SHARE OF THE PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR;

46-10-140

ON THE PART OF THE CAPITALIST WHO ASSUMED THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRY WAS HIS WELFARE AND NOT THE GENERAL GOOD.

THERE IS NO CALL TO DENY OR BELITTLE WHAT INDUSTRY IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM HAS DONE FOR MANKIND. // IT HAS BUILT A NEW AND MARVELLOUS CIVILIZATION WHICH TODAY BELTS THE WORLD. // AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST IN HONESTY AND FOR OUR FUTURE GUIDANCE NEVER FORGET ITS FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS. // FIRST OF ALL IT RESTORED HUMAN SLAVERY JUST AS IT WAS DYING OUT, AND REPLANTED IT RIGHT HERE IN NEW, DEMOCRATIC AMERICA. IT TOOK A CATACLYSM TO REMOVE IT EVEN IN PART AND MUCH OF IT STILL REMAINS. // THIS EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM CAME TO BE USED PRIMARILY FOR THE GOOD OF

46-10-141

THE PRIVILEGED FEW AND ONLY INCIDENTALLY FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF MANKIND. THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WAS THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD HUMAN DESIRE BE HARNESSED TO EFFORT AND SACRIFICE; AND THAT ONLY A MINORITY OF MANKIND COULD BE CIVILIZED OR DESERVED TO BE. SCIENCE AND RELIGION LONG COMBINED TO SPREAD THIS PROPAGANDA.

THESE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY DO NOT FOR A MOMENT TOUCH THE [redacted] BASIS ON WHICH ALL HUMAN INDUSTRY IS FOUNDED: NAMELY THAT THE HUMAN BEING IS ENTITLED TO ALL THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, ACTION AND EXPRESSION THAT IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE SATISFACTION OF HIS NEEDS OF SURVIVAL. ON THIS ALL NATIONS AND SYSTEMS AGREE. THEY DISAGREE WIDELY AS TO WHAT MEN NEED FOR SURVIVAL, AS TO WHAT MEN SHOULD SURVIVE [redacted], AND AS TO WHO AMONG THE MASSES OF THE EARTH CAN REALLY BE CONSIDERED MEN.

46-10-142

IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MOST PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND [redacted] AMERICA OUGHT TO BE ASSURED BY INDUSTRY OF FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER, [redacted] OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND SUFFICIENT LEISURE FOR HEALTH. [redacted] THERE

WAS SOME DOUBT IF THIS MINIMUM [redacted] COULD BE GUARANTEED TO THE WHITE WORKERS [redacted] AND NORTH AMERICAN MASSES WITHOUT DANGER TO THE VERY EXISTENCE OF MODERN CAPITALISTIC INDUSTRY. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS NO QUESTION AMONG MOST [redacted] MEN THAT MODERN INDUSTRY COULD NOT GUARANTEE THIS MINIMUM TO THE COLORED PEOPLES OF EARTH OR TO NUMBERS OF WHITES OUTSIDE WESTERN EUROPE and North America. IT WAS CONSIDERED inevitable [redacted] THAT THESE PEOPLES COULD AND SHOULD BE USED AS COMPULSORY LABORERS FOR THE COMFORT OF THE WHITE WORLD AND THE ONLY QUESTION WAS AS TO WHICH IMPERIAL POWER SHOULD CONTROL AND ENJOY THIS LABOR. DISPUTE AS TO THIS CAUSED THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WAS BACK OF THE SECOND AND THE REAL TEMPTATION TO A THIRD World War

46-10-143

DURING THIS TIME IT WAS CONTINUALLY ASSERTED THAT A SOCIALIST STATE WAS A DREAM OF IDEALISTS AND IMPOSSIBLE OF REALIZATION. THAT HUMAN NATURE WOULD NOT SUPPORT A STATE WHOSE INDUSTRY WAS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH AND NOT FOR FORTUNATE gifted AND SELF-ASSERTIVE INDIVIDUALS. THE FEW SCATTERED EFFORTS AT SOCIALISM before 1900 FAILED BEFORE FORCE, AND IN FACTION AND BLOOD.

THEN IN THE FIRST [redacted] OF OUR CENTURY, ONE OF THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE EARTH HALF

WAS COMPELLED AGAINST THE WISH OF MANY OF ITS RADICAL LEADERS TO MAKE AN EXPERIMENT IN COMPLETE STATE SOCIALISM. WESTERN EUROPE TRIED TO SUPPRESS THIS RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BY MILITARY FORCE ~~AND FAILED~~. AND BUT IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE BEST WORLD THOUGHT THAT RUSSIAN COMMUNISM eventually must ~~[illegible]~~ FAIL. THE EXPERIMENT HAS ~~DID~~ NOT FAILED. WE DIFFER IN JUDGING ITS DEGREE OF SUCCESS. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE EXISTS TODAY IN THE WORLD A NUMBER OF STATES WHO ARE TRYING TO CARRY ON INDUSTRY FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE, BY PUTTING ITS PLANNING AND CONDUCT IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE INSTEAD OF IN THE CONTROL OF PRIVATE OWNERS OF CAPITAL. THERE IS still STRONG FEELING THAT THESE EXPERIMENTS WILL FAIL. ~~BUT~~ WHEN, HOWEVER, THAT ~~OPINION~~ HOPE GOES FURTHER. AND IT ASSERTS THAT THE EFFORTS IN THEMSELVES ARE NOT SINCERE, THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A CONSPIRACY AGAINST ~~THE~~ PART OF THE WORLD WHICH HAS FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES DOMINATED MANKIND, AND THAT THIS WORLD MUST GO TO UTTER AND BOUNDLESS WAR TO STOP THE EXPERIMENT.

HERE HONEST AND REASONABLE MEN MUST CALL A HALT. THIS IS GOING BEYOND THE EVIDENCE AND IT ASKS IMPOSSIBLE SACRIFICE. [redacted] for ~~impossible~~ UNATTAINABLE SUCCESS

would lack of its own inner weakness

46-10-44

9 A

ANYONE WHO THINKS, ~~THEREFORE,~~ THAT DIFFERENCE OF ~~THOUGHT~~ OPINION IS GOING TO BE SETTLED BY FORCE IS SURELY FORGETFUL OF HISTORY. SOCIALISM, EVEN IF IT WERE CRUSHED IN A THIRD AND FOURTH WORLD WAR, WOULD BY THE VERY NATURE OF THE CASE BE REBORN AGAIN AND AGAIN UNTIL EVENTUALLY THE OBJECTS FOR WHICH IT IS STRIVING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED AMONG MEN. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, THE METHODS OF BIG BUSINESS BY WHICH A GROUP OF WEALTHY FINANCIERS, OWNERS AND TECHNICIANS CARRY ON INDUSTRY SO AS TO MAKE THEMSELVES RICH AND POWERFUL, IS AGAIN IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE, GOING TO DISAPPEAR, OR CIVILIZATION FAILS.

46-10-45

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE WORLD IS (THEIN) NOT THAT USUALLY DISCUSSED, NAMELY WHETHER TODAY THE NATIONS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN ARE MORE PROSPEROUS THAN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OR LESS. IT IS THE MORE RATIONAL QUERY, IS THIS EXPERIMENT TOWARD A STATE SOCIALISM A DANGEROUS FAILURE WHICH THREATENS CIVILIZATION? THAT IT INVOLVES COMPULSION NO ONE DENIES. IT INVOLVES STRICT RULES AND DISCIPLINE, BUT IT DOES NOT INVOLVE AND WAS NEVER PLANNED TO INVOLVE SLAVERY, ABSOLUTE STOPPAGE OF INDIVIDUAL OPINION AND OF CREATIVE THOUGHT. THE TESTIMONY AS TO THIS CANNOT BE GAINSAID.

46-10-146

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE REST OF THE MODERN WORLD WHERE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION HAVE BEEN EMPHASIZED, [redacted] (WITH) EVERY STEP THAT THE LABORING CLASSES IN THE GREAT IMPERIAL COUNTRIES TOOK TOWARD MAKING THEIR WELFARE THE OBJECT OF THE STATE, THERE WAS THE CONCURRENT EFFORT (BY BOTH LABOR & CAPITAL) TO REDUCE THE PEOPLES OF COLONIAL COUNTRIES TO THE POSITION OF CONTRIBUTING MOST OF THEIR WEALTH AND WORK TO THE COMFORT AND EVEN EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE IMPERIALISTS. [redacted]

(IT WOULD BE EXTRAORDINARY, IF) WHILE THEN, THE LEADING CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES LIKE THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES ~~CAN~~ (COULD NOT) BOAST THAT THE INCOME AND COMFORT OF THEIR WORKING CLASSES HAS GREATLY INCREASED IN THE LAST CENTURY AND IS TODAY HIGHER THAN THAT OF MOST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, (NEVERTHELESS) ~~ON THE OTHER HAND~~ THEY MUST ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE PROSPERITY OF THESE WHITE WORKING CLASSES HAS BEEN BUILT ON AND STILL STANDS UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE DEGRADATION OF COLONIAL PEOPLES, ON THEIR POVERTY, THEIR DISEASE AND THEIR IGNORANCE. AND THE GREAT WORLD BATTLE WHICH HAS ENSUED HAS NOT BEEN THE BATTLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS THE SUSTAINED AND ~~INCREASING DETERMINED~~ (UNREMITTING) EFFORT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO ESCAPE THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITE RACE. (TODAY WE ARE ADVERTISING THAT ANY ATTEMPT of BACKWARD PEOPLE TO ESCAPE NORDIC EXPLOITATION, WILL INCUR THE ARMED ENMITY OF THE USA)

46-10-147

THE OBJECT OF SOCIALISED EFFORT IS THE SAME FOR BIG BUSINESS AS FOR THE SOCIALISTIC STATE, i.e. THE SAVING OF TIME AND EFFORT IN THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN WANTS. BUT IN BIG BUSINESS THIS SAVING GOES (MAINLY) TO PRIVATE PROFIT, WHILE IN THE SOCIALISTIC STATE THE EFFORT IS MADE TO HAVE IT GO TO PUBLIC WELFARE. THE STATE MAY

NOT WHOLLY BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END AND THE PRIVATE PROFITEER MAY DONATE HIS INCOME IN PART TO PUBLIC ENDS. NEVERTHELESS THE SOCIALISTIC STATE STRIVES FOR THE BROAD IDEA AND THE RICH MAN STRIVES TO DO AS HE PLEASES WITH THE PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY.

WE MUST NOT AVOID FACING THESE FACTS. IT MUST NOT BE ASSUMED THAT CRITICISM OF BIG BUSINESS IS THE ENVY OF THE WEAK AND UNSUCCESSFUL, OR THE TREASON OF THOSE WHO LOVE RUSSIA MORE THAN AMERICA. IT IS ON THE CONTRARY GENUINE FEAR AMONG THOSE WHO KNOW THE DANGER TO LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA IN FACE OF WHAT BIG BUSINESS IS DOING TODAY AND WHAT IT IS PROPOSING TO DO TOMORROW.

841-01-94

WHEN IN THE DAYS OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT THE ATTENTION OF THE NATION WAS TURNED TO THE ~~GROWING~~ rising POWER OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY, WE WERE SEEING THE ~~ORGANIZATION~~ GROWTH OF "TRUSTS" WHICH WERE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES FOR SELF-DEFENSE AND CUTTING DOWN COMPETITION. WHEN THIS FORM OF CONTROL WAS ATTACKED, THE ATTACK WAS COUNTERED SIMPLY BY BUYING UP COMPETING BUSINESSES AND UNITING THEM INTO HUGE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DOMINATED AT FIRST WHOLE INDUSTRIES, THEN INTER-DEPENDENT GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES,

ALWAYS WIDENING FROM REGIONAL TO NATIONAL CONTROL, AND FINALLY TO INTERNATIONAL DOMINATION THROUGH CARTELS.

THIS IS SOCIALISM, MODIFIED ONLY BY THE FACT THAT CONTROL IS IN THE HANDS OF SMALL AUTOCRACIES ACTING SECRETLY, UNKNOWN PERSONALLY TO THE PUBLIC, AND SUBJECT TO NO DEMOCRATIC PROCESS; AND SECONDLY THAT THE OBJECT OF THE VAST INDUSTRIAL PROCESSES IS PRIMARILY THE WEALTH AND POWER OF THE OWNERS AND ONLY SECONDARILY THE WELFARE OF THE NATION AND OF MANKIND. KINGS, or

THE METHODS OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION TODAY PROVE THIS. NO LONGER IS it ONLY THE SAVINGS OF THRIFTY WHICH ARE OFFERED TO HELP INDUSTRY, BUT THE TAXES OF THE POOR ARE CONFISCATED FOR CAPITALIZING MONOPOLIES OWNED BY PRIVATE PERSONS. YOU AND I GAVE 500 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO ESTABLISH AN ARTIFICIAL RUBBER INDUSTRY IN TIME OF WAR. NOW THE GOVERNMENT offers ~~GIVES~~ THIS INDUSTRY TO THE RUBBER TRUST AT the trusts ~~ITS~~ OWN PRICE. YESTERDAY WE RESCUED ELECTRIC POWER FROM PRIVATE MONOPOLY; TODAY THE GOVERNMENT IS STARTING TO RETREAT FROM WATER CONTROL AND TO TURN IT BACK TO "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE".

46-10-149

IT IS RIDICULOUS TO CLAIM TODAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS PECULIARLY ASSOCIATED WITH BIG BUSINESS AND ENTIRELY ABSENT FROM SOCIALISTIC STATES. BIG BUSINESS WAS NEVER DEMOCRATIC AND NEVER CAN BE, WITHOUT COMPLETELY CHANGING INTO SOCIALISM. THIS IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT WHEN IN ANY COUNTRY OR REGION DEMOCRATIC CONTROL INCREASES, IMMEDIATELY BIG BUSINESS MOVES IN TO LIMIT DEMOCRACY BY ITS VAST POWER OVER EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES.

THIS HAS BEEN TRUE IN OUR GOVERNMENT OF CITIES, AND OF OUR STATES, AND TODAY UNDER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER EVERY BRANCH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, CIVIL AND MILITARY, IS DOMINATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS. THUS WE KNOW THAT OUR NATIONAL POLICIES MUST PRIMARILY BE WHAT BIG BUSINESS WANTS AND NOT WHAT DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT WANT IF IT DARED THINK OR TALK. WE BECOME DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE WHEN OUR PRESS AND NEWS SERVICES ARE CONTROLLED, OUR CIVIL RIGHTS CURTAILED, OUR DEMOCRACY IMPAIRED, OUR TAXES INCREASED. THEN, AND THIS IS MOST FRIGHTENING, BIG BUSINESS

44-10-150

TODAY IS HEADED FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR, BECAUSE OF THE PROFIT OFFERED BY CHINESE COOLIES AND AFRICAN SERFS, AND NOT (in order) TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND "FREE ENTERPRISE"

T... YET READY FOR
STATE S... GIFTS OF NATURE,
AND THE ...BRAINS OF THE WORLD.
M... ...VIET UNION AND
ITS NEI... ...SE THEY WERE SO
OPPRESSI... ...GRADUALLY.

46-10-151a

46-10-151a

THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES DO NOT FOR THE MOST PART RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SOCIALISM IN THIS NATION, THIS IS BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN CURIOUSLY LUCKY OUR FREE GIFTS FROM NATURE HAVE BEEN ENORMOUS AND WE HAVE RECEIVED BY IMMIGRATION THE BEST BRAIN AND BRAWN OF THE WORLD. IN THIS WE DIFFER FROM MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD. THESE OLDER PEOPLES HAVE SUFF FERED TOO GRIEVOUSLY AND TOO LONG FROM INJUSTICE AND AND THEFT TO BE WILLING TO PUT OFF LONGER THE SOCIALIZ ATION OF WEALTH

MOST OF US DO NOT LIKE THIS. SOME FEAR IT WIL WILL SET A BAD EXAMPLE AND INTERFERE WITH OUR PROFITS. NEVERTHELESS IS THIS WORLD DECISION ANY OF OUR BUSIN NESS? HAVE WE A RIGHT TO INTERFERE? CAN WE STOP SOCIALIS ISM BY FORCE AND SHOULD WE IF WE COULD? ARE WE EQUIPP ED TO BE MORAL ARBITERS OF THE EARTH?

OR DO OUR WEALTH AND COMMERCE ENTITLE US TO DICTATE THE ECONOMIC PATTERNS OF THE WORLD?

IN THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY TODAY THERE ARE WIDE DIFFERENCES OF METHOD. IN THIS NATION WE HAVE MUCH SOCIALISTIC EFFORT IN MAIL CARRYING, IN HIGHWAYS, IN WATER CONTROL, IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND SCANDINAVIA, PARTIAL STATE SOCIALISM. IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SISTER STATES WE HAVE THE EFFORT AT COMPLETE STATE SOCIALISM, HERE THEN IS WIDE DIFFERENCE, BUT NO CLEAR CUT DIVISION INTO TWO GREAT SYSTEMS WHICH MUST FIGHT EACH OTHER OR DIE.

THERE IS HOWEVER ONE VAST DIVISION, AS OLD AS IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION AND THAT IS

IF THIS IS "CREEPING SOCIALISM" THE DIRECTION OF ITS MOVEMENT IS NOW TOWARD PRIVATE MONOPOLY AND AWAY FROM DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

46-10-152A

~~THERE IS, HOWEVER, ONE VAST RIFT AND ONE AS OLD AS IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION, AND THAT IS~~ THE WORLD BATTLE ALONG THE COLOR LINE, BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR CONTROL OF CHEAP, IGNORANT AND DISEASED LABOR IN ASIA AND AFRICA, IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, AND IF POSSIBLE AGAIN IN EAST EUROPE AND THE BALKANS, AS AGAINST THE STRUGGLING AND EMERGENT PEOPLES OF THE EXPLOITED

46-10-152B

AND RAVAGED MASSES OF THE EARTH. IN THIS BATTLE THE UNITED STATES, LED BY ITS MOST POWERFUL BUSINESS CORPORATIONS, IS HELPING FRANCE, (PORTUGAL, BELGIUM) BRITAIN AND HOLLAND RETAIN THEIR COLONIES; (IS) TAKING SIDES WITH MONEY, ARMS AND INFLUENCE AGAINST THE STRUGGLING MASSES OF INDO-CHINA (SOUTH AMERICANS) [illegible] AND (STANDS) BESIDE (SUCH) EASTERN TYRANTS (as) SINGHMAN RHEE, CHIANG KAI CHEK AND BAO DAI, (who for) AS LEADERS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. AGAINST THIS UNHOLY ALLIANCE THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD (slowly) IS RANGING ITSELF, AND THE PRESENT EFFORT OF BIG BUSINESS IS TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD FROM SLAVERY AND EXPLOITATION TO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO THE RIGHT ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD'S WORK, [illegible].

TO PREVENT (any) RULE OF REASON. (IN FACING THESE FACTS) TODAY OUR LIBERTIES ARE DYING. SURELY MOST OF YOU MUST REALIZE UNDER WHAT REIGN OF TERROR ANY AMERICAN CITIZEN LIVES TODAY WHO DARES THINK AND SAY WHAT HE THINKS. WE MUST PUBLICLY TESTIFY AS TO OUR BELIEFS, PAST AND PRESENT, (we are asked to) SPY ON OUR NEIGHBORS. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HONEST, EFFICIENT WORKERS FROM COMMON LABORERS TO COLLEGE PROFESSORS ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO EARN A LIVING SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT AGREE WITH CURRENT DICTATORS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

46-10-1530

46-10-1536

18 POLICE STRANGERS LISTEN IN ON OUR PHONES, READ OUR MAIL, SPY ON OUR MOVEMENTS AND PRODUCE CONFESSED LIARS TO TESTIFY ON OUR ACTIONS. WE LIVE IN A POLICE STATE THAT IS BENT ON WAR, BECAUSE WAR IS PROFIT.

BUT WE HAVE, TODAY, THIS YEAR AND THIS MONTH, THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY OF BEGINNING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF A REAL AND WORLD-OLD CONTROVERSY. IT DOES NOT INVOLVE JUDGMENT ~~CONDEMNATIONS~~ OF THE PRESENT LEADING IDEAS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY. IT only demands ~~IF~~ IF WE CAN TURN TO METHODS OF PEACE AND REASON ~~WE CAN BE SURE~~ DO THAT IN THE END WE may RECONSTITUTE AND GUIDE THE WORK OF THE WORLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, AND THAT THESE PEOPLE WILL INCLUDE NOT ONLY THE WHITE PEOPLE BUT YELLOW BROWN AND BLACK PEOPLE. THIS IS THE GREAT CHANCE THAT LIES IN OUR HANDS TODAY. IF WE DO NOT GRASP IT WE MAY AGAIN BE TURNED ASIDE TO THOSE SEAS OF HUMAN BLOOD BY WHICH IN THE PAST WE HAVE TRIED IN VAIN TO RETRIEVE OUR MISTAKES. MAY I CONCLUDE WITH THE WORDS OF A GREAT COMMUNIST, THE (HEBREW) PROPHET ISAIAH:

"HO, EVERY ONE THAT THIRSTETH, COME YE TO THE WATERS, AND HE THAT HATH NO MONEY, COME YE, BUY, AND EAT; YEA, COME, BUY WINE AND MILK, WITHOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE."

45-01-94

Du Bois ALP 9/30/53

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

WHILE THERE IS AMONG US/MUCH EMPHASIS ON DEMOCRACY,/ THERE IS TOO LITTLE THOUGHT AND EXPLANATION/AS TO HOW DEMOCRACY CAN BE REALIZED/IN ACTUAL LIFE.// TO PLATO, THE GREAT PHILOSOPHER,/ DEMOCRACY SEEMED EASY./ HIS REPUBLIC ENVISIONED A SMALL GROUP/OF EDUCATED AND SPECIALLY TRAINED/GUARDIANS./ /THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PERSONS/HAD NO VOICE IN POLITICS./ SINCE THESE GUARDIANS/WERE MASTERS OF THE ACCUMULATED WISDOM/OF THE DAY,/AND WERE DISCIPLINED IN CHARACTER/ AND WELL-KNOWN TO EACH OTHER./ THE SELECTION OF ACTUAL OFFICIALS/COULD BE SETTLED/BY LOT.

IN THE LATER GREEK DEMOCRACY,/ THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CITIZENS/WAS STILL SMALL.// THEY LIVED IN AN AREA/NOT LARGER THAN A MODERN CITY WARD./ /THEY ALL SPOKE THE SAME LANGUAGE/AND INHERITED THE SAME CULTURE./ /THEY WERE KNOWN TO EACH OTHER PERSONALLY/AND MET OFTEN./ /THEY HAD TIME FOR MEETING,/TALKING AND READING,/BE-CAUSE SLAVES/DID ALL THE WORK,/ AND INCOME FOR SUPPORT/WAS SECURE./ /HERE DEMOCRACY CONSISTED/OF ELECTING BY BALLOT/THE MAN ~~WHICH~~ WHO MOST OF HIS FELLOWS/THOUGHT BEST

401-01-24

FITTED/FOR CARRYING OUT POLICIES/WHICH ALL UNDERSTOOD.

COMPARE THE SIMPLICITY/AND CERTAINTY/OF THIS DEMOCRATIC METHOD/WITH WHAT AMERICANS/ARE EXPECTED TO DO/ IN MAINTAINING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT/IN A CITY OF SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE/AND IN A NATION OF 160 MILLION/OF ALL DEGREES OF EDUCATION/ AND IGNORANCE/AND OF EVERY SORT OF BACKGROUND./ / ANY DIRECT SELECTION/OF POLICIES AND OFFICIALS,/ WITH ANYTHING LIKE/COMMONSENSE AND CERTAINTY,/ IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE/ WITHOUT CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT/AND ORGANIZED MACHINERY.

THIS/PARTY ORGANIZATION/TRIES TO ~~SUPPLY~~ PROVIDE./ /A GROUP OF PERSONS,/MOSTLY UN-PAID VOLUNTEERS,/ TRIES TO SUPPLY THE MASS OF VOTERS/WITH INFORMATION ON POLICIES/ TO BE DECIDED/AND PERSONS FITTED TO CARRY OUT/THESE POLICIES.// THIS IS NO EASY TASK./ IT IS SELDOM/THAT AN ELECTORATE IS CONFRONTED/WITH SIMPLE DECISIONS/BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG./ / USUALLY/THE PROPOSITIONS TO BE VOTED ON/ARE COMPLICATED,/ CALLING FOR TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE/ HISTORY AND INVESTIGATION./ / PERSONS CAPABLE AND WILLING/ TO PUT THE BEST POLICIES/INTO PRACTICE/ARE NOT KNOWN TO ALL VOTERS/PERSONALLY.

401-01-25

THEY MUST BE SELECTED/BY THOSE WITH PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE/OF THEIR LIFE AND CHARACTER.// THIS IS THE JOB/WHICH THE PARTY ORGANIZATION/SEEKS TO PERFORM/FOR THE MASS OF VOTERS/WHO CANNOT DO THIS/FOR THEMSELVES.// YET MOST PERSONS/TAKE NO PART IN SUCH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION/AND SEEM TO REGARD/SOLICITATION TO TAKE PART/AS ALMOST IMPUDENT INTERFERENCE/WITH THEIR WORK/AND SOLELY IN THE INTEREST/OF WHAT THEY CONTEMPTUOUSLY CALL/"POLITICIANS".

IF THE MASS OF INTELLIGENT CITIZENS/WANT TO MAINTAIN IN AMERICA/A REAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT/AND NOT LET IT DEGENERATE/INTO GOVERNMENT BY GAMBLERS, CRIMINALS,/GRAFTERS AND BIG BUSINESS,/THEN THEY MUST REALIZE/THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT AUTOMATIC/BUT ON THE CONTRARY/IS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED/OF HUMAN TASKS./ TO GET SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE/TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THEIR OWN BESTS INTERESTS/AND THE WELFARE OF THEIR CHILDREN/DEMAND,// AND TO ELECT AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES/MEN WHO KNOW/WHAT SHOULD BE DONE/AND ARE ABLE/AND WILLING TO DO IT,/ CALLS FOR ORGANIZATION, STUDY,/ TIME,/ACTION AND MONEY.// IT IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT/OF MODERN JOBS.

46-10-126

AND ON THIS POLITICAL ACTIVITY,/WHICH MUST GO ON/BEFORE ELECTIONS/AND BETWEEN/AND CONCURRENT WITH THEM,/ IS THE VERY FOUNDATION/ON WHICH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT RESTS/ AND WITHOUT WHICH/IT FAILS UTTERLY.

THUS POLICY AND PLATFORM/COME FIRST IN PARTY WORK.// NEXT COMES THE CANDIDATE TO CARRY OUT THE PLATFORM.// BETWEEN THE TWO/MUST COME LOYALTY AND DEPENDABILITY;/ IF THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY/ARE NOT WILLING TOFOLLOW PARTY ADVICE,/ THEY DO NOT BELONG IN THE ORGANIZATION.// IF THE PARTY GIVES WRONG ADVICE/AND NAMES UNFIT CANDIDATES,/ THEN TOO,/ ADHERENTS MAY AND MUST LEAVE.// BUT IF THE PARTY LINE/HAS BEEN AGREED ON/WITH DEBATE, TEACHING/AND DEMOCRATIC DECISION,// AND IF SUITABLE CANDIDATES/HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED AND CHOSEN,/ THEN UNLESS THE PARTY/CAN COUNT ON UNDIVIDED AND LOYAL SUPPORT/ITS EXISTENCE BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE.

IT IS TRUE,/PARTY LOYALTY CURTAILS/THE LIBERTY OF ITS MEMBERS./ /YOU CANNOT HAVE YOUR CAKE/AND EAT IT/EVEN IN POLITICS.// UNLESS YOU UNITE ON POLICY/AND CANDIDATE/YOU WILL BE AT THE MERCY/OF OTHER PARTIES AND INTERESTS/WHO WILL PRESENT

46-10-127

YOU WITH A PLATFORM AND CANDIDATE WHICH YOU DID NOT MAKE AND CANNOT QUESTION. THIS LEADS TO THE PERPETUALLY RECURRING "LESSER EVIL". YOU CANNOT GET WHAT YOU WANT, THEREFORE TAKE THE BEST OFFERED. THIS DILEMMA IS THE STANDARD METHOD OF GETTING RID OF THIRD PARTIES.

BUT WITHOUT THIRD PARTIES THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY. NEITHER PARTIES NOR MEN ARE ALWAYS JUST RIGHT AND WRONG. OLD PARTIES LONG IN OFFICE AND ABLE TO ESCAPE CRITICISM TEND AUTOMATICALLY TO PERPETUATE THEIR RULE AND TO MAKE REVOLT DIFFICULT. I AM NATIVE OF ~~WAS BORN IN~~ A STATE AND TOWN WHERE ON ACCOUNT OF LONG CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY, MEN WERE BORN INTO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, NEVER VOTED ANY OTHER TICKET, AND REGARDED A DEMOCRAT AS SOMETHING WITH WHICH DECENT PEOPLE DID NOT ASSOCIATE, MUCH LESS VOTE FOR.

46-10-128

A THIRD PARTY, THEN, IS NOT MERELY ANOTHER SET OF CANDIDATES. IT IS AN INSTRUMENT TO FORCE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY WHEN AND WHERE IT FAILS. IT IS AN INSTITUTION WHICH THE ESTABLISHED PARTIES MUST ALWAYS FEAR, BECAUSE IT OFFERS ESCAPE FROM THE DILEMMA OF BEING OFFERED THE SAME POLICY UNDER TWO NAMES OR

BEING COMPELLED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CANDIDATES WHO WILL DO THE SAME THING NO MATTER ON WHAT TICKET THEIR NAMES APPEAR.

BUT TO PLAY THIS ROLE THE THIRD PARTY MUST BE A REAL PARTY WHICH CAN DEPEND UPON A LOYAL FOLLOWING SO LONG AS IT DOES AN HONEST AND EFFICIENT JOB. THERE IS NO USE OF ALL THE HARD WORK AND MONEY AND HEARTBREAK WHICH A CAMPAIGN ENTAILS IF WHEN THE ELECTION COMES THE ENROLLED MEMBERS OF THE PARTY ARE GOING TO WANDER OFF AT THEIR OWN SWEET WILLS, NEGLECT ~~EXCEPT~~ TO GO TO THE POLLS OR COME UP WITH THE STARTLING INFORMATION THAT WE CANNOT WIN THEREFORE WHY VOTE? THIS IS JUST WHAT ENTRENCHED POLITICAL POWER COUNTS UPON TO PUT THE CITY OR THE NATION TO SLEEP.

46-10-129

THIS IS THE CASE IN AMERICA TODAY. MOST AMERICAN VOTERS SAY WHAT'S THE USE? WE CAN'T WIN WHAT WE WANT AND WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT WE WANT. LET'S AT LEAST VOTE AGAINST WHAT WE DON'T WANT, EVEN IF WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT THAT IS. ANYBODY WHO GOES INTO A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OUGHT TO KNOW THAT ALL CAN'T WIN AND THAT HIS

PARTY MAY LOSE.// HE MUST REALIZE THAT HIS PARTY/IS NOT LED BY ANGELS/NOR HOLY PROPHETS;/ /THAT IT DIGS FOR TRUTH/AND SWEATS FOR ACTION/JUST AS ALL OTHER HUMAN AGENCIES./ /IF IT LISTENS TO CRITICISM,/ SEEKS LEADERSHIP OF REASON,/THEN IT DESERVES/ IN THE CRISIS OF ELECTION/LOYAL SUPPORT AND UNITED COOPERATION./ /IT PREPARES TO SUFFER DEFEAT/WITH A HIGH HEART.// THERE NEVER WAS TRUE VICTORY/WITHOUT THE PRELUDE/ OF DEFEAT /AND DEFEAT AGAIN/AND AGAIN.

ON THE OTHER HAND/IF ENTRENCHED POWER/KNOWS THAT AN INTELLIGENT PROTEST VOTE/CAN BE INVARIABLY COUNTED ON;/ THAT THERE WILL BE A THIRD PARTY/WITH AN HONEST PROGRAM/AND CAPABLE CANDIDATES/ ON THE ELECTION TICKET,/ LOYALLY SUPPORTED BY THE PARTY'S FULL STRENGTH,// THEN/IN THE LONG RUN/THAT PARTY'S PLAN WILL TRIUMPH/OR OTHER PARTIES/WILL SURRENDER ~~TO ITS PLAN.~~ AND MAKE THAT PLAN THEIR OWN.

46-10-131

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

WHILE THERE IS AMONG US MUCH EMPHASIS ON DEMOCRACY, THERE IS TOO LITTLE THOUGHT AND EXPLANATION AS TO HOW DEMOCRACY CAN BE REALIZED IN ACTUAL LIFE. TO PLATO, THE GREAT PHILOSOPHER, DEMOCRACY SEEMED EASY. HIS REPUBLIC ENVISIONED A SMALL GROUP OF [illegible] AND SPECIALLY TRAINED GUARDIANS. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PERSONS HAD NO VOICE IN POLITICS. SINCE THESE GUARDIANS WERE MASTERS OF THE ACCUMULATED WISDOM OF THE DAY, AND WERE DISCIPLINED IN CHARACTER AND WELL-KNOWN TO EACH OTHER, THE SELECTION OF ACTUAL OFFICIALS COULD BE SETTLED BY LOT.

IN THE LATER GREEK DEMOCRACY, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CITIZENS WAS STILL SMALL. THEY LIVED IN AN AREA NOT LARGER THAN A MODERN CITY WARD. THEY ALL SPOKE THE SAME LANGUAGE AND INHERITED THE SAME CULTURE. THEY WERE KNOWN TO EACH OTHER PERSONALLY AND MET OFTEN. THEY HAD TIME FOR MEETING, TALKING AND READING, BECAUSE SLAVES DID ALL THE WORK, AND INCOME FOR SUPPORT WAS SECURE. HERE DEMOCRACY CONSISTED OF ELECTING BY BALLOT THE MAN WHOM MOST OF HIS FELLOWS THOUGHT BEST

-2-

FITTED FOR CARRYING OUT POLICIES WHICH ALL UNDERSTOOD.

COMPARE THE SIMPLICITY AND CERTAINTY OF THIS DEMOCRATIC METHOD WITH WHAT AMERICANS ARE EXPECTED TO DO IN MAINTAINING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN A CITY OF SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE AND IN A NATION OF 160 MILLION OF ALL DEGREES OF EDUCATION AND IGNORANCE AND OF EVERY SORT OF BACKGROUND. ANY DIRECT SELECTION OF POLICIES AND OFFICIALS, WITH ANYTHING LIKE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CERTAINTY, IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT AND ORGANIZED MACHINERY.

THIS PARTY ORGANIZATION TRIES TO SUPPLY. A GROUP OF PERSONS, MOSTLY UNPAID VOLUNTEERS, TRIES TO SUPPLY THE MASS OF VOTERS WITH INFORMATION ON POLICIES TO BE ADOPTED AND PERSONS FITTED TO CARRY OUT THESE POLICIES. THIS IS NO EASY TASK. IT IS SELDOM THAT AN ELECTORATE IS CONFRONTED WITH SIMPLE DECISIONS BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG. USUALLY THE PROPOSITIONS TO BE VOTED ON ARE COMPLICATED, CALLING FOR TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE, HISTORY AND INVESTIGATION. PERSONS CAPABLE AND WILLING TO PUT THE BEST POLICIES INTO PRACTICE ARE NOT KNOWN TO ALL VOTERS PERSONALLY.

THEY MUST BE SELECTED BY THOSE WITH PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR LIFE AND CHARACTER. THIS IS THE JOB WHICH THE PARTY ORGANIZATION SEEKS TO PERFORM FOR THE MASS OF VOTERS WHO CANNOT DO THIS FOR THEMSELVES. YET MOST PERSONS TAKE NO PART IN SUCH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND SEEM TO REGARD SOLICITATION TO TAKE PART AS ALMOST IMPUDENT INTERFERENCE WITH THEIR WORK AND SOLELY IN THE INTEREST OF WHAT THEY CONTEMPTUOUSLY CALL "POLITICIANS".

36-10-54

IF THE MASS OF INTELLIGENT CITIZENS WANT TO MAINTAIN IN AMERICA A REAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND NOT LET IT DEGENERATE INTO GOVERNMENT BY GAMBLERS, CRIMINALS, GRAFTERS AND BIG BUSINESS, THEN THEY MUST REALIZE THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT AUTOMATIC BUT ON THE CONTRARY IS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED OF HUMAN TASKS. TO GET SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS AND THE WELFARE OF THEIR CHILDREN DEMAND, AND TO ELECT AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES MEN WHO KNOW WHAT SHOULD BE DONE AND ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO DO IT, CALLS FOR ORGANIZATION, STUDY, TIME, ACTION AND MONEY. IT IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT OF MODERN JOBS,

AND ON THIS POLITICAL ACTIVITY, WHICH MUST GO ON BEFORE ELECTIONS AND BETWEEN AND CONCURRENT WITH THEM, IS THE VERY FOUNDATION ON WHICH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT RESTS AND WITHOUT WHICH IT FAILS UTTERLY.

THUS POLICY AND PLATFORM COME FIRST IN PARTY WORK. NEXT COMES THE CANDIDATE TO CARRY OUT THE PLATFORM. BETWEEN THE TWO MUST COME LOYALTY AND DEPENDABILITY; IF THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY ARE NOT WILLING TOFOLLOW PARTY ADVICE, THEY DO NOT BELONG IN THE ORGANIZATION. IF THE PARTY GIVES WRONG ADVICE AND NAMES UNFIT CANDIDATES, THEN TOO, ADHERENTS MAY AND MUST LEAVE. BUT IF THE PARTY LINE HAS BEEN AGREED ON WITH DEBATE, TRACING AND DEMOCRATIC DECISION, AND IF SUITABLE CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED AND CHOSEN, THEN UNLESS THE PARTY CAN COUNT ON UNDIVIDED AND LOYAL SUPPORT ITS EXISTENCE BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE.

IT IS TRUE, PARTY LOYALTY CURTAILS THE LIBERTY OF ITS MEMBERS. YOU CANNOT HAVE YOUR CAKE AND EAT IT EVEN IN POLITICS. UNLESS YOU UNITE ON POLICY AND CANDIDATE YOU WILL BE AT THE MERCY OF OTHER PARTIES AND INTERESTS WHO WILL PRESENT

YOU WITH A PLATFORM AND CANDIDATE WHICH YOU DID NOT MAKE AND CANNOT QUESTION. THIS LEADS TO THE PERPETUALLY RECURRING "LESSER EVIL". YOU CANNOT GET WHAT YOU WANT, THEREFORE TAKE THE BEST OFFERED. THIS DILEMMA IS THE STANDARD METHOD OF GETTING RID OF THIRD PARTIES.

36-10-53

BUT WITHOUT THIRD PARTIES THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY. NEITHER PARTIES NOR MEN ARE ALWAYS JUST RIGHT AND WRONG. OLD PARTIES LONG IN OFFICE AND ABLE TO ESCAPE CRITICISM TEND AUTOMATICALLY TO PERPETUATE THEIR RULE AND TO MAKE REVOLT DIFFICULT. I WAS BORN IN A STATE AND TOWN WHERE ON ACCOUNT OF LONG CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY, MEN WERE BORN INTO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, NEVER VOTED ANY OTHER TICKET, AND REGARDED A DEMOCRAT AS SOMETHING WITH WHICH DECENT PEOPLE DID NOT ASSOCIATE, MUCH LESS VOTE FOR.

A THIRD PARTY, THEN, IS NOT MERELY ANOTHER SET OF CANDIDATES, IT IS AN INSTRUMENT TO FORCE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY WHEN AND WHERE IT FAILS. IT IS AN INSTITUTION WHICH THE ESTABLISHED PARTIES MUST ALWAYS FEAR, BECAUSE IT OFFERS ESCAPE FROM THE DILEMMA OF BEING OFFERED THE SAME POLICY UNDER TWO NAMES OR

BEING COMPELLED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CANDIDATES WHO WILL DO THE SAME THING NO MATTER ON WHAT TICKET THEIR NAMES APPEAR.

BUT TO PLAY THIS ROLE THE THIRD PARTY MUST BE A REAL PARTY WHICH CAN DEPEND UPON A LOYAL FOLLOWING SO LONG AS IT DOES AN HONEST AND EFFICIENT JOB. THERE IS NO USE OF ALL THE HARD WORK AND MONEY AND HEARTBREAK WHICH A CAMPAIGN ENTAILS IF WHEN THE ELECTION COMES THE ENROLLED MEMBERS OF THE PARTY ARE GOING TO WANDER OFF AT THEIR OWN SWEET WILLS, WHOLLY TO GO TO THE POLLS OR COME UP WITH THE STARTLING INFORMATION THAT WE CANNOT WIN THEREFORE WHY VOTE? THIS IS JUST WHAT ENTRENCHED POLITICAL POWER COUNTS UPON TO PUT THE CITY OR THE NATION TO SLEEP.

THIS IS THE CASE IN AMERICA TODAY. MOST AMERICAN VOTERS SAY WHAT'S THE USE? WE CAN'T WIN WHAT WE WANT AND WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT WE WANT; LET'S AT LEAST VOTE AGAINST WHAT WE DON'T WANT, EVEN IF WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT THAT IS. ANYBODY WHO GOES INTO A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OUGHT TO KNOW THAT ALL CAN'T WIN AND THAT HIS

PARTY MAY LOSE. HE MUST REALIZE THAT HIS PARTY IS NOT LED BY ANGELS NOR HOLY PROPHETS; THAT IT DIGS FOR TRUTH AND SWEATS FOR ACTION JUST AS ALL OTHER HUMAN AGENCIES. IF IT LISTENS TO CRITICISM, SEEKS LEADERSHIP OF REASON, THEN IT DESERVES IN THE CRISIS OF ELECTION LOYAL SUPPORT AND UNITED COOPERATION. IT PREPARES TO SUFFER DEFEAT WITH A HIGH HEART. THERE NEVER WAS TRUE VICTORY WITHOUT THE PRELUDE OF DEFEAT AND DEFEAT AGAIN AND AGAIN.

36-10-56

ON THE OTHER HAND IF ENTRENCHED POWER KNOWS THAT AN INTELLIGENT PROTEST VOTE CAN BE INVARIABLY COUNTED ON; THAT THERE WILL BE A THIRD PARTY WITH AN HONEST PROGRAM AND CAPABLE CANDIDATES ON THE ELECTION TICKET, LOYALLY SUPPORTED BY THE PARTY'S FULL STRENGTH, THEN IN THE LONG RUN THAT PARTY'S PLAN WILL TRIUMPH OR OTHER PARTIES WILL SURRENDER TO ITS PLAN.

(THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY)

American Labor Party Dinner, New York
October 8, 1953

Du Bois 10/8/53 ALP dinner

The only hope for organized resistance to the fascist tendencies which control our country today; the only recognized political party in New York that stands unequivocally for Peace and world conference to end war; for the overthrow of McCarthyism, the witch hunts and race prejudice, is the American Labor Party. The greatest issue at stake for the coming campaign is maintaining the strength and activity of this party. Current signs, then, of division in its support are so frightening that the undersigned venture to issue this protest:

It is both the right and the duty of the ALP to seek the support of everyone and every organization which subscribes to its platform. The ALP therefore welcomes the support not only of Democrats, Republicans and Liberals, but also of Socialists and Communists. This does not mean that the ALP accepts the programs of these various groups, but it does mean that in so far as any of these groups accepts its program it gladly seeks its support. Any other attitude would be repudiation of its own beliefs and of the democratic process.

On the other hand, when a party or a group accepts the platform of the ALP, the ALP can and does expect real support. It has, for instance, become standard procedure to charge that Communists seek always to disrupt and never really cooperate. Historically this is false, and this campaign must not lend credence to this calumny. When, then, the Daily Worker declares the ALP platform and candidates the best in the field, it cannot logically advise its followers to vote against them or to change them in midstream. This does not for a moment deny that the Worker could wish for a different program, but since this other program is not in the field, united support of the best in the field is the only proof of the reality of its support of the ALP. You do not ask a man nor a party to commit suicide because you can imagine a better

specimen.

We, as supporters of the American Labor Party have the greatest confidence in Vito Marcantonio and admiration for what he has done. Not a single member of Congress has the record for liberal consistency and courageous advocacy of peace and decency that he has. We hope and will strive to see that he can continue to play this role.

Great as is the necessity of overthrowing the Impelliteri regime, to fight the menace of Tammany Hall, and to repudiate the opportunist politicians, nevertheless the greatest thing that can issue from this campaign is the increased strength of the ALP.

36-11-54

The Daily Worker admits that the platform and candidates of the ALP are the best in the field. It must not, then, appear to oppose and frustrate this program by dividing the strength which today is behind it. It might have been possible at the beginning of the campaign to have subordinated the ALP to a fusion movement. The argument against this was the impossibility of accomplishing this without surrendering the existence of the ALP as a party; ~~but also~~ and too, this tactic would admit that the defeat of a particular candidate or the election of a man slightly better than the worst was more important than the survival of a party which would make it impossible to elect such officials in the future. Therefore the ALP refused to seek such a coalition but stuck to its own platform and candidates. In this ~~action we~~ decision, democratically, and unanimously arrived at, we think it acted with far-sighted wisdom. We do not believe that either Wagner nor Halley would be an improvement on Impellitteri.

We therefore appeal to all people who want the best party to win in this campaign and to build up against the worst parties the greatest amount of popular protest, to stand solidly behind the ALP and to yield to no feelings of personal dislike or temptation to destroy the part if the whole is

not available.

We hope that the vote for the ALP in this campaign will be so high that it cannot be ignored in future campaigns.

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36-10-4

Du Bois

CHICAGO
Oct. 1958

COLONIALISM

NOTHING ILLUSTRATES BETTER THE BLIGHT OF COLONIALISM ON MODERN CIVILIZATION THAN THE COLONY OF GUIANA NOW THRUST ANEW UPON THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD.

GUIANA ORIGINALLY WAS A GREAT SLICE OF NORTHEASTERN SOUTH AMERICA, BETWEEN THE ORINOCO AND AMAZON RIVERS AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. IT CONTAINED IMPORTANT PARTS OF VENEZUELA AND BRAZIL. IN THE 16th CENTURY, WITH THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD, THE PORTUGESE BEGAN POURING IN SLAVES INTO THIS REGION. BY THE AID OF NEGROES, THE PORTUGESE PENETRATED THE VALLEY OF THE AMAZON FROM THE PARANA TO GUIANA. NEGROES HELPED THEM CONQUER THE LAND, FIGHTING AGAINST THE FRENCH IN RIO DE JANEIRO IN 1711. NEGROES CARRIED UPON THEIR WELL-MUSCLED BACKS THE FULL WEIGHT OF THAT PORTUGESE EMPIRE IN THE 18th CENTURY, AS THEY ALONE CARRIED THE WEIGHT OF THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE FOR THE FIRST HALF OF THE NEW 19TH CENTURY. THERE WERE REPEATED INSURRECTIONS AMONG THE BRAZILIAN NEGROES. THE PALMARES IN 1695, A TRIBE OF SLAVES, HELD BACK AN ARMY OF SEVEN THOUSAND AND THEIR LEADERS COMMITTED SUICIDE WHEN FINALLY DEFEATED.

36-10-50

THE DUTCH SUPPLANTED THE PORTUGESE AS SLAVE TRADERS ON THE AFRICAN COAST AND BROUGHT THE FIRST SLAVES TO THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT. IN SOUTH AMERICA THEY SETTLED GUIANA IN 1616 AND BEGAN THE CULTIVATION OF SUGAR CANE. LATER, TO CURB THE REVOLTING NEGROES, THEY BROUGHT IN EAST INDIAN COOLIES. THE SO-CALLED BUSH NEGROES IN THE INTERIOR OF GUIANA WERE DESCENDANTS OF RUNAWAY SLAVES, AND EARLY ESTABLISHED VILLAGES AND AN ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT. BY THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY THEY HAD LARGE SETTLEMENTS ON THE SURINAME RIVER, AND BEFORE THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY THEY WERE MAKING REPEATED RAIDS ON THE PLANTATIONS. FROM 1715 TO 1763 FIGHTING CONTINUED UNTIL AT LAST FORMAL TREATIES BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND NEGROES WERE MADE. TODAY THE BUSH NEGROES RETAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND when THEY DRINK WITH THE WHITE MAN THEIR TOAST IS "FREE."

EVENTUALLY THE ENGLISH FORCED THE DUTCH OUT OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND BECAME THE GREAT SLAVE TRADERS OF THE WORLD. THEIR EMPIRE IN AMERICA CENTERED IN THE BARBADOS,

JAMAICA AND OTHER WEST INDIA ISLANDS AND IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES ON THE MAINLAND. LARGE NUMBERS OF NEGROES WERE IMPORTED, REACHING A TOTAL OF OVER 50,000 ANNUALLY LATE IN THE 18TH CENTURY. BETWEEN 1680 AND 1786 IT IS ESTIMATED THAT OVER TWO MILLION SLAVES WERE IMPORTED INTO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. EVEN YOUNG IRISH PEASANTS WERE "HUNTED DOWN AS MEN HUNT DOWN GAME, AND WERE FORCIBLY PUT ON BOARD SHIP, AND SOLD TO THE PLANTERS IN BARBADOS."

36-10-51

THE SMALLER PART OF THIS WIDER TERRITORY OF GUIANA HAS TODAY BEEN DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS: BRITISH GUIANA, THE SIZE OF WEST GERMANY, HAS A POPULATION OF NEARLY 400,000, OF WHICH 3% ARE WHITE, 42% EAST INDIAN, AND 38% NEGRO. IT EXPORTS SUGAR, RUM, RICE, GOLD, DIAMONDS AND BAUXITE.

DUTCH GUIANA IS SMALLER, WITH 200,000 INHABITANTS, MOSTLY EAST INDIANS AND NEGROES. IT EXPORTS RUM, COFFEE AND BAUXITE. FRENCH GUIANA IS THE SMALLEST, WITH ONLY 28,000 PERSONS. IT DEPENDS ON GOLD, AND ONCE WAS A JAIL FOR FRENCH CRIMINALS.

THE FIGHTING, KILLING AND STEALING WHICH HAS CENTERED AROUND THIS LAND

BETWEEN 1595 AND TODAY IS A TERRIBLE STORY OF MODERN IMPERIALISM. BRITISH GUIANA BEGAN TO PROSPER IN OUR DAY, AND WE ARE INTERESTED IN IT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS EXPORTS BUT BECAUSE IT IS NEAR VENEZUELA OIL WHICH WE OWN AND OVER WHICH WE ONCE WANTED TO FIGHT ENGLAND.

AS PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE THE WEST INDIES, INCLUDING GUIANA, HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEETHING WITH DISSATISFACTION WITH INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS -- WAGES, SCHOOLS, HOUSING AND HEALTH. THEY HAVE INCREASED EFFORT TOWARD DEMOCRATIC SELF-CONTROL. JAMAICA, GUIANA AND SEVERAL ISLANDS HAVE SECURED NEW CONSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE DEMOCRATIC ON THE FACE BUT ALWAYS WITH "RESERVE" POWERS VESTED IN A WHITE BRITISH GOVERNOR WHO PROTECTS INVESTORS AND INDUSTRY. IN JAMAICA A SHREWD POLICY OF "DIVIDE AND RULE" HAS MANAGED SO FAR TO ENCOURAGE DEMAGOGUES AND RESTRAIN THE REVOLT OF THE WORKING CLASSES, BUT GUIANA HAS EMERGED AND HAS RECENTLY SET UP A YOUNG STATE WHICH TOOK GREATER CARE OF WORKERS AND LESS OF BRITISH OR AMERICAN INVESTORS. THE RESULT HAS BEEN THAT THE STATE HAS BEEN OVERTHROWN. THE "SWEET YOUNG QUEEN"

AT WHOSE CORONATION THE WORLD HAS RECENTLY GAPED, SIGNED AN ORDER IN COUNSEL, TO ABOLISH THE CONSTITUTION; AND THE "FREE DEMOCRACIES" OF THE WORLD, LED BY MR. DULLES, HAVE APPLAUDED VOCIFEROUSLY. THEY FEAR THAT BRITISH GUIANA IS ATTEMPTING REVOLUTION WHICH MAY SPREAD TO SOUTH AMERICA AS IT HAS ALREADY TO GUATEMALA.

THEY ARE QUITE RIGHT. THEIR ONLY MISTAKE IS AT CALLING "REVOLUTION" ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, EVEN WHEN IT COMES ABOUT NOT THROUGH FORCE AND VIOLENCE BUT BY DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS. HERE IS A TEST OF OUR PROFESSIONS OF FREEDOME AND DEMOCRACY. AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, WE ARE FAILING SPLENDIDLY.

36-10-52

MR. LOVETT AND FRIENDS:

THE MEETING AT PARIS IN THE SPRING OF 1949, OF THE PARTISANS OF PEACE, NOW KNOWN AS THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, WAS THE MOST IMPRESSIVE GATHERING OF HUMAN BEINGS WHICH I HAVE EVER SEEN. THE HIGH IDEAL OF PEACE ON EARTH AFTER TWO DEVASTATING WORLD WARS AND IN THE SHADOW OF A THIRD, WAS VOICED IN THE SWARMING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS WHO THRONGED THE BUFFALO STADIUM AND ECHOED FROM FAR PRAGUE WHERE ASIA MET TO GREET US. LATER MEETINGS ALL OVER EUROPE AND IN ASIA AND AFRICA, CULMINATING IN THE UNFORGETTABLE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE HORROR OF THE ATOM BOMB, HAVE MADE THIS ORGANIZATION ONE OF THE GREATEST AMONG MEN, HOLDING HIGH THE IDEAL OF RELEASE FROM THE WORST THREAT OF OUR DAYS TO CIVILIZATION.

I AM EMBARRASSED WHEN THIS BODY OF GREAT, LEARNED AND SELF-SACRIFICING PERSONS REGARDS MY FEW AND INEFFECTIVE EFFORTS FOR PEACE WORTHY OF NOTICE. I KNOW THAT THROUGH ME THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS CONVICTION THAT THE

46-10-134

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TODAY MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION IS TO BLAME FOR THE TERRIBLE DANGER OF CONTINUED MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, AND WISHES THEREFORE TO RECOGNIZE ANY WORD NO MATTER HOW UNHEARD AND UNHEEDED, WHICH HAS BEEN RAISED HERE FOR PEACE. FOR THIS REASON ALONE I RECEIVE IN ALL HUMILITY THESE TOKENS OF REWARD FOR WHAT I HAVE TRIED TO DO. BEFORE THIS BRUTAL JUGGERNAUT OF WEALTH AND FORCE MY WORDS HAVE BEEN FRUITLESS AND FUTILE; BUT AT LEAST THEY HAVE BEEN SPOKEN.

46-10-135

Du Bois

Chicago
Oct. 1953

FROM TRUCE TO PEACE

We have stopped the participation of American citizens in deliberate murder and destruction in Korea and turned from prelude to a third World War toward a vision of universal peace and the abolition of war as a method of progress.

There are, however, some people who say that peace is impossible, because the world is divided between socialism and free enterprise; that socialism involves the slavery of the worker, government ownership of land, tools and materials, and planned economy. They conceive the "free world" as lands where workers are free to labor as they will, where property is owned mainly by individuals, and where the government is democratic. And many argue that between these systems of work there can be no peace until one forcibly conquers the other.

36-11-15

The answer to this fiercely held belief is twofold: First, if it were true, how would murder and continuous and world-wide destruction settle it and prove which system is best? And secondly, it is <u>not</u> true that the world today is divided into two such systems. It is not true now, it never was true, and to our present knowledge it never can be true.

What we have in the world, as all men know, is Law, physical, moral and statutory. And Law limits freedom. All law everywhere and always enslaves to some extent all who obey it, and all men must to some degree obey law. To question or deny this is idiotic. On the other hand it is no contradiction to say that the use of law is to increase ultimate freedom; that men have always tried to use discipline and compulsion in one area in order to enlarge freedom in another and more important area.

To picture the Soviet Union and the Chinese Republic as countries where because of Socialism there is no freedom is as unfair and as untrue as it is to talk of the people of the United States being free to work and act as they please. Neither of these pictures is true.

On the other hand, it is true that from the beginning of human work there has been the problem as to how far work can and ought to be done by the individual

for himself or by groups of persons working for the common good. As the world has progressed this work of individuals together for the common good has persisted, which is merely another way of saying that there has been a progressive prevalence of socialism from the beginning of time to our own day. Thus socialism dominated primitive family life and broadened to clan and state; communism was usual in scores of early religious and economic groups, including Christian churches, Buddhist monasteries and Indian tribes.

As society grew, socialism had to persist. Single farmers could not run farms satisfactorily; even fishing and hunting called for cooperation. And when weaving went into factories, business became socialistic. With modern Big Business this socialism became as wide as industry and began to dominate the state and the inter-nation.

36-11-16

That the socialistic form of industry has today triumphed, nobody could claim. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that full socialism has not been reached in Russia. On the other hand, in the United States the increase of compulsory working together for the great ends of establishing an industrial organization which shall serve all has reached tremendous proportions.

One would be led to believe by current comment in America that the visitor to a steel mill in that great Russian center on the Dnieper River would see chained slaves, obeying unquestioned orders to run the vast factories; while in Pittsburgh the free American citizen arrives at work when he will, does what he wants to do, at wages which he himself sets! This is, of course, sheer nonsense. In all essential particulars the Russian steel mill works in the same way as the American to do the same job. Slave labor cannot make steel and labor in no factory can be free. The law of gravity works in both the Soviet Union and the United States, and successful industry in both depends in the end on Science, Discipline and Character.

If then, we will look frankly at what is called Big Business on the one hand and what is called Socialism on the other, we will thus see that instead of their

being antagonistic and contradictory systems, they are in many respects the same. Big Business is Socialism -- that is, the compulsory organization of the industrial process so that by plan and law the work of the world can be accomplished. And on the other hand, socialism is Big Business. It is using the same kinds of methods and planning for the accomplishment of the same thing. But it does not stop there.

Since the 17th century the peoples of Europe have put their faith and effort into the capitalistic system. Capitalism was socialism, of course. It was certainly not individual effort to satisfy individual want. No. It was social effort for social wants. But it brought one innovation. The worker no longer owned and distributed his product. He bartered that and was compelled to barter it for wages set by the owner of the tools and materials used. Conflict naturally arose: on the part of the workers striving to get a larger share of the product of their labor; on the part of the capitalist who assumed that the object of industry was his welfare and not the general good.

36-11-17

There is no call to deny or belittle what industry in the age of capitalism has done for mankind. It has built a new and marvellous civilization which today belts the world. At the same time we must in honesty and for our future guidance never forget its failures and shortcomings. First of all it restored human slavery, just as it was dying out, and replanted it right here in new, democratic America. It took a cataclysm to remove it even in part and much of it still remains. This emphasizes the fact that the capitalistic system came to be used primarily for the good of the privileged few and only incidentally for the common good of mankind. The excuse for this was that only in this way could human desire be harnessed to effort and sacrifice, and that only a minority of mankind could be civilized or deserved to be. Science and religion long combined to spread this propaganda.

These differences of opinion concerning the conduct of industry do not for a moment touch the basis on which all human industry is founded, namely

that the human being is entitled to all the freedom of thought, action and expression that is compatible with the satisfaction of his need of survival. On this all nations and systems agree. They disagree widely as to what men need for survival: as to what men should survive, and as to who among the masses of the earth can really be considered men.

In the early 20th century there was general agreement that most people of Europe and North America ought to be assured by industry of food, clothes and shelter; of elementary education and sufficient leisure for health. There was some doubt if this minimum could be guaranteed to white workers without danger to the very existence of modern capitalistic industry. On the other hand, there was no question among most men that modern industry could not guarantee this minimum to the colored peoples of earth or to numbers of whites outside western Europe and North America. It was considered inevitable that these peoples could and should be used as compulsory laborers for the comfort of the white world and the only question was as to which imperial power should control and enjoy this labor. Dispute as to this caused the First World War, was back of the Second World War, and the real temptation to a Third.

36-11-18

During this time it was continually asserted that a socialist state was a dream of idealists and impossible of realization. That human nature would not support a state whose industry was for the commonwealth and not for fortunate, gifted or self-assertive individuals. The few scattered efforts at socialism before 1900 failed before force, and in faction and blood.

Then in the first half of our century, one of the great nations of the earth was compelled against the wish of many of its radical leaders to make an experiment in complete state socialism. Western Europe tried to suppress this Russian movement by military force and failed. It was the consensus of the best world thought that eventually Russian communism would fail of its own inner weaknesses.

The experiment has not failed. We differ in judging its degree of success. Nevertheless it is clear that there exists today in the world a number of states who are trying to carry on industry for the general welfare, by putting its planning and conduct in the hands of the state instead of in the control of private owners of capital. There is still strong feeling that these experiments will fail. When, however, that hope goes further and asserts that the efforts in themselves are not sincere, that they constitute a conspiracy against the part of the world which has for several centuries dominated mankind, and that this world must go to utter and boundless war to stop the experiment, -- here honest and reasonable men must call a halt. This is going beyond the evidence and it asks impossible sacrifice for unattainable success.

36-11-19

Anyone who thinks that difference of opinion is going to be settled by force is surely forgetful of history. Socialism, even if it were crushed in a third and fourth world war, would by the very nature of the case be reborn again and again until eventually the objects for which it is striving can be accomplished among men. And on the other hand, the methods of Big Business by which a group of wealthy financiers, owners and technicians carry on industry so as to make themselves rich and powerful, is again, in the nature of the case going to disappear, or civilization fails.

The question before the world, then, is not that usually discussed; namely whether today the nations behind the iron curtain are more prosperous than western Europe and North America or less. It is the more rational query: is this experiment toward a state socialism a dangerous failure which threatens civilization? That it involves compulsion no one denies. It involves strict rules and discipline, but it does not involve and was never planned to involve slavery, absolute stoppage of individual opinion and of creative thought. The testimony as to this cannot be gainsaid.

On the other hand, in the rest of the modern world where democratic government and freedom of thought and expression have been emphasized, with every step that the laboring classes in the great imperial countries took toward making their welfare the object of the state, there was the concurrent effort by both labor and capital to reduce the peoples of colonial countries to the position of contributing most of their wealth and work to the comfort and even extravagance of the imperialists.

While then, it would be extraordinary if the leading capitalistic countries like the British empire, France and the United States could not boast that the income and comfort of their working classes has greatly increased in the last century and is today higher than that of most communist countries; nevertheless they must also acknowledge that the prosperity of these white working classes has been built on and still stands upon the foundation of the degradation of colonial peoples, on their poverty, their disease and their ignorance. And the great world battle which has ensued has <u>not</u> been the battle between socialism and "free enterprise". On the contrary, it is the sustained and unremitting effort of the peoples of the world to escape the domination of the white race. Today we are advertising that any attempt of backward people to escape Nordic exploitation will incur the armed enmity of the United States.

36-11-20

The object of socialised effort is the same for Big Business as for the socialistic state: i.e. the saving of time and effort in the satisfaction of human wants. But in Big Business this saving goes mainly to private profit, while in the socialistic state the effort is made to have it go to public welfare. The state may not be able wholly to accomplish this end and the private profiteer may donate his income in part to public ends. Nevertheless the socialistic state strives for the broad idea and the rich man strives to do as he pleases with the products of industry.

We must not avoid facing these facts. It must not be assumed that criticism of Big Business is the envy of the weak and unsuccessful; or the treason of whose who love Russia more than America. It is, on the contrary, genuine fear among those who know the danger to liberty and democracy in America in face of what Big Business is doing today and what it is proposing to do tomorrow.

When in the days of Teddy Roosevelt the attention of the nation was turned to the rising power of organized industry, we were seeing the growth of "trusts" which were agreements between independent businesses for self-defense and cutting down competition. When this form of control was attacked, the attack was countered simply by buying up competing businesses and uniting them into huge organizations which dominated at first whole industries, then inter-dependent groups of industries; always widening from regional to national control, and finally to international domination through cartels.

36-11-21

This is socialism, modified only by the fact that control is in the hands of kings or small autocracies acting secretly, unknown personally to the public, and subject to no democratic process; and secondly that the object of the vast industrial processes is primarily the wealth and power of the owners and only secondarily the welfare of the nation and of mankind.

The methods of capital accumulation today prove this. No longer is it only the savings of thrifty which are offered to help industry, but the taxes of the poor are confiscated for capitalizing monopolies owned by private persons. You and I gave 500 millions of dollars to establish an artificial rubber industry in time of war. Now the government offers this industry to the rubber trust at the trust's own price. Yesterday we rescued electric power from private monopoly; today the government is starting to retreat from water control and to turn it back to "private enterprise."

It is ridiculous to claim today that democracy is peculiarly associated with Big Business and entirely absent from socialistic states. Big Business was

never democratic and never can be, without completely changing into socialism. This is proven by the fact that when in any country or region democratic control increases, immediately Big Business moves in to limit democracy by its vast power over employment and wages.

This has been true in our government of cities, and of our states, and today under President Eisenhower every branch of federal government, civil and military, is dominated by the representatives of Big Business. Thus we know that our national policies must primarily be what Big Business wants and not what democratic public opinion might want if it dared think or talk. We become dumb, driven cattle when our press and news services are controlled, our civil rights curtailed, our democracy impaired, our taxes increased. Then, and this is most frightening, Big Business today is headed for a Third World War, because of the profit offered by Chinese coolies and African serfs, and not in order to settle the dispute between Socialism and "Free Enterprise."

36-11-22

The citizens of the United States do not for the most part recognize the need for socialism in this nation. This is because we have been curiously lucky, our free gifts from nature have been enormous, and we have received by immigration some of the best brain and brawn of the world. In these respects we differ from most of the world. Those older peoples have suffered too grievously and too long from injustice and theft to be willing to put off longer the socialization of wealth.

Most of us do not like this. Some fear it will set a bad example and interfere with our profits. Nevertheless is this world decision any of our business? Have we a right to interfere? Can we stop socialism by force, and should we if we could? Are we equipped to be moral arbiters of the earth? Or do our wealth and commerce entitle us to dictate the economic patterns of the world?

In the conduct of industry today there are wide differences of method. In this nation we have much socialistic effort in mail carrying, transportation,

highways, water control and police; in Britain, France, Scandinavia and India there is partial state socialism. In the Soviet Union, its sister states and China we have the effort at complete state socialism; elsewhere there are social dictators. Here then is wide difference, but no clear cut division into two great systems which must fight each other or die.

There is, however, one vast division, as old as imperial exploitation, and that is the world battle along the Color Line, between the nations of the world which are determined to continue their control of cheap, ignorant and diseased labor in Asia and Africa, in Central and South America, and if possible again in East Europe and the Balkans, as against the struggling and emergent peoples of the exploited and ravaged masses of the earth. In this battle the United States, led by its most powerful business corporations, is helping France, Britain, Portugal, Belgium and Holland retain their colonies; is taking sides with money, arms and influence against the struggling masses of Indo-China, the Caribbean, Central and South America, and all of Africa; and stands besides such eastern tyrants as Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Chek and Bao Dai, who pose as leaders of freedom and democracy. Against this unholy alliance the public opinion of the world is slowly ranging itself, and the present effort of Big Business is to divert the attention of the world from slavery and exploitation to differences of opinion as to the right organization of the world's work.

36-11-23

To prevent any rule of reason in facing these facts today our liberties are dying. Surely most of you must realize under what reign of terror any American citizen lives today who dares think and say what he thinks, or even dares be silent. We must publicly testify as to our beliefs, past and present. We are asked to spy on our neighbors. Tens of thousands of honest, efficient workers, from unskilled laborers to college professors, are denied the right to earn a living simply because they do not agree with current dictators of public opinion. Police listen in on our phones, read our mail, spy on our movements, and produce confessed liars

to testify on our actions. We live in a police state that is bent on war, because war is profit.

But we have, today, this year and this month, the unique opportunity of beginning a peaceful settlement of a real and world-old controversy. It does not involve judgment of the present leading ideas concerning the conduct of industry. It only demands methods of peace and reason so that in the end we may reconstitute and guide the work of the world for the benefit of the people of the world, and that these people will include not only the white people but yellow, brown and black people. This is the great chance that lies in our hands today. If we do not grasp it we may again be turned aside to those seas of human blood by which in the past we have tried in vain to retrieve our mistakes.

36-1(-24)

May I conclude with the words of a great Communist, the Hebrew prophet Isaiah:

"Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price."

Oct 1952

CHICAGO

FROM TRUCE TO PEACE

WE HAVE STOPPED THE PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN DELIBERATE MURDER AND DESTRUCTION IN KOREA AND TURNED FROM PREPARING FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR TOWARD A VISION OF UNIVERSAL PEACE AND THE ABOLITION OF WAR AS A METHOD OF PROGRESS.

THERE ARE, NOW, SOME PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT PEACE NOW IS IMPOSSIBLE, BECAUSE THE WORLD IS DIVIDED BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE; THAT SOCIALISM INVOLVES THE SLAVERY OF THE WORKER, GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF LAND, TOOLS AND MATERIALS, AND PLANNED ECONOMY. THEY CONCEIVE THE "FREE WORLD" AS NATIONS WHERE WORKERS ARE FREE TO LABOR AS THEY WILL, WHERE PROPERTY IS OWNED MAINLY BY INDIVIDUALS, AND WHERE THE GOVERNMENT IS DEMOCRATIC. AND MANY ARGUE THAT BETWEEN THESE SYSTEMS OF WORK THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL ONE FORCIBLY CONQUERS THE OTHER.

30-10-48

THE ANSWER TO THIS FIERCELY HELD BELIEF IS TWOFOLD: FIRST, IF IT WERE TRUE, HOW WOULD MURDER AND CONTINUOUS AND WORLD-WIDE DESTRUCTION SETTLE IT AND PROVE WHICH SYSTEM IS BEST? AND SECONDLY, IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE WORLD TODAY IS DIVIDED INTO

TWO SUCH SYSTEMS. IT IS NOT TRUE NOW, IT NEVER WAS TRUE, AND TO OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE IT NEVER CAN BE TRUE.

WHAT WE HAVE IN THE WORLD, AS ALL MEN KNOW, IS LAW, PHYSICAL, MORAL AND STATUTORY. AND LAW LIMITS FREEDOM. ALL LAW OVERRIDES AND ALWAYS ENSLAVES TO SOME EXTENT ALL WHO OBEY IT, AND ALL MEN MUST TO SOME DEGREE OBEY LAW. TO QUESTION OR DENY THIS IS IDIOTIC. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS NO CONTRADICTION TO SAY THAT THE USE OF LAW IS TO INCREASE ULTIMATE FREEDOM; THAT MEN HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO USE DISCIPLINE AND COMPULSION IN ONE AREA IN ORDER TO ENLARGE FREEDOM IN ANOTHER AND MORE IMPORTANT AREA.

TO PICTURE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC AS COUNTRIES WHERE BECAUSE OF SOCIALISM THERE IS NO FREEDOM IS AS UNFAIR AND AS UNTRUE AS IT IS TO TALK OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES BEING FREE TO WORK AND ACT AS THEY PLEASE. NEITHER OF THESE PICTURES IS TRUE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS TRUE THAT FROM THE BEGINNING OF HUMAN HOPE THERE HAS BEEN THE PROBLEM AS TO HOW FAR WORK CAN AND OUGHT TO BE DONE BY THE INDIVIDUAL

FOR HIMSELF OR BY GROUPS OF PERSONS WORKING FOR THE COMMON GOOD. AS THE WORLD HAS PROGRESSED THIS WORK OF INDIVIDUALS TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD HAS PERSISTED, WHICH IS MERELY ANOTHER WAY OF SAYING THAT THERE HAS BEEN A PROGRESSIVE PREVALENCE OF SOCIALISM FROM THE BEGINNING OF TIME TO OUR OWN DAY. THUS SOCIALISM DOMINATED PRIMITIVE FAMILY LIFE AND BROADENED TO CLAN AND STATE; COMMUNISM WAS USUAL IN SCORES OF EARLY RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC GROUPS, INCLUDING CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND INDIAN TRIBES.

AS SOCIETY GREW, SOCIALISM HAD TO PERSIST. SINGLE FARMERS COULD NOT RUN FARMS SATISFACTORILY; EVEN FISHING AND HUNTING CALLED FOR COOPERATION. AND WHEN WEAVING WENT INTO FACTORIES, BUSINESS BECAME SOCIALISTIC. WITH MODERN BIG BUSINESS THIS SOCIALISM BECAME AS WIDE AS INDUSTRY AND BEGAN TO DOMINATE THE STATE AND THE INTER-NATION.

36-10-41

THAT THE SOCIALISTIC FORM OF INDUSTRY HAS TODAY TRIUMPHED NOBODY COULD CLAIM. THE SOVIET UNION HAS REPEATEDLY DECLARED THAT FULL SOCIALISM HAS NOT BEEN

all working to best ability + each receiving what he needs

REACHED IN RUSSIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE UNITED STATES THE INCREASE OF COMPULSORY WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE OR AT ENDS OF ESTABLISHING AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH SHALL SERVE ALL HAS REACHED TREMENDOUS PROPORTIONS.

ONE WOULD BE LED TO BELIEVE BY CURRENT COMMENT IN AMERICA THAT THE VISITOR TO A STEEL MILL IN THAT GREAT RUSSIAN CENTER ON THE DNIEPER RIVER WOULD SEE CHAINED SLAVES, OBEYING UNQUESTIONED ORDERS TO RUN THE VAST FACTORIES; WHILE IN PITTSBURGH THE FREE AMERICAN CITIZEN ARRIVES AT WORK WHEN HE WILL, DOES WHAT HE WANTS TO DO, AT WAGES WHICH HE HIMSELF SETS! THIS IS, OF COURSE, SHEER NONSENSE. IN ALL ESSENTIAL PARTICULARS THE RUSSIAN STEEL MILL WORKS IN THE SAME WAY AS THE AMERICAN TO DO THE SAME JOB. SLAVE LABOR CANNOT MAKE STEEL AND LABOR IN NO FACTORY CAN BE FREE. THE LAW OF GRAVITY WORKS IN BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRY IN BOTH DEPENDS IN THE END ON SCIENCE, DISCIPLINE AND CHARACTER.

IF THEN, WE WILL LOOK FRANKLY AT WHAT IS CALLED BIG BUSINESS ON THE ONE HAND AND WHAT IS CALLED SOCIALISM ON THE OTHER WE WILL THUS SEE THAT INSTEAD OF THEIR

BEING ANTAGONISTIC AND CONTRADICTORY SYSTEMS THEY ARE IN MANY RESPECTS THE SAME. BIG BUSINESS IS SOCIALISM -- THAT IS, THE COMPULSORY ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS SO THAT BY PLAN AND LAW THE WORK OF THE WORLD CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, SOCIALISM IS BIG BUSINESS. IT IS USING THE SAME KINDS OF METHODS AND PLANNING FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE SAME THING. BUT IT DOES NOT STOP THERE.

SINCE THE 17th CENTURY THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE HAVE PUT THEIR FAITH AND EFFORT INTO THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. CAPITALISM WAS SOCIALISM OF COURSE. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT INDIVIDUAL EFFORT TO SATISFY INDIVIDUAL WANT. NO. IT WAS SOCIAL EFFORT FOR SOCIAL WANTS. BUT IT BROUGHT ONE INNOVATION. THE WORKER NO LONGER OWNED AND DISTRIBUTED HIS PRODUCT. HE WAITED THAT AND WAS COMPELLED TO BARTER IT FOR WAGES SET BY THE OWNER OF THE TOOLS AND MATERIALS USED. CONFLICT NATURALLY AROSE: ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS STRIVING TO GET A LARGER SHARE OF THE PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR; ON THE PART OF THE CAPITALIST WHO ASSUMED THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRY WAS HIS WELFARE AND NOT THE GENERAL GOOD.

30-10-42

THERE IS NO CALL TO DENY OR BELITTLE WHAT INDUSTRY IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM HAS DONE FOR MANKIND. IT HAS BUILT A NEW AND MARVELLOUS CIVILIZATION WHICH TODAY RULES THE WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST IN HONESTY AND FOR OUR FUTURE GUIDANCE NEVER FORGET ITS FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS. FIRST OF ALL IT RESTORED HUMAN SLAVERY, JUST AS IT WAS DYING OUT, AND REPLANTED IT RIGHT HERE IN NEW, DEMOCRATIC AMERICA. IT TOOK A CATACLYSM TO REMOVE IT EVEN IN PART AND MUCH OF IT STILL REMAINS. THIS EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM CAME TO BE USED PRIMARILY FOR THE GOOD OF THE PRIVILEGED FEW AND ONLY INCIDENTALLY FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF MANKIND. THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WAS THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD HUMAN DESIRE BE HARNESSED TO EFFORT AND SACRIFICE, AND THAT ONLY A MINORITY OF MANKIND COULD BE CIVILIZED OR DESERVED TO BE. SCIENCE AND RELIGION LONG COMBINED TO SPREAD THIS PROPAGANDA.

THESE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY DO NOT FOR A MOMENT TOUCH THE BASIS ON WHICH ALL HUMAN INDUSTRY IS FOUNDED, NAMELY

THAT THE HUMAN BEING IS ENTITLED TO ALL THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, ACTION AND EXPRESSION THAT IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE SATISFACTION OF HIS NEED OF SURVIVAL. ON THIS ALL NATIONS AND SYSTEMS AGREE. THEY DISAGREE WIDELY AS TO WHAT MEN NEED FOR SURVIVAL; AS TO WHAT MEN SHOULD SURVIVE, AND AS TO WHO AMONG THE MASSES OF THE EARTH CAN REALLY BE CONSIDERED MEN.

IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MOST PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OUGHT TO BE ASSURED BY INDUSTRY OF FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER; OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND SUFFICIENT LEISURE FOR HEALTH. THERE WAS SOME DOUBT IF THIS MINIMUM COULD BE GUARANTEED TO WHITE WORKERS WITHOUT DANGER TO THE VERY EXISTENCE OF MODERN CAPITALISTIC INDUSTRY. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS NO QUESTION AMONG MOST MEN THAT MODERN INDUSTRY COULD NOT GUARANTEE THIS MINIMUM TO THE COLORED PEOPLES OF EARTH OR TO NUMBERS OF WHITES OUTSIDE WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. IT WAS CONSIDERED INEVITABLE THAT THESE PEOPLES COULD AND SHOULD BE USED AS COMPULSORY LABORERS FOR THE COMFORT OF THE WHITE WORLD AND THE ONLY

36-10-43

QUESTION WAS AS TO WHICH IMPERIAL POWER SHOULD CONTROL AND ENJOY THIS LABOR. DISPUTE AS TO THIS CAUSED THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WAS BACK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND THE REAL TEMPTATION TO A THIRD.

DURING THIS TIME IT WAS CONTINUALLY ASSERTED THAT A SOCIALIST STATE WAS A DREAM OF IDEALISTS AND IMPOSSIBLE OF REALIZATION. THAT HUMAN NATURE WOULD NOT SUPPORT A STATE WHOSE INDUSTRY WAS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH AND NOT FOR FORTUNATE, GIFTED OR SELF-ASSERTIVE INDIVIDUALS. THE FEW SCATTERED EFFORTS AT SOCIALISM BEFORE 1900 FAILED BEFORE FORCE, AND IN FACTION AND BLOOD

THEN IN THE FIRST HALF OF OUR CENTURY, ONE OF THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE EARTH WAS COMPELLED AGAINST THE WISH OF MANY OF ITS RADICAL LEADERS TO MAKE AN EXPERIMENT IN COMPLETE STATE SOCIALISM. WESTERN EUROPE TRIED TO SUPPRESS THIS RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BY MILITARY FORCE. IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE BEST WORLD THOUGHT THAT EVENTUALLY RUSSIAN COMMUNISM WOULD FAIL OF ITS OWN INNER WEAKNESSES.

THE EXPERIMENT HAS NOT FAILED. WE DIFFER IN JUDGING ITS DEGREE OF SUCCESS. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE EXISTS TODAY IN THE WORLD A NUMBER OF STATES WHO ARE TRYING TO CARRY ON INDUSTRY FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE, BY PUTTING ITS PLANNING AND CONDUCT IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE INSTEAD OF IN THE CONTROL OF PRIVATE OWNERS OF CAPITAL. THERE IS STILL STRONG FEELING THAT THESE EXPERIMENTS WILL FAIL. WHERE, HOWEVER THAT HOPE GOES FURTHER AND ASSERTS THAT THE EFFORTS IN THEMSELVES ARE NOT SINCERE, THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PART OF THE WORLD WHICH HAS FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES DOMINATED MANKIND, AND THAT THIS WORLD MUST GO TO UTTER AND BOUNDLESS WAR TO STOP THE EXPERIMENT, -- HERE HONEST AND REASONABLE MEN MUST CALL A HALT. THIS IS GOING BEYOND THE EVIDENCE AND IT ASKS IMPOSSIBLE SACRIFICE FOR UNATTAINABLE SUCCESS.

36-10-44

ANYONE WHO THINKS THAT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION IS GOING TO BE SETTLED BY FORCE IS SURELY FORGETFUL OF HISTORY. SOCIALISM, EVEN IF IT WERE CRUSHED IN A THIRD AND FOURTH WORLD WAR, WOULD BY THE VERY NATURE OF THE CASE BE REBORN AGAIN

AND AGAIN UNTIL EVENTUALLY THE OBJECTS FOR WHICH IT IS STRIVING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED AMONG MEN. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, THE METHODS OF BIG BUSINESS BY WHICH A GROUP OF WEALTHY FINANCIERS, OWNERS AND TECHNICIANS CARRY ON INDUSTRY SO AS TO MAKE THEMSELVES RICH AND POWERFUL, IS AGAIN, IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE GOING TO DISAPPEAR, OR CIVILIZATION FAILS.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE WORLD, THEN, IS NOT THAT USUALLY DISCUSSED; NAMELY WHETHER TODAY THE NATIONS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN ARE MORE PROSPEROUS THAN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OR LESS. IT IS THE MORE RATIONAL QUERY: IS THIS EXPERIMENT TOWARD A STATE SOCIALISM A DANGEROUS FAILURE WHICH THREATENS CIVILIZATION? THAT IT INVOLVES COMPULSION NO ONE DENIES. IT INVOLVES STRICT RULES AND DISCIPLINE, BUT IT DOES NOT INVOLVE AND WAS NEVER PLANNED TO INVOLVE SLAVERY, ABSOLUTE STOPPAGE OF INDIVIDUAL OPINION AND OF CREATIVE THOUGHT. THE TESTIMONY AS TO THIS CANNOT BE GAINSAID.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE REST OF THE MODERN WORLD WHERE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION HAVE BEEN EMPHASIZED, WITH EVERY STEP THAT THE LABORING CLASSES IN THE GREAT IMPERIAL COUNTRIES TOOK TOWARD MAKING THEIR WELFARE THE OBJECT OF THE STATE, THERE WAS THE CONCURRENT EFFORT BY BOTH LABOR AND CAPITAL TO REDUCE THE PEOPLES OF COLONIAL COUNTRIES TO THE POSITION OF CONTRIBUTING MOST OF THEIR WEALTH AND WORK TO THE COMFORT AND EVEN EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE IMPERIALISTS.

36-10-45

WHILE THEN, IT WOULD BE EXTRAORDINARY IF THE LEADING CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES LIKE THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT BOAST THAT THE INCOME AND COMFORT OF THEIR WORKING CLASSES HAS GREATLY INCREASED IN THE LAST CENTURY AND IS TODAY HIGHER THAN THAT OF MOST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES; NEVERTHELESS THEY MUST ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE PROSPERITY OF THESE WHITE WORKING CLASSES HAS BEEN BUILT ON AND STILL STANDS UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE DEGRADATION OF COLONIAL

PEOPLES, ON THEIR POVERTY, THEIR DISEASE AND THEIR IGNORANCE. AND THE GREAT WORLD BATTLE WHICH HAS ENSUED HAS NOT BEEN THE BATTLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND "FREE ENTERPRISE". ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS THE SUSTAINED AND UNREMITTING EFFORT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO ESCAPE THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITE RACE. TODAY WE ARE ADVERTISING THAT ANY ATTEMPT OF BACKWARD PEOPLE TO ESCAPE NORDIC EXPLOITATION WILL INCUR THE ARMED ENMITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE OBJECT OF SOCIALIZED EFFORT IS THE SAME FOR BIG BUSINESS AS FOR THE SOCIALISTIC STATE: i.e. THE SAVING OF TIME AND EFFORT IN THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN WANTS. BUT IN BIG BUSINESS THIS SAVING GOES MAINLY TO PRIVATE PROFIT, WHILE IN THE SOCIALISTIC STATE THE EFFORT IS MADE TO HAVE IT GO TO PUBLIC WELFARE. THE STATE MAY NOT BE ABLE WHOLLY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END AND THE PRIVATE PROFITEER MAY DONATE HIS INCOME IN PART TO PUBLIC ENDS. NEVERTHELESS THE SOCIALISTIC STATE STRIVES FOR THE BROAD IDEA AND THE RICH MAN STRIVES TO DO AS HE PLEASES WITH THE PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY.

WE MUST NOT AVOID FACING THESE FACTS. IT MUST NOT BE ASSUMED THAT CRITICISM OF BIG BUSINESS IS THE ENVY OF THE WEAK AND UNSUCCESSFUL; OR THE TREASON OF THOSE WHO LOVE RUSSIA MORE THAN AMERICA. IT IS, ON THE CONTRARY, GENUINE FEAR AMONG THOSE WHO KNOW THE DANGER TO LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA IN FACE OF WHAT BIG BUSINESS IS DOING TODAY AND WHAT IT IS PROPOSING TO DO TOMORROW.

36-10-46

WHEN IN THE DAYS OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT THE ATTENTION OF THE NATION WAS TURNED TO THE RISING POWER OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY, WE WERE SEEING THE GROWTH OF "TRUSTS" WHICH WERE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES FOR SELF-DEFENSE AND CUTTING DOWN COMPETITION. WHEN THIS FORM OF CONTROL WAS ATTACKED, THE ATTACK WAS COUNTERED SIMPLY BY BUYING UP COMPETING BUSINESSES AND UNITING THEM INTO HUGE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DOMINATED AT FIRST WHOLE INDUSTRIES, THEN INTER-DEPENDENT GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES; ALWAYS WIDENING FROM REGIONAL TO NATIONAL CONTROL, AND FINALLY TO INTERNATIONAL DOMINATION THROUGH CARTELS.

THIS IS SOCIALISM, MODIFIED ONLY BY THE FACT THAT CONTROL IS IN THE HANDS OF KINGS OR SMALL AUTOCRACIES ACTING SECRETLY, UNKNOWN PERSONALLY TO THE PUBLIC, AND

SUBJECT TO NO DEMOCRATIC PROCESS; AND SECONDLY THAT THE OBJECT OF THE VAST INDUSTRIAL PROCESSES IS PRIMARILY THE WEALTH AND POWER OF THE OWNERS AND ONLY SECONDARILY THE WELFARE OF THE NATION AND OF MANKIND.

THE METHODS OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION TODAY PROVE THIS. NO LONGER IS IT ONLY THE SAVINGS OF THRIFTY WHICH ARE OFFERED TO HELP INDUSTRY, BUT THE TAXES OF THE POOR ARE CONFISCATED FOR CAPITALIZING MONOPOLIES OWNED BY PRIVATE PERSONS. YOU AND I GAVE 500 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO ESTABLISH AN ARTIFICIAL RUBBER INDUSTRY IN TIME OF WAR. NOW THE GOVERNMENT OFFERS THIS INDUSTRY TO THE RUBBER TRUST AT THE TRUST'S OWN PRICE.

YESTERDAY WE RESCUED ELECTRIC POWER FROM PRIVATE MONOPOLY; TODAY THE GOVERNMENT IS STARTING TO RETREAT FROM WATER CONTROL AND TO TURN IT BACK TO "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE".

IT IS RIDICULOUS TO CLAIM TODAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS PECULIARLY ASSOCIATED WITH BIG BUSINESS AND ENTIRELY ABSENT FROM SOCIALISTIC STATES. BIG BUSINESS WAS

NEVER DEMOCRATIC AND NEVER CAN BE, WITHOUT COMPLETELY CHANGING INTO SOCIALISM. THIS IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT WHEN IN ANY COUNTRY OR REGION DEMOCRATIC CONTROL INCREASES IMMEDIATELY BIG BUSINESS MOVES IN TO LIMIT DEMOCRACY BY ITS VAST POWER OVER EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES.

THIS HAS BEEN TRUE IN OUR GOVERNMENT OF CITIES, AND OF OUR STATES, AND TODAY UNDER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER EVERY BRANCH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, CIVIL AND MILITARY, IS DOMINATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS. THUS WE KNOW THAT OUR NATIONAL POLICIES MUST PRIMARILY BE WHAT BIG BUSINESS WANTS AND NOT WHAT DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT WANT IF IT DARED THINK OR TALK. WE BECOME DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE WHEN OUR PRESS AND NEWS SERVICES ARE CONTROLLED, OUR CIVIL RIGHTS CURTAILED, OUR DEMOCRACY IMPAIRED, OUR TAXES INCREASED. THEN, AND THIS IS MOST FRIGHTENING, BIG BUSINESS TODAY IS HEADED FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR, BECAUSE OF THE PROFIT OFFERED BY CHINESE COOLIES AND AFRICAN SERFS, AND NOT IN ORDER TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND "FREE ENTERPRISE."

36-10-47

THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES DO NOT FOR THE MOST PART RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SOCIALISM IN THIS NATION. THIS IS BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN CURIOUSLY LUCKY. OUR FREE GIFTS FROM NATURE HAVE BEEN ENORMOUS, AND WE HAVE RECEIVED BY IMMIGRATION SOME OF THE BEST BRAIN AND BRAWN OF THE WORLD. IN THESE respects WE DIFFER FROM MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD. THOSE OLDER PEOPLES HAVE SUFFERED TOO GRIEVOUSLY AND TOO LONG FROM INJUSTICE AND THEFT TO BE WILLING TO PUT OFF LONGER THE SOCIALIZATION OF WEALTH.

MOST OF US DO NOT LIKE THIS. SOME FEAR IT WILL SET A BAD EXAMPLE AND INTERFERE WITH OUR PROFITS. NEVERTHELESS IS THIS WORLD DECISION ANY OF OUR BUSINESS? HAVE WE A RIGHT TO INTERFERE? CAN WE STOP SOCIALISM BY FORCE, AND SHOULD WE IF WE COULD? ARE WE EQUIPPED TO BE MORAL ARBITERS OF THE EARTH? OR DO OUR WEALTH AND COMMERCE ENTITLE US TO DICTATE THE ECONOMIC PATTERNS OF THE WORLD?

IN THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY TODAY THERE ARE WIDE DIFFERENCES OF METHOD. IN THIS NATION WE HAVE MUCH SOCIALISTIC EFFORT IN MAIL CARRYING, TRANSPORTATION,

HIGHWAYS, WATER CONTROL AND POLICE; IN BRITAIN, FRANCE SCANDINAVIA AND INDIA THERE IS PARTIAL STATE SOCIALISM. IN THE SOVIET UNION, ITS SISTER STATES AND CHINA WE HAVE THE EFFORT AT COMPLETE STATE SOCIALISM; ELSEWHERE THERE ARE SOCIAL DICTATORS. HERE THERE IS WIDE DIFFERENCE, BUT NO CLEAR CUT DIVISION INTO TWO GREAT SYSTEMS WHICH MUST FIGHT EACH OTHER OR DIE.

36-10-48

THERE IS, HOWEVER, ONE VAST DIVISION, AS OLD AS IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION, AND THAT IS THE WORLD BATTLE ALONG THE COLOR LINE, BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR CONTROL OF CHEAP, IGNORANT AND DISEASED LABOR IN ASIA AND AFRICA, IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, AND IF POSSIBLE AGAIN IN EAST EUROPE AND THE BALKANS, AS AGAINST THE STRUGGLING AND EMERGENT PEOPLES OF THE EXPLOITED AND RAVAGED MASSES OF THE EARTH. IN THIS BATTLE THE UNITED STATES, LED BY ITS MOST POWERFUL BUSINESS CORPORATIONS, IS HELPING FRANCE, BRITAIN, PORTUGAL, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND RETAIN THEIR COLONIES; IS TAKING SIDES WITH MONEY, ARMS AND INFLUENCE AGAINST THE STRUGGLING MASSES OF INDO-CHINA, THE CARIBBEAN, CENTRAL AND SOUTH

AMERICA, AND ALL OF AFRICA. AND STANDS BESIDES SUCH EASTERN TYRANTS AS SINGMAN RHEE, CHIANG KAI CHEK AND BAO DAI, WHO POSE AS LEADERS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. AGAINST THIS UNHOLY ALLIANCE THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD IS SLOWLY RANGING ITSELF, AND THE PRESENT EFFORT OF BIG BUSINESS IS TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD FROM SLAVERY AND EXPLOITATION TO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO THE RIGHT ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD'S WORK.

TO PREVENT ANY RULE OF REASON IN FACING THESE FACTS TODAY OUR LIBERTIES ARE DYING. SURELY MOST OF YOU MUST REALIZE UNDER WHAT REIGN OF TERROR ANY AMERICAN CITIZEN LIVES TODAY WHO DARES THINK AND SAY WHAT HE THINKS, OR EVEN DARES BE SILENT. WE MUST PUBLICLY TESTIFY AS TO OUR BELIEFS, PAST AND PRESENT. WE ARE ASKED TO SPY ON OUR NEIGHBORS. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HONEST, EFFICIENT WORKERS, FROM UNSKILLED LABORERS TO COLLEGE PROFESSORS, ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO EARN A LIVING SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT AGREE WITH CURRENT DICTATORS OF PUBLIC OPINION. POLICE LISTEN IN ON OUR PHONES, READ OUR MAIL, SPY ON OUR MOVEMENTS, AND PRODUCE CONFESSED LIARS

TO TESTIFY ON OUR ACTIONS. WE LIVE IN A POLICE STATE THAT IS BENT ON WAR, BECAUSE WAR IS PROFIT.

BUT WE HAVE, TODAY, THIS YEAR AND THIS MONTH, THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY OF BEGINNING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF A REAL AND WORLD-OLD CONTROVERSY. IT DOES NOT INVOLVE JUDGMENT OF THE PRESENT LEADING IDEAS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY. IT ONLY DEMANDS METHODS OF PEACE AND REASON SO THAT IN THE END WE MAY RECONSTITUTE AND GUIDE THE WORK OF THE WORLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, AND THAT THESE PEOPLE WILL INCLUDE NOT ONLY THE WHITE PEOPLE BUT YELLOW, BROWN AND BLACK PEOPLE. THIS IS THE GREAT CHANCE THAT LIES IN OUR HANDS TODAY. IF WE DO NOT GRASP IT WE MAY AGAIN BE TURNED ASIDE TO THOSE SEAS OF HUMAN BLOOD BY WHICH IN THE PAST WE HAVE TRIED IN VAIN TO RETRIEVE OUR MISTAKES.

MAY I CONCLUDE WITH THE WORDS OF A GREAT COMMUNIST, THE HEBREW PROPHET ISAIAH:

"HO, EVERY ONE THAT THIRSTETH, COME YE TO THE WATERS, AND HE THAT HATH NO MONEY, COME YE, BUY, AND EAT; YEA, COME, BUY WINE AND MILK, WITHOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE."

36-10-49

Du Bois

ASFC November 1953

Du Bois

36-10-26

PEACE AND HYSTERIA

TO US WHO HAVE LONG BEEN CONVINCED OF THE MASS HYSTERIA IN WHICH THIS NATION IS ENGULFED, THERE COMES TODAY INCREASINGLY THE PROBLEM OF WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTIONS OUR ACTIVITIES CAN AT PRESENT TAKE. // THE ORGANIZED AND MEASURED SEARCH FOR TRUTH SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE COWARDICE OF SCHOLARS AND LACK OF FUNDS FOR UNFETTERED RESEARCH; // THE REASONED APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC IS NARROWED BY THE FEAR AMONG LISTENERS AND THE FALLING LEVEL OF PUBLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THERE REMAIN TWO POSSIBILITIES: // ONE DUE TO THAT RELIGIOUS ESCAPISM WHICH ALWAYS CHARACTERIZES GREAT HUMAN CRISES // AND SECONDLY THE RECURRING EFFORT OF MEN TO REALIZE BEAUTY IN AN AGE OF UGLINESS, AS THE LAST GRASP AT LIFE AMID DISAPPOINTMENT.

IT HAS, FOR INSTANCE, BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS NATION TO PREEN ITSELF

ON ITS RELIGIOUS BELIEF, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE "GODLESSNESS" OF OTHERS // IT WOULD SEEM THEN THE TIME FOR ALL MEN, WHETHER THEY ACCEPT THIS ESTIMATE OR NOT, TO REQUIRE THEIR WORLD TO TEST ITS OWN PROFESSIONS; BY PRACTICING THE GOLDEN RULE OF LOVING THEIR NEIGHBORS AND EVEN LOVING THEIR ENEMIES.

36-10-27

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THOSE WHO HAVE PRACTISED OR TRIED TO PRACTICE THESE PRINCIPLES ARE FEW; AND PERHAPS TODAY FEWER THAN EVER AMONG THE FREE DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST. // COULD WE NOT THEN IN THE CHRISTMAS SEASON WHICH FRONTS US INDUCE MASSES OF AMERICANS TO TREAT THE SOVIET UNION AS WE WOULD LIKE THE SOVIET UNION TO TREAT US; // NOT ONLY TO LOVE OUR RUSSIAN FRIENDS BUT TRY TO LOVE EVEN OUR COMMUNIST ENEMIES; // AND TO PROVE THIS AS THE SOVIET UNION HAS LATELY AND LOGICALLY SUGGESTED: BY STOPPING THE INCREASE OF THE TROOPS AND FORTS WE ARE PLACING ON HER BORDERS // WHICH INCREASE OUR OWN TAXATION AND COST OF LIVING AND THREATEN OUR ECONOMY WITH BANKRUPTCY NOT TO MENTION THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR OWN PEACE OF MIND.

I ~~KNOW~~ REGRET THAT SUCH ADVICE SOUNDS LIKE A GRIM JOKE. // BUT WAS BISHOP

36-10-28

OXNAM JOKING/WHEN HE LATELY ~~COMPARED~~ SOUGHT TO PROVE OUR ETHICS/~~WITH THAT OF~~ SUPERIOR TO EASTERN EUROPE?// OR ARE THE PRESBYTERIANS SATISFIED/WITH OUR MORAL SENSE?// ALL ARE PLEADING AND NEEDING TO PLEAD/IN DEFENSE OF THE SENSE OF RIGHT/WHICH THIS NATION HAS INHERITED/FROM A STRUGGLING PAST/AND YET FEELS TODAY/THAT IT HAS CERTAINLY NOT ATTAINED.

IF NOW WE PROTEST/AGAINST PRACTISING THE GOLDEN RULE/BECAUSE OTHERS WILL NOT PRACTICE/OR EVEN RECOGNIZE ~~THE COMMON DECENCIES OF LIFE,~~ OUR RELIGION/ MIGHT IT NOT BE WELL FOR US TODAY/ TO BE SURE/OF OUR GROUND HERE.//AND TO ASK IF WE ARE QUITE ~~SURE~~ certain THAT OTHER COUNTRIES/AND PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION,/ HAVE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO DO UNTO OTHERS/ AS THEY WOULD HAVE OTHERS/DO UNTO THEM?//WE CAN ONLY MAKE SUCH A COMPARISON/ OF COURSE,/IF WE REFER TO FACTS/WHICH EVERYONE ADMITS ARE SUBSTANTIATED.

36-10-29

FOR INSTANCE,/THE WORLD MUST HAVE PEACE;/THERE MUST BE NO MORE WAR/NOR PREPARATION FOR WAR;/WE MUST STOP PLANNING FOR MURDER/AND DESTRUCTION.// THESE WORDS WE MUST USE/BY REPETITION AND REITERATION/TO IMPRESS UPON OUR SOULS/THAT PRESENT CIVILIZATION/ HAS NOTHING TO GAIN/FROM WAR/AND FAR MORE TO LOSE/THAN BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION/WE CAN POSSIBLY ~~GAIN.~~ THINK

BUT IS THIS ALL?/CAN WE DO NOTHING TODAY/TO IMPLEMENT THIS THOUGHT? CAN WE NOT ASK,/ DOES NOT THE SOVIET UNION/ALSO REALIZE THIS,/ AND IF SHE DOES,/ WHAT HAS SHE DONE ABOUT IT/ IN THE PAST?//PERHAPS WE DO NOT QUITE REMEMBER/HOW IN 1917/ THE MILLIONS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE/SIMPLY STOPPED FIGHTING.// THEY HAD TOO FEW WEAPONS/ WITH WHICH TO FIGHT,/ TOO FEW CLOTHES TO WEAR,/ TOO LITTLE FOOD TO EAT,/ AND THEY SIMPLY LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS/AND REFUSED TO CONTINUE THE WAR.// THEY MET EVERWHERE/THE ASTONISHMENT/AND BITTER OPPOSITION/WHICH IS ALWAYS/POURED UPON PEOPLE/WHO WILL NOT DIE AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS.// THE RUSSIANS PERSISTED.! THEY TRIED TO MAKE PEACE/WITH GERMANY ON ANY TERMS,/ AND ACCEPTED A PEACE/SO SHAMEFUL/THAT IT SEEMED TO MANY/OF

36-10-30

THEIR OWN FOLLOWERS/ UNTHINKABLE.// BUT THE RUSSIANS INSISTED/ THAT THE ONLY THING THAT WAS UNTHINKABLE/ WAS FURTHER FIGHTING/ AND THEY GAVE UP.// THIS WAS THE FIRST DECISIVE BREAK/ IN THE TOTAL WAR.

THE EFFORTS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S/ TOWARD PEACE/ DID NOT STOP THERE.// THEY WANTED TO BUILD/ A NEW WORLD.// WHETHER OR NOT THEY COULD,/ LET US NOT PAUSE TO ASK. CERTAINLY/ IT CANNOT BE OUR CONTENTION/ THAT THEY HAD NO RIGHT/ TO TRY.// YET TO HINDER THEM/ FROM THIS EFFORT/ THE WESTERN WORLD/ BEGAN ALMOST UNIVERSAL WAR/ AGAINST THE SOVIETS,// SO THAT FROM 1917 - 1926/ THE EASTERN EUROPEAN WORLD/ WAS FIGHTING THE ARMED AGGRESSION/ OF THE WESTERN WORLD/ ~~AND~~ WITH PERHAPS THE MOST UNGODLY SET/ OF SPIES ADVENTURERS, THUGS AND MURDERERS/ WHICH A MODERN NATION/ HAS EVER FACED.

IT COULD NOT EVEN BE SAID/ THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S/ WERE FIGHTING THEN TO SPREAD REVOLUTION/ ~~INTO THE WEST~~.// MANY OF THEM/ THOUGHT REVOLUTION SURELY WOULD COME/ TO THE WORLD/ IN TIME/ BY THE WORLD'S OWN WILL.// BUT ALL THAT THE SOVIETS WERE FIGHTING,/ STARVING AND SUFFERING FOR,/ BEFORE THE WORLD DEPRESSION CAME,/ WAS TO SAVE THEMSELVES/ FROM

36-10-31

THE HELL/ OF CONQUEST AND TYRANNY,/ AND TO ACHIEVE PEACE ON EARTH.

THAT IDEAL OF PEACE/ REMAINED IN THE SOVIET UNION/ BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS.// THE SOVIETS/ TRIED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY,/ ENGLAND, FRANCE/ AND THE UNITED STATES;/ THEY STROVE TO KEEP THEIR BORDERS/ FROM FALLING INTO THE HANDS/ OF AGGRESSIVE ENEMIES/ WHO WANTED TO USE THEM/ FOR ATTACK.// AND THEY GAVE UP PARTS OF FINLAND,/ POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES,/ RE-ANNEXING THEM/ IN PART ONLY TO KEEP THEM/ FROM BECOMING BASES OF AGGRESSION.// THEY REPEATEDLY OFFERED ALLIANCE/ TO BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA,/ ONLY FINALLY TO BE CONTEMPTUOUSLY/ REPULSED AT MUNICH.// THEY KNEW/ HOW LITTLE GERMAN ALLIANCE/ MEANT WHEN IT WAS OFFERED,/ YET HAD TO ACCEPT/ WHEN NOTHING BETTER ~~OFFERED~~ WAS IN SIGHT

WHEN GERMANY,/ DRUNK WITH POWER,/ TURNED ON THE WESTERN WORLD,/ THE SOVIET UNION WAS THE ONLY NATION/ WHICH COULD ~~SAVE~~ DEFEND THE WEST.// IT DID IT.// IF EVER THE WORLD SAW/ A DEFENSIVE WAR/ IT WAS THE DEATH STRUGGLE/ OF THE SOVIETS FROM 1939 TO 1945.// THERE WAS NOTHING ABOUT IT/ FIRST OR LAST/ THAT HAD IN IT/ THE LEAST LIKENESS TO AGGRESSION. ON THE PART of the SOVIET UNION —

(THEY TRIED TO MAKE PEACE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS)

36-10-32

LIFE, LOVE, HOPE, PLAN, PRIVATE WEALTH AND PUBLIC PROPERTY WERE OFFERED IN BITTER SACRIFICE WHICH REACHED DOWN INTO THE GUTS OF THIS PEOPLE TO A DEGREE WHICH NO NATION ON EARTH TODAY HAS PARALLELED // THEIR ALLIES DOUBTED AND DELIBERATELY POSTPONED AID // THEY DALLIED AND WAITED // AND AT THE END, WHEN THE SOVIET UNION HEADED THE GREATEST ARMAMENT ON EARTH, NOT A SINGLE NATION REALLY QUESTIONED THE REASONABLENESS OF HER PEACE ~~HER~~ TERMS. (AVOIDED + EVADED THE MAIN TARGET)

AFTER THE WAR CAME CONFERENCES // WHAT ELSE CAN MAN CONCEIVE BUT REASON AND UNDERSTANDING AFTER UPHEAVAL AND TURMOIL? // THESE TALKS CAME IN 1943 AND 1945 AND WERE UNUSUALLY SUCCESSFUL. // THEY WERE NOT PERFECT BUT THEY WERE AT LEAST A DIRECT PATH TO A PEACE WHICH ENDED TWO WORLD WARS // THEY GAVE MANKIND THE GREATEST HOPE FOR FUTURE PEACE THAT THE WORLD HAS SEEN FOR A GENERATION.

THE SUCCESS STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT THREE LEADERS OF THREE GREAT PEOPLE WHO WANTED PEACE, MET AND PLANNED IT. // AT TEHERAN IN 1943 THEY PLANNED A UNITED FRONT AGAINST GERMANY. // AT YALTA IN 1945 THEY PLANNED TO DISARM GERMANY AND FORM A

36-10-33

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE // WHILE, AT THE EARNEST INSISTENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, THE SOVIETS PROMISED TO HELP CRUSH JAPAN. // LATER THAT SAME YEAR AT POTSDAM THE LEADERS WITH TRUMAN INSTEAD OF ROOSEVELT TRIED TO COMPLETE PLANS FOR DISARMING GERMANY AND BREAKING UP HER CARTELS // ~~TO~~ AND FOR FORM, ING A NEW POLAND (AFTE 2 CENTURIES OF PARTITION) AND TO BEGIN TO REPAY GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN ALL OF THESE ~~AGREEMENTS~~ TREATIES THE EFFORT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE WITH THE WORLD AND FORWARD WORLD PEACE WAS NOT AT FIRST QUESTIONED BY ANY OF HER FELLOW NATIONS.

IT IS, INDEED, DIFFICULT TODAY TO GRASP WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE AUGUST 1945; // IN THESE EIGHT YEARS OF DISASTER WHICH HAVE NOT ONLY BEEN EVIL IN THEMSELVES, BUT HAVE ALSO GIVEN BIRTH TO SO GREAT A FLOCK OF EVILS THAT SOMETIMES ONE RISES IN THE MORNING TO WONDER IF THIS CIVILIZATION HAS THE INNATE CAPACITY TO CURE ITSELF. // MEN SAW THE EVIL COMING AND NONE SAW IT CLEARER THAN AMERICANS OF VISION AND COURAGE. //

~~IT IS TRUE THAT~~ THIS NATION TODAY DOES NOT ~~REALIZE~~ REMEMBER HOW BROAD AND DEEP WAS THAT CRY OF THE BRAIN AND CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA EARLY IN 1949 TO THE PEOPLE OF THE

WORLD.// THE BEST OF THE INTELLECT AND IDEALS/ OF THIS COUNTRY/JOINED IN THAT APPEAL/ SENT TO THE GREAT NATIONS/AND ESPECIALLY TO THE SOVIET UNION/AND ITS SISTER NATIONS. BUT, TOO,/ IT CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN/ THAT THE RESPONSE FROM THE EAST/WAS BROAD AND ENTHUSIASTIC.// WRITERS, MUSICIANS,/ ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS,/ STATESMEN AND ARTISANS,/ SENT SYMPATHY,/ AND MANY WERE EAGER TO COME/AND SIT IN CONFERENCE.// MORE THAN 500 AMERICAN SPONSORS/WHO JOINED IN THE CALL,/ ~~AND~~ TOGETHER WITH THOUSANDS ~~THOSE~~ WHO JOINED ABROAD,/ WERE PERSONS WHO BELIEVED/THAT IN THE MODERN WORLD/UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATION/BETWEEN CAPITALIST/AND COMMUNIST NATIONS/WERE POSSIBLE.

THEN/IN THE UNITED STATES/THERE CAME AN OUTBURST OF OPPOSITION/AGAINST ~~THE~~ CONFERENCE,/ CONSULTATION/OR ANY ATTEMPT AT UNDERSTANDING,/ WHICH HAS NEVER BEFORE BEEN EQUALLED/IN OUR HISTORY.// IT WAS INCITED/BY SOME OF THE MOST SINISTER AND SELFISH ELEMENTS/IN THIS NATION.// THE SUBJECT (OF CONFERENCE) WAS POPULAR/AND THE MEETING WAS GIVEN MORE PUBLICITY/THAN ANY RECENTLY HELD/IN THE UNITED STATES/EXCEPT NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.// YET AMERICANS INSULTED OUR GUESTS,/ JEERED AT THEM,/ ALMOST MOBBED THEM.// ~~WE~~ THEY FRIGHTENED THE NATION/AND DROVE IT/TOWARD HATE AND WAR./ IT HAS NOT YET RECOVERED

THE GATHERING/AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL/ MARCH 25-27, 1949,/ RECEIVED MORE NEWSPAPER SPACE/ THAN ANY MEETING RECENTLY HELD/IN THE UNITED STATES/EXCEPT NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

THE ATTACK UPON THIS CONVENTION/REPRESENTING (AS IT DID) THE ARTS, SCIENTISTS/AND PROFESSIONS OF THE WORLD/WAS ENGINEERED/BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT;/ THE NEWSPAPER PRESS;/ GROUPS OF INTELLECTUALS/AT ~~ONE OR TWO~~ (COLUMBIA & OTHER) UNIVERSITIES;/ VETERANS ASSOCIATIONS;/ SOME RELIGIOUS BODIES/AND CERTAIN IMMIGRANT GROUPS.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT,/LED BY SECRETARY ACHESON,/ USED ITS POWER OVER PASSPORT VISAS/TO EXCLUDE FROM ATTENDANCE/ MANY WELL-KNOWN SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS.// OTHERS WERE ADMITTED/ON CONDITION OF RESTRICTED/SPEECH AND TRAVEL,/ AS SUSPECTED PERSONS.// BY CAREFUL EDITORIAL PLAN/AND WITH A LACK OF RESTRAINT/ SURPRISING EVEN TO PERSONS TRAINED/IN INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION,/ THE AMERICAN PRESS RUSHED/INTO A CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT AND HARASS/THE CONFERENCE/AND TO SMEAR THE DELEGATES AND GUESTS.// A FEW NEWSPAPERS PROTESTED/BUT MOST OF THE PRESS/ PAINTED THE GATHERING/AS A SUBVERSIVE

36-10-36

PLOT/BY "REDS"/ENGINEERED ON FOREIGN SOIL.// AN OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT/"VOICE OF AMERICA"/WAS SET UP/IN (VERY HOTEL WHICH WAS) THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE CONFERENCE/AND POURED OUT A STREAM/OF VICIOUS PROPAGANDA.// SOME OF THE DELEGATES/WERE ARRESTED BY IMMIGRATION OFFICERS//AND IT WAS REPORTED/ON THE EVE OF THE MEETING/THAT TWO OF THE MOST PROMINENT SOVIET DELEGATES/WERE SECRET AGENTS IN CHARGE OF A THIRD;//THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS FINANCED BY THE COMMUNISTS (TCN);//THAT MOST OF THE AMERICAN SPONSORS/HAD BEEN COERCED TO JOIN/BY A REIGN OF TERROR/AND WERE WITHDRAWING IN DROVES.

GROUPS/VARYING FROM DOZENS TO HUNDREDS/OF HOWLING, PRAYING PICKETS/SURROUNDED THE MEETING PLACES//AND THE REAL, SERIOUS WORK/OF THE CONFERENCE WAS SCARCELY REPORTED.// YET WELL-ATTENDED PANELS/AND CROWDED MASS MEETINGS/LASTING OVER THREE DAYS/WERE HELD;//LESS THAN 50 OF THE [redacted] SPONSORS WITHDREW.// SERIOUS MESSAGES AND EARNEST DISCUSSIONS/OF BURNING QUESTIONS/WERE HELD/AND WIDE AGREEMENT REACHED.// YET OF THIS/THE WORLD AND NATION/HEARD ALMOST NOTHING/AND MOST PERSONS/WERE LEFT BEWILDERED AND AFRAID BY THIS FINE EFFORT.

36-16-37

OUR GREATEST MODERN DISASTERS/WERE THE DEPRESSION/AND SECOND WORLD WAR,// AND YET NO SANE SCHOLAR/COULD TODAY ARGUE/THAT THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/CAUSED DEPRESSION/OR THAT THE SECOND WORLD WAR/WAS RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ON THE WEST.//OR THAT THE SOVIET UNION SINCE 1945/HAS NOT CONSISTENTLY/AND ALONE OF THE NATIONS/SOUGHT PEACE.// ALL/THAT HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN/BECAUSE/OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED/IN CHINA AND KOREA.// BUT JUST WHAT DID HAPPEN THERE?

IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE/TO GET AGREEMENT TONIGHT/OVER THE FACTS OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED [redacted]/AND THE BLAME FOR THE LAST EIGHT AWFUL YEARS.// WE CAN ONLY AGREE/THAT THE WHOLE PICTURE/OF ~~FOREIGN~~ WESTERN CONTACT WITH CHINA/ INDO-CHINA AND KOREA/IS PART OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE AND ASIA/SINCE 1700/AND CANNOT BE SIMPLIFIED/INTO A MATTER OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION/ON ASIA/SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE RESULT OF THE CONTACT OF EUROPE AND ASIA/FROM 1945 TO 1954/HAS NOT ONLY BEEN WAR/BUT RESULTS OF WAR/WORSE THAN FIGHTING.// ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF,/ LYING, CHEATING STEALING AND MURDER/ SUSPICION, SICKNESS AND HATE/AND THE SUBMERGENCE OF BEAUTY

AND OF THE CREATION OF/AND SEARCH FOR BEAUTY/BENEATH UNEXAMPLED UGLINESS/AND UNIVERSAL BAD MANNERS/// OUR NEED FOR ART/AND EDUCATION/IS AS REAL TODAY/AS EVER.// THE WORLD CRY FOR PEACE/IS A CRY FOR OPPORTUNITY/ DECENCY AND JUSTICE/// FOR A BALANCED AND SATISFYING LIFE.//

INDEED IT IS THE ONLY REALITY/THE THING FOR WHICH/MEN REALLY LIVE/THE ONLY THING/FOR WHICH/THEY WANT TO LIVE.// NOT WORK AS WORK/OR FOR WAGE.// NOT WEALTH FOR FOOD NOR CLOTHES// NOT SCIENCE TO KNOW/UNLESS THE KNOWLEDGE IS WORTH KNOWING/AND WE ARE ~~WORTH KNOWING~~ KNOWN.// RATHER LIFE WHICH IN ITSELF/IS NOT PROFESSION NOR DEED/BUT JOY OF EXISTENCE/IN A WORLD ~~WORTH LIVING IN~~ WORTH EXISTING THIS IS WHAT/ALL WANT/AND WHAT TODAY/WE DARE NOT EVEN NAME/LEST OUR NEIGHBORS/CALL US MAD.

BUT WE CANNOT GO ON MUCH LONGER/WITH HATE AND FEAR// THERE IS STILL EARTH, SUN, SEA AND SKY.// THERE IS LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP/ ~~AND REALIZATION OF LIFE AND WORK~~ OUR CONVERSATION,// OUR NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO/ OUR THEATER/ AND BOOKS/CANNOT INDEFINITELY/BE DEVOTED TO SPIES, DEATH AND CONSPIRACY.

36-10-38

TRY
THAT VAST ADVENTURE
OF LOVING

14

IF WE ~~HATE~~ OUR NEIGHBORS/AS OURSELVES,//IF WE FREE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN/AND STOP KILLING OR PLOTTING DEATH/ WE CAN ~~AGAIN~~ FACE LIFE ~~UNAFRAID~~.//EVEN IF/FRONTING THE FAIR FACE OF BEAUTY/WE MUST CONFESS:

"RED WAS THE MIGHT/THAT SIRED THEE
WHITE WAS THE HOPE/THAT BORE THEE,
HEAVEN AND EARTH/DESIRED THEE,
AND HELL/FROM THY LOVERS/TORE THEE,
BUT BARREN/TO THE RAVISHER,
THOU BEAREST LOVE/ THY CHILD,—
IMMORTAL DAUGHTER, PEACE; FOR HER
WAITS MAN, THE UNDEFILED.

36-10-39

PEACE AND HYSTERIA

TO US WHO HAVE LONG BEEN CONVINCED OF THE MASS HYSTERIA INTO WHICH THIS NATION IS ENGULFED, THERE COMES TODAY INCREASINGLY THE PROBLEM OF WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTIONS OUR ACTIVITIES CAN AT PRESENT TAKE. THE ORGANIZED AND MEASURED SEARCH FOR TRUTH SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE COWARDICE OF SCHOLARS AND LACK OF FUNDS FOR UNFETTERED RESEARCH; THE REASONED APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC IS NARROWED BY THE FEAR AMONG LISTENERS AND THE FALLING LEVEL OF PUBLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THERE REMAIN TWO POSSIBILITIES: ONE DUE TO THAT RELIGIOUS ESCAPISM WHICH ALWAYS CHARACTERIZES GREAT HUMAN CRISES, AND SECONDLY THE RECURRING EFFORT OF MEN TO REALIZE BEAUTY IN AN AGE OF UGLINESS, AS THE LAST GRASP AT LIFE AMID DISAPPOINTMENT.

IT HAS, FOR INSTANCE, BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS NATION TO PREEN ITSELF

46-10-191

ON ITS RELIGIOUS BELIEF, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE "GODLESSNESS" OF OTHERS. IT WOULD SEEM THEN THE TIME FOR ALL MEN, WHETHER THEY ACCEPT THIS ESTIMATE OR NOT, TO REQUIRE THEIR WORLD TO TEST ITS OWN PROFESSIONS; BY PRACTICING THE GOLDEN RULE OF LOVING THEIR NEIGHBORS AND EVEN LOVING THEIR ENEMIES.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THOSE WHO HAVE PRACTISED OR TRIED TO PRACTICE THESE PRINCIPLES ARE FEW; AND PERHAPS TODAY FEWER THAN EVER AMONG THE FREE DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST. COULD WE NOT THEN IN THE CHRISTMAS SEASON WHICH FRONTS US INDUCE MASSES OF AMERICANS TO TREAT THE SOVIET UNION AS WE WOULD LIKE THE SOVIET UNION TO TREAT US; NOT ONLY TO LOVE OUR RUSSIAN FRIENDS BUT TRY TO LOVE EVEN OUR COMMUNIST ENEMIES; AND TO PROVE THIS AS THE SOVIET UNION HAS LATELY AND LOGICALLY SUGGESTED; BY STOPPING THE INCREASE OF THE TROOPS AND PORTS WE ARE PLACING ON HER BORDERS, WHICH INCREASE OUR OWN TAXATION AND COST OF LIVING AND THREATEN OUR ECONOMY WITH BANKRUPTCY NOT TO MENTION THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR OWN PEACE OF MIND.

I KNOW THAT SUCH ADVICE SOUNDS LIKE A GRIM JOKE. BUT WAS BISHOP

OXNAM JOKING WHEN HE LATELY COMPARED OUR ETHICS WITH THAT OF EASTERN EUROPE? OR ARE THE PRESBYTERIANS SATISFIED WITH OUR MORAL SENSE? ALL ARE PLEADING AND NEEDING TO PLEAD IN DEFENSE OF THE SENSE OF RIGHT WHICH THIS NATION HAS INHERITED FROM A STRUGGLING PAST AND YET FEELS TODAY THAT IT HAS CERTAINLY NOT ATTAINED.

MOREOVER -- AND THIS IS IMPORTANT -- AS WE ASK OURSELVES IN DAYS OF UNIVERSAL WAR OF THE VALIDITY OF THE GOLDEN RULE, WOULD NOT THIS BE TIME TO BE DOUBLY SURE OF THE TRUTH AS IT CONCERNS THE ACTIONS OF OUR NEIGHBORS? LET US ADMIT THAT THE ORDINARY AMERICAN CITIZEN TODAY IS NOT CAPABLE OF DECIDING WHAT IS FACT AMID THE WELTER OF ACCUSATION, ASSERTION AND DENIAL. TO SOME OF US THE TRUTH OF CURRENT HAPPENINGS APPEARS FAR CLEARER THAN TO OTHERS. BUT MAY WE ASK, IS THERE NOT A MINIMUM OF FACT ABOUT THE PRESENT WHICH ALL HONEST MEN MUST ADMIT? I FIND IN MY OWN CASE THAT IT IS EASY TO RECALL WELL-ESTABLISHED HISTORY OR TO EXAMINE THE PASSING SCENE; BUT THERE IS A TWILIGHT AREA WHERE THE OUTLINE IS BOTH TOO FAR FOR SIGHT AND TOO NEAR FOR PROSPECTIVE AND THUS ESCAPES COMPREHENSION.

46-10-162

FOR INSTANCE, THE WORLD MUST HAVE PEACE; THERE MUST BE NO MORE WAR NOR PREPARATION FOR WAR; WE MUST STOP PLANNING FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. THESE WORDS WE MUST USE BY REPETITION AND REITERATION TO IMPRESS UPON OUR SOULS THAT PRESENT CIVILIZATION HAS NOTHING TO GAIN FROM WAR AND FAR MORE TO LOSE THAN BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION WE CAN POSSIBLY GAIN.

BUT IS THIS ALL? CAN WE DO NOTHING TODAY TO IMPLEMENT THIS THOUGHT? CAN WE NOT ASK, DOES NOT THE SOVIET UNION ALSO REALIZE THIS, AND IF SHE DOES, WHAT HAS SHE DONE ABOUT IT IN THE PAST? PERHAPS WE DO NOT QUITE REMEMBER HOW IN 1917 THE MILLIONS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE SIMPLY STOPPED FIGHTING. THEY HAD TOO FEW WEAPONS WITH WHICH TO FIGHT, TOO FEW CLOTHES TO WEAR, TOO LITTLE FOOD TO EAT, AND THEY SIMPLY LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS AND REFUSED TO CONTINUE THE WAR. THEY MET EVERYWHERE THE ASTONISHMENT AND BITTER OPPOSITION WHICH IS ALWAYS POURED UPON PEOPLE WHO WILL NOT DIE AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS. THE RUSSIANS PERSISTED. THEY TRIED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY ON ANY TERMS, AND ACCEPTED A PEACE SO SHAMEFUL THAT IT SEEMED TO MANY OF

THEIR OWN FOLLOWERS UNTHINKABLE. BUT THE RUSSIANS INSISTED THAT THE ONLY THING THAT WAS UNTHINKABLE WAS FURTHER FIGHTING AND THEY GAVE UP. THIS WAS THE FIRST DECISIVE BREAK IN THE TOTAL WAR.

THE EFFORTS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE TOWARD PEACE DID NOT STOP THERE. THEY WANTED TO BUILD A NEW WORLD. WHETHER OR NOT THEY COULD, LET US NOT PAUSE TO ASK. CERTAINLY IT CANNOT BE OUR CONTENTION THAT THEY HAD NO RIGHT TO TRY. YET TO HINDER THEM FROM THIS EFFORT THE WESTERN WORLD BEGAN ALMOST UNIVERSAL WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS, SO THAT FROM 1917 - 1926 THE EASTERN EUROPEAN WORLD WAS FIGHTING THE ARMED AGGRESSION OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND PERHAPS THE MOST UNGODLY SET OF ADVENTURERS, THUGS AND MURDERERS WHICH A MODERN NATION HAS EVER FACED.

IT COULD NOT EVEN BE SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WERE FIGHTING THEIR TO SPREAD REVOLUTION INTO THE WEST. MANY OF THEM THOUGHT REVOLUTION SURELY WOULD COME TO THE WORLD IN TIME BY THE WORLD'S OWN WILL; BUT ALL THAT THE SOVIETS WERE FIGHTING, STARVING AND SUFFERING FOR, BEFORE THE WORLD DEPRESSION CAME, WAS TO SAVE THEMSELVES FROM

46-10-163

THE HELL OF CONQUEST AND TYRANNY, AND TO ACHIEVE PEACE ON EARTH.

THAT IDEAL OF PEACE REMAINED IN THE SOVIET UNION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS. THE SOVIETS TRIED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY, ENGLAND, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. THEY STROVE TO KEEP THEIR BORDERS FROM FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF AGGRESSIVE ENEMIES WHO WANTED TO USE THEM FOR ATTACK, AND THEY GAVE UP PARTS OF FINLAND, POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES, RE-ARMING THEM ONLY TO KEEP THEM FROM BECOMING BASES OF AGGRESSION. THEY REPEATEDLY OFFERED ALLIANCE TO BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA, ONLY FINALLY TO BE CONTEMPTUOUSLY REPULSED AT MUNICH. THEY KNEW HOW LITTLE GERMAN ALLIANCE MEANT WHEN IT WAS OFFERED, YET HAD TO ACCEPT WHEN NOTHING BETTER OFFERED.

WHEN GERMANY, DRUNK WITH POWER, TURNED ON THE WESTERN WORLD, THE SOVIET UNION WAS THE ONLY NATION WHICH COULD SAVE THE WEST. IT DID IT. IF EVER THE WORLD SAW A DEFENSIVE WAR IT WAS THE DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIETS FROM 1939 TO 1945. THERE WAS NOTHING ABOUT IT FIRST OR LAST THAT HAD IN IT THE LEAST LIKENESS TO AGGRESSION.

LIFE, LOVE, HOPE, PLAN, PRIVATE WEALTH AND PUBLIC PROPERTY WERE OFFERED IN BITTER SACRIFICE WHICH REACHED DOWN INTO THE GUTS OF THIS PEOPLE TO A DEGREE WHICH NO NATION ON EARTH TODAY HAS PARALLELED. THEIR ALLIES DOUBTED AND DELIBERATELY POSTPONED AID; THEY DALLIED AND WAITED; AND AT THE END, WHEN THE SOVIET UNION HEADED THE GREATEST ARMAMENT ON EARTH, NOT A SINGLE NATION REALLY QUESTIONED THE REASONABLENESS OF HER TERMS.

AFTER THE WAR CAME CONFERENCES -- WHAT ELSE CAN MAN CONCEIVE BUT REASON AND UNDERSTANDING AFTER UPHEAVAL AND TURMOIL? THESE TALKS CAME IN 1943 AND 1945 AND WERE UNUSUALLY SUCCESSFUL. THEY WERE NOT PERFECT BUT THEY WERE AT LEAST A DIRECT PATH TO A PEACE WHICH ENDED TWO WORLD WARS. THEY GAVE MANKIND THE GREATEST HOPE FOR FUTURE PEACE THAT THE WORLD HAS SEEN FOR A GENERATION.

THE SUCCESS STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT THREE LEADERS OF THREE GREAT PEOPLE WHO WANTED PEACE, MET AND PLANNED IT. AT TEHERAN IN 1943 THEY PLANNED A UNITED FRONT AGAINST GERMANY. AT YALTA IN 1945 THEY PLANNED TO DISARM GERMANY AND FORM A

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE; WHILE, AT THE EARNEST INSISTENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, THE SOVIETS PROMISED TO HELP CRUSH JAPAN. LATER THAT SAME YEAR AT POTSDAM THE LEADERS, WITH TRUMAN INSTEAD OF ROOSEVELT, TRIED TO COMPLETE PLANS FOR DISARMING GERMANY AND BREAKING UP HER CARTELS, TO FORM A NEW POLAND AND TO BEGIN TO REPAY GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN ALL OF THESE AGREEMENTS THE EFFORT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE WITH THE WORLD AND FORWARD WORLD PEACE WAS NOT AT FIRST QUESTIONED BY ANY OF HER FELLOW NATIONS.

IT IS, INDEED, DIFFICULT TODAY TO GRASP WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE AUGUST 1945; IN THESE EIGHT YEARS OF DISASTER WHICH HAVE NOT ONLY BEEN EVIL IN THEMSELVES, BUT HAVE ALSO GIVEN BIRTH TO SO GREAT A FLOCK OF EVILS THAT SOMETIMES ONE RISES IN THE MORNING TO WONDER IF THIS CIVILIZATION HAS THE INNATE CAPACITY TO CURE ITSELF. MEN SAW THE EVIL COMING AND NOW SAW IT CLEARER THAN AMERICANS OF VISION AND COURAGE.

IT IS TRUE THAT THIS NATION TODAY DOES NOT REALIZE HOW BROAD AND DEEP WAS THAT CRY OF THE BRAIN AND CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA EARLY IN 1949 TO THE PEOPLE OF THE

WORLD. THE BEST OF THE INTELLECT AND IDEALS OF THIS NATION JOINED IN THAT APPEAL SENT TO THE GREAT NATIONS AND ESPECIALLY TO THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SISTER NATIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND THE RESPONSE WAS BROAD AND ENTHUSIASTIC: WRITERS, MUSICIANS AND ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS, STATESMEN AND WORKERS.

THE MEETING WAS AN EFFORT OF A GROUP OF THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS TO FIND A ROAD TO PEACE IN A TROUBLED WORLD. THEY WERE CRITICAL OF THE UNITED STATES POLICY EXPRESSED IN THE "TRUMAN DOCTRINE" AND THE "ATLANTIC PACT," WHICH THEY FEARED MIGHT LEAD TO A WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE LIST OF MORE THAN 500 SPONSORS WERE MOSTLY NEW DEAL LIBERALS OR PROGRESSIVES WHO BELIEVED THAT UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST NATIONS WERE POSSIBLE.

THEN IN AN INEXPLICABLE OUTBURST NEVER BEFORE EQUALLED IN OUR HISTORY, INCITED BY SOME OF OUR MOST SINISTER AND SELFISH ELEMENTS, this nation DID AN INCREDIBLE THING: WE INSULTED OUR GUESTS, WE JEERED AT THEM AND ALMOST MOBBED THEM, WE KEPT THEM IN CONFINEMENT, WE FRIGHTENED THE NATION AND DROVE IT TOWARD HATE AND WAR.

61-10-165

THE GATHERING AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL MARCH 25-27, 1949, RECEIVED MORE NEWSPAPER SPACE THAN ANY MEETING RECENTLY HELD IN THE UNITED STATES EXCEPT NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

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GROUPS VARYING FROM DOZENS TO HUNDREDS OF HOWLING, PRAYING PICKETS SURROUNDED THE MEETING PLACES AND THE REAL, SERIOUS WORK OF THE CONFERENCE WAS SCARCELY REPORTED. YET WELL-ATTENDED PANELS AND CROWDED MASS MEETINGS LASTING THREE DAYS WERE HELD; LESS THAN 50 OF THE 450 SPONSORS WITHDREW; SERIOUS MESSAGES AND EARNEST DISCUSSIONS OF BURNING QUESTIONS WERE HELD AND WIDE AGREEMENT REACHED. YET OF THIS THE WORLD AND NATION HEARD ALMOST NOTHING AND MOST PERSONS WERE LEFT BEWILDERED AND AFRAID BY THIS FINE EFFORT.

SO, TOO, LATER THE SAME YEAR WHEN THE WORLD COUNCIL OF THE PARTISANS OF PEACE ASSEMBLED IN PARIS A GREAT CONGRESS TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE MOVEMENT, WE REPORTED IT WITH SILENCE AND DISTORTION AND EVEN TRIED TO CONVICT AS A CONSPIRACY IN OUR COURTS THE GREAT STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST ATOMIC WEAPONS.

IT WAS IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE WHERE ONE OF OUR OLDEST UNIVERSITIES INSULTED ONE OF OUR YOUNGEST AND GREATEST COMPOSERS NOT FOR HIS CHARACTER NOR ACCOMPLISHMENT BUT FOR HIS POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF, THAT WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY STILL IN SO GREAT A MURK OF WAR, HATE, HURT AND SUSPICION THAT WE DO NOT DARE THINK NOR TALK NOR SIT WITH HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOWS AND TALK OF PEACE.

OUR GREATEST MODERN DISASTERS WERE THE DEPRESSION AND SECOND WORLD WAR, AND YET NO SANE SCHOLAR COULD TODAY ARGUE THAT THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION CAUSED DEPRESSION OR THAT THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ON THE WEST, OR THAT RUSSIAN SINCE 1945 HAS NOT CONSISTENTLY AND ALONE OF THE NATIONS SOUGHT PEACE. ALL THAT HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CHINA AND KOREA.

IT HAS BEEN UPHEAVAL IN ASIA WHICH IS THE THREAT OF WAR, AND THAT RESTS NOT ON COMMUNISM BUT ON CAUSES FURTHER BACK IN HISTORY, WHICH INVOLVED AGAIN OUR TREATMENT OF ~~XXX~~ NEIGHBORS AND THE BREACH BETWEEN OUR RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS TO OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN, AND OUR ACTUAL DEEDS. WE HAVE SO FAILED TO MAKE CLEAR RELATIONS BETWEEN ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA THAT WE CAN TODAY SEE THE SOVIET UNION AS THE THREAT OF WAR IN ASIA. CLEARLY IT IS NOT. ON THE CONTRARY, THE RAPE OF INDIA BY EUROPE IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES GAVE THE WORLD ITS FIRST VAST ACCUMULATION OF IDLE CAPITAL AND MUCH NEW MATERIAL; THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE IN THE 18th CENTURY GAVE AMERICA LABOR FROM AFRICA TO FURNISH EUROPEAN SCIENCE AND MATERIALS FOR NEW TECHNICAL MASTERY OF THE WORLD; AND THAT MASTERY IN THE 19th CENTURY INDUCED THE POWERFUL CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO HOLD COLORED LABOR AS SUB-HUMAN AND NOT SUBJECT TO THE GOLDEN RULE.

WHEN IN THE 20th CENTURY JAPAN DEMANDED EQUALITY WITH EUROPE IN EXPLOITATION OF ASIA AND STARTED WITH GERMANY AND ITALY TO SEIZE IT, BRITAIN HAD TO FEED DARK INDIA AND JOIN AMERICA IN INSISTING THAT THE SOVIET UNION JOIN THEM IN CURBING JAPAN. THE UNITED STATES NATURALLY ASSUMED THAT CHINA ALSO, NOW BITTER ENEMY OF JAPAN, WOULD

CONTINUE TO FURNISH CHEAP COOLIES FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL FOR ENTERPRISE, AND WAS GRATIFIED WHEN THE ATOM BOMB APPARENTLY REMOVED ALL APPREHENSION OF ANY INFILTRATION OF COMMUNISM. WHEN COMMUNISM DID INTERVENE, AMERICA ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THE REAL CAUSE CAME FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, IN THE REVOLUTION OF SUN YAT SEN, WHICH WAS A REVOLT AGAINST THAT VERY WHITE IMPERIALISM OVER COLORED COLONIAL PEOPLES WHICH AMERICA PROPOSED TO INHERIT FROM EUROPE IN 1945. CHIANG KAI CHEK TRIED TO LEAD NEW CHINA AS ALLY OF AMERICA BUT CHINA REPUDIATED HIM. THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT HAVE TO INTERVENE EVEN IF IT HAD PLANNED. CHINA ITSELF INTERVENED AND DROVE OUT JAPAN'S ALLY, CHIANG KAI CHEK.

OUTSIDE INTERVENTION THEN TOOK PLACE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH SINGHMAN RHEE IN KOREA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS WAS INDUCED TO START A THIRD WORLD WAR DESIGNED TO MAKE CHINA A COLONY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA OR OF THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

THE HAPPENINGS IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE IN ASIA IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS CAN-

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NOT BE BLAMED ON THE SOVIET UNION. OF THE FOREIGN SOLDIERS ON ASIATIC SOIL, OUTSIDE RUSSIAN BOUNDARIES, SOVIET TROOPS HAVE BEEN LEAST IN NUMBER, NOR HAS SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEEN NEAR AS LARGE AS AMERICAN, BRITISH AND FRENCH. INDEED, THE WHOLE PICTURE OF FOREIGN CONTACT WITH CHINA, INDO-CHINA AND KOREA IS PART OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE AND ASIA IN MODERN TIMES AND CANNOT BE SIMPLIFIED INTO A MATTER OF RUSSIAN-ASIATIC CONTACT SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE RESULT OF THIS HAS NOT ONLY BEEN WAR BUT RESULTS OF WAR WORSE THAN FIGHTING. ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, LYING, STEALING AND MURDER, SUSPICION AND HATE AND THE SUBMERGENCE OF BEAUTY AND THE CREATION AND SEARCH FOR BEAUTY BENEATH UNEXAMPLED UGLINESS. OUR NEED FOR ART AND BEAUTY IS AS REAL TODAY AS EVER AND ALWAYS WILL BE. THE WORLD CRY FOR PEACE IS THE CRY FOR SANITY. WE CAN NOT GO ON MUCH LONGER WITH HATE AND FEAR. THERE IS STILL EARTH, SUN AND SKY; THERE IS LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP AND THE REALIZATION OF LIFE AND WORK; OUR NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO, OUR THEATER AND BOOKS CANNOT INDEFINITELY BE DEVOTED TO SPIES, DEATH AND CONSPIRACY. THERE IS STILL BEAUTY

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM; THERE ARE STILL CHILDREN. IF WE LOVE OUR NEIGHBORS AS OURSELVES, IF WE FREE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN AND STOP KILLING OR PLOTTING DEATH, WE CAN AGAIN FACE LIFE UNAFRAID, EVEN IF FRONTING THE FAIR FACE OF BEAUTY WE MUST SAY TODAY:

"RED WAS THE MIGHT THAT SIRED THEE
  WHITE WAS THE HOPE THAT BORE THEE,
HEAVEN AND EARTH DESIRED THEE,
  AND HELL FROM THY LOVERS TORE THEE,
BUT BARREN TO THE RAVISHER,
  THOU BEAREST LOVE, THY CHILD,
IMMORTAL DAUGHTER, PEACE; FOR HER
  WAITS MAN, THE UNDEFILED.

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Du Bois ASFC November 1953

41-3-50

PEACE AND HYSTERIA

TO US WHO HAVE LONG BEEN CONVINCED OF THE MASS HYSTERIA INTO WHICH THIS NATION IS ENGULFED, THERE COMES TODAY INCREASINGLY THE PROBLEM OF WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTIONS OUR ACTIVITIES CAN AT PRESENT TAKE. THE ORGANIZED AND MEASURED SEARCH FOR TRUTH SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE COWARDICE OF SCHOLARS AND LACK OF FUNDS FOR UNFETTERED RESEARCH; THE REASONED APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC IS NARROWED BY THE FEAR AMONG LISTENERS AND THE FALLING LEVEL OF PUBLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THERE REMAIN TWO POSSIBILITIES: ONE DUE TO THAT RELIGIOUS ESCAPISM WHICH ALWAYS CHARACTERIZES GREAT HUMAN CRISES, AND SECONDLY THE RECURRING EFFORT OF MEN TO REALIZE BEAUTY IN AN AGE OF UGLINESS, AS THE LAST GRASP AT LIFE AMID DISAPPOINTMENT.

IT HAS, FOR INSTANCE, BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS NATION TO PREEN ITSELF

ON ITS RELIGIOUS BELIEF, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE "GODLESSNESS" OF OTHERS. IT WOULD SEEM THEN THE TIME FOR ALL MEN, WHETHER THEY ACCEPT THIS ESTIMATE OR NOT, TO REQUIRE THEIR WORLD TO TEST ITS OWN PROFESSIONS; BY PRACTICING THE GOLDEN RULE OF LOVING THEIR NEIGHBORS AND EVEN LOVING THEIR ENEMIES.

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THOSE WHO HAVE PRACTISED OR TRIED TO PRACTICE THESE PRINCIPLES ARE FEW; AND PERHAPS TODAY FEWER THAN EVER AMONG THE FREE DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST. COULD WE NOT THEN IN THE CHRISTMAS SEASON WHICH FRONTS US INDUCE MASSES OF AMERICANS TO TREAT THE SOVIET UNION AS WE WOULD LIKE THE SOVIET UNION TO TREAT US; NOT ONLY TO LOVE OUR RUSSIAN FRIENDS BUT TRY TO LOVE EVEN OUR COMMUNIST ENEMIES; AND TO PROVE THIS AS THE SOVIET UNION HAS LATELY AND LOGICALLY SUGGESTED: BY STOPPING THE INCREASE OF THE TROOPS AND FORTS WE ARE PLACING ON HER BORDERS, WHICH INCREASE OUR OWN TAXATION AND COST OF LIVING AND THREATEN OUR ECONOMY WITH BANKRUPTCY NOT TO MENTION THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR OWN PEACE OF MIND.

I KNOW THAT SUCH ADVICE SOUNDS LIKE A GRIM JOKE. BUT WAS BISHOP

OXNAM JOKING WHEN HE LATELY COMPARED OUR ETHICS WITH THAT OF EASTERN EUROPE? OR ARE THE PRESBYTERIANS SATISFIED WITH OUR MORAL SENSE? ALL ARE PLEADING AND NEEDING TO PLEAD IN DEFENSE OF THE SENSE OF RIGHT WHICH THIS NATION HAS INHERITED FROM A STRUGGLING PAST AND YET FEELS TODAY THAT IT HAS CERTAINLY NOT ATTAINED.

IF NOW WE PROTEST AGAINST PRACTISING THE GOLDEN RULE BECAUSE OTHERS WILL NOT PRACTICE OR EVEN RECOGNIZE THE COMMON DECENCIES OF LIFE, MIGHT IT NOT BE WELL FOR US TODAY TO BE SURE OF OUR GROUND HERE, AND TO ASK IF WE ARE QUITE SURE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION, HAVE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO DO UNTO OTHERS AS THEY WOULD HAVE OTHERS DO UNTO THEM? WE CAN ONLY MAKE SUCH A COMPARISON, OF COURSE, IF WE REFER TO FACTS WHICH EVERYONE ADMITS ARE SUBSTANTIATED.

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FOR INSTANCE, THE WORLD MUST HAVE PEACE; THERE MUST BE NO MORE WAR NOR PREPARATION FOR WAR; WE MUST STOP PLANNING FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. THESE WORDS WE MUST USE BY REPETITION AND REITERATION TO IMPRESS UPON OUR SOULS THAT PRESENT CIVILIZATION HAS NOTHING TO GAIN FROM WAR AND FAR MORE TO LOSE THAN BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION WE CAN POSSIBLY GAIN.

BUT IS THIS ALL? CAN WE DO NOTHING TODAY TO IMPLEMENT THIS THOUGHT? CAN WE NOT ASK, DOES NOT THE SOVIET UNION ALSO REALIZE THIS, AND IF SHE DOES, WHAT HAS SHE DONE ABOUT IT IN THE PAST? PERHAPS WE DO NOT QUITE REMEMBER HOW IN 1917 THE MILLIONS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE SIMPLY STOPPED FIGHTING. THEY HAD TOO FEW WEAPONS WITH WHICH TO FIGHT, TOO FEW CLOTHES TO WEAR, TOO LITTLE FOOD TO EAT, AND THEY SIMPLY LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS AND REFUSED TO CONTINUE THE WAR. THEY MET EVERWHERE THE ASTONISHMENT AND BITTER OPPOSITION WHICH IS ALWAYS POURED UPON PEOPLE WHO WILL NOT DIE AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS. THE RUSSIANS PERSISTED. THEY TRIED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY ON ANY TERMS, AND ACCEPTED A PEACE SO SHAMEFUL THAT IT SEEMED TO MANY OF

THEIR OWN FOLLOWERS UNTHINKABLE. BUT THE RUSSIANS INSISTED THAT THE ONLY THING THAT WAS UNTHINKABLE WAS FURTHER FIGHTING AND THEY GAVE UP. THIS WAS THE FIRST DECISIVE BREAK IN THE TOTAL WAR.

THE EFFORTS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE TOWARD PEACE DID NOT STOP THERE. THEY WANTED TO BUILD A NEW WORLD. WHETHER OR NOT THEY COULD, LET US NOT PAUSE TO ASK. CERTAINLY IT CANNOT BE OUR CONTENTION THAT THEY HAD NO RIGHT TO TRY. YET TO HINDER THEM FROM THIS EFFORT THE WESTERN WORLD BEGAN ALMOST UNIVERSAL WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS, SO THAT FROM 1917 - 1926 THE EASTERN EUROPEAN WORLD WAS FIGHTING THE ARMED AGGRESSION OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND PERHAPS THE MOST UNGODLY SET OF ADVENTURERS, THUGS AND MURDERERS WHICH A MODERN NATION HAS EVER FACED.

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IT COULD NOT EVEN BE SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WERE FIGHTING THEN TO SPREAD REVOLUTION INTO THE WEST. MANY OF THEM THOUGHT REVOLUTION SURELY WOULD COME TO THE WORLD IN TIME BY THE WORLD'S OWN WILL; BUT ALL THAT THE SOVIETS WERE FIGHTING, STARVING AND SUFFERING FOR, BEFORE THE WORLD DEPRESSION CAME, WAS TO SAVE THEMSELVES FROM

THE HELL OF CONQUEST AND TYRANNY, AND TO ACHIEVE PEACE ON EARTH.

THAT IDEAL OF PEACE REMAINED IN THE SOVIET UNION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS. THE SOVIETS TRIED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY, ENGLAND, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. THEY STROVE TO KEEP THEIR BORDERS FROM FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF AGGRESSIVE ENEMIES WHO WANTED TO USE THEM FOR ATTACK, AND THEY GAVE UP PARTS OF FINLAND, POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES, RE-ANNEXING THEM ONLY TO KEEP THEM FROM BECOMING BASES OF AGGRESSION. THEY REPEATEDLY OFFERED ALLIANCE TO BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA, ONLY FINALLY TO BE CONTEMPTUOUSLY REFULSED AT MUNICH. THEY KNEW HOW LITTLE GERMAN ALLIANCE MEANT WHEN IT WAS OFFERED, YET HAD TO ACCEPT WHEN NOTHING BETTER OFFERED.

WHEN GERMANY, DRUNK WITH POWER, TURNED ON THE WESTERN WORLD, THE SOVIET UNION WAS THE ONLY NATION WHICH COULD SAVE THE WEST. IT DID IT. IF EVER THE WORLD SAW A DEFENSIVE WAR IT WAS THE DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIETS FROM 1939 TO 1945. THERE WAS NOTHING ABOUT IT FIRST OR LAST THAT HAD IN IT THE LEAST LIKENESS TO AGGRESSION.

LIFE, LOVE, HOPE, PLAN, PRIVATE WEALTH AND PUBLIC PROPERTY WERE OFFERED IN BITTER SACRIFICE WHICH REACHED DOWN INTO THE GUTS OF THIS PEOPLE TO A DEGREE WHICH NO NATION ON EARTH TODAY HAS PARALLELED. THEIR ALLIES DOUBTED AND DELIBERATELY POSTPONED AID; THEY DALLIED AND WAITED; AND AT THE END, WHEN THE SOVIET UNION HEADED THE GREATEST ARMAMENT ON EARTH, NOT A SINGLE NATION REALLY QUESTIONED THE REASONABLENESS OF HER TERMS.

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AFTER THE WAR CAME CONFERENCES -- WHAT ELSE CAN MAN CONCEIVE BUT REASON AND UNDERSTANDING AFTER UPHEAVAL AND TURMOIL? THESE TALKS CAME IN 1943 AND 1945 AND WERE UNUSUALLY SUCCESSFUL. THEY WERE NOT PERFECT BUT THEY WERE AT LEAST A DIRECT PATH TO A PEACE WHICH ENDED TWO WORLD WARS. THEY GAVE MANKIND THE GREATEST HOPE FOR FUTURE PEACE THAT THE WORLD HAS SEEN FOR A GENERATION.

THE SUCCESS STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT THREE LEADERS OF THREE GREAT PEOPLE WHO WANTED PEACE, MET AND PLANNED IT. AT TEHERAN IN 1943 THEY PLANNED A UNITED FRONT AGAINST GERMANY. AT YALTA IN 1945 THEY PLANNED TO DISARM GERMANY AND FORM A

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE; WHILE, AT THE EARNEST INSISTENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, THE SOVIETS PROMISED TO HELP CRUSH JAPAN. LATER THAT SAME YEAR AT POTSDAM THE LEADERS, WITH TRUMAN INSTEAD OF ROOSEVELT, TRIED TO COMPLETE PLANS FOR DISARMING GERMANY AND BREAKING UP HER CARTELS, TO FORM A NEW POLAND AND TO BEGIN TO REPAY GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN ALL OF THESE AGREEMENTS THE EFFORT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE WITH THE WORLD AND FORWARD WORLD PEACE WAS NOT AT FIRST QUESTIONED BY ANY OF HER FELLOW NATIONS.

IT IS, INDEED, DIFFICULT TODAY TO GRASP WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE AUGUST 1945; IN THESE EIGHT YEARS OF DISASTER WHICH HAVE NOT ONLY BEEN EVIL IN THEMSELVES, BUT HAVE ALSO GIVEN BIRTH TO SO GREAT A FLOCK OF EVILS THAT SOMETIMES ONE RISES IN THE MORNING TO WONDER IF THIS CIVILIZATION HAS THE INNATE CAPACITY TO CURE ITSELF. MEN SAW THE EVIL COMING AND NONE SAW IT CLEARER THAN AMERICANS OF VISION AND COURAGE.

IT IS TRUE THAT THIS NATION TODAY DOES NOT REALIZE HOW BROAD AND DEEP WAS THAT CRY OF THE BRAIN AND CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA EARLY IN 1949 TO THE PEOPLE OF THE

WORLD. THE BEST OF THE INTELLECT AND IDEALS OF THIS COUNTRY JOINED IN THAT APPEAL SENT TO THE GREAT NATIONS AND ESPECIALLY TO THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SISTER NATIONS. BUT, TOO, IT CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE RESPONSE FROM THE EAST WAS BROAD AND ENTHUSIASTIC. WRITERS, MUSICIANS, ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS, STATESMEN AND ARTISANS, SENT SYMPATHY, AND MANY WERE EAGER TO COME AND SIT IN CONFERENCE. MORE THAN 500 AMERICAN SPONSORS WHO JOINED IN THE CALL, AND TOGETHER WITH THOSE WHO JOINED ABROAD, WERE PERSONS WHO BELIEVED THAT IN THE MODERN WORLD UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST NATIONS WERE POSSIBLE.

41-3-54

THEN IN THE UNITED STATES THERE CAME AN OUTBURST OF OPPOSITION AGAINST THE CONFERENCE, CONSULTATION OR ANY ATTEMPT AT UNDERSTANDING, WHICH HAS NEVER BEFORE BEEN EQUALLED IN OUR HISTORY. IT WAS INCITED BY SOME OF THE MOST SINISTER AND SELFISH ELEMENTS IN THIS NATION. THE SUBJECT WAS POPULAR AND THE MEETING WAS GIVEN MORE PUBLICITY THAN ANY RECENTLY HELD IN THE UNITED STATES EXCEPT NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS. YET AMERICANS INSULTED OUR GUESTS, JEERED AT THEM, ALMOST MOBBED THEM. WE FRIGHTENED THE NATION AND DROVE IT TOWARD HATE AND WAR.

10

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41-3-55

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IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET AGREEMENT TONIGHT OVER THE FACTS OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED THERE AND THE BLAME FOR THE LAST EIGHT AWFUL YEARS. WE CAN ONLY AGREE THAT THE WHOLE PICTURE OF FOREIGN CONTACT WITH CHINA, INDO-CHINA AND KOREA IS PART OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE AND ASIA SINCE 1700 AND CANNOT BE SIMPLIFIED INTO A MATTER OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ON ASIA SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE RESULT OF THE CONTACT OF EUROPE AND ASIA FROM 1945 TO 1954 HAS NOT ONLY BEEN WAR BUT RESULTS OF WAR WORSE THAN FIGHTING. ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, LYING, STEALING AND MURDER, SUSPICION AND HATE AND THE SUBMERGENCE OF BEAUTY

AND OF THE CREATION OF AND SEARCH FOR BEAUTY BENEATH UNEXAMPLED UGLINESS AND UNIVERSAL BAD MANNERS. OUR NEED FOR ART IS AS REAL TODAY AS EVER. THE WORLD CRY FOR PEACE IS A CRY FOR OPPORTUNITY, DECENCY AND JUSTICE, FOR A BALANCED AND SATISFYING LIFE. WE CANNOT GO ON MUCH LONGER WITH HATE AND FEAR. THERE IS STILL EARTH, SUN AND SKY; THERE IS LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP AND REALIZATION OF LIFE AND WORK. OUR NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO, OUR THEATER AND BOOKS CANNOT INDEFINITELY BE DEVOTED TO SPIES, DEATH AND CONSPIRACY.

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41-3-58

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THE MEETING/WAS AN EFFORT/OF A GROUP OF THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS/TO FIND A ROAD TO PEACE/IN A TROUBLED WORLD.// THEY WERE CRITICAL/OF THE UNITED STATES POLICY/EXPRESSED IN THE "TRUMAN DOCTRINE"/AND THE "ATLANTIC PACT,"/WHICH THEY FEARED/MIGHT LEAD TO A WAR/WITH THE SOVIET UNION.// THE LIST OF MORE THAN 500 SPONSORS/WERE MOSTLY NEW DEAL LIBERALS/OR PROGRESSIVES/WHO BELIEVED THAT UNDERSTANDING/AND ACCOMMODATION/ BETWEEN CAPITALIST/AND COMMUNIST NATIONS/WERE POSSIBLE.

THEN/IN AN INEXPLICABLE OUTBURST/NEVER BEFORE EQUALLED IN OUR HISTORY/ INCITED/BY SOME OF OUR MOST SINISTER/AND SELFISH ELEMENTS/ ~~WE~~ this nation DID AN INCREDIBLE THING.// WE INSULTED OUR GUESTS,/ WE JEERED AT THEM/AND ALMOST MOBBED THEM,/ WE KEPT THEM IN CONFINEMENT,/ WE FRIGHTENED THE NATION/AND DROVE IT TOWARD HATE AND WAR.

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THE RESULT OF THIS HAS NOT ONLY BEEN WAR BUT RESULTS OF WAR WORSE THAN FIGHTING. ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, LYING, STEALING AND MURDER, SUSPICION AND HATE AND THE SUBMERGENCE OF BEAUTY AND OF THE CREATION AND SEARCH FOR BEAUTY BENEATH UNEXAMPLED UGLINESS. OUR NEED FOR ART IS AS REAL TODAY AS EVER. THE WORLD CRY FOR PEACE IS A CRY FOR OPPORTUNITY FOR A BALANCED AND SATISFYING LIFE. WE CAN NOT GO ON MUCH LONGER WITH HATE AND FEAR. THERE IS STILL EARTH, SUN AND SKY; THERE IS LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP AND REALIZATION OF LIFE AND WORK. OUR NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO, OUR THEATER AND BOOKS CANNOT INDEFINITELY BE DEVOTED TO SPIES, DEATH AND CONSPIRACY. THERE IS STILL BEAUTY

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IT HAS BEEN UPHEAVAL IN ASIA/WHICH IS THE THREAT OF WAR/AND THAT RESTS/NOT ON COMMUNISM/BUT ON CAUSES FURTHER BACK/IN HISTORY/WHICH INVOLVED AGAIN/OUR TREATMENT OF ~~THE~~ NEIGHBORS/AND THE BREACH/BETWEEN OUR RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS/TO OURSELVES/AND OUR CHILDREN,//AND OUR ACTUAL DEEDS.//WE HAVE SO FAILED/TO MAKE CLEAR RELATIONS/BETWEEN ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA/THAT WE CAN TODAY/SEE THE SOVIET UNION/AS THE THREAT OF WAR IN ASIA.//CLEARLY IT IS NOT./ ON THE CONTRARY, THE RAPE OF INDIA/BY EUROPE/IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES/GAVE THE WORLD/ITS FIRST VAST ACCUMULATION/OF IDLE CAPITAL/AND MUCH NEW MATERIAL;//THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE/IN THE 18th CENTURY/GAVE AMERICA LABOR/FROM AFRICA/TO FURNISH EUROPEAN SCIENCE/AND MATERIALS/FOR NEW TECHNICAL MASTERY/OF THE WORLD; AND THAT MASTERY/IN THE 19th CENTURY/INDUCED THE POWERFUL CHRISTIAN CHURCH/TO HOLD COLORED LABOR/AS SUB-HUMAN/AND NOT SUBJECT/TO THE GOLDEN RULE.

46-10-159

WHEN IN THE 20th CENTURY/JAPAN DEMANDED EQUALITY/WITH EUROPE/IN EXPLOITATION OF ASIA/AND STARTED WITH GERMANY AND ITALY/TO SEIZE IT,/BRITAIN HAD TO FREE DARK INDIA/AND JOIN AMERICA IN INSISTING/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/JOIN THEM IN CURBING JAPAN.// THE UNITED STATES/NATURALLY ASSUMED/THAT CHINA ALSO,/ NOW BITTER ENEMY OF JAPAN,/ WOULD

CONTINUE TO FURNISH/CHEAP COOLIES FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY/AND VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL/FOR ENTERPRISE,//AND WAS GRATIFIED/WHEN THE ATOM BOMB/APPARENTLY REMOVED ALL APPREHENSION/ OF ANY INFILTRATION/OF COMMUNISM.// WHEN COMMUNISM DID INTERVENE,/ AMERICA ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE SOVIET UNION.//BUT THE REAL CAUSE/CAME FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,/ IN THE REVOLUTION OF SUN YAT SEN,/ WHICH WAS A REVOLT/AGAINST THAT VERY WHITE IMPERIALISM/OVER COLORED COLONIAL PEOPLES/WHICH AMERICA PROPOSED/TO INHERIT FROM EUROPE IN 1945.// CHIANG KAI CHEK/TRIED TO LEAD NEW CHINA/AS ALLY OF AMERICA/BUT CHINA REPUDIATED HIM.//THE SOVIET UNION/DID NOT HAVE TO INTERVENE/EVEN IF IT HAD PLANNED./ CHINA ITSELF INTERVENED/AND DROVE OUT JAPAN'S ALLY,/ CHIANG KAI CHEK.

46-10-160

OUTSIDE INTERVENTION/THEN TOOK PLACE/UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH SINGHMAN RHEE IN KOREA/ AND THE UNITED NATIONS/~~WAS~~ WERE INDUCED/TO START A THIRD WORLD/WAR DESIGNED TO MAKE CHINA A COLONY/OF EUROPE AND AMERICA/OR OF THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

THE HAPPENINGS IN CHINA/AND ELSEWHERE IN ASIA/IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS CAN-

IT HAS BEEN UPHEAVAL IN ASIA WHICH IS THE THREAT OF WAR, AND THAT RESTS NOT ON COMMUNISM BUT ON CAUSES FURTHER BACK IN HISTORY, WHICH INVOLVED AGAIN OUR TREATMENT OF ~~THE~~ NEIGHBORS AND THE BREACH BETWEEN OUR RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS TO OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN, AND OUR ACTUAL DEEDS. WE HAVE SO FAILED TO MAKE CLEAR RELATIONS BETWEEN ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA ~~THAT~~ WE CAN TODAY SEE THE SOVIET UNION AS THE THREAT OF WAR IN ASIA. CLEARLY IT IS NOT. ON THE CONTRARY, THE RAPE OF INDIA BY EUROPE IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES GAVE THE WORLD ITS FIRST VAST ACCUMULATION OF IDLE CAPITAL AND MUCH NEW MATERIAL; THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE IN THE 18th CENTURY GAVE AMERICA LABOR FROM AFRICA TO FURNISH EUROPEAN SCIENCE AND MATERIALS FOR NEW TECHNICAL MASTERY OF THE WORLD; AND THAT MASTERY IN THE 19th CENTURY INDUCED THE POWERFUL CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO HOLD COLORED LABOR AS SUB-HUMAN AND NOT SUBJECT TO THE GOLDEN RULE.

WHEN IN THE 20th CENTURY JAPAN DEMANDED EQUALITY WITH EUROPE IN EXPLOITATION OF ASIA AND STARTED WITH GERMANY AND ITALY TO SEIZE IT, BRITAIN HAD TO FREE DARK INDIA AND JOIN AMERICA IN INSISTING THAT THE SOVIET UNION JOIN THEM IN CURBING JAPAN. THE UNITED STATES NATURALLY ASSUMED THAT CHINA ALSO, NOW BITTER ENEMY OF JAPAN, WOULD

551-01-94

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CONTINUE TO FURNISH CHEAP COOLIES FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL FOR ENTERPRISE, AND WAS GRATIFIED WHEN THE ATOM BOMB APPARENTLY REMOVED ALL APPREHENSION OF ANY INFILTRATION OF COMMUNISM. WHEN COMMUNISM DID INTERVENE, AMERICA ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THE REAL CAUSE CAME FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, IN THE REVOLUTION OF SUN YAT SEN, WHICH WAS A REVOLT AGAINST THAT VERY WHITE IMPERIALISM OVER COLORED COLONIAL PEOPLES WHICH AMERICA PROPOSED TO INHERIT FROM EUROPE IN 1945. CHIANG KAI CHEK TRIED TO LEAD NEW CHINA AS ALLY OF AMERICA BUT CHINA REPUDIATED HIM. THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT HAVE TO INTERVENE EVEN IF IT HAD PLANNED. CHINA ITSELF INTERVENED AND DROVE OUT JAPAN'S ALLY, CHIANG KAI CHEK.

OUTSIDE INTERVENTION THEN TOOK PLACE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH SINGHMAN RHEE IN KOREA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS WAS INDUCED TO START A THIRD WORLD WAR DESIGNED TO MAKE CHINA A COLONY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA OR OF THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

THE HAPPENINGS IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE IN ASIA IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS CAN-

left out in final talk

IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET AGREEMENT TONIGHT OVER THE FACTS AND BLAME OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST EIGHT AWFUL YEARS. WE CAN ONLY SAY THAT THE WHOLE PICTURE OF FOREIGN CONTACT WITH CHINA, INDO-CHINA AND KOREA IS PART OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE AND ASIA IN MODERN TIMES AND CANNOT BE SIMPLIFIED INTO MATTER OF RUSSIAN-ASIATIC CONTACT SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

THE RESULT OF THIS HAS NOT ONLY BEEN WAR BUT RESULTS OF WAR WORSE THAN FIGHTING. ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, LYING, STEALING AND MURDER, SUSPICION AND HATE AND THE SUBMERGENCE OF BEAUTY AND OF THE CREATION AND SEARCH FOR BEAUTY BENEATH UNEXAMPLED UGLINESS. OUR NEED FOR ART IS AS REAL TODAY AS EVER. THE WORLD CRY FOR PEACE IS A CRY FOR OPPORTUNITY FOR A BALANCED AND SATISFYING LIFE. WE CAN NOT GO ON MUCH LONGER WITH HATE AND FEAR. THERE IS STILL EARTH, SUN AND SKY; THERE IS LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP AND REALIZATION OF LIFE AND WORK. OUR NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO, OUR THEATER AND BOOKS CANNOT INDEFINITELY BE DEVOTED TO SPIES, DEATH AND CONSPIRACY. THERE IS STILL BEAUTY

46-10-1569

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM; THERE ARE STILL CHILDREN. IF WE LOVE OUR NEIGHBORS AS OURSELVES, IF WE FREE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN AND STOP KILLING OR PLOTTING DEATH, WE CAN AGAIN FACE LIFE UNAFRAID, EVEN IF FRONTING THE FAIR FACE OF BEAUTY WE MUST SAY TODAY:

"RED WAS THE MIGHT THAT SIRED THEE
WHITE WAS THE HOPE THAT BORE THEE,
HEAVEN AND EARTH DESIRED THEE,
AND HELL FROM THY LOVERS TORE THEE,
BUT BARREN TO THE RAVISHER,
THOU BEAREST LOVE, THY CHILD,
IMMORTAL DAUGHTER, PEACE; FOR HER
WAITS MAN, THE UNDEFILED.

46-10-1569

INSURANCE FOR THE WORKER

THERE ARE SOME HUMAN INVENTIONS SO SIMPLE AND USEFUL THAT WE SELDOM STOP TO THINK WHAT THEY MEAN TO LIFE AND HOW EASILY THEY COULD BE IMPROVED. AMONG THESE IS THE MATTER OF INSURANCE; THAT IS, OF SHARING INEVITABLE BUT CERTAIN AND WIDELY SPREAD LOSSES SO THAT THE EXACT LOSS IN ANY PARTICULAR CASE IS NOT LARGE NOR ONEROUS. IT WAS AN INVENTION KNOWN TO THE BABYLONIANS 2000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, AND IT HAS BEEN IMPROVED IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS SINCE, SO AS TO COVER DEATH AND SICKNESS, SO AS TO SHARE THE LOSSES OF FIRE AND ACCIDENT, AND INDEED IT HAS BEEN AND CAN BE APPLIED TO ALMOST EVERY HUMAN CONTINGENCY.

36-10-12

BUT IT IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO WORKING PEOPLE AND PEOPLE OF SMALL INCOME. THEY ESPECIALLY FEAR DEATH AND ACCIDENT, WITH THEIR SUDDEN AND OFTEN UNBEARABLE LOSSES, AND THEY FEAR SICKNESS AND INTERRUPTION OF EMPLOYMENT. THE BUSINESS OF CARRYING ON INSURANCE, HOWEVER, HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN DONE IN THE SIMPLEST, MOST

HONEST AND MOST EFFICIENT WAY. INDEED, FOR A LONG TIME THE INCOME FROM INSURANCE WENT NOT MAINLY TO THE PEOPLE WHO PAID THE PREMIUMS AND HAD THE BEST RIGHT TO THE PAYMENTS AND THE GREATEST NEED FOR THEM, BUT PROFITS WENT TO THOSE WHO MANIPULATED THE INSURANCE FUNDS. AND EVEN TO THIS DAY IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE GREATEST CONTROL OVER FLUID CAPITAL, THAT IS, WEALTH THAT CAN BE USED FOR MAKING MORE WEALTH, IS IN THE HANDS OF THE RICH OWNERS OF INSURANCE COMPANIES.

THE ATTEMPT OF SIMPLE WORKING PEOPLE TO GO INTO THIS BUSINESS HAS BEEN HINDERED NOT BY ITS INTRACACIES, NOT BY THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF FINDING PEOPLE WITH SUFFICIENT EDUCATION AND HONESTY TO CARRY IT ON, BUT BY MAKING THE LAWS GOVERNING INSURANCE DELIBERATELY COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT TO COMPLY WITH. IN OUR DAY, HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO AN INCREASING EXTENT FOR LABOR UNIONS AND POOR PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS TO CONDUCT INSURANCE BUSINESS; BUT THIS HAS ALWAYS MET THE COVERT AND OPEN OPPOSITION OF THE BIG INVESTORS IN INSURANCE, AND ONE OF THE MOST OUTRAGEOUS CASES OF THIS SORT IS THE ONE THAT BRINGS US HERE TONIGHT.

I CAN PERHAPS BEST ILLUSTRATE MY ATTITUDE TOWARD INSURANCE BY RELATING MY OWN EXPERIENCE. I HAD NOT THOUGHT VERY MUCH ABOUT INSURANCE WHEN I BEGAN TEACHING AS A YOUNG UNMARRIED MAN AT ABOUT THE AGE OF 26, BUT I WAS SOLICITED BY AGENTS OF A LARGE PHILADELPIA COMPANY TO TAKE OUT A LIFE POLICY OF $1000. BUT THE PREMIUM WHICH I WAS CHARGED WAS, I FOUND AS I BEGAN TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER, OUTRAGEOUS. IT WAS TWO OR THREE TIMES WHAT WAS CHARGED TO OTHER PERSONS WHOM I KNEW. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT I WAS COLORED, AND THAT SOME COLORED PEOPLE DIED EARLIER AND MORE FREQUENTLY THAN WHITES, AND THEREFORE I WAS BEING CHARGED A LARGER SUM OF MONEY THAN A MAN OF THE SAME HEALTH AND AGE WOULD HAVE BEEN CHARGED IF HIS SKIN HAD BEEN WHITE. I REGARDED THIS AS UNFAIR, NATURALLY, BUT THERE WAS LITTLE I COULD DO ABOUT IT. I DID, HOWEVER, CHANGE MY POLICY LATER TO A $2000 TWENTY-YEAR LIFE POLICY WHICH, WHILE IT HAD NOMINALLY A LOWER RATE OF PAYMENT, AT THE SAME TIME I SIGNED A NOTE BY WHICH I PROMISED LATER TO REPAY A PART WHICH I WAS ACTUALLY CHARGED BUT NOT REQUIRED TO PAY AT THE TIME. THAT MADE ME AGAIN ANGRY. I MADE UP MY MIND THERE

36-10-13

WAS ONLY ONE THING THAT I COULD DO AND THAT WAS, TO OUTLIVE THE POLICY. THAT I DID, AND COLLECTED THE PRINCIPAL THIRTY YEARS AGO.

BUT ALL THIS WAS WRONG. IT WAS A FIGHT WHEN IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN COOPERATION. IT PREJUDICED ME AGAINST THE SYSTEM WHEN IT SHOULD HAVE PREJUDICED ME ONLY AGAINST THE WAY IN WHICH THE SYSTEM WAS RUN. WHEN, THEREFORE, SOME YEARS LATER, I WAS OFFERED THE CHANCE TO INVEST IN AN INSURANCE SOCIETY I REFUSED. I REFUSED BECAUSE THE KIND OF INSURANCE WHICH WAS BEING CARRIED ON WAS SO-CALLED INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE BY WHICH POOR PEOPLE PAID A FEW CENTS A WEEK TO GIVE THEM INDEMNITY AGAINST SICKNESS, AND IN WHICH THE PROFITS LAY MOSTLY IN THE FACT THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF THESE PEOPLE FAILED TO KEEP UP THEIR PAYMENTS AND LOST WHAT THEY HAD PAID IN. THIS OF COURSE, WAS SHEER CHEATING. AND THEN BEYOND THAT, EVEN THOSE WHO KEPT UP THEIR PAYMENTS WERE LIABLE TO SHARP PRACTICE THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS. IN GENERAL, I GOT THE FEELING THAT INSURANCE WAS VERY LARGELY A SYSTEM OF CHEATING THE POOR WHICH WAS NOT FAR FROM THE TRUTH. BUT IT NEED NOT HAVE BEEN THE TRUTH.

LATER THERE CAME TO ATLANTA, WHERE I WAS THEN TEACHING, A YOUNG COLORED MAN WHO DETERMINED TO START AN OLD-LINE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE. HE COLLECTED NEARLY ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY DOWN THE DEPOSIT, BUT NOT HAVING COLLECTED QUITE ENOUGH HE HAD TO PAY THAT MONEY BACK TO THE INVESTORS WITH INTEREST. THIS HE DID, AND THEN HE BEGAN AGAIN. THE SECOND TIME HE SUCCEEDED AND ORGANIZED THE NEGRO STANDARD LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. IT WAS THE FIRST OLD-LINE INSURANCE COMPANY IN THE UNITED STATES AND I TOOK OUT $10,000 INSURANCE ON IT. IT WAS A GOOD COMPANY; IT WAS ON THE WHOLE HONESTLY AND EFFECTIVELY RUN. BUT IT WAS PART, AND HAD TO BE PART, OF THE NATIONAL INSURANCE SYSTEM, AND IT TRIED TO INVEST ITS SURPLUS FUNDS IN ENTERPRISES IN WHICH NEGROES WERE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED: IN A LAUNDRY, IN BUILDING HOMES, IN CONTRACTING BUSINESS, AND SO FORTH. IT PRETTY SOON FOUND ITSELF AT THE MERCY OF THE WHITE BANKS, AND AFTER A PERIOD OF ABOUT TWENTY YEARS IT WAS TAKEN OVER BY A COMPANY DOMINATED BY WHITE BUSINESS MEN IN TENNESSEE. THEY MILKED THE BONDED RESERVES WHICH THE COLORED COMPANY HAD, LEAVING BONDS WHICH WERE NO GOOD. THEN A SECOND COLORED COMPANY BOUGHT THE ASSETS BACK. IT VERY SOON WAS BANKRUPT AND I LOST EVERY CENT

36-10-14

OF INSURANCE WHICH I HAD -- WHICH IS THE CONDITION IN WHICH I AM IN NOW.

I AM, CONSEQUENTLY AND NATURALLY, INTERESTED IN INSURANCE, NOT BECAUSE I WANT TO BUY ANY OR CAN, BUT BECAUSE I SEE WHERE I MADE THE MISTAKE. I OUGHT MORE CAREFULLY TO HAVE STUDIED THE INSURANCE BUSINESS. I HAD OUGHT TO HAVE UNDERSTOOD HOW SIMPLE IT WAS, HOW EASY TO CARRY ON, AND ESPECIALLY HOW MUCH IT WAS DEPENDENT UPON THE LAW AND ENFORCEMENT OF LAW IN THE COUNTRY. I SHOULD HAVE KNOWN THAT INSURANCE WAS A MATTER WHICH DEPENDED UPON MY POLITICAL VATE AND THAT THIS VOTE SHOULD HAVE CUT DOWN THE POWER WHICH POLITICIANS AND CAPITALISTS HAVE OVER FUNDS WHICH ARE NOT THEIRS, AND WHICH THEY CAN NOT ONLY MANIPULATE FOR THEIR OWN PROFIT BUT CAN KEEP OTHERS WHO WILL AND CAN USE THOSE FUNDS AS THEY SHOULD BE USED, FROM HAVING THE RIGHT TO DO SO OR THE CHANCE TO CARRY OUT THEIR DUTY.

IN THE DAYS WHEN THE MASS OF AMERICAN NEGROES WERE SLAVES THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD WAS A SACRED CEREMONY AND THEY WANTED IT DONE DECENTLY AND IN ORDER. THEY THEREFORE FORMED THEIR OWN BURIAL SOCIETIES AND CONTRIBUTED SMALL SUMS WHICH ACCUMULATED BY EXTRA WORK AND BY GIFT. THESE ORGANIZATIONS EXISTED ALL OVER THE SOUTH,

AND WERE EFFICIENT. THEY WERE CONDUCTED HONESTLY AND THEY DID NOT ATTEMPT TO MAKE PROFIT.

AFTER EMANCIPATION THESE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS DEVELOPED INTO INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE SOCIETIES AND IN SOME CASES WERE VERY SUCCESSFUL, BUT THEY IMMEDIATELY HAD TO FACE DECISIONS AS TO WHETHER THEY WERE GOING TO FOLLOW THE AMERICAN PATTERN OF CAPITALISTIC INVESTMENT FOR THE PROFIT OF THE FEW OR THE SOCIALIST AND COOPERATIVE PATTERN OF SERVICE TO THE MANY. NATURALLY, FREEDOM TO NEGROES MEANT INSTITUTION OF WHITE AMERICAN METHODS. ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION THEY BECAME CAPITALISTIC ORGANIZATIONS AND TODAY OF THE MORE THAN 200 NEGRO INSURANCE SOCIETIES WITH ASSETS OF A HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS, AND A BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF INSURANCE IN EFFECT PROBABLY NOT MORE THAN A FOURTH ARE REALLY "MUTUAL" ORGANIZATIONS. THE REST CONFORM TO THE PATTERN OF AMERICAN INSURANCE. AND THAT PATTERN IS NOT ENCOURAGING.

36-10-15

SCANDALS IN AMERICAN INSURANCE HAVE BEEN RAFE. IN 1934 LEWIS COREY TOLD SOME OF THE FACTS. WORKERS LOSE MORE THAN THEY GAIN FROM INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.

COSTS ARE GREAT, LAPSES ARE GREAT. IN TEN YEARS LAPSES ROSE FROM 6% TO 23%. IN 1929 FOR EVERY DOLLAR OF INSURANCE SOLD 67% VANISHED, AND IN FOUR YEARS THE LOSSES ON LAPSED POLICIES WERE 200 MILLIONS. THERE IS MUCH MORE PROFIT FOR INSURANCE COMPANIES ON 1000 INDUSTRIAL POLICIES OF WHICH HALF LAPSE THAN IN 500 POLICIES OF WHICH 200 LAPSE. THUS LIFE INSURANCE IS IDENTIFIED NOT ONLY WITH THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME BUT WITH ALL THE PREDATORY ASPECTS OF CAPITALISM. THE COMPANIES ARE PLUNDERED BY MANAGEMENT WHOSE UPPER LAYERS GET FABULOUS SALARIES. THEY SPENT 900 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1929 FOR SALARIES, WHILE THE POLICY HOLDERS GOT ONE THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS IN BENEFITS: 32¢ OF COST FOR EVERY 68¢ DISTRIBUTED. THEY ARE CALLED USUALLY "MUTUAL" ORGANIZATIONS BUT ARE IN FACT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY WHICH MANIPULATES THE RESOURCES FOR INVESTMENT AND GAMBLING. ONLY YESTERDAY THE PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD LARGEST LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY IN THE UNITED STATES WAS MADE TO RESIGN BECAUSE HE WAS DISTRIBUTING THE PROFITS OF THE ORGANIZATION AMONG HIS RELATIVES AND FRIENDS.

TODAY IN THE LEADING NATIONS OF THE WORLD, IT IS LOOKED UPON AS PERFECTLY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND WAGE THAT THE FEW SHOULD STEAL FROM THE MANY; THAT BUSINESS ENTERPRISE SHOULD LIE ABOUT ITS GOODS AND METHODS, AND SO MANIPULATE THE LAWS THAT IF THEY ARE ACCUSED OF DECEPTION THE ACCUSER CAN BE JAILED; AND THAT IN GENERAL THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF A MODERN NATION IS SO CONDUCTED THAT WHOLESALE STEALING IS SUPPOSED TO RESULT IN GENERAL PROSPERITY.

36-10-16

A FEW COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD HAVE OPPOSED THIS. THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES ARE TODAY SOCIALISTIC, AND THEIR INSURANCE, THEIR HOUSING, THEIR SAVINGS, AND NUMBERS OF THEIR ENTERPRISES ARE CARRIED ON AT COST, AND FOR THE PROFIT ADVANTAGE OF THOSE PERSONS WHO FURNISH THE FUNDS AND NEED THE SERVICES. EVEN IN A GREAT AND PREDATORY EMPIRE LIKE GREAT BRITAIN THE LEADING COUNTRIES LIKE ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND HAVE A LARGE AMOUNT OF SOCIALISTIC ENTERPRISE, AND A SOCIALISTIC GOVERNMENT WHICH, WHILE NOT ENTIRELY CONVINCED OF THE RIGHT METHODS TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM, NEVERTHELESS HAVE MADE GREAT ADVANCE IN THE LAST 25 YEARS.

SO TOO, FRANCE, GERMANY BEFORE THE WAR, AND THE UNITED STATES UNDER ROOSEVELT MOVED GRADUALLY AND STEADILY TOWARD THE SOCIALIZATION OF WEALTH AND THE PREVENTION OF WHOLESALE THEFT FROM THE MANY BY THE FEW.

BUT ONE SET OF NATIONS ESPECIALLY, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, ITS SISTER STATES AND THE VAST NATION OF CHINA, HAVE TRIED TO ESTABLISH AN ECONOMY CARRIED ON FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CONSUMER WITH THE ELIMINATION OF THE PROFITEER.

IN THE UNITED STATES SOME PEOPLE ARE STILL HOPING THAT THESE COUNTRIES WILL NOT SUCCEED, BUT THE FACT IS THAT THEY ARE SUCCEEDING, AND THEY ARE POINTING THE ONLY WAY TOWARD A REAL AND GREAT FUTURE FOR MANKIND.

THE IWO HAS BEEN A GREAT AND WORTHY EXAMPLE OF HOW ORDINARY PEOPLE CAN DO AN ORDINARY JOB IF THEY ARE NOT INTERFERED WITH BY THIEVES AND LIARS. THE ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TODAY TO PUT THIS ORGANIZATION OUT OF BUSINESS FOR ABSOLUTELY FALS REASONS. THIS BUSINESS BELONGS TO AMERICANS AND NOT TO CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION OR TO THE CHINESE. IT IS CARRIED ON BY METHODS JUST AS LEGAL AND AMERICAN AS OTHER AMERICAN

BUSINESS AND MORE SO THAN MANY. IT IS NOT IMITATING OR FOLLOWING COMMUNISM. BOTH THE IWO AND SIMILAR COMMUNIST ENTERPRISES ARE FOLLOWING JUST AND EFFECTIVE HUMANE ENTERPRISE.

IF THE INSURANCE FUNDS OF THE UNITED STATES WERE USED HONESTLY, INSURANCE WOULD COST MUCH LESS, BE MORE EFFECTIVELY ADMINISTERED, AND BE OF FAR GREATER HELP TOWARD ALLAYING THE CONTINUAL FEAR WHICH THE AMERICAN WORKER HAS OF DEATH, SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT.

36-10-17

THERE IS NOT BEFORE US TODAY A COURT CASE WHERE JUSTICE IS MORE OBVIOUS AND MORE DEMANDED BY CIVILIZATION THAN THAT OF ALLOWING THIS COMPANY TO CONTINUE THE KIND OF WORK WHICH IT HAS BEEN DOING IN INSURANCE, AND THUS GIVING AN EXAMPLE TO THE PEOPLE OF HOW CHEAP AND EFFECTIVE INSURANCE CAN BE CONDUCTED. THERE IS NO CHARGE HERE OF CRIME OR FAILURE. THE ONLY CHARGE IS REFUSAL TO THINK AS OTHERS DO IN REGARD TO AMERICAN BUSINESS IN GNERAL.

JUSTICE IS BREAKING DOWN IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY TO A DEGREE WHICH IS FRIGHTENING. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR A MAN TO BE ACCUSED WITHOUT KNOWING THE NAME OF HIS ACCUSER

OR THE FACTS OF THE ACCUSATION; AND DESPITE THIS TO SUFFER THE PENALTIES OF THE GUILTY. THE HIGHER COURTS TO WHICH ONCE WITH CONFIDENCE WE COULD CARRY OUR CASES, CAN NO LONGER BE DEPENDED UPON. IN THE PAST THE COST OF APPEALING CASES WAS ENOUGH TO REPEL AND PREVENT SUCH EFFORT TOWARD JUSTICE. BUT TODAY, DESPITE THE PAYMENT OF COSTS, AND EVEN IF THEY ARE PAID BY THE POOR AND INNOCENT, IT IS STILL IN TOO MANY CASES IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THE CASE EVEN HEARD. THERE ARE IN JAIL TODAY A LARGE NUMBER OF KNOWN VICTIMS WHERE IT IS UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE WITH ANY SHADOW OF TRUTH TO PROVE THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUFFERING PUNISHMENT HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF ANY CRIME.

BEYOND THAT, AND NEARER TO OUR EVERYDAY WORK , IS THIS BUSINESS OF MISUSING THE SMALL INCOME OF THE POOR AND OF GIVING THEM POOR FOOD FOR THEIR MONEY, POOR MATERIALS IN THEIR HOUSES, POOR CLOTHES FOR THEIR BACKS AND WRETCHED EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

AND LAST, BUT NOT LEAST, OF MAKING IT DIFFICULT AND SOMETIMES IMPOSSIBLE FOR A PERSON TO SAVE OUT OF HIS SMALL INCOME ENOUGH FOR THE FUTURE TO WARD OFF POVERTY;

OR TO KEEP THE SUMS OF MONEY SAVED SAFE IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO OWN THEM. INSURANCE CAN BE HAD CHEAP IF IT IS HONESTLY CONDUCTED AT A REASONABLE AND LOW COST. EVERYONE KNOWS THIS, YET TODAY THE COST OF INSURANCE IS HIGH; THE ATTEMPT IS MADE TO KEEP THOSE MOST DEEPLY INTERESTED IN ITS PROPER CARRYING OUT FROM HAVING ANY VOICE IN ITS CONTROL, AND IN VARIOUS DIRECT AND INDIRECT WAYS OF TAKING AWAY FROM THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH POOR PEOPLE MAKE TO INSURANCE FUNDS THE BENEFIT OF THOSE FUNDS.

IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO WIN THIS CASE, NOR WILL IT BE MERELY A MATTER OF LAW. IF IT WERE THAT, THE CASE WOULD ALREADY BE WON. IT WILL BE A MATTER OF PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC OPINION. THE FACTS CONCERNING THIS ORGANIZATION OUGHT TO BE SPREAD ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES IN ALL KINDS OF ORGANIZATIONS AND LOCALITIES, TO LET PEOPLE KNOW THAT WHAT IS BEING DONE IS NOT A MATTER OF OPINION, OF POLITICAL BELIEF, OF ECONOMIC DOCTRINE, BUT A SHEER MATTER OF HONESTY AND DECENCY AND OF CARRYING OUT THAT CLEAREST OF THE COMMANDMENTS: THOU SHALT NOT STEAL.

36-10-18

Du Bois

Natl Guardian
Nov. 17, 1953

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND THE PRESS

I WANT IN TEN MINUTES TO ASK WHAT AN INDEPENDENT PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES CAN DO, AND TO MAKE THAT CLEAR I MUST CONSIDER WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. THAT INVOLVES A REVIEW OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THIS NATION IN THE 20th CENTURY.

36-10-20

WE CAME INTO THE CENTURY HAVING JUST PASSED FROM AN AGRICULTURAL NATION INTO AN INDUSTRIAL ONE. OUR VARIOUS BUSINESS ENTERPRISES IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY EXPANDED BETWEEN 200 AND 1000% IN VOLUME. AT THE OPENING OF THE CENTURY OUR MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS WERE WORTH TWICE AS MUCH AS FARM, ORCHARD AND DAIRY PRODUCTS, AND DURING THE 60 YEARS AFTER 1870 INSTALLED PRIMARY POWER IN MANUFACTURING INCREASED 2000%. IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY THE NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS REMAINED THE SAME, BUT THE WORKERS DOUBLED AND THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCTS INCREASED SIX TIMES. THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY PASSED GRADUALLY FROM INDIVIDUALS AND PARTNERS INTO CORPORATIONS. 2/3 OF THE MANUFACTURED GOODS WERE MADE BY CORPORATIONS IN 1899; AND 9/10 IN 1929. THESE CORPORATIONS UNITED INTO TRUSTS, WITH UNDERSTANDING AS TO WAGES AND PRICES; AND THEN THE TRUSTS BECAME MONOLITHIC ENTERPRISES,

REACHING FROM RAW MATERIALS TO THE FINISHED PRODUCTS.

NOT ONLY WERE THE POWERFUL CORPORATIONS IN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BUT THE DIRECTORS WERE IN MANY CASES THE SAME BODY OF MEN. IN 1912 THE DIRECTORS OF THREE CHIEF GROUPS HELD 341 DIRECTORSHIPS IN 112 CORPORATIONS, CAPITALIZED AT 22 BILLION.

THE PEOPLE BEGAN COMPLAINING. THE MUCKRAKERS REVEALED THE DETAILS ABOUT THE INDIVIDUAL WEALTH AND BUSINESS CONTROL. WOODROW WILSON SAID IN 1913: "THE MASTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARE THE COMBINED CAPITALISTS AND MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES."

WE HAD PASSED A FEDERAL LAW AGAINST MONOPOLIES BUT THE SUPREME COURT NULLIFIED THEM, AND MONOPOLIES INCREASED WITH THE GROWING CENTURY. OUR FIRST BILLION DOLLAR TRUST, UNITED STATES STEEL, CAME IN 1904.

THEN CAME MASS MANUFACTURE, WHEN INSTEAD OF MAKING INDIVIDUAL OBJECTS WE MADE INTER-CHANGEABLE PARTS AND MACHINES TO MAKE MACHINES. THIS MEANT THE POSSIBILITY OF MANUFACTURING ON A HUGE SCALE, AND THESE OBJECTS WE MUST SELL SO THAT

EARLY IN THE CENTURY WE WERE SEEKING MARKETS; AND MARKETS MEANT COLONIES. WE ANNEXED COLONIES: THE HAWAIIS BY TREATY; PUERTO RICO AND THE PHILLIPINES BY THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR; OTHER COUNTRIES BY INVESTMENT. A MAJOR GENERAL SAID OF HIS 33 YEARS IN THE MARINE CORPS: "MOST OF MY TIME BEING A HIGH CLASS MUSCLE MAN FOR BIG BUSINESS, FOR WALL STREET AND FOR THE BANKERS. I WAS A RACKETEER FOR CAPITALISM."

36-10-21

ALL THIS CALLED FOR LABOR AND BY ORGANIZED EFFORT WE ATTRACTED LABOR AND ATTRACTED CHEAP WORKERS FROM SOUTHEAST EUROPE. WE EVEN BEGAN TO BRING IN CHINESE AND JAPANESE LABORERS, BUT THERE WE WERE STOPPED BY COLOR PREJUDICE. MOREOVER, WE PROPOSED TO KEEP THIS LABOR CHEAP BECAUSE WE HAD A BODY OF DISFRANCHISED CHEAP AND IMMOBILIZED NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES TO THREATEN WAGES AT ANY TIME.

REVOLT OF LABOR CAME. UNIONS SPREAD AND FOUGHT; AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF EUROPE, BASED ON STUDY AND WRITINGS OF KARL MARX, BEGAN TO BE KNOWN IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS WAS MET BY SEVERE REPRESSION OF LABOR UNIONS AND CURTAILMENT OF CIVIL

RIGHTS. WE WERE SO SUCCESSFUL THAT WE BECAME BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE MOST POWERFUL INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

THE VOLUME OF OUR MANUFACTURES INCREASE TREMENDOUSLY. THIS INCREASE OCCURRED IN OTHER IMPERIAL COUNTRIES. SOON THE MANUFACTURERS OF THE WORLD COULD MAKE MORE THAN THEY COULD SELL. THEN THEY ALL HAD TO SEEK NEW MARKETS TO ABSORB THE SURPLUS GOODS. AMERICAN CAPITALISTS NOT ONLY HAD SURPLUS GOODS BUT THEY HAD SURPLUS CAPITAL. AFTER 1900 AMERICAN CAPITAL BEGAN TO PENETRATE IN ALL DIRECTIONS.

WORLD WAR I MARKED THE ASCENDANCY OF THE UNITED STATES AS A DOMINANT CAPITALIST NATION. WHEN THE WAR BROKE OUT THIS WAS TO OUR ADVANTAGE. OUR RIVAL MANUFACTURING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE COULD NO LONGER CARRY ON INDUSTRY. WE COULD. WE COULD SUPPLY THEM NEUTRAL MARKETS, AND WE WERE WILLING TO SUPPLY THEM AND BOTH SIDES. SOON, HOWEVER, BRITISH SEA POWER PREVENTED US FROM SUPPLYING THE GERMANS, BUT WE WERE SELLING GOODS TO THE ALLIES AT THE RATE OF TEN MILLION DOLLARS A DAY.

BUT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR THE ALLIES TO BUY. FIRST THEY PAID GOLD, THEN

THEY LIQUIDATED THEIR INVESTMENTS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY. THEN THEY BORROWED FROM AMERICANS, AND FINALLY WE HAD TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORT AND LOAN TO THEM, AND IN ORDER TO SUPPORT OUR LOANS WE WENT TO WAR.

36-10-22

WHEN PEACE CAME WE GIRDED OURSELVES FOR RENEWED INDUSTRIAL EFFORT. WE WERE NOW THE CREDITOR NATION OF THE WORLD, THE CENTER OF BANKING, THE CENTER OF WORLD COMMERCE. WE WERE ABOUT TO RULE THE WORLD AND OUR EXPANSION IN THE TEN YEARS AFTER THE WAR WAS FANTASTIC.

~~1~~ 1930 WE HAD NEARLY FIVE BILLIONS OF INVESTMENTS IN EUROPE, EIGHT BILLIONS ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT AND THREE BILLIONS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD. WITH A LITTLE LESS THAN 6% OF THE LAND AREA OF THE WORLD, AND A LITTLE MORE THAN 6% OF THE POPULATION, WE OWNED HALF OF THE TELEPHONES AND TELEGRAPHS, 3/4 OF THE MOTOR CARS; 1/3 OF THE RAILROADS, AND 1/3 OF THE WATER POWER. WE PRODUCED 2/3 OF THE OIL, $\frac{1}{2}$ OF THE COPPER AND COAL, $\frac{1}{2}$ OF THE PIG IRON, STEEL AND COTTON, AND 1/3 OF THE LEAD. OUR WEALTH WHICH HAD BEEN 86 BILLION DOLLARS IN 1900 WAS 361 BILLION DOLLARS IN 1929.

BIG BUSINESS BEGAN TO GIRD ITSELF TO RULE THE WORLD AS AN AMERICAN EMPIRE. FIRST IT WAS NECESSARY TO STOP SOCIALISTIC IDEAS IN EUROPE AND ESPECIALLY TO HELP EUROPE CRUSH THE NEW RUSSIAN COMMUNISM. WE KNEW IT WOULD FALL SOON BUT WE WANTED THIS TO HAPPEN SOONER.

THEN SUDDENLY THE IMPOSSIBLE, AS WE HAD CONCEIVED IT, HAPPENED. THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF OUR capitalist SYSTEM. THE REGULATION OF THE WORLD MARKET FAILED AND THE GOLD STANDARD HAD TO BE GIVEN UP. ASIA AND SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES DEVELOPED IDEAS OF DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE. ALMOST WITHOUT WARNING, OR AT LEAST WITHOUT OUR HEEDING THE VERY CLEAR WARNINGS, OUR INDUSTRY DROPPED, OUR PRODUCTION WAS CUT IN TWO, 14 MILLION LABORERS WERE UNEMPLOYED AND IN SUCH BITTER STRAIGHTS THAT SOME SEARCHED GARBAGE PILES FOR FOOD AND LIVED IN HUTS.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BECAME PRESIDENT. EVEN CAPITALISM TURNED TO SOCIALISM FOR HELP. FIRST CAME NATIONALLY ORGANIZED WORK NOT ONLY TO FEED AND EMPLOY LABOR BUT TO BUILD ROADS AND SCHOOLS, WRITE BOOKS AND PAINT PICTURES. CURIOUS CRITICISM

AROSE TO CURTAIL THIS EFFORT.

WE TRIED TO RELIEVE THE PLIGHT OF AGRICULTURE WHEN WE FOUND FARMERS WERE RAISING MORE FOOD AND MATERIAL THAN PEOPLE COULD BUY. IF THEY STOPPED THEY'D STARVE. THE GOVERNMENT BRIBED THEM TO DESTROY MATERIAL AND LIMIT PRODUCTS AND YET KEEP ALIVE. THIS WAS PRESERVING SOCIALISM BY CAPITALISM OR VICE VERSA. THEN THE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO ORGANIZE BUSINESS METHODS BY BRINGING DEMOCRACY INTO WAGE SETTLEMENT; ADOPTING CODES OF INDUSTRIAL PROCEDURE BASED ON REASON AND PLAN, AND DETERMINE IN GENERAL WHAT BUSINESS WAS FOR.

BUT THESE AGRICULTURAL AND BUSINESS DIRECTIONS PROVED TOO MUCH FOR THE COUNTRY TO TAKE. THEY WERE BOTH PARTIALLY, THOUGH NOT WHOLLY, OVERTHROWN BY THE SUPREME COURT. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, ONE EFFORT WHICH OUTRANKED THEM ALL IN SIGNIFICANCE AND THAT WAS THE TVA, THE TAKING OF AA GREAT RIVER VALLEY AS LARGE AS SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND, AND PLANNING ITS INDUSTRY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FARMERS AND WORKERS. THIS LASTED. IT BECAME, AS EISENHOWER HAS TOLD US, CREEPING SOCIALISM. IT IS STILL CREEPING ON!

36-10-23

THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY INDUSTRY CAPITALIZED BY TAXES AND THIS RESULTED IN A FIGHT BETWEEN MASTERS OF PRIVATE CAPITAL AND DEMOCRACY. ORGANIZED INDUSTRY LED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS PLANNED TO RESTORE THE DOMINANCE OF CAPITAL IN INDUSTRY AND TO OUTLAW SOCIALISM. IT ATTACKED THE UNIVERSITIES AND ESPECIALLY PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY HAD GRASPED A GREAT IDEA -- THE IDEA OF RUNNING THIS VAST AND POWERFUL COUNTRY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CONSUMERS AND NOT FOR THE PROFIT OF THE OWNERS. THEY JAMMED THROUGH THAT IDEA WITH DOGGED PERSISTENCE IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948.

MEANTIME THE PLAN TO LEAD THIS EXCURSION INTO A NEW ECONOMY MET DIFFICULTIES. THE BRAIN TRUST, THINKERS AND PLANNERS TO WHOM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FIRST TURNED, FAILED HIM. THEY WERE THEMSELVES BEWILDERED BY A NEW CONCEPT OF THE UNIVERSE THAT CAME WITH EINSTEIN'S RELATIVITY AND WHICH OVERTHREW THE CONCEPT OF THE CONSERVATION OF ENERGY AND EXACT PHYSICAL LAW. THEY DID NOT SEE WITH WHITEHEAD THAT THIS WAS LEADING

STRAIGHT TO A SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION BASED ON SOCIOLOGY AND PROBABILITY AND FREE WILL

IN THE MIDST OF THAT CONTRADICTION OF THOUGHT THE INSIDE LEADERS OF INDUSTRY, THE MEN WHO WERE PUTTING SO-CALLED "SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS" INTO UNIVERSITIES, DROVE THOUGHT AND STUDENTS INTO PHYSICS, INTO ENGINEERING, INTO MISTAKING MANUFACTURING TECHNIQUE FOR HUMAN EDUCATION, INTO USING ATOMIC ENERGY FOR WAR.

MOREOVER, TWO EUROPEAN UPSTARTS, BASING THEIR ACTION ON THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY OF FREUD, BEGAN TO COMPEL NOT ONLY INDIVIDUALS BUT NATIONS TO DO WHATEVER ANY SET OF PEOPLE WANTED THEM TO DO, BY PROPAGANDA. AMERICAN BUSINESS WATCHED THIS WORK WITH FASCINATION AND DETERMINED THAT JUST AS SOON AS THEY GOT CONTROL OF THE MONEY THEY WOULD USE PROPAGANDA TO RULE THE UNITED STATES.

THIS OPPORTUNITY APPEARED APPROACHING WHEN HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, SEIZING THE FUNDS OF GERMANY AND ITALY, DETERMINED TO OVERTHROW ENGLAND AND FRANCE. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, SET ON HELPING ENGLAND AND FRANCE AND CONSERVING CAPITALISM IN THESE COUNTRIES AS INDISPENSABLE, RETREATED FROM HIS SOCIALISTIC ENTERPRISE AND JOINED IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

36-10-24

THIS PUT MILITARISM AND INDUSTRY IN CONTROL OF HUGE SUMS FOR PROPAGANDA. THEY STARTED TO STOP SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES, KILL COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA AND COMPROMISE WITH GERMANY. BUT GERMANY CRUSHED FRANCE AND WAS ABOUT TO DOMINATE BRITAIN. THE ONLY RECOURSE OF THE ALLIES WAS TO BEG AID OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE GOT IT AT THE CHEAPEST PRICE AND WITH THE PLAN OF SAVING THE BALKANS AND ASIA FOR BARGAINING AFTER THE SOVIET'S DEFEAT. SHE WON, AND BECAME OUR PARTNER INSTEAD OF OUR DUPE.

ROOSEVELT AND THE PROPOSED UNITED NATIONS STOOD IN THE WAY OF BIG BUSINESS AND A RESTORED CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM. ROOSEVELT DIED AND FASCISM MOVED INTO THE UNITED STATES under TRUMAN, AN HONEST BUT INEXPERIENCED AND NARROWLY EDUCATED PROVINCIAL; AND UNDER A MILITARY FIGUREHEAD; WITHOUT THE FAINTEST CONCEPTION OF THE MODERN WORLD AND ITS MEANING. THE GREATEST EXPERIMENT THE WORLD EVER SAW IN DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA TO MISLEAD A WHOLE NATION WAS CARRIED OUT RUTHLESSLY. ITS MESSAGE, BEGINNING WITH POTSDAM WAS:

HATE RUSSIA, FIGHT COMMUNISM, AND RULE THE WORLD BY THE ATOM BOMB. BY MONOPOLY OF THE PRESS, THE MAGAZINES, THE RADIO AND TELEVISION; BY STOPPING PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THOUGHT, BY THREATENING THE BREAD AND BUTTER OF HONEST WORKERS, WE REDUCED THIS NATION TO A MASS OF ROBOTS MARCHING IN LOCK STEP.

HERE AGAIN THE UNEXPECTED THING HAPPENED, AND THAT WAS, THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHINA, UNDER OUR VERY HANDS AND WITH THE ARMS WE HAD FURNISHED THEM! IT WAS THE RESULT OF APPEASING JAPAN AND DESPISING COLONIAL PEOPLES. WE TRIED TO COUNTERACT FREE CHINA WITH WAR ON KOREA. HERE THE DRUGGED MASSES OF THE UNITED STATES, EVEN MISLED THOUGH THEY WERE BY PROPAGANDA, DEPRIVED OF BOOKS, PERIODICALS, NEWSPAPERS, REFUSED TO PROLONG THE STREAM OF MONEY, AND REFUSED TO FIGHT. WE HAD TO STOP IN THE MIDST OF THE KOREAN WAR, WITHOUT VICTORY. AND THEN THE WHOLE SITUATION BEGAN TO GO TO PIECES.

36-10-25

TO CONTINUE THE FIGHTING OF SOCIALISM WE HAD TO OVERTHROW CIVIL RIGHTS, TO FIGHT RESEARCH AND FREE ENTERPRISE AND TO LURCH INTO HYSTERIA. OUT OF THIS ONLY EDUCATION CAN LEAD US. BUT THE ORDINARY INSTRUMENTS OF EDUCATION HAVE DISAPPEARED. WE

HAVE NO UNIVERSITIES AND FEW SCHOOLS. WE ARE NOT PUBLISHING BOOKS WHICH SAY ANYTHING. BUT WE STILL HAVE ONE FREE AND INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER.

HOW THAT HAPPENED IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS IS NOW GOING TO BE TOLD BY FIVE SPEAKERS. EACH ONE OF THESE, DESPITE MY REMONSTRANCES, HAS INSISTED ON SPEAKING NOT MORE THAN FIVE MINUTES. I HAVE POINTED OUT TO THEM THAT A THEME LIKE THEIRS CAN HARDLY BE TREATED IN LESS THAN A HALF HOUR. THEY WERE ADAMANT. WHEN, THEREFORE, THIS GAVEL SEEMS TO LIMIT THEM, REMEMBER THAT IT IS NOT THE CHAIRMAN WHO INSISTS, BUT THEIR OWN SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.

In Memory of

Joel Elias Spingarn

(On the dedication of The Joel Elias Spingarn Senior High School
Washington, D.C., December 11, 1953)

38-6-16

In our day when the high places of the nation public and private are so largely occupied by men whom we all despise, I know of no one more fitting to remember than Joel Elias Spingarn who in the vivid strenth of his young manhood seemed born to proclaim that oft-repeated word of James Russel Lowell:

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink
Let traitors turn away!
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say.

In defense of his unbending ideals the young Spingarn gave up Literature at Columbia University to vindicate a great man who had been wronged. Turning, Spingarn threw his blazing energy into the least popular cause of his day. He did not stint nor compromise, nor pause when foe and friend alike advised and warned. He sought and found the firing line, made straight at the enemy and suffered almost joyfully the evil that beat upon him in return.

It is then our rare pleasure today here to revive his memory

Washington D.C. Spingarn H.S. Dec 1953 not used

IN OUR DAY / WHEN THE HIGH PLACES OF THE NATION / PUBLIC AND PRIVATE / ARE SO LARGELY OCCUPIED / BY MEN WHOM WE ALL DESPISE / I KNOW OF ~~NOONE~~ NO ONE MORE FITTING TO REMEMBER / THAN JOEL SPINGARN // WHO IN THE VIVID STRENGTH / OF HIS YOUNG MANHOOD // SEEMED BORN TO ~~PRIEST~~ PRO-CLAIM / THAT OFT*REPEATED WORD / OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

LET LIARS FEAR / LET COWARDS SHRINK
LET TRAITORS TURN AWAY //
WHATEVER WE HAVE DARED TO THINK
THAT DARE WE ALSO SAY

36-10-19

P

IN DEFENSE OF HIS UNBENDING IDEALS / THE YOUNG SPINGARN ~~AT 36~~, / GAVE UP ~~HIS PROFESSORSHIP OF~~ LITERATURE / AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY / TO VINDICATE A GREAT MAN / WHO HAD BEEN WRONGED // SPINGARN ~~AND~~ TURNING / THREW HIS BLAZING ENERGY / INTO THE LEAST POPULAR CAUSE / OF HIS DAY // HE DID NOT STINT / NOR COMPROMISE // NOR PAUSE / WHEN FOE AND FRIEND ALIKE / ADVISED AND WARNED // HE SOUGHT AND FOUND / THE FIRING LINE / AND MADE STRAIGHT AT THE ENEMY // SUFFERING ALMOST JOYFULLY // THE EVIL THAT BEAT UPON HIM / IN RETURN // IT IS TODAY THEN / OUR RARE PLEASURE / HERE TO REVIVE HIS MEMORY / AND IN THIS ~~DAY~~ TIME / OF DEATH AND DISASTER / TO HAIL HIM AT REST / AMONG THE ~~HAPPY~~ SILENT DEAD. / / YET SINGING WITH HIM / AS ONCE HE SANG:

BURY YOURSELF / IN BOOKS OR WORK / OR PLAY
HIDE FROM YOURSELF / THE PAIN OF YOUR DESIRE
DRUG IN THE TWILIGHT / OF UNCAPTURED DAY
THE STRUGGLING PANGS / OF FIRE
BUT STILL IT HAUNTS / THE CAVERNS UNEXPLORED
THE THING UNWON, / UNSATISFIED, / UNKNOWN
O MY AMERICA, / MY UNRESTORED /
SIT LONELY / ON THY THRONE.

46-10-191

AMNESTY

AMNESTY/IS THE DECISION OF A GOVERNMENT/NOT TO PROSECUTE BY COURT PROCEDURE/PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME.//THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CASES/OF THIS SORT/IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.//BUT THE GREATEST/WAS THE REFUSAL/OF THE VICTORIOUS NORTH/TO PROSECUTE THOSE/WHO LED IN SECESSION AND IN THE FIGHT/TO MAKE SLAVERY LEGAL/ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES.

¶ THERE WAS/IN THE BEGINNING OF OUR NATIONAL HISTORY/WIDE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION/CONCERNING SLAVERY,/CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF LABORERS AND SERVANTS/BROUGHT FROM ENGLAND,//IRELAND,/GERMANY AND AFRICA/IN THE 17th CENTURY.// IN THE 18th CENTURY/NEARLY ALL OF THESE WORKERS/BECAME FREE LABORERS/EXCEPT THOSE BROUGHT FROM AFRICA.// EVEN SOME OF THESE BECAME FREE.// BUT THE GREAT MASS/OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/WERE HELD AS SLAVES,/ BECAUSE THEIR LABOR WAS USED/ON THE COTTON AND SUGAR PLANTATIONS/AND PAID LARGE PROFITS.// SUCH COMPULSORY LABOR/WAS AGAINST THE

BEST THOUGHT/OF THE 18th CENTURY/AND THUS THERE WAS/FROM THE BEGINNING A LARGE ELEMENT/OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES/WHO OPPOSED IT.

GRADUALLY,/ THE FREE LABOR ADVOCATES/WERE TRIUMPHANT IN THE NORTH,/ BECAUSE THERE/FORCED LABOR WAS NOT PROFITABLE/IN FARM, TRADE AND FACTORY./ ON THE OTHER HAND,/ IN THE SOUTH/THERE GREW UP A GROUP OF PERSONS/WHO WERE IN FAVOR/OF THE SLAVERY OF NEGROES/BECAUSE IT PAID/IN COTTON CULTURE. EVEN THEY DID NOT THINK/IT WOULD CONTINUE FOREVER,/BUT THEY WANTED IT FOR THE PRESENT/AND WERE NOT WILLING/TO SET ANY LIMIT/TO THIS KIND OF LABOR.

46-10-192

EVEN IN THE SOUTH/DURING THE EARLY 19th CENTURY/ THERE WERE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE/ WHO DIFFERED.// GRADUALLY,/HOWEVER, THOSE PEOPLE/WHO BELIEVED IN SLAVERY/BEGAN TO FORCE OUT OF THE SECTION/OR INTO SILENCE/THE ADVOCATES OF ABOLITION,/ SO THAT SLAVERY BECAME SECTIONAL,/ WITH ITS STRONG

ADVOCATES/IN THE SOUTHERN STATES/AND THE OPPONENTS OF SLAVERY/MORE LARGELY REPRESENTED/IN THE NORTH.

THEN/INSTEAD OF THE MATTER REMAINING/SIMPLY A QUESTION OF PUBLIC OPINION/IT BECAME A QUESTION/OF POLITICAL POWER.// THE SOUTH USED ITS POWER/BECAUSE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION/THEY HAD THE RIGHT/TO COUNT THE SLAVE POPULATION IN PART/AS BASIS OF THEIR REPRESENTATION/IN CONGRESS.// SO THAT FIVE WHITE SOUTHERNERS/HAD AS MUCH VOTING POWER/AS EIGHT WHITE NORTHERNERS. THE RESULT WAS/THAT THE SOUTH GAINED/TREMENDOUS POLITICAL POWER.// IT HELD MAJORITIES/IN THE SENATE/AND IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; IT CHOSE THE PRESIDENTS/MOST OF THE TIME./ IT HELD THE MAJORITY/IN THE SUPREME COURT,/ AND PRACTICALLY ALL OF OUR MINISTERS/TO FOREIGN POWERS/WERE SOUTHERNERS./ AND SOUTHERNERS DOMINATED THE ARMY AND NAVY.// THAT MEANT/ THAT THE SOUTH/HAD A POWER/BEYOND ITS ACTUAL POPULATION/IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY,/ AND FROM 1830 UP TO THE CIVIL WAR/THE WHOLE POLICY OF THIS NATION/WAS PRO-SLAVERY.

46-10-103

THEN THE MATTER/WENT BEYOND OPINION/AND POLITICAL POWER./ AND BECAME AN ACTUAL CONSPIRACY./ THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY/CONSPIRED TO HAVE THE ARMS AND THE FORTS/LARGELY IN THE SOUTH/AND FINALLY THE LEADERS DETERMINED/TO WITHDRAW FROM THE UNITED STATES/AND BY FORCE ESTABLISH SLAVERY/AS A PERPETUAL LEGAL INSTITUTION/IN THE SOUTH.

THAT RESULTED IN THE CIVIL WAR./ THE CIVIL WAR WAS LOST/BY THE SOUTH/NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE FACT/THAT THE NORTH HAD MORE PEOPLE/AND MORE WEALTH,/ BUT BY THE MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT FACT/THAT THE NEGRO SLAVES/ WHO WERE SUPPORTING/THE SOUTHERN ARMIES/IN THE FIELD,/INCREASINGLY REFUSED TO WORK/ON THE PLANTATIONS,/ AND IN LARGE NUMBERS/JOINED THE NORTHERN ARMIES.// THE SOUTH HAD TO SURRENDER.

46-10-104

NOW AFTER THIS LONG HISTORY/THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF BITTER FEELING/AS YOU MAY WELL SUPPOSE.// THERE WERE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH/WHO SHRIEKED/THAT JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS FELLOWS OFFICERS/ THAT ALL WHO

HAD LED SECESSION AND REBELLION AND CAUSED THE HOLOCAUST OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION / SHOULD BE JAILED AND HANGED AND PUNISHED FORTHWITH.// BUT THERE WERE OTHER WISER FOLK / WHO SAID: "THIS CRISIS BEGAN WITH A PERFECTLY PERMISSABLE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. / IT TURNED TO VIOLENCE WHEN FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION WAS STOPPED AND DEMOCRACY BECAME TYRANNY.// WE ALL ARE TO BLAME IF IT APPEALED TO FORCE AND PREJUDICE.// THE SOUTH WAS WRONG, BUT NEVERTHELESS WE HAVE ALREADY LOST FAR TOO MUCH BY WAR AND MURDER TO GO FURTHER IN REVENGE.// WE MUST NOW FORGET THESE DIFFERENCES AND LET THE LEADERS OF THE CONFEDERACY GO FREE AND UNPROSECUTED." //THIS WAS DONE.// IF IT WAS RIGHT IN 1865 TO REFUSE TO PROSECUTE A GROUP WHO NOT ONLY THOUGHT WRONG BUT DID WRONG, HOW MUCH MORE RIGHT WOULD IT BE TODAY TO REFUSE TO PUNISH PERSONS NOT EVEN ACCUSED OF WRONG DOING BUT ONLY OF NOT AGREEING WITH CURRENT PUBLIC OPINION.// HERE IS NO QUESTION OF FORCE, NO QUESTION OF WAR. / IT IS A QUESTION OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.// THAT IS, IT PARALLELS THE ORIGINAL

46-10-195

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION CONCERNING SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.// DIFFERENCE OF OPINION MAY LEAD TO FORCE AND WAR, BUT FOR THIS REASON TO ARGUE THAT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION SHOULD BE STOPPED IS ALTOGETHER FALSE.// IF YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, IF PEOPLE ARE GOING SUCCESSFULLY TO RULE THEMSELVES, THEN THE THING THAT YOU MUST HAVE IS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION FREELY EXPRESSED, COMPLETELY UNDERSTOOD, SO THAT THERE CAN BE A REAL CHOICE.

IN THE WORLD TODAY THERE ARE GRAVE AND DEEP DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE WAY IN WHICH WEALTH IS TO BE PRODUCED, DISTRIBUTED AND CONTROLLED.// THERE IS NO WAY BY WHICH THOUGHT AND ACTION ON THIS MATTER CAN BE STOPPED.// IT IS POSSIBLE, OF COURSE, TO MAKE THINKING ON THE SUBJECT DANGEROUS, BUT THAT AGAIN IS DANGEROUS NOT ONLY TO CERTAIN OPINIONS.// IT IS DANGEROUS TO THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

THE SO-CALLED SMITH ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES, AS WELL AS MANY

46-10-196

OTHER LAWS/IN THIS AND OTHER COUNTRIES/ IN OTHER ERAS,/HAVE TRIED PARTICULARLY/TO PREVENT THOUGHT/CONCERNING THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH/AND ITS DISTRIBUTION.// THIS HAS PROVEN IMPOSSIBLE./ SOMETIMES THE ATTEMPT TO STOP IT/ HAS LED TO WAR AND REVOLUTION.// IN OTHER CASES/IT HAS LED TO DISCUSSION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.// THIS LATTER WAY,/ OF COURSE,/ IS THE METHOD WHICH ALL OF US/HOPE IS GOING TO PREVAIL.// BUT THE RESULT/MUST FIRST OF ALL/START WITH DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.// THIS DIFFERENCE MUST BE WIDELY AND CAREFULLY UNDERSTOOD.

46-10-192

IF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD/AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES/ REALLY UNDERSTOOD THE FACTS/ OF THE CASE/AND KNEW WHAT WAS IN/DISPUTE,/ THERE IS NO DOUBT/BUT WHAT PEACEFUL PROGRESS/COULD BE MADE/TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF POVERTY,/ OF HEALTH,/ OF EDUCATION,/ OF ENJOYMENT OF THE GIFTS OF THE WORLD.// BUT BECAUSE/SO MANY PEOPLE/ARE INTERESTED IN THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION/AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/AND ARE COMFORTABLE

AND POWERFUL BECAUSE OF IT,/ WE HAVE THE MISTAKE OF WIDESPREAD AND CONTINUOUS EFFORT/TO STOP PEOPLE FROM THINKING,/TO STOP THEM FROM KNOWING,/ TO STOP THEM FROM DOING/WHAT IS PERFECTLY LEGAL TO DO/IN ORDER TO MAKE THIS A BETTER WORLD.

THIS IS CONTINUALLY HAPPENING/AND IS HAPPENING/IN THE UNITED STATES IN OUR DAY.// IN OUR DAY WE HAVE HAD PEOPLE/WHO HAVE THOUGHT EARNESTLY AND CAREFULLY,/WHO HAVE STUDIED HARD/IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND/WHY IT IS THAT IN A RICH NATION LIKE THIS COUNTRY,/ WITH SO MANY PEOPLE OF ABILITY/AND ENERGY, WE STILL HAVE/SO MUCH POVERTY,/ IGNORANCE AND DISEASE.// AND THESE PEOPLE BELIEVE,/AND BELIEVE EARNESTLY,/ THAT WE CAN CORRECT THESE EVILS/IN PEACEFUL EFFORT.

46-10-198

THE SMITH ACT/HAS MADE THOUGHT OF THIS SORT/AND EXPERIMENTS OF THIS KIND ILLEGAL,/ AND ~~HAVE~~ has PUNISHED/AND ~~ARE~~ is THREATENING TO PUNISH/PEOPLE

BECAUSE OF THIS // FOR THIS REASON WE ARE MET HERE TONIGHT, / TO ASK THIS NATION / TO PAUSE AND THINK. // TO REMEMBER THAT GOOD / DOES NOT COME AUTOMATICALLY. / THAT WITH THE FREEDOM OF ACTION / WHICH WE HAVE ENJOYED SO BOUNTEOUSLY / IN THE UNITED STATES / YOU ARE BOUND TO HAVE DIFFERENT THOUGHTS / AND PROPOSALS / FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE WORLD; / AND THAT THIS WE CANNOT SUPPRESS OR TRY TO SUPPRESS / WITHOUT GRAVE DANGER TO THE WHOLE ORGANIZATION / OF THE COUNTRY; / THAT EVEN WHEN WRONG EMPLOYS VIOLENCE, / IT OFTEN FAILS / AND WE FORGIVE; // HOW MUCH MORE SHOULD AMNESTY / PREVAIL / WHEN RIGHT IS CHAINED AND PRISONED.

46-10-199

THE UNITED STATES / 90 YEARS AGO / FOUND IT WISE, AFTER DIFFERENCES OF OPINION / WHICH LED TO DISASTER, / TO REFUSE TO CONTEMPLATE / THE PUNISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE / WHO DID THINK / AND WHO DID FIGHT / FOR WHAT WAS WRONG / AND WAS PROVEN WRONG. // HOW MUCH MORE SO SHOULD WE TODAY / GRANT AMNESTY TO THOSE / WHO IN PEACE / AND BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS / BELIEVE WHAT WE ARE CONVINCED IS

RIGHT; // WHOSE THOUGHT / DOES NOT INVOLVE VIOLENCE, / AND WITHOUT WHOSE CAREFUL EXPERIMENTATION AND STUDY / OF THE FACTS OF THE WORLD, / WE CANNOT POSSIBLY ARRIVE / AT A DECENT AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

WHAT THE VICTIMS OF THE SMITH ACT / TRY TO SAY / IS THAT IT IS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE / THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES / SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE TECHNICAL PROCESSES / OF PRODUCING WEALTH, / THE REASONS AND LACK OF REASON FOR ITS PRESENT DISTRIBUTION, / THE WAYS IN WHICH THAT DISTRIBUTION / CAN BE MADE MORE JUST / AND LESS A MATTER OF CHANCE, / CRIME AND SELFISHNESS; // THAT THEY SHOULD NOT ONLY THINK OF THIS / BUT THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE A CHANCE / TO TELL THEIR FELLOW-BEINGS / WHAT THEY THINK; / AND THAT THE NATION / SHOULD BECOME CONVINCED / THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES / TO TRY TO PUNISH SUCH PEOPLE, / TO TRY TO STOP THINKING, / TO TRY TO MAKE THIS A COUNTRY / OF FASCIST DICTATORSHIP WHERE THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, / IS EXACTLY THE WAY / TO RUIN EVERY-

46-10-200

STEP/WE HAVE TAKEN/TOWARD BUILDING A NEW/AND GREAT AND FREE LAND.

¶ I AM NOT PERSONALLY ACQUAINTED/WITH ALL OR WITH MOST/OF THOSE WHO ARE TODAY/SUFFERING MARTYRDOM FOR THEIR OPINIONS// BUT ONE MAN/I DO KNOW,/ AND I WANT TO MENTION HIM TONIGHT// AND THAT IS BEN DAVIS.// I KNEW HIS FATHER,/ WHO EDITED A NEWSPAPER IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA,/ WHILE I WAS TEACHING THERE/ IN THE UNIVERSITY// HE WAS A FEARLESS AND FORCEFUL MAN./ HE GAVE HIS SON EVERY ADVANTAGE,/ AND YOUNG BEN DAVIS/ WENT THROUGH THE SCHOOLS/WELL-DRESSED,/ WELL-NOURISHED,/WITH TIME TO STUDY/AND TO KNOW HIS WORLD./ HE COULD HAVE BECOME,/ AS SO MANY YOUNG MEN/ WHO HAVE HIS ADVANTAGES/DO BECOME, AN EASY-GOING MAN/WHO DID LITTLE WORK/ AND HAD LITTLE SERIOUS THOUGHT;/ WHO LIVED HIS LIFE LARGELY/UPON WHAT HIS FATHER HAD ACCUMULATED.// BUT THIS YOUNG BEN DAVIS/DID NOT DO.// HE BECAME A WORKER AND A THINKER./ HE WAS UNUSUALLY SINCERE./ HE NEVER THOUGHT/ OF HIS OWN ADVANTAGE/AS APART FROM

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THAT OF HIS OWN PEOPLE/AND OF THE WORKING CLASS.

I DID NOT SEE HIM/FOR MANY YEARS/AFTER HE LEFT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY./ BUT WHEN I DID MEET HIM/AT ONE OF THE (PUBLIC DINNERS GIVEN BY THE) COMMUNIST PARTY/~~DINNERS~~, I WAS ESPECIALLY STRUCK/BY HIS SINCERITY AND DEVOTION.// THEN I SAW HIM IN ACTION/IN THE CITY COUNCIL OF NEW YORK./ I HEARD HIM SPEAK/AND I READ WHAT HE WROTE. NOBODY CONSIDERING BEN DAVIS/AS A MAN/AND AS A LEADER/COULD BY ANY STRETCH OF IMAGINATION/THINK OF HIM AS GUILTY/OF ANYTHING BUT WHAT THIS NATION/OUGHT TO REWARD/AND GIVE THE BROADEST CHANCE/FOR DEVELOPMENT.// THEY NEED NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW HIM/IN ALL HIS OPINIONS/ BUT THEY MUST APPLAUD THE MAN/WHO, HAVING THE CHANCE TO BE IDLE AND CARELESS,/ BECOMES BUSY, THOUGHTFUL/ AND DEVOTED,/ AND GIVES HIS LIFE/TO THE GREAT CAUSE/OF CHANGING THE METHODS OF PRODUCTION/AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/IN THIS COUNTRY/AND IN THE WORLD.

INSTEAD OF THIS,/ BEN DAVIS IS IN JAIL./ IN JAIL HE SUFFERS NOT ONLY

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WHAT ALL PRISONERS/MUST GO THROUGH,/BUT THE ADDED DISCRIMINATION/WHICH COMES FROM THE FACT/THAT HE IS OF NEGRO DESCENT.// FOR A MAN IN THE PRIME OF LIFE/AND IN THE ENTHUSIASM/OF DEEPLY HELD BELIEFS,// TO BE THUS THRUST INTO ISOLATION/AND DISGRACE,/IS ONE OF THE MOST HORRIBLE OF FATES.// IT SHOULD NEVER HAPPEN/IN A COUNTRY WHICH CALLS ITSELF FREE/AND WHICH TRIES TO BE GREAT.// IT IS TO THE DISGRACE OF THIS COUNTRY/THAT BEN DAVIS EVER WENT TO JAIL/OR THAT HE IS KEPT THERE NOW.

IT IS, OF COURSE,/DIFFICULT TO KNOW/WHAT TO DO UNDER/SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES./ AND TOO OFTEN MANY OF US/ARE DISCOURAGED AT HOLDING MEETINGS LIKE THIS/AND AT TALKING MOSTLY TO OURSELVES/ABOUT THE EVILS/OF WHICH WE ARE SO DEEPLY AWARE.// NEVERTHELESS WE MUST REMEMBER/THAT ONLY BY SUCH CONTINUOUS/AND UNREMITTING ENDEAVOR/DO THE GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF EARTH/COME TO PASS.// BECAUSE, AS WHITTIER SAID: "NEVER YET SHARE OF TRUTH WAS VAINLY SET IN THE WORLD'S WIDE FALLOW."

46-10-203

Du Bois Dec. 17, 1953

AMNESTY

Amnesty is the decision of a government not to prosecute by court procedure persons accused of crime. There have been many cases of this sort in the history of the United States, but the greatest was the refusal of the victorious North to prosecute those who led in secession and in the fight to make slavery legal all over the United States.

There was in the beginning of our national history wide difference of opinion concerning slavery, concerning the slavery of laborers and servants brought from England, Ireland, Germany and Africa in the 17th Century. In the 18th Century nearly all of these workers became free laborers except those brought from Africa. Even some of these became free. But the great mass of African Immigrants were held as slaves, because their labor was used on the cotton and sugar plantations and paid large profits. Such compulsory labor was against the best thought of the 18th Century and this there was from the beginning a large element of the inhabitants of the United States who opposed it.

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Gradually, the free labor advocates were triumphant in the North, because there forced labor was not profitable in farm, trade and factory. On the other hand, in the South there grew up a group of persons who were in favor of the slavery of Negroes because it paid in cotton culture. Even they did not think it would continue to set any limit to this kind of labor.

Even in the South during the early 19th Century there were numbers of people who differed. Gradually, however, those people who believed in slavery began to force out of the section or into silence the advocates of abolition, so that slavery became sectional, with its strong

advocates in the southern states and the opponents of slavery more largely represented in the north.

Then instead of the matter remaining simply a question of public opinion it became a question of political power. The south used its power because under the constitution they had the right to count the slave population in part as basis of their representation in the congress. So that five white southerners had as much voting powers as eight white northerners. The result that the eight gained tremendous political power. It held majorities in the senate and in the House of Representatives; it chose the presidents most of the time, it held the majority in the Supreme Court, and practically all of our ministers to foreign powers were southerners, and southerners dominated the army and navy. That meant that the south had a power beyond its actual population in the government of the country, and from 1830 up to the Civil War the whole policy of this nation was pro-slavery.

Then the matter went beyond opinion and political powers, and became an actual conspiracy. The officers of the army and navy conspired to have the arms and the forts largely in the south and finally the leaders determined to withdraw from the United States and by force established slavery as a perpetual legal institution in the south.

That resulted in the Civil War. The Civil War was lost by the south not simply because of the fact that the north had more people and more wealth, but by the much more significant fact that the negro slaves who were supporting the southern armies in the field, increasingly refused to work on plantations, and in large numbers joined the northern armies. The south had to surrender.

Now after this long history there was a great deal of bitter feeling as you may well suppose. There were people in the north who shrieked that Jefferson Davis and his fellows officers; that all who had led secession and rebellion and caused the hologaust of death and destruction should be jailed and hanged and furnished forthwith.

But there were other wiser folk who said: "This crisis began with a perfectly permissable difference of opinion. It turned to violence when free expression of opinion was stopped and democracy became tyranny. We all are to blame if it appealed to force and prejudice. The south was wrong, but nevertheless we have already lost far too much by war and murder to go further in revenge. We must now forget these differences and let the leaders of the confederacy go free and unprosecuted." This was done. If it was right in 1865 to refuse to prosecute a group who not only thought wrong but did wrong; how much more right would it be today to refuse to punish persons not even accused of wrong doing but only of not agreeing with current public opinion. Here is no question of force, no question of war. It is a question of difference of opinion. That is, it parellels the original difference of opinion concerning slavery in the United States. Difference of opinion may lead to force and war. But for this reason to argue that differences of opinion should be stopped is altogether false. If you are going to have democratic government, if people are going successfully to rule themselves, then the thing that you must have is difference of opinion freely expressed, completely understood, so that there can be a real choice.

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In the world today there are grave and deep differences of opinion concerning the way in which wealth is to be produced, distributed and controlled. There is no way by which thought and action on this matter can be stopped. It is possible, of course, to make thinking on the subject dangerous, but that again is dangerous not only to certain opinions, it is dangerous to the whole structure of democracy.

The so called Smith Acts in the United States, as well as many other laws in this and other countries, in other eras, have tried particularly to prevent thought concerning the production of wealth and its distribution. This has proven impossible. Sometimes the attempt to stop it has led to war and revolution. In other cases it has

led to discussion and ~~p~~ social progress. This latter way, of course, is the method which all of us hope is going to prevail. But the result must first of all start with difference of opinion. This difference must be widely and carefully understood.

If the people of the world and particularly of the United States really understood the facts of the case and knew what was in dispute, there is no doubt but what peaceful progress could be made toward the solution of problems of poverty, of health, of education, of enjoyment of the gifts of the world. But because so many people are interested in the present organization of production and distribution of wealth and are comfortable and powerful because of it, we have the mistake of widespread and continuous effort to stop people from thinkin to stop them from knowing, to stop them from doing what is perfectly legal to do in order to make this a better world.

This is continually happening and is happening in the United State s in our day. In our day we have had people who have thought earnestly and carefully, who have studied hard in order to understand why it is that in a rich nation like this country, with so many people of ability and energy, we still have so much poverty, ignorance and disease. And these people believe, and believe earnestly that we can correct these evils in peaceful effort.

The Smith Act has made thought of this sort and experiments of this kind illegal, and have punished and are threatening to punish people because of this. For this reason we are met here tonight, to ask this nation to pause and think, to remember that good does not come automatically, that with the freedom of action which we have enjoyed so bounteously in the United States you are bound to have different thoughts and proposals for the betterment of the world; and that this we cannot suppress or try to suppress without grave danger to the whole organization of the country; that even when <u>wrong</u>

employs violence, it often fails and we forgive; how much more should amnesty prevail when right is chained and prisoned.

The United States 90 years ago found it wise, after differences of opinion which led to disaster, to refuse to contemplate the punishment of the people who did think and who did fight for what was wrong and was proven whong. How much more should we today grant Amnesty to those who in peace and by democratic methods believe what we are convinced is right; whose thought does not involve violence, and without whose careful experimentation and study of the facts of the world, we cannot possibly arrive at a decent and successful conclusion.

What the victims of the Smith Act try to say is that it is of the highest importance that the people of the United States should understand the technical processes of producing wealth, the reasons and lack of reason for its present distribution, the ways in which that distribution can be made more just and less a matter of chance, crime and selfishness; that they should not only think of this but that they should have a chance to tell their fellow-beings what they think; and that the nation should become convinced that under these circumstances to try to punish such people, to try to stop thinking, to try to make this a country of fascist dictatorship where there is no difference of opinion, is exactly the way to ruin every step we have taken towards building a new and great and free land.

I am not personally acquainted with all or with most of those who are today suffering martyrdom for their opinions. But one man I do know, and I want to mention him tonight, and that is Ben Davis. I knew his father, who edited a newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, while I was teaching there in the University. He was a fearless and ~~forceful~~ forceful man. He gave his son every advantage, and Young Ben Davis wnt through the schools well-dressed, well-nourished, with time to study and know his world. He could have become, as so many young men hav

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men who have his advantages do become, an easy-going man who did little work and had little serious thought; who lived his life largely upon what his father had accumulated. But this young Ben Davis did not do. He became a worker and a thinker. He was unusually sincere. He never thought of his own advantage as apart from that of his own people and of the working class.

I did not see him for many years after he left Atlanta University. But when I did meet him at one of the Communist Party dinners, I was especially struck by his sincerity and devotion. Then I saw him in action in the City Council of New York. I heard him speak and I read what he wrote. Nobody considering Ben Davis as a man and as a leader could by any stretch of imagination think of him as guilty of anything but what this nation ought to reward and give the broadest chance for development. They need not necessarily follow him in all his opinions, but they must applaud the man who, having the chance to be idle and careless, becomes busy, thoughtful and devoted, and gives his life to the great cause of changing the methods of production and distribution of wealth in this country and in the world.

Instead of this, Ben Davis is in jail. In jail he suffers not only what all prisoners must go through, but the added discrimination which comes from the fact that he is of Negro descent. For a man in the prime of life and in the enthusiasm of deeply held beliefs, to be thus thrust into isolation and disgrace, is one of the most horrible of fates. It should never happen in a country which calls itself free and which tries to be great. It is to the disgrace of this country that Ben Davis ever went to jail or that he is kept there now.

It is, of course, difficult to know what to do under such circumstances. And too often many of us are discouraged at holding meetings like this and at talking mostly to ourselves about the evils of which we are so deeply aware. Nevertheless we must remember that only by such continuous and unremitting endeavor do the great accomplishments of earth come to pass. Because, as Whittier said: "Never yet share of truth was vainly set in the world's wide fallow."

Du Bois Jan. 28, 1954

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

It is proposed here and tonight to discuss the future of the American Negro, that is, in order of importance, what the Negro is going to do to earn a living, what he is going to think concerning Negroes in the West Indies, Africa and elsewhere, what cooperation he is going to make with the development of world events, and with the development of the American nation of which he forms a considerable part.

Negroes must earn a living. Work today is a cooperative effort. It might be possible to a certain degree by consumer's cooperation and by group living, for groups of American Negroes and thus for the larger group, to earn a living by catering to their own wants, raising their food, raising the fibers that make their clothing and weaving them into clothing, organizing and teaching their schools, furnishing their own doctors, dentists and hospitals, their own lawyers, writers and painters, by doing for each other the work of the skilled artisan.

If this was a day when, as in the 16th century one could go out in a desert island and live alone that kind of group cooperation could be carried on successfully. Today that is practically impossible. It is impossible even in the case of a separate nation. It is certainly impossible for a group of people living in a nation and closely intertwined with their work, their thought and their dreams.

Consequently the question for the American Negro comes as to just how and on what terms he can best integrate himself into the work of the nation, both as individuals and as a group. For this purpose he needs general education in intelligence and aptitudes. He needs in addition to this special education into technique and skills. And he needs actual experience by contact and by doing. This is hindered to a large extent by the refusal to open these opportunities to Negroes. The area of this refusal has been decreasing steadily. It has come to the place today when part of the skilled trades, many if not most of the learned professions the opportunity for education is so broad that we can almost see the end of dis-

crimination. The student still needs funds to finance him, and the matter of human contact is still made more difficult by race.

Undoubtedly there is opportunity and good opportunity for group integration in such a way that the group will enter and help rather than simply the individual. But this had got to be done with thought so that the grouping for consumers consumption shall not turn itself into voluntary segregation and accomplish in part the very thing that we are fighting to destroy.

But in this effort to enter into the work of the world and be a part of it as individuals or as groups we have got two things continually to keep in mind. First, that there are other groups related to us by history and custom which it is a duty and an opportunity to help and understand; and that in addition to that there is the greater world of people who are striving.

Now in the case of the people of Africa and the Negroes of the West Indies and South America, there is in the U.S. today a pitiful lack of careful knowledge of their situation and a tendency to try to transfer our knowledge bodily to their situation. There has been, for instance, very little intelligent discussion in the U.S. of just what is going on in different parts of Africa and of different parts of the West Indies. It ought to be known and taught and read about, so that whatever help we give or advice we have will be a matter of intelligent knowledge and not of unbased assumption.

Then beyond that there is the necessity of knowing, and knowing carefully what is going on in the world which is dominant today, that is, in European civilization on the one hand, and in the rising Asiatic culture on the other. This is a matter which is quite apt to be misunderstood among American Negroes. It is easy for us to assume that what was true of world currents yesterday is still true today. For instance, there was in the U.S. in the 19th century a strong tendency

toward individual action in industry and individual thought in art. But today that individualism has become socialism. It will be silly for us to deceive ourselves in that respect. Industry has become socialistic all over Europe and always was more or less socialistic in Asia. Socialism, therefore, dominates the dominant world. For us to try to develop in the U.S. as though that was not so, for us at any time to forget it or try to ignore it would be disastrous. Moreover in our thought of Africa and the West Indies we must also remember that they are not developing in a vacuum or in accordance to ideas that we have here in America. They are developing under this dominant world. Therefore, starting there, it seems to me that these truths can be laid down. Socialism in industry and free communication in art, is the great truth of our age. When, therefore, there is revolt and progress toward nationhood in Africa, it must be dominated by the socialistic idea rather than the individual's idea of industry such as did dominate the America of other ages.

Moreover, Africa in a sense is Asia, and Asia is to a tremendous degree developing the socialistic ideal. Not simply in China, where it has gone to great lengths. But it always has been true in India, and it is being made more a center of Indian thought despite the tremendous hold which individual's capitalism has there as a remaining effect of imperialist domination.

From those two things, coming back to the U.S. we have to look forward not simply to the individual development of the American Negro, but to his development as a part of a socialistic organization, that socialistic organization which is developing just as fast in the U.S. as it is in other parts of the world; which saw its widest and fastest increase during the reign of Roosevelt but which no Truman nor Eisenhower can erase today. And we still have to face the fact that we must have social medicine, we must have larger federal aid to education, we

must have social security, increase of housing, and of flood control, and this done by the individual working through the community and the state.

We then, as citizens, have not only got to know this but place ourselves on the side of that kind of socialism and work and dream in that atmosphere.

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Du Bois

April 12, 1953
BKlyn

Jan 31
1954
Dorchester
Mass.

41-3-72

PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

WAR IS A VICIOUS HUMAN HABIT: A THROW-BACK TO PRIMEVAL BARBARISM, AN ANACHRONISM WHICH SHAMES RELIGION AND RETARDS CIVILIZATION. BEFORE THIS CENTURY WAR MAY AT TIMES HAVE BEEN THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS. SINCE WORLD WARS HAVE COME AND THE ATOMIC AGE, THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WAR IS THE SUPREME DISASTER. THERE IS NOTHING WORSE.

WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO END WAR?" MORE WAR! WHAT DID WE GET FROM THE "WAR TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY?" LESS DEMOCRACY! WHAT ARE WE GETTING FROM THIS "COLD WAR FOR FREEDOM?" LESS FREEDOM TO THINK AND MORE FREEDOM TO KILL. WHAT WILL COME IF WAR IN KOREA BECOMES WAR AGAINST CHINA AND A THIRD WORLD WAR, WITH JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ARMED ALLIES? THE END OF EUROPEAN CULTURE AND A LONG RETURN TO BARBARISM. PEACE, THEN! PEACE NOW! PEACE FOREVER!

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THIS AMERICA OF OURS, HOPE OF OUR DREAMS, ~~EVEN~~ OF MANKIND, HAS BEFORE OUR VERY EYES BECOME THE GREATEST WARMONGER OF ALL HISTORY. NEVER BEFORE IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND HAS A NATION PLANNED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION ON THE SCALE NOW ENVISIONED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. WITH ONE BURST OF FLAME WE KILLED AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI 200,000 HUMAN BEINGS, AGED AND INFANTS; SICK AND HELPLESS; UNARMED AND UNWARNED; -- AN ATTACK AS HORRIBLE AS IT WAS NEEDLESS, -- A DEED WHICH CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER FORGET!

WHY IS THIS NATION, THE MOST SECURE FROM FOREIGN ATTACK OF ANY IN THE WORLD, RUSHING TO WAR? WHAT IS IT THAT HAS LITERALLY SCARED US TO DEATH? NO FOREIGN FOE HAS TOUCHED OR THREATENED OUR SHORES; NO NATION HAS PLANNED OUR DESTRUCTION. OUR ECONOMY IS SOUND UNLESS WE LET WAR UPSET IT; OUR TECHNIQUE IS UNSURPASSED; OUR ABILITY AND TALENT HAVE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MOST FAVORED NATIONS OF MEN. WHY THEN HAVE WE GONE COMPLETELY OUT OF OUR MINDS AND EMBARKED ON A FANTASTIC PLAN OF WORLD CONTROL AT THE COST OF NATIONAL IMPOV-

ERISHMENT, MORAL RUIN AND THE HATE OF MANKIND?

WE SEEK TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT OUR PRESENT HYSTERIA IS CAUSED SOLELY BY THE DESIGNS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, A NATION SEPARATED FROM US BY THE WIDTH OF THE WORLD, WHICH HAS NEVER ATTACKED US, NEVER TAKEN OUR TERRITORY, BUT WHO SOME OF US ~~FEAR~~ IS SO DETERMINED TO RUIN US THAT IN SHEER DEFENSE WE MUST RUIN OURSELVES! WHENCE THEN, COMES THIS ~~FEAR~~ belief? ~~POWERFUL?~~

MANY SEE BACK OF THIS BELIEF THE PROPAGANDA OF A GROUP OF BUSINESS MEN IN AMERICA, WHO SEEK TO REVIVE A SYSTEM OF WORLD INDUSTRY LONG SINCE DOOMED TO EXTINCTION. UNDER THIS SYSTEM, A CLASS WITHIN A NATION, OR A WHOLE NATION, LIVED IN COMFORT, LUXURY AND POWER ON THE LAND AND LABOR OF OTHER CLASSES OR PEOPLE TOO POOR, TOO IGNORANT, AND TOO SICK TO RESIST. THIS SYSTEM, UNDER ITS VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE, CHATTEL SLAVERY, SERFDOM, CLASS STRUCTURE, COLONIALISM AND CENTRALIZED REGULATION OF PRICES AND MARKETS, HAS EXISTED SO LONG,

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YIELDED SUCH FABULOUS PROFITS, AND SUPPORTED SUCH ~~HIGH~~ comfortable CIVILIZATION AMONG A FAVORED FEW, THAT MANY MEN BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECTION OF MOST MEN TO A POWERFUL FEW IS INEVITABLE, AND THAT ITS DISAPPEARANCE WOULD MEAN THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE NOW KNOW IT.

THIS SYSTEM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL OF WORLD INDUSTRY REACHED ITS CULMINATION IN THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, AND ITS SPECTACULAR SUCCESS FIRED THE IMAGINATION AND ENVY OF ALL EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE FORGOT THE REVOLT AGAINST IT WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE ABOLITION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY; WE IGNORED THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH INTRODUCED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND POPULAR EDUCATION AMONG WHITE WORKERS, AND WE IGNORED THE EFFORTS TO EXTEND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKERS OVER INDUSTRY, AND THE DREAMS OF INCLUDING THE MASS OF DARKER WORKERS AMONG THE ENFRANCHISED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

THE 20th CENTURY DAWNED WITH FOUR WORLD-SHAKING EVENTS:

THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO REDISTRIBUTE COLONIES AMONG IMPERIAL POWERS.
REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.
THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO STOP THE PLAN FOR A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.
THE REVOLT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES.

ALL THIS WAS LOGICAL: WIDE JEALOUSY among THE NATIONS MONOPOLIZING LAND AND LABOR IN THE COLONIAL REGIONS; THE ATTEMPT TO REDISTRIBUTE THIS MONOPOLY BY WAR; AND THE OVERWHELMING COST OF THE STRUGGLE, BRINGING INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE AND THE ATTEMPT OF TWO DICTATORS TO MAKE A DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIAL CONTROL BY ANOTHER WAR; AND FINALLY THE NATURAL RISE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TO TAKE CHARGE OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

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THE ATTMAIT OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, JOINED BY JAPAN, TO CHANGE THE FACE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, SO THREATENED THE WESTERN WORLD THAT WE WERE GLAD TO ACCEPT THE HELP OF THE NEW SOVIET UNION, WHICH WE HAD ONCE JOINED FIFTEEN OTHER NATIONS TO OVERTHROW. THE SOVIETS LAID DOWN 17 MILLION LIVES AND BILLIONS OF THEIR NEW INDUSTRY TO SAVE US FROM FASCISM.

HERE DAWNED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FACE A NEW WORLD: NOT NECESSARILY A WORLD OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM OR OF UNREGULATED PRIVATE CAPITALISM, BUT A WORLD BASED ON GOOD WILL AND SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY INTO WORK AND INCOME AS AFFECTING HUMAN PROGRESS. THIS EFFORT, PAINSTILY UNDERTAKEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, WAS OVERTURNED COMPLETELY BY HARRY TRUMAN AS THE TOOL OF BIG BUSINESS. IF A BUCHANAN BEFORE A LINCOLN WAS A NATIONAL CALAMITY, A TRUMAN AFTER A ROOSEVELT WAS A WORLD DISASTER WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS MAY NOT RETRIEVE.

THE LAST ELECTION WAS IN ESSENCE A MANDATE FOR PEACE. MOST PERSONS VOTED AGAINST A LIBERAL LIKE STEPHENSON WHO SPOKE ENGLISH, HAD A SENSE OF HUMOR AND A CULTURAL BACKGROUND, BECAUSE HE ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TRUMAN POLICIES WHICH ENVISIONED CONTINUED WAR IN KOREA AND EVENTUAL WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THEY DID NOT CONSIDER THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET AT ALL BECAUSE ALTHOUGH IT WAS FOR PEACE IT WAS AT BEST A LONG TIME PROGRAM WHICH HAD NO CHANCE TO INSURE PEACE NOW.

IN ADDITION, the Progressives COULD NOT PUT their ATTITUDE AND ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE PUBLIC IN THE PUBLIC PRESS, ON THE OPEN PLATFORM, NOR THROUGH RADIO OR TELEVISION. AS A PARTY IT WAS DISFRANCHISED IN 22 STATES AND SILENCED IN NEARLY ALL THE REST. ITS TREATMENT WAS NOT MERELY THE DEFEAT OF A PARTY BUT IT MADE A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT AT PRESENT very difficult, AND WITHOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD PARTY, DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF ALL VOTERS STOOD THE KOREAN WAR; THIS LONG DRAWN-OUT SLAUGHTER AND DESTRUCTION, WITH SUFFERING AND POVERTY AND DISEASE; AND WITH ITS INTOLERABLE STRAIN ON THE ECONOMY AND FAITH OF THE WHOLE WORLD. NO ORDINARY CITIZEN, NO SOLDIER IN THE FIELD, NOR DRAFTEE could EASILY EXPLAIN WHY WE were FIGHTING IN THAT POOR FAR EASTERN LAND, IN A WAR FINANCED AND MANNED CHIEFLY BY THE UNITED STATES WHICH was KILLING AND CRIPPLING OUR SONS IN A MANEUVER TO PREPARE FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR. THIS WAR WAS STARTED BY HARRY TRUMAN WITHOUT AUTHORITY FROM CONGRESS ON THE THEORY THAT THE CIVIL WAR IN KOREA WAS AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION TO SPREAD COMMUNISM.

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WE REITERATED THAT CHARGE, REPORTED THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ~~AND EXHIBITED IN THE UNITED STATES ACTUAL RUSSIAN EQUIPMENT.~~ WE USED OUR VAST INFLUENCE TO FORCE THE UNITED NATIONS TO ENTER THE WAR AFTER WE had BEGAN IT, AND TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS PURSUIT. IT HAS SINCE BEEN PROVEN BY AMERICAN AUTHORS LIKE I.F. STONE THAT THE KOREAN REVOLT WAS LONG PLANNED BY SOUTH KOREA AT THE DEMAND OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS EXPANDING TOWARD CHINA. FACING THIS DILEMMA THE NATION ELECTED EISENHOWER, ON THE CHANCE THAT ALTHOUGH A GENERAL, HE MIGHT BE SINCERE IN WANTING TO STOP WAR, SINCE HIS ADVISERS WOULD BE BUSINESS MEN WHO WOULD FEAR FINANCIAL CRISIS. IN ANY CASE HE COULD NOT BE WORSE THAN TRUMAN!

IT IS STILL CLEAR THAT THE KOREAN WAR WAS A STEP IN OUR PLAN FOR EXPANDING BUSINESS IN ASIA, WHERE WE BET ON THE WRONG HORSE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WE BACKED AND SUPPORTED WITH ARMS, MONEY AND EXPERT ADVICE FROM THE HIGHEST SOURCES, CHIANG KAI-SHEK, EVEN AFTER OUR OWN GENERALS AND POLITICAL EMISSARIES WARNED US OF HIS UTTER MORAL WORTHLESSNESS AND HIS CERTAIN POLITICAL AND MILITARY FAILURE.

DESPITE THIS REPEATED ADVICE, WE FOLLOWED INVESTORS WHO WERE SURE THAT EVEN IF CHIANG FAILED, THE DISRUPTED REMAINS OF THE ONCE GREAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT WERE BOUND TO FALL INTO OUR HANDS AND WE WOULD REPLACE GREAT BRITAIN AS MASTER OF THAT PARADISE FOR INVESTORS, WITH ITS CHEAP, SKILLED LABOR UNSPOILED BY TRADE UNIONS; ITS WEALTH OF RESOURCES AND BOUNDLESS STRETCH OF TERRITORY. THUS THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME MASTER OF THE MAJOR PART OF THE CONTINENT OF ASIA.

WHEN, TO THE UNBOUNDED SURPRISE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS INTERESTS AND OF OUR LEADERS IN THE THEORY OF A NEW AMERICAN RULERSHIP OF THE WORLD THROUGH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, CHIANG KAI-SHEK WAS DRIVEN OUT OF CHINA BY THE VERY ARMS WHICH WE HAD FURNISHED HIM, WE APPEARED NOT ONLY AS FOES OF HIS CONQUERORS, BUT AS PERSECUTORS OF ALL AMERICANS AT HOME WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH, DEFENDED OR AIDED THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CHINA. ABOVE ALL, WE ATTRIBUTED TO RUSSIAN PLOT, A RESULT REALLY DUE TO OUR SHORTSIGHTED GREED.

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OUR WAR IN KOREA BECAME AT BOTTOM A WAR AGAINST FREE CHINA, AND CHINA KNEW IT. WE INDUCED THE UNITED NATIONS TO JOIN US IN BRANDING CHINA AS AN OUTLAW.

AGAINST LAW AND DECENCY AND AGAINST THE WILL OF MANY COUNTRIES, THE UNITED NATIONS PERMITTED CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND SEVEN MILLION SERFS UNDER HIS CONTROL TO PERCH BEHIND OUR WARSHIPS ON A LITTLE ISLAND THE SIZE OF VANCOUVER AND TO PRETEND TO REPRESENT AND SPEAK FOR 460 MILLION PEOPLE ON A TERRITORY LARGER THAN THE UNITED STATES.

CHINA WARNED THE UNITED STATES THAT SHE WOULD NOT PERMIT THIS COUNTRY IN ITS WAR ON KOREA TO CROSS THE CHINESE BOUNDARY WITHOUT RESISTENCE. WE TREATED THE PROTEST WITH THE LORDLY DISTAIN WE USUALLY SHOW TOWARD COLORED PEOPLES. OUR VALIANT MCARTHUR MARCHED STRAIGHT TO THE CHINESE BORDER AND THE CHINESE SENT HIM AND HIS ARMY RUNNING 400 MILES IN THE MOST DISASTROUS RETREAT AMERICAN ARMIES HAVE SUFFERED SINCE BULL RUN. AND ALL BECAUSE A SUPERCILIOUS AND COCKSURE GENERAL DID NOT THINK CHINESE DARED FIGHT AMERICANS. WITH VAST AND COSTLY PREPARATION OUR FORCES FINALLY REGAINED SOUTH KOREAN TERRITORY BUT DID NOT ATTEMPT AGAIN TO INVADE CHINA. AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR THE SOVIET UNION PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE GONE ON FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. THE CHINESE AND KOREANS HAVE YIELDED

Dorchester, Mass, 1954 addition

POINT AFTER POINT: ON PUSHING THE BOUNDARY OF SOUTH KOREA MANY MILES NORTH OF THE 38th PARALLEL WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED; ON HAVING THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTED ON A COMMISSION FOR ARBITRATION; ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. BUT FINALLY ON THE MATTER OF RETURN OF PRISONERS WHICH WE HAD ONCE AGREED TO IN ACCORD WITH THE GENEVA CONVENTION, WE NOW INSISTED COULD BE RETURNED ONLY AFTER WE HAD ASCERTAINED THEIR DESIRES. CHINA AND NORTH KOREA AT FIRST REFUSED ASSENT; DOUBTLESS THEY FELT THAT YIELDING HERE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEMANDS.

THE SUBSEQUENT PROCEDURE OF THE TRUCE IN KOREA HAS BEEN A SCANDAL AND SO RECOGNIZED BY ALL THE WORLD. THOSE IN CHARGE HAVE DELIBERATELY TRIED TO DELAY PROCEDURES IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY. AND IN ADDITION TO THAT THEY HAVE MADE THE TRUCE IMPOSSIBLE FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS TO UNDERSTAND. THE NET RESULT HAS BEEN WITH THE UNILATERAL RELEASE OF PRISONERS BY SINGHMAN RHEE AND WITH THE HANDING OVER OF PRISONERS TO CHIANG KAI-CHEK, AT LEAST 40,000 NORTH KOREANS HAVE BEEN PUT INTO SLAVERY OR INTO MILITARY SERVICE IN THE ARMIES OF THE ENEMIES OF CHINA.

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THIS HAS BEEN A DELIBERATE PROCEDURE AND AGAINST THE ADVICE OF THE MAJORITY OF THE NEUTRAL FORCES IN CHARGE OF PRISONERS. THERE HAS BEEN NOTHING QUITE LIKE IT IN MODERN HISTORY. NORTH KOREA AND COMMUNIST CHINA HAVE YIELDED POINT AFTER POINT UNTIL FINALLY WE HAVE THE PRISONER PROBLEM SETTLED ON THESE DISGRACEFUL TERMS.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOT ONLY SUPPORTED AND PAID FOR THE MILITARY PROGRAM IN KOREA, BUT ALSO WE ARE HELPING FRENCH CAPITALISTS PUT DOWN LONG DRAWN-OUT REVOLT IN VIET-NAM WHICH HAS FOLLOWED YEARS OF RUTHLESS THEFT AND CRUELTY. WE ARE HELPING BRITAIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WE ARE USING EVERY AVAILABLE

Jan 31, 1954
Dorchester

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JF 3-77

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LINE OF INFLUENCE TO INDUCE INDIA TO JOIN US IN ENMITY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. We are helping by money & material to re-enslave Africa.

NEVERTHELESS THIS NATION WANTS DESPERATELY TO STOP THE KOREAN WAR WHICH HAS COST US 300,000 WAR CASUALTIES AND DEATHS BY DISEASE AND ACCIDENT; IT HAS RAISED TAXES AND PRICES TO HEIGHTS WHICH ARE MULTIPLYING, ~~AND THREATENING STRIKES AND~~ LABOR DISORDER + threatening TO DISRUPT OUR WHOLE ECONOMY; IT IS TRANSFORMING OUR WHOLE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION INTO TRAINING FOR WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, AND IS SETTING THE WHOLE OF ASIA AGAINST US AND PUSHING MUCH OF EUROPE INTO DISTRUST AND BITTER ENMITY; WE ARE SPENDING ~~BIG MONEY~~ something TO HELP BACKWARD LANDS, BUT USUALLY ON THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT THEY BECOME OUR ALLIES IN WAR AGAINST COMMUNISM.

BALANCING OUR EXPLOITS IN ASIA WE HAVE GIVEN MUCH HELP TO EUROPE. BUT AMERICANS MUST NOT MISINTERPRET THIS AID. IT WAS NOT CHARITY TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS; IT WAS ARMS, GOODS AND MATERIAL FURNISHED EUROPEAN CAPITALISTS FOR INVESTMENT AND FOR ENABLING THEM TO RESIST THE RISING AND SOCIALISTIC DEMANDS OF LABOR. IT WAS

41-3-78

ALSO SO USED AS TO FACILITATE PROFITABLE INVESTMENT OF OUR OWN FUNDS; AND LATELY IT HAS CONSISTED OF LOANS FOR EUROPEAN REARMAMENT AT A RATE WHICH EUROPE PROTESTS IS TOO RAPID FOR HER OWN RECOVERY. WE HAVE SOUGHT THUS TO UNITE EUROPE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM AND WE HAVE TRIED AT THE SAME TIME TO ARM JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY AS OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS A DANGEROUS PROGRAM AND IS BEING RECEIVED WITH HESITATION AND RELUCTANCE BY THE WORLD. FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ARE REFUSING TO GO FORWARD WITH THEIR PROMISES OF REARMAMENT AND EUROPE EVIDENTLY REGARDS THE FEAR OF WAR WITH THE SOVIETS AS LESSENING. Italy is going Communist

MEANTIME THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES BEHIND THE "IRON CURTAIN" HAVE GROWN IN GENERAL PROSPERITY; IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MANUFACTURES; IN HEAVY INDUSTRY AND LONG-TIME VENTURES FOR GENERAL DEVELOPMENT. THEY ALL HAVE EXCELLENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, AND THEY FIGHT DISEASE SUCCESSFULLY. THEY SHOW INNER STRESS AND STRUGGLE, AND YET THERE IS NO SIGN OF REVOLT, DESPITE OUR OPEN ENCOURAGEMENT AND our OFFERS OF $100 MILLION TO SPIES AND SABOTEURS FOR FOMENTING INNER REVOLT.

41-3-79

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THE SOVIETS WERE THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH THE WEST COULD PUT DOWN FASCISM, AND WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT THESE NATIONS SEEM CERTAIN TO SURVIVE AND TO DEVELOP even with the atom bomb THEIR WAY OF LIFE. THERE IS TODAY NO APPARENT COMBINATYON OF NATIONS CAPABLE OF FORCING COMMUNIST NATIONS TO SUBSERVIENCE BY FORCE. COMMUNISM TODAY RULES AT LEAST HALF OF MANKIND.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE NO RECENT MOVEMENT THAT CAN BE CALLED AGGRESSION AND HAS CEASELESSLY ADVOCATED A WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SORE PRESSED TO IGNORE AND HAVE RETALIATED BY MAKING IT DANGEROUS FOR AMERICANS TO ADVOCATE PEACE AND IMPOSSIBLE FOR MOST OF THEM TO ATTEND PEACE CONGRESSES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

THE TERRIBLE FAREWELL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS A COUNCIL OF DESPAIR. NATIONS ARE NOT COMPELLED TO FIGHT UNLESS THEY FEAR PEACE MORE THAN WAR. THE PRICE OF PEACE TODAY FOR THE UNITED STATES IS FREEDOM FOR COLORED PEOPLES WITH THE RIGHT TO SELL THEIR LABOR AT SUCH PRICE AS THEY CAN GET; TO OWN THEIR LAND;

TO SEEK EDUCATION. IT DEMANDS THE RIGHT OF HALF THE WORLD TO ADOPT SOCIALISM IF IT WISHES, AS A WAY OF LIFE. IF THE EXPERIMENT FAILS, THE FAILURE IS CHIEFLY THEIRS. CERTAINLY OUR SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT MADE MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAPPY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH IT HAS ADDED TO THE WEALTH AND POWER OF A FEW. IT IS NOT ONLY WRONG BUT AS IT NOW SEEMS, IMPOSSIBLE, FOR THE UNITED STATES TO COMPEL MANKIND NOT TO MAKE THIS VAST EXPERIMENT. CERTAINLY THE ATTEMPT TO STOP IT BY FORCE MAY DESTROY CIVILIZATION.

WITH THE ELECTION OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT WE AND THE REST OF CIVILIZATION AWAIT THE MOVE TOWARD PEACE WHICH MUST COME UNLESS WE MOVE TOWARD BANKRUPTCY OR A THIRD WORLD WAR. EISENHOWER'S FIRST STEP WAS HIS PROMISED VISIT TO KOREA. THIS PROVED, [redacted] TO BE A MILITARY INSPECTION SUCCEEDED BY A COUNCIL OF WAR, WHICH GENERAL MCARTHUR EVENTUALLY ATTENDED. [redacted] IN THESE ACTIONS there was no REAL PLAN FOR PEACE. THE UNITED STATES IN CURRENT UNITED NATIONS SESSIONS TOOK THE FAMILIAR STAND THAT IF CHINA AND NORTH KOREA WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR LAST WORD ON KOREAN PEACE, WAR WOULD CONTINUE. WE CONTINUED

41-3-80

TO FORECAST WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, HELPED BY SPIES, PROPAGANDA AND FOMENTED REVOLUTION. THE INDIAN PROPOSAL ACCEPTED THIS LAST WORD, WHICH WAS REJECTED BY CHINA; BUT WITH A COUNTER-PROPOSAL OF A CEASE-FIRE IMMEDIATELY AND SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATION ON ALL OTHER SUBJECTS. THIS WE REJECTED WITH CONTEMPT. THE PRESIDENT HAS LOST NO OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THE SHORT-COMINGS OF COMMUNISM AND THE PROBABILITY OF EVENTUAL WAR.

omit

THE NEXT OCCURRENCE OF FIRST INTEREST was THE EISENHOWER CABINET. THIS IS UNDER THE COMPLETE CONTROL OF a millionaire BIG BUSINESS, WITH A BACK-LOG OF MILITARY SUPPORT; OF ALL THE COMBINED MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS, FINANCIAL POOLS AND CARTELS WHICH TODAY CONTROL THE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE OF THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST LANDS. IF THE WORLD STOPS WAR, IT WILL BE BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS SEES MORE PROFIT AND POWER IN A PROGRAM OF PEACE THAN IN A THIRD WORLD WAR. THE ANSWER TO THIS LIES MAINLY IN OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN OUR LABOR MOVEMENT. ~~THE DEATHS OF TWO PROMINENT LABOR LEADERS MAY INFLUENCE THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION.~~

omit

Substituted for Jan 31, 54 Dorchester, Mass.

AS LONG AS WAGES REMAINED HIGH AND ROSE CONTINUALLY WITH PRICES AND THERE WAS FULL EMPLOYMENT LABOR SUBMITTED TO WAR, BUT TODAY THERE ARE DISTINCT SIGNS OF CHANGE. UNEMPLOYMENT IS SPREADING AND SPREADING A GOOD DEAL FASTER THAN OUR NEWSPAPERS ADMIT. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT WITHOUT BANKRUPTCY CONTINUE TO SPEND MONEY FOR WAR AT THE PRESENT RATE AND PAY FOR IT WITH HIGH TAXES.

WE COULD HAVE A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES FOR COMMON GOOD WHICH WOULD REPLACE WAR, EXPAND AND INCREASE EXPENDITURE FOR HOUSING, EDUCATION, SOCIAL MEDICINE AND SOCIAL SECURITY. INSTEAD OF THIS WE ARE CUTTING THESE SOCIAL EXPENDITURES AND MAKING ONLY A SLIGHT REDUCTION IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES. AND THIS REDUCTION INVOLVES A CHANGE IN OUR WAR PLANS WHICH SURELY MOST AMERICANS CANNOT CLEARLY UNDERSTAND. WHAT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER HAS SAID IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IN THE FUTURE IS GOING TO PUT EMPHASIS ON ATOMIC WEAPONS RATHER THAN ON ARMIES, NAVIES AND WEAPONS OF THE OLDER TYPE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN A MERE CHANGE IN METHODS OF MURDER. IT MEANS THAT NOW WE PROPOSE TO MURDER HUMAN BEINGS WHOLESALE IN WAR, NOT ONLY ARMED MEN, BUT WOMEN

35-8-152

-17A-

AND CHILDREN, THE OLD AND THE SICK. WE ARE GOING TO DESTROY NOT SIMPLY MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND FORTS BUT HOMES, ROADS, BRIDGES, SCHOOLS, WATER PLANTS AND ALL INSTRUMENTS FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION. THIS WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION WE ARE GOING TO USE INSTEAD OF THE OLDER WAR HORRORS. IT IS ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE THAT A GREAT NATION COULD DELIBERATELY PROPOSE SUCH A PLAN.

Jan 31, 1954 Manchester News

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~~PRESIDENT DOES NOT ADVOCATE, BECAUSE IT INEVITABLY MEANS SOCIALISM.~~ omit

WITHOUT SUCH A SOCIAL PROGRAM AND WITH PEACE, THE PROTEST AGAINST HIGH TAXATION WILL BECOME IRRESISTIBLE AND FALL OF PRICES WILL ENSUE. THE BANKS, WITH THEIR VAST POWER, CAN SLOW UP THE STAMPEDE, BUT HOW LONG IT IS NOT EASY TO PREDICT. A FINANCIAL COLLAPSE IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE, AND THE FACT THAT WE HAVE THUS FAR AVOIDED ONE WILL BE OF LITTLE AVAIL. IF WE CANNOT AVOID A CRISIS, WE WILL STILL HAVE PEACE, BUT PEACE AT THE PRICE OF ADOPTING IN 1954 THE SAME KIND OF SOCIALISTIC NEW DEAL WE TURNED TO IN 1930. IT IS THE VERY REAL FEAR OF THIS BY BIG BUSINESS THAT KEEPS US AT WAR AND THREATENS US WITH MORE WAR. BUT WILL CONTINUED WAR SAVE US? FOR A LITTLE TIME, PERHAPS, BUT NOT BY ANY POSSIBILITY FOR LONG. THIS HAS BEEN A CENTURY OF WAR ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. IT CANNOT LAST. THAT WE ALL KNOW. NO TERROR OF BOMB OR SIZE OF ARMIES OR MILITARY EXPENDITURE CAN ACCOMPLISH THE IMPOSSIBLE. NEITHER PEACE TODAY OR PEACE TOMORROW AND IN NEITHER CASE CAN WE AVOID AN AWFUL

or have we avoided

41-28-1

COST IN DESTRUCTION, DEATH AND CRIPPLING OF YOUTH, INSANITY AND CRIME.

IMAGINE A SPEAKER OF THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SAYING IN HIS ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS, "WERE IT NOT FOR THE ADVENT OF MARXISM, EUROPE TODAY MIGHT BE PEACEFUL AND HAPPY. CHINA MIGHT BE FREE. CERTAINLY OUR SONS WOULD NOT BE FIGHTING IN KOREA." IS MARTIN UNAWARE THAT IN THE LAST 138 YEARS, BEGINNING BEFORE MARX WAS BORN, THERE HAVE BEEN 300 WARS, NOT A TENTH OF WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM; THAT CHINA HAS NOT BEEN AS FREE AS IT IS NOW IN A THOUSAND YEARS, AND THAT THE BEGINNING OF WAR IN KOREA DATES BACK 1200 YEARS?

OUR ABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID WAR OR UNEMPLOYMENT, SOCIALISM OR BANKRUPTCY DOES NOT DEPEND SOLELY ON OUR OWN EFFORTS IN OUR OWN NATION. RATHER IT DEPENDS TO A VERY LARGE EXTENT ON THAT WORLD OF TRADE AND CONTROL THROUGH INVESTMENT WHICH IT HAS BEEN OUR UNREMITTING EFFORT FOR TWO CENTURIES TO DRAW WITHIN OUR INFLUENCE AND MAKE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR COMFORT AND POWER. BY THIS I MEAN THE COLONIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA; THE SOUTHERN NATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT;

THE SO-CALLED NEAR EAST AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS. FOR NOW MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES, THESE REGIONS HAVE PROVIDED US WITH FOOD, LUXURIES AND RAW MATERIALS FOR OUR TRADE AND STORES AND FACTORIES, AND TODAY NO MATTER WHAT WE WISH TO DO, THEIR THOUGHT AND PLANS, THEIR REVOLT AND HATE ARE NOT SIMPLY MATTERS OF FOREIGN NEWS AND SCIENTIFIC CURIOSITY, BUT MATTERS OF OUR DAILY LIFE AND CONCERN. THESE NATIONS, RACES AND PEOPLES ARE TODAY IN INCREASING UNREST AND FERMENT. IT DOES NOT MATTER JUST WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS FERMENT. THE HARD FACT IS THAT IT EXISTS AND INCREASES. IN ASIA IT HAS FREED IN OUR DAY FROM WHITE CONTROL A THOUSAND MILLION BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLE. OF THIS WE ARE AWARE AND THIS HAS DRIVEN US TO WAR AND KEEPS US FIGHTING IN VAIN TO STOP THE TREND.

RECENTLY A NEW MASS OF RACIAL AND COLONIAL PROBLEMS HAS FACED US AND THIS IS THE REVOLT IN AFRICA. AFRICA IS INTRICABLY BOUND TO AMERICA, NOT ONLY BY PAST HISTORY BUT BY PRESENT TRADE. ON AFRICA WE DEPEND TODAY FOR PALM OIL

AND RUBBER; COCOA AND COPPER; GOLD AND DIAMONDS; URANIUM AND ZINC; LEATHER AND SPICES, IRON AND TIN, AND A HUNDRED OTHER MATERIALS; AND ON HUMAN LABOR FOR US AT A PRICE ONE-TENTH AS HIGH AS WE PAY LABORERS AT HOME. THESE GOODS AND THIS LABOR MAKES OUR WAY OF LIFE SO ENJOYABLE AND MAKES THE TEMPER OF AFRICANS INCREASINGLY BITTER AND VENGEFUL, DESPITE THE TALES OF MISSIONARIES OR THE PROPAGANDA OF POINT 4.

48-34

WHEN THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE DIED IT GAVE BIRTH TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. PROFIT ON AFRICAN COLONIES THEN GREW FROM THE GOLD AND DIAMONDS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ATTEMPT OF CECIL Rhodes TO OPEN A ROAD FROM CAPE TO CAIRO OVER THE PLATEAU OF KENYA. AMERICAN CAPITAL IS TODAY THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF THE MALAN GOVERNMENT OF BLACK SERFS WHO ARE WITHOUT TRADE UNIONS OR THE RIGHT TO VOTE. IN KENYA FIVE MILLION NATIVES HAVE BEGUN TO BOIL OVER AND MURDER AND DESTROY BECAUSE 240,000 SQUARE MILES OF THEIR best LANDS HAVE BEEN STOLEN BY WHITES ~~SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR~~ TO SUPPORT AN ARISTOCRACY WHO USE BLACK LABOR AT SLAVE

WAGES AND ALLOW THEM ALMOST NO VOICE TO PROTEST. IN WEST AFRICA OPEN REBELLION DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, PLAYED DOWN IN OUR PRESS, HAS SET UP ONE BLACK STATE WITH NEGRO RULE, WHILE ANOTHER WILL SOON FOLLOW. FIGHTING WITH THE BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA ARE 200,000 EAST INDIANS, KIN OF 350,000,000 OTHER INDIANS IN ASIA. HOW LONG DO THE WHITES OF THE WORLD THINK THEY CAN RULE AND OPPRESS THESE MASSES OF COLORED PEOPLES? HOW LONG CAN THE BLACK LABORERS BE FOOLED BY ACCUSATIONS THAT SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE CAUSE OF COLONIAL DISTRESS, WHEN RUSSIA HAS NO COLONIES AND IS THE ONE EXCEPTION WHICH SAVES THE PRESENT WORLD STRUGGLE FROM BECOMING A WAR OF RACES?

IT IS FANTASTIC TO DREAM OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY. IT IS THE PATRIOTIC DUTY OF ALL AMERICANS TO CRY HALT! FIRST PEACE ON EARTH, THEN AN EFFORT TO ABOLISH POVERTY AND IGNORANCE AND TO DECREASE DISEASE; AND THEN WORK FOR REAL BROTHERHOOD AMONG MEN, NOT AS PHILANTHROPY BUT FOR SELF-PROTECTION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

Jan 1954
Dorchester mass

41-3-85

THERE HAVE BEEN LATELY A SERIES OF EFFORTS TO TRY TO MAKE WORLD PEACE POSSIBLE. THE FIRST PROPOSAL OF WINSTON CHURCHILL TO HAVE A CONFERENCE OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS, TO WHICH THE SOVIET UNION ADDED THEN AND LATER THE SUGGESTION THAT THIS MEETING SHOULD INCLUDE COMMUNIST CHINA; THEN THERE WAS THE BERMUDA CONFERENCE WHICH RESULTED ONLY IN EMPHASIS ON THE POWER OF THE ATOM BOMB, AND AT THE SAME TIME A PROPOSAL THAT THE USE OF ATOMIC POWER FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES SHOULD BE SURVEYED. THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS CONTRADICTION IS OF COURSE THAT IF THE MANUFACTURE AND PLANS FOR EMPLOYMENT OF THE ATOM BOMB GO ON THERE WILL BE NO PEACE IN WHICH IT CAN BE USED.

WE HAVE THUS A SITUATION WHERE WESTERN GERMANY IS BECOMING ~~HER~~ INDUSTRIALLY POWERFUL AND IS READY TO RE-ARM AT THE REQUEST OF THE WESTERN POWERS; WHERE FRANCE CANNOT AFFORD TO RE-ARM AND MAINTAIN HER INDUSTRY; WHERE ITALY IS MOVING STEADILY TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM; AND WHERE GREAT BRITAIN IS INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT UPON THE UNITED STATES. NATIONALISM IS INCREASING IN AFRICA, ASIA AND THE WEST INDIES.

AT THIS JUNCTURE COMES THE PRESENT CONFERENCE OF BERLIN. THAT CONFERENCE

IF IT IS CONDUCTED BY FAR-SEEING WISDOM AND PHILANTHROPY, WOULD DECLARE FOR WORLD PEACE, WOULD BRING INTO THE CONFERENCE COMMUNIST CHINA, WOULD STOP PREPARATION FOR WAR ON THE PART OF WESTERN NATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION, AND WOULD ESSAY A WORLD EFFORT TOWARD PEACEFUL ECONOMIC PROGRESS, INCREASE IN EDUCATION AND HEALTH, AND A MORE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROFITS OF LABOR.

THERE IS, UNFORTUNATELY, SMALL CHANCE THAT ANYTHING LIKE THIS WILL HAPPEN. FIRST OF ALL THE UNITED STATES SEEMS DETERMINED TO KEEP OUT OF THE CONFERENCE CHINA, ONE OF THE GREATEST NATIONS OF THE WORLD. SECONDLY, WE ARE DETERMINED TO RE-ARM WEST GERMANY AND JAPAN AS OUR ALLIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, AND INTO THIS ALLIANCE WE ARE GOING TO TRY TO INCLUDE ITALY AND SPAIN. APPARENTLY WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO INSIST ON SUBJECTING INDO-CHINA TO THE IMPERIAL POWER OF FRANCE AND TO INCREASE PRESSURE UPON INDIA BY ALLIANCE WITH TURKEY AND PAKISTAN.

IF THAT PROGRAM PREVAILS OR INSOFAR AS IT PREVAILS THE RESULT CAN ONLY ANOTHER WORLD WAR, AND INDUSTRIAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND A DECLINE of

CIVILIZATION EQUAL TO ANYTHING THAT WE HAVE KNOWN IN MODERN TIMES.

AND THE DIFFICULTY IS THAT ALTHOUGH WHILE WITHOUT DOUBT THE MAJORITY OF THE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WANT TO STOP WAR AND START PROGRESS, THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH THIS OPINION CAN BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS BE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON OUR RULERS, AND THIS FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IS NOT WORKING IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY. THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IS NOT ALLOWED ON THE BALLOT OF MORE THAN ONE THIRD OF THE STATES OF THE UNION; IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY IT HAS NO REAL AND ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY TO PUT ITS POINT OF VIEW BEFORE THE VOTERS, AND FINALLY, AND PERHAPS MOST ASTONISHING IS THE FACT THAT THOSE VOTERS WHO KNOW WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE ARE AFRAID TO DO IT LEST THEY LOSE THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME AND THEIR SOCIAL STANDING !

41-3-86

EMANUEL BLOCH

THE HEART of EMANUEL BLOCH BROKE BECAUSE HIS FAITH IN AMERICAN JUSTICE FAILED. THAT FAILURE WAS ALL THE MORE BITTER BECAUSE THE FAITH WAS SO DEEP. IT WAS THE FAITH OF A MAN WHOSE FATHERS FOUND A PROMISED LAND AFTER LONG PILGRIMAGE THROUGH TEARS AND BLOOD. SUCH FOLK OFTEN BELIEVE IN (AMERICAN) FREEDOM AND JUSTICE EVEN MORE COMPLETELY THAN MANY NATIVE BORN.

35-8-31

WE BLACK FOLK ARE NEVER SURPRISED AT [redacted] INJUSTICE. WE ARE TOO USED TO IT FROM BIRTH TO DEATH. WE REMEMBER TOO MANY CENTURIES OF SLAVERY, CHEATING AND INSULT WHICH NO ALTERNATE GOOD CAN QUITE WIPE AWAY. BUT EMANUEL BLOCH KEPT TO HIS PASSIONATE BELIEF EVEN WHEN HE SAW JUSTICE FAIL AND FLY BEFORE HIS FACE.

HE SAW BLACK BOYS IN TRENTON KILLED FOR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE, AND NOTHING HE COULD DO COULD SAVE THEM. HE SAW ALGER HISS UNJUSTLY JAILED, AND

NOTHING HE COULD SAY WOULD FREE HIM. HE SAW ELEVEN COMMUNISTS ARRESTED AND PUNISHED AND DISGRACED IN PLAIN DEFIANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THIS LAND, FOR NOTHING THEY HAD DONE BUT FOR WHAT THEY MIGHT DO. AT LAST, HE SAW A MOTHER AND HER MAN KILLED IN THE FACE OF THEIR LITTLE CHILDREN WHEN THE WORLD BELIEVED THEM INNOCENT AND NO COURT EVER PASSED ON THE FULL FACTS OF THEIR CASE.

35-8-32

EMANUEL BLOCH BELIEVED SO COMPLETELY THAT JUSTICE MUST PREVAIL IN SO CLEAR A MATTER, THAT HE SURRENDERED TO THE PROSECUTION THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHAT TRUTH SHOULD BE REVEALED IN OPEN COURT. AND WHEN THE PERSECUTORS CALLOUSLY KILLED THESE VICTIMS (ON THE EVE OF HOLY HOLIDAYS) IN TEARS AND PAIN HE CALLED THEM MURDERERS. FOR THAT HIS PEERS SET THEMSELVES TO STEAL HIS BREAD. THAT OLD AND HONORED PROFESSION OF THE LAW ONCE LOOKED UPON AS DEFENDERS OF THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR AND HELPLESS, HAD BECOME NOT ONLY UPHOLDERS OF ANY CORPORATE EVIL RICH ENOUGH TO PAY, BUT WAS NOW DENYING

35-8-33

SERVICE/ TO THE UNPOPULAR, / AND READY TO PERSECUTE ANY/ WHO DARED DEFEND THE HATED, / THE FEARED/ ~~AND THE HEAR.~~ THE BEDEVILED & THE DAMNED.

SO HE DIED // YET WE SHALL NOT FORGET HIM, / FOR HE HAS SHOWED US/ WHAT IS GOOD, AND ~~THAT THE LORD~~ HOW IT IS REQUIRES OF US/ TO DO JUSTLY/ AND LOVE MERCY AND WALK HUMBLY/ [redacted]. WHITTIER HAS SUNG HIS ~~MESSAGE~~ DIRGE:

"IS THIS THE LAND OUR FATHERS LOVED,
THE FREEDOM WHICH THEY TOILED TO WIN?

IS THIS THE SOIL WHEREON THEY MOVED?
ARE THESE THE GRAVES THEY SLUMBER IN?

AND SHALL WE CROUCH ABOVE THE GRAVES
WITH CRAVEN SOUL AND FETTERED LIP?

YOKE IN WITH MARKED AND BRANDED SLAVES,
AND TREMBLE AT THE DRIVER'S WHIP?

35-8-34

BEND TO THE EARTH OUR PLIANT KNEES,
AND SPEAK BUT AS OUR MASTERS PLEASE?

NO; BY EACH SPOT OF HAUNTED GROUND,
WHERE FREEDOM WEEPS HER CHILDREN'S FALL:

BY ALL ABOVE, AROUND, BELOW,
BE OUR INDIGNANT ANSWER: NO!"

February 12, 1944
also Feb 16 Bklyn Local 475

NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL.

THERE IS A STORY THAT A MAN WAS ONCE ASKED TOWRITE A PAPER ON CHINESE ARCHITECTURE. HE WENT TO THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AND LOOKED UP CHINA, AND THEN HE LOOKED UP ARCHITECTURE. PUTTING THE TWO SETS OF FACTS TOGETHER HE PREPARED THE PAPER ACCORDINGLY. THE SAME KIND OF MISTAKE MIGHT BE MADE IF PERSONS STUDYING THE PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE PROBLEMS OF NEGROES SHOULD PUT THE TWO TOGETHER AND TRY TO MAKE RATIONAL CONCLUSIONS.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE BY MERE ADDITION TO TREAT THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH YOU HAVE BEFORE YOU. THEY ARE TWO DIFFERENT SETS OF PROBLEMS, RISING UNDER QUITE DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES AND DEVELOPING IN DIFFERENT WAYS. IT HAPPENS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES AT THIS TIME THEY ARE BOTH CLAMORING FOR SOLUTION AND ARE BOTH OF INTEREST TO GROUP LIKE YOURS. BUT THE FACTS DIFFER AND THE APPROACH IS DIFFERENT.

LET US FIRST THINK OF THE PROBLEMS OF LABOR UNIONS. THEY AROSE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE 19th CENTURY THAT THERE APPEARED IN THE WORLD A SET OF

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PROBLEMS WHICH WE MIGHT CALL THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE 18th and 17th CENTURIES, DURING THE MEDIEVAL AGES AND IN THE ANCIENT WORLD THERE WAS NO PROBLEM OR SET OF PROBLEMS WHICH WE COULD SPECIFICALLY CALL "NEGRO." ON THE OTHER HAND THE LABOR PROBLEM, WHILE IN ONE SENSE AS OLD AS CIVILIZATION, ASSUMED ITS MODERN FORM AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS THE effort to answer the QUESTION AS TO HOW THE RESULTS OF WORK ARE GOING TO BE DIVIDED AMONG the VARIOUS PERSONS AND GROUPS WHO DO THE WORK. SO LONG AS THE WORK ITSELF WAS NOT THE MAIN PROBLEM IN THE MINDS OF MEN THE DIVISION OF THE RESULTS OF WORK WERE OF LESS IMPORTANCE. IN THE ANCIENT WORLD, IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD, A GREAT MANY THINGS WERE THOUGHT OF BEFORE ONE CAME TO THE RESULTS OF WORK: THE PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY AND THE PROBLEMS OF HAPPINESS AND THE USE OF LEISURE, THE RESULTS OF IMAGINATION, THE RELATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS. of social status,

BUT WITH THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WORK AS SUCH CAME TO BE EMPHASIZED AND THE PROBLEMS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION BECAME THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF MOST MEN. This revolution was the great change in the way of making goods, by using steam, machines, locomotives, electricity.

Distribution of results

DID NOT AT FIRST SEEM DIFFICULT BECAUSE ONE COULD SAY THEORETICALLY THAT WHAT A MAN MADE WAS HIS, THE RESULTS OF HIS ACTIVITY BELONGED TO HIM. BUT WHEN THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION BECAME INTRICATE AND long, AND SEVERAL PERSONS UNITED TO MAKE ONE ARTICLE OR TO GET ONE SET OF RESULTS, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW FAR ANY OF THOSE involved WERE OWNERS OF THE RESULT. NEW AND [redacted] METHODS OF WORK BECAME to be USED; INCREASINGLY INTRICATE AND COSTLY MACHINES; NEW MATERIALS; TRANSPORTATION OF THE GOODS, [redacted] advancement of money wage; EVEN TRANSFER OF LABOR itself as BY SLAVES OR MIGRATION.

IN MODERN DAYS OF COURSE THE PROBLEM of logical distribution HAS BECOME INSOLUBLE WHEN THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WORKING OVER DECADES OF TIME [redacted] AND IN DIFFERENT PLACES PRODUCE, FOR INSTANCE, A STEAM ENGINE. JUST WHAT PART OF THE ENGINE ITSELF OR OF THE THINGS IT DOES BELONGS TO EACH INDIVIDUAL WHO CONTRIBUTED TO IT IS QUITE IMPOSSIBLE OF SOLUTION BY ANY MATHEMATICAL MEANS OR BY ANY SORT OF LOGICAL REASONING. ONE HAS TO VIEW THE QUESTION AS A MATTER OF ETHICS; [redacted] that is it WHAT IS RIGHT TO DO, AND WHAT MAN DESERVES FOR WHAT THEY DO. OR THE DEEPER QUESTION, SHOULD A MAN GET AS WAGE WHAT HE MAKES OR WHAT HE DESERVES OR WHAT HE NEEDS IN ORDER TO BE A MAN?

35-8-16

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OUT OF THIS SERIES OF PROBLEMS ARISE WHAT WE CALL THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND THE LABOR UNIONS AND [redacted] EFFORTS TO GUIDE THIS MOVEMENT. It is THE ATTEMPT OF THOSE WHO take PART IN A PARTICULAR KIND OF LABOR [redacted] TO UNITE SO AS TO BE SURE THAT THEY GET A JUST AWARD, thus WAS THE BEGINNING OF LABOR UNIONS.

NOW IN A QUITE DIFFERENT WAY THERE AROSE THE RACE PROBLEMS OF THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES, AND MORE PARTICULARLY THE NEGRO PROBLEM. HERE WAS A QUESTION NOT PRIMARILY OF WORK, PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS, BUT A QUESTION OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF HUMAN BEINGS IN THE WORLD, AND WHAT THEIR RELATIONS SHOULD BE TO EACH OTHER, AND WHAT RESULTS THESE RELATIONS WOULD LEAD TO AND HOW THESE RELATIONS SHOULD BE TREATED. IN THE 18th AND 19th CENTURIES THERE WAS PHYSICAL SEPARATION of the world BY COLOR AND RACE; EVEN when DIFFERENT RACES WERE [redacted] IN THE SAME COUNTRY, THEY WERE SEPARATE IN LIVING AND WORKING. BUT WHEN, AS IN OUR CENTURY, THE VARIOUS RACES OF MEN EITHER LIVED AND WORKED SIDE BY SIDE, OR IF SEPARATE [redacted] DID WORK WHICH BY CONTRACT WAS TRANSFERRED FROM ONE TO THE OTHER SO AS TO BE PART OF THEIR LIVES AND EFFORTS,

IT BECAME IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE THESE TWO SETS OF PROBLEMS OF LABOR AND COLOR. IN THE UNITED STATES, IN AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES, THE NEGROES FORM A LARGE AND IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORKING CLASS [redacted] In addition, THE UNITED STATES IS AN EXTRAORDINARY EXAMPLE OF THE COOPERATION OF all races [redacted] IN ORDER TO PRODUCE GOODS AND SERVICES.

THE FIRST CONCLUSION, THEN, THAT WE COME TO WOULD BE THAT here THE NEGROES AS WORKERS WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE PROBLEMS OF LABOR, AND IN THE FORMATION OF LABOR UNIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WORKERS WHO ARE FORMING UNIONS WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BE INTERESTED IN FORMING UNIONS AMONG THE BLACK LABORERS (as well as white. Particularly) IN THE UNITED STATES, but also among all workers in THE WEST INDIES, asia AND [redacted] AFRICA.

AS A MATTER OF FACT THIS NATURAL DEVELOPMENT DID NOT AT FIRST OCCUR. IN THE PLACES WHERE PRODUCTION IN THE MODERN WAY WAS FIRST CARRIED OUT THERE WERE [redacted] few NEGRO WORKERS, THAT IS, IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES AND IN WESTERN EUROPE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN PLACES WHERE THE PROBLEM OF THE RELATION OF NEGROES TO OTHER

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HUMAN BEINGS AROSE, AS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE QUESTION OF UNIONS AMONG BLACK LABORERS WAS PUSHED IN THE BACKGROUND BECAUSE THESE LABORERS WERE NOT FREE WORKERS, BUT SLAVES OR SERFS.

THERE AROSE OUT OF THIS SERIES OF FACTS [redacted] WHICH YOU FACE: A LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH FOR A LONG TIME HAD NO NEGRO MEMBERS AND WHICH, WHEN IT DID FACE THE FACT THAT THERE WERE NEGRO WORKERS, TRIED TO KEEP NEGROES OUT OF THE LABOR UNIONS FOR REASONS OF RACE. AND THEN THE OTHER DIFFICULTY THAT WHEN THE NEGROES BECAME FREE WORKERS OR TRIED TO BECOME FREE THEY WERE KEPT FROM WORK OR COMPELLED TO ACCEPT LOWER WAGES BECAUSE THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE OBJECT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT OR COULD NOT JOIN IT WHEN THEY DID.

IF NOW WE PUT THESE TWO SETS OF PROBLEMS TOGETHER THERE ARE CERTAIN THINGS THAT HAVE GOT TO BE UNDERSTOOD BY THOSE WHO ARE GOING TO SOLVE THEM. FIRST, WITH REGARD TO/ THE LABOR UNIONS: WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF THE UNIONS? ONE MIGHT SAY IT WAS TO RAISE WAGES AND IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF LABOR FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE. BUT IN

[redacted] SUCH CASE WHAT IS THE ULTIMATE IDEA? IS IT THAT THE WORKERS SHOULD BECOME or in front BETTER PAID WORKERS OR THAT THEY SHOULD CEASE TO BE WORKERS AT ALL AND GRADUALLY BECOME EMPLOYERS OR IDLERS? IN THE CASE OF THE NEGROES, IS THE OBJECT OF THEIR MOVEMENT TO ENTER UNIONS ON THE SAME CONDITIONS AS WHITE LABORERS AND WORK IN THE SAME WAY TO BETTER THE CONDITIONS OF ALL WORKERS, OR ARE THEY SEEKING TO BETTER THE CONDITION OF COLORED WORKERS NO MATTER HOW WHITE LABORERS FARE? AND IS THEIR OBJECT TO ENABLE BLACK LABOR (where possible) TO STOP WORK, BECOME RICH AND DO NOTHING EVEN IF THE REST OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS WORK AT LOW WAGES?

UNLESS THE PROBLEM PRESENTS ITSELF IN THIS WAY A GOOD MANY MISTAKES MAY OCCUR. A UNION MIGHT LOGICALLY ARGUE THAT BY KEEPING THE NUMBER OF UNION MEMBERS RESTRICTED, THE WHITE UNION MEMBERS would [redacted] GET MORE AND BETTER PAID JOBS, AND WHILE THE COLORED WORKERS REMAIN IDLE OR STARVED, THE WHITE WORKERS [redacted] MIGHT EVENTUALLY COME TO THE PLACE WHERE THEY WERE NOT ONLY BETTER PAID LABORERS BUT EMPLOYERS [redacted] instead of employees.

35-8-18

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEGRO WORKERS MIGHT DECIDE THAT WORK OF THE WORLD SHOULD BE DIVIDED INTO WORK WHICH WHITE LABORERS DO AND THAT WHICH NEGRO LABORERS DO, AND EACH WOULD TRY TO GET AS LARGE A SHARE AND AS HIGH A RETURN AS POSSIBLE; IT MIGHT HAPPEN [redacted] THAT THE WHITE WORKERS WOULD BECOME THE DEPRESSED AND LOW-PAID CLASS WHILE THE NEGRO WORKER (or the chinese) WOULD SUCCEED AT CERTAIN TIMES OR IN CERTAIN PLACES TO BECOME THE DOMINANT CLASS, EITHER BETTER PAID WORKERS OR EMPLOYERS.

THE DIFFICULTY WITH THIS SORT OF REASONING IS OF COURSE OBVIOUS. THERE IS ALWAYS WORK TO DO -- NECESSARY AND NEEDED WORK. THE PROBLEM HAS ALWAYS BEEN HOW TO LET WORKERS BENEFIT FROM THIS WORK; OR IF AT ANY TIME OR ANYWHERE THERE IS LEISURE FOR REST AND PLAY, TO SEE THAT THIS RECREATION IS DISTRIBUTED AMONG ALL OR AT LEAST among THOSE WHO MOST NEED IT. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MONOPOLIZE AND SEGREGATE THE WORK OF THE WORLD, AND UNWISE AND UNJUST TO CONFINE THE REST AND HAPPINESS TO A FAVORED FEW. THIS HAS BEEN TRIED. IT WAS A THEORY, FOR INSTANCE, IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE CIVIL WAR THAT THE BETTER-PAID SKILLED WORK SHOULD GO TO WHITE WORKERS AND THE UNSKILLED

WORK AND MENIAL SERVICES SHOULD BE DONE BY NEGRO WORKERS. THIS COULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT. THE FIRST DIFFICULTY WAS THAT THERE IS NO SUCH NATURAL DIVISION OF HUMAN SKILL; [redacted] NEGROES COULD LEARN TO DO SKILLED WORK; [redacted] IF THEY WERE NOT RECOGNIZED AND ADMITTED TO UNIONS THEY COULD AND MUST OFFER TO DO THIS SKILLED WORK CHEAPER THAN WHITES. FROM THIS AROSE HATRED AND LAWLESSNESS. EMPLOYERS COULD MAKE MORE IF NEGRO LABOR WAS MADE CHEAP; WHITE workers, FEARING UNEMPLOYMENT AND STARVATION JOINED LYNCHING MOBS. 3000 NEGRO WORKERS WERE LYNCHED BETWEEN 1876 AND 1900; LABOR MOBS here BEAT AND KILLED NEGROES IN ALL THE GREAT CITIES OF THE NATION -- NEW YORK, CHICAGO, ST. LOUIS, WASHINGTON AND ATLANTA.

61-8-35

THIS WAS THE PROBLEM THAT ROSE IN THE BUILDING TRADES, IN THE METAL TRADES, IN MINING, AUTOMOBILE-MAKING, RAILWAYS AND TRUCKING, UNTIL IT WAS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT EITHER THE NEGRO WORKER HAD TO BE RECOGNIZED BY THE WHITE UNIONS OR THE WHITE UNIONS WOULD BE [redacted] helpless under THE POWER OF THE EMPLOYERS.

SUPPOSE THAT we AGREE THAT RACE DISTINCTIONS IN WORK AND UNIONS ARE UNWISE, then

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF LABORERS AS A mass? TO WHAT IS THE WORKING MAN TO LOOK FORWARD? ARE THE MAJORITY OF ALL MEN TO LOOK FORWARD TO LIVES OF PERPETUAL TOIL FOR INSUFFICIENT WAGES? OR MUST SOME ARISE NATURALLY BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES OF GIFT AND CHARACTER? SUPPOSE WE ADMIT THAT THRIFT AND CHARACTER AND ABILITY ARE NOT MATTERS OF COLOR AND RACE, MUST WE NOT AT THE SAME TIME ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY ARE MATTERS; THAT ALL NEGROES ARE NOT LAZY AND ALL WHITE MEN NOT SMART; THAT ALL ITALIANS ARE NOT KILLERS AND ALL SCOTCHMEN NOT THRIFTY -- MUST WE NOT [redacted] RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT DESPITE COLOR AND RACE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN MEN AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THERE ARE ALWAYS AND ALWAYS WILL BE A LARGE GROUP OF HUMAN BEINGS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE HUMAN HEAP FITTED ONLY FOR THE LOWEST AND WORST-PAID WORK; AND ALWAYS AT THE TOP [redacted] A SELECT FEW WHO NATURALLY BELONG TO THE RICH AND LEISURE CLASS AND SHOULD SOONER OR LATER ESCAPE FROM THE LABORING CLASS?

HERE OF COURSE COMES THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF OUR AGE. THE 18th CENTURY HAS SATISFIED THAT ALWAYS THE GREAT MASS OF MEN BECAUSE OF THEIR low CAPABILITIES

lack of

AND THEIR CHARACTER WERE GOING TO BE POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT; THAT CIVILIZATION COULD ONLY BE SAVED BY THE COMPARATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WERE NATURALLY INTELLIGENT AND HAD THAT INTELLIGENCE EDUCATED; AND WERE OF THE CHARACTER WHICH WOULD DO THE WORLD'S WORK AND THINKING AND DREAMING IN SUCH A WAY THAT CIVILIZATION WOULD RISE AND FLOURISH.

THE 19TH CENTURY TRIED TO BRING IN IDEAS OF THE EQUALITY OF HUMAN BEINGS AND OF THE FACT THAT MOST OF THEM, GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY, COULD CARRY ON CIVILIZATION. NOT EVEN THE 20TH CENTURY, HOWEVER, HAS FULLY ACCEPTED THAT IDEA. IT IS STILL THE CONVICTION OF MOST PEOPLE WHETHER THEY ARE EMPLOYERS OR LABORERS THAT EQUALITY IS A DELUSION AND THAT THE IDEA OF PEOPLE RECEIVING ESSENTIALLY EQUAL REWARD FOR THEIR EFFORTS OF VARIOUS SORTS IS IMPOSSIBLE OF REALIZATION.

35-8-20

YET IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY AS WE LOOK TOWARD THE 21st, THAT IS THE IDEA WHICH IS BEING EXAMINED, AND WE ARE ASKING OURSELVES IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE, WITH THE MACHINERY AND THE TECHNIQUE WHICH WE NOW HAVE, TO raise ENOUGH FOOD,

CLOTHING AND OTHER NECESSITIES SO THAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD COULD HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT AND TO WEAR AND FOR SHELTER; COULD WE NOT DISTRIBUTE THE WORK WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR DOING THIS SO THAT EVERY WORKER WOULD RECEIVE ENOUGH FOR A COMPLETE AND HAPPY PHYSICAL LIFE?

BUT BEYOND THIS, ARE MOST PEOPLE FOILS AND POTENTIAL CRIMINALS? MIGHT IT NOT BE TRUE THAT IF CHILDREN WERE PROPERLY FED AND TRAINED, IF YOUTH WERE EDUCATED ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND BENT, IF EVERY ~~BODY~~ one were WAS ABLE BY REASONABLE EFFORT TO BE SURE OF HIS EDUCATION, HOME, FOOD AND SHELTER, AND BEYOND THAT HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO THINK, PAINT, WRITE, WALK AND EVEN RIDE -- WOULD IT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE MOST PEOPLE DECENT CITIZENS AND THE NUMBER OF THE LAZY, AND CRIMINAL, SO SMALL AS TO BE NEGLIGIBLE? AT ANY RATE THIS IS THE DREAM OF OUR DAY. IT IS NOT REALIZED ENTIRELY YET IN ANY LAND, BUT THERE ARE LANDS WHERE IT IS CLEARLY FORESEEN.

AND IN THAT CASE, WOULD IT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A WORKING CLASS WHOSE HIGHEST AMBITION WAS NOT TO STOP WORK, TO ESCAPE WORK, TO BE JUST RICH AND IDLE,

TO SHOW OFF WITH CLOTHES, LIQUOR AND SERVANTS, BUT TO WORK MORE AND BETTER, TO READ INTELLIGENTLY, AND TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN TO WORK BESIDE THEM AT THE SAME TASKS?

I SUPPOSE THAT THERE ARE NOT VERY MANY WORKING PEOPLE WHO ARE CONVINCED OF THIS AND THAT MOST OF THEM STILL LOOK FORWARD TO THE SOLUTION OF THEIR TROUBLES BY BEING ABLE TO BECOME EMPLOYERS OF LABORERS AND NOT BEING COMPELLED TO WORK THEMSELVES; AND SO LONG AS THEY BELIEVE THIS, THERE MUST BE SOME INFERIOR PEOPLE WHOSE INCOME IS SO SMALL AND WHO LIVE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH MAKE IT QUITE NATURAL FOR THEM TO TRY TO PLACE AMONG THEIR INFERIORS THE OUTSIDE GROUP, THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY DO NOT RECOGNIZE AS ONE WITH THEMSELVES.

35-8-21

HERE THEN IS THE PROBLEM THAT FACES YOU. AS NEGROES ARE YOU WILLING TO SHARE THE WORK AND LOOK FORWARD TO EQUAL PAY WITH ALL OTHER WORKERS WHETHER THEY ARE BLACK OR WHITE, AND DO YOU ENVISAGE A TIME WHEN THERE will BE NO EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED BUT RATHER THAT ALL WILL BE WORKERS WORKING SO FAR AS POSSIBLE ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY AND RECEIVING A RETURN FROM THE WORK ACCORDING TO THEIR NEED?

OR TAKE THE TRADE UNIONS. WOULD THEY BE WILLING TO LIVE IN A WORLD WHERE

ALL PEOPLES OF ALL COLORS WERE ADMITTED TO WORK ON EQUAL TERMS AND RECEIVE PAY ACCORDING TO THEIR need, AND THAT DISTINCTION BETWEEN OWNER AND EMPLOYER ON THE ONE HAND, and WORKER AND EMPLOYER ON THE OTHER, SHOULD DISAPPEAR?

THESE I TAKE IT ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS WHICH YOU ARE FACING. I AM NOT PRESUMING TO POINT OUT THE CONCLUSIONS TO WHICH YOU ARE TO COME. IT WILL BE NECESSARY, IF YOU ARE TO COME TO REASONABLE CONCLUSIONS, TO MAKE CAREFUL STUDY OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THIS WORLD -- OF DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN BEINGS AND HUMAN RACES, AND HOW FAR MANKIND IS CAPABLE OF PROGRESS AND ADVANCE. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE MUST KNOW THE HARD FACTS ABOUT PRODUCTION, THE WAY IN WHICH GOODS CAN BE PRODUCED AND SERVICES FURNISHED AND HOW FAR THE AMOUNTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CAN SERVE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, AND IF NOT ALL THE PEOPLE WHAT GROUPS OF PEOPLE AND HOW THESE GROUPS ARE TO BE SELECTED.

THIS CALLS FOR STUDY, FOR READING, FOR TRAVEL, FOR TALK. [redacted]

YOU WILL HAVE TO IGNORE WHAT MOST NEWSPAPERS PRINT TODAY. YOU WILL HAVE TO FORGET PICTURE MAGAZINES PAID FOR BY ADVERTISERS WHOSE OBJECT IS NOT TO GIVE INFORMATION BUT TO SELL CIGARETTES AND TOOTHPASTE. YOU MUST BUY AND READ BOOKS. NO ONE IS BORN WITH THE INTUITIVE ANSWERS TO SUCH QUESTIONS. PROBABLY AN ORGANIZATION LIKE YOURS COULD DO ITS BEST WORK IF IT encouraged AND THIS SORT OF STUDY and guided it AND THUS TRIPLED YOUR MEMBERSHIP TO COME TO INTELLIGENT AND JUST CONCLUSIONS.

SUCH INFORMATION TODAY IS FOUND IN BOOKS AND NOT IN ALL BOOKS BUT IN CERTAIN BOOKS. THESE BOOKS MUST BE POINTED OUT BY TEACHERS, NOT ALL TEACHERS BUT BY SOME TEACHERS.

35-8-22

48-6-1

Du Bois

[INCOMPLETE]

Feb. 1954
Jeff. Sch.

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

HISTORICALLY/THERE WERE THREE COURSES/OPEN TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO;//THE FIRST AND THE OLDEST PROPOSAL/WAS THAT NEGROES RETURN TO AFRICA;//THE SECOND PROPOSAL WHICH CAME LATER/WAS THAT THEY SHOULD MIGRATE/TO SOME OTHER LAND;//USUALLY IT WAS PROPOSED/TO THE WEST INDIES,/CENTRAL OR SOUTH AMERICA.// THE THIRD POSSIBILITY WAS STAYING HERE.//AND THEN FOLLOWED/THE QUESTION AS TO WHERE/AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS;//WHETHER THEY SHOULD CONGREGATE/IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY/AS FOR INSTANCE/IN THE SOUTH/WHERE THEY HISTORICALLY/HAVE BEEN FOR SO LONG,//OR IN PARTS OF THE WEST,/OR GROUP THEMSELVES IN CERTAIN CITIES/IN NORTHERN REGIONS;/OR FINALLY, DISTRIBUTE THEMSELVES/WITH NO PARTICULAR PLAN/AMONG THE MASS OF THE POPULATION.

THE PROPOSAL TO RETURN TO AFRICA/WAS NATURAL AMONG THOSE SLAVES/WHO WERE BROUGHT HERE/EITHER DIRECTLY FROM AFRICA/OR WITH THE INTERLUDE OF A BRIEF STOP/IN THE WEST INDIES.// CONSEQUENTLY/IN THE 18th CENTURY/THAT WAS THE NATURAL SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM/WHICH OCCURRED BOTH TO BLACK AND WHITE.//FOR THIS REASON ORGANIZATIONS

48-6-2

OF COLORED PEOPLE/THAT STEM FROM THE 18th CENTURY/ARE USUALLY CALLED "AFRICAN,"/LIKE THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,/OR "NEGRO," LIKE THE NEGRO UNIONS FORMERLY OF NEW YORK AND NEWPORT.

THE GREAT FRUIT OF THIS MOVEMENT/WAS LIBERIA.// THIS EXPERIMENT PROVED SEVERAL THINGS;/FIRST,/AMERICAN NEGROES WERE NO LONGER AFRICANS/IN LANGUAGE, RELIGION OR FOLKWAYS;//THEY HAD TO FIGHT THE NATIVES/FOR THE RIGHT TO LAND AND AUTONOMY.// SECONDLY/WHAT AFRICA NEEDED/WAS CAPITAL GOODS/AND MODERN SKILLS/AND NOT COMMON LABOR; 3rd THAT AMERICA WAS NOT PREPARED/TO FURNISH PROTECTION,/MONEY OR HELP/BUT USED LIBERIA TO GET RID OF NEGROES/WHO FOR VARIOUS REASONS/WERE NOT WANTED HERE.// LIBERIA HAD THEREFORE TO STRUGGLE UP BARELY ALONE.

THE COLONIZATION MOVEMENT/WHICH STARTED THE LIBERIA ~~MOVEMENT~~ MIGRATION WAS SOON RECOGNIZED/~~BY THE MORE INTELLIGENT NEGROES~~/AS A MOVEMENT/NOT TO FIND HOMES FOR AMERICAN NEGROES/BUT TO GET RID OF FREE NEGROES AND AGITATORS.// CONSEQUENTLY THERE AROSE BITTER OPPOSITION TO THE MOVEMENT,/AND VERY SOON IT WAS CLEAR THAT AFRICA WAS NOT AN

EMPTY CONTINENT. THAT THE TRAINING THE AMERICAN NEGROES HAD RECEIVED SINCE THEIR SEPARATION FROM AFRICA WAS NOT SUITED TO THE ~~EXPLOITATION~~ DEVELOPMENT OF A PRIMITIVE LAND. AND THAT LIBERIA OFFERED NO DIRECT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO HERE. THERE PERSISTED THE POSSIBILITY OF SELECTING ~~CERTAIN~~ SOME OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA TO BE SETTLED BY AMERICAN NEGROES. BUT THIS NEVER REACHED THE STATUS OF A PLAN.

ON THE OTHER HAND, MIGRATION TO OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA WAS TAKEN UP SERIOUSLY JUST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, WHEN DELEGATIONS WENT TO HAITI AND TO MEXICO. OUT OF THE HAITIAN VISIT THERE CAME A CONSIDERABLE MIGRATION WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT EVEN TODAY. THE MIGRATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA WAS NEGLIGIBLE. LATER, AFTER EMANCIPATION ABRAHAM LINCOLN TRIED TO GET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST MIGRATION! BUT BY THAT TIME THE DOMINANT THOUGHT OF AMERICAN NEGROES WAS TO FIGHT OUT THEIR FUTURE RIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. THERE AGAIN, THE POSSIBILITY OF INDIVIDUAL MIGRATION TO OTHER PARTS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT STILL REMAINED BUT CALLED FOR CAREFUL PLANNING ~~AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SKILLED~~ AND INTELLIGENT WHICH NEVER DEVELOPED.

AS TO DISTRIBUTION IN AMERICA, THERE WERE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ~~DURING RECONSTRUCTION~~. SOME NEGROES AND WHITES THOUGHT THAT THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO LAY IN THE SOUTH WHERE MOST OF THEM HAD WORKED FOR CENTURIES AND WHERE THE CLIMATE WAS FAMILIAR. THERE, WITH SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL POWER THEY WOULD GRADUALLY BECOME THE DOMINANT ELEMENT. THERE WERE OTHERS WHO TOOK THE OPPOSITE VIEW AND SAID THAT WITH THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH WHICH NECESSARILY FOLLOWED THE ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE SYSTEM, THE BEST THING FOR THE NEGRO WAS TO GET OUT OF THE SOUTH IMMEDIATELY, ESTABLISH HIMSELF AS A FREE CITIZEN IN THE NORTH AND INTEGRATE HIMSELF WITH THE MASS OF THE POPULATION.

EVER SINCE THAT TIME THESE TWO DIFFERENT PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN ~~DOMINANT~~ DISCUSSED, ACCORDING TO THE PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES WHICH PRESENTED THEMSELVES. WHEN LYNCHING AND LAWLESSNESS BECAME DOMINANT IN THE POST-CIVIL WAR SOUTH AND AFTER THE BARGAIN OF 1876 WHEN BIG BUSINESS IN THE NORTH AGREED WITH THE PLANTER CLASS TO DISFRANCHISE THE NEGRO AS AND PUT THEM UNDER THE CASTE SYSTEM, THERE WERE SEVERAL ORGANIZED

EFFORTS/ TOWARD MIGRATION OUT OF THE OLD SOUTH. ~~THERE WAS MUCH~~ PLANNED MIGRATION TOOK PLACE TO FLORIDA, KANSAS AND TEXAS,/ AND SOME MIGRATION TO THE NORTH.// BUT THE MIGRATION TO THE NORTH /WAS DISCOURAGED/ BY THE INCREASING IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN LABOR.// FIRST FROM IRELAND,/ THEN FROM GERMANY AND ITALY /AND FINALLY FROM THE BALKAN STATES.// THE COMPETITION FOR WORK/ AND THE LACK OF SKILLS ON THE PART OF SOUTHERN NEGROES/ MADE THEIR MIGRATION DIFFICULT.// SO THAT FROM 1876/ PRACTICALLY UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ THE MIGRATION WAS ~~SLOW~~ SMALL.

THEN,/ WITH STOPPING OF IMMIGRATION/ IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR,/ THE NEGRO BEGAN TO COME NORTH/ AND TO MEET THEN,/ AS HE HAD BEFORE,/ BITTER OPPOSITION FROM THE NEW LABOR UNIONS,/ WHICH CAME WITH THE IMMIGRANTS/ BUT WERE NOT WIDELY KNOWN /AMONG NEGROES.// THE DEPRESSION MADE IT NECESSARY/ FOR THE UNIONS TO ADMIT NEGROES,/ AND / GRADUALLY, AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR,/ NEGROES BEGAN TO DESERT THE SOUTH/ IN LARGE NUMBERS.

THE TIME NOW COMES/ WHEN THEY MUST RE-ASSESS THEIR CONCEPTION/ OF WHAT THEIR

FUTURE IS GOING TO BE.// AS IT IS TODAY,/ OF THE 15 MILLION NEGROES,/ 9 MILLION STILL LIVE IN THE SOUTH;/ 4½ MILLION IN THE NORTH /AND A ~~LITTLE LESS THAN~~ 1 MILLION IN THE WEST.// THE SOUTH IS LOSING/ Negro POPULATION PROPORTIONATELY,/ THE NORTH IS GAINING SLOWLY / AND THE WEST SWIFTLY.// ALSO,/ THE NEGRO POPULATION HAS CHANGED/ FROM BEING PREDOMINANTLY A RURAL POPULATION/ TO BEING OVERWHELMINGLY URBAN./ ONLY 6 OF THE 15 MILLION / ARE LIVING IN THE COUNTRY.// THIS IS A TREMENDOUS SOCIAL REVOLUTION /MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT/ FOR WORK, HOME AND FAMILY /THAN MOST REALIZE.

WHAT DEVELOPMENT/ ARE WE TO LOOK FORWARD TO/ IN THE NEAR FUTURE?// ARE NEGROES GOING TO LEAVE THE SOUTH/ IN EVEN LARGER NUMBERS// SO THAT EVENTUALLY/ THERE MAY BE NO GREATER PERCENTAGE/ OF NEGROES THERE/ THAN IN OTHER PARTS/ OF THE COUNTRY?/ OR ARE THEY GOING TO BEGIN/ A COUNTER-MOVEMENT/ TOWARD THE NEW INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTH?// ARE THEY GOING/ TO CONTINUE THEIR RUSH TO CITIES/ AND TOWNS// OR ARE THEY GOING/ TO RETURN TO THE LAND?

MANIFESTLY THE BLACK WORKER /AS A MASS HAS A CERTAIN UNITY;/ PHYSICAL

BECAUSE OF HIS RACIAL DESCENT/AND CULTURAL BECAUSE OF HIS HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE.// WHAT PART WILL THESE FACTS/PLAY IN THE NEGRO'S FUTURE?/ A VERY CONSIDERABLE PART;/ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE/HAVE LONG BEEN CONDITIONED/TO REGARD COLOR/AS A BADGE OF INFERIORITY,/AND TO LOOK ON WORKING/AND LIVING BESIDE COLORED FOLK/AS DANGEROUS TO ~~LOWERING~~ LIVING STANDARDS (and Cultural Status)./ AMERICAN WORKERS/HAVE TAUGHT THIS TO IMMIGRANTS.// THIS HAS GOT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

THIS FEELING/IS GRADUALLY YIELDING TO REASON,/EXPERIENCE AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE.// IN TIME/COLOR PREJUDICE WILL DISAPPEAR/AMONG THE WORKERS,/SKILLED AS WELL AS UNSKILLED.// But THIS WILL TAKE PERHAPS ~~50 YEARS AT LEAST~~ A CENTURY.// UNTIL IT DOES DISAPPEAR/THE PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY/AMONG NEGROES/MUST INCLUDE EFFORT TO INCREASE/KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACT/BETWEEN RACES/ SO AS TO INCREASE MUTUAL SYMPATHY/AND UNDERSTANDING.// NEGRO ACTIVITY ~~IT~~ CANNOT BY ANY CIRCUMSTANCES/ BE MAINLY INTERNAL, PURELY RACIAL/AND SEGREGATED.

THE OBJECT ~~OF THIS~~/ IS TO INCREASE CULTURAL UNITY/AMONG ALL PEOPLE.// THAT IS, TO USE HISTORY AND HABIT/TO UNITE MEN/IN PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT/FOR A FUTURE IN

ONE WORLD.// THIS CALLS/FOR A UNITY/NOT PRIMARILY RACIAL/IN THE PHYSICAL SENSE.// SO LONG AS RACIAL UNITY/WAS FORCED ON NEGROES/THEY HAD TO INCREASE/AND SOLIDIFY NEGRO CHURCHES,/ NEGRO CLUBS,/ NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS/AND NEGRO SOCIAL ACTIVITIES.// TODAY THEY ARE COMPELLED/BY PREJUDICE/STILL TO FOLLOW/MANY OF SUCH ACTIVITIES.// BUT AS SCIENCE/INCREASINGLY DECRIES/THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PHYSICAL RACE/IN HUMAN CIVILIZATION, SO NEGROES AND WHITES/ WHO SEEK TO FOLLOW SCIENCE/AND TRUE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/MUST TURN THEIR CHIEF ATTENTION/ TO CULTURAL UNITY/AND SEEK/BY ECONOMIC, ARTISTIC AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS/TO UNITE MEN IN WORK,/ KNOWLEDGE AND ENJOYMENT.

MOST THINKERS READILY ADMIT THIS/AND YET SEEM TO THINK/THAT PROGRESS TOWARD IT/WILL BE AUTOMATIC/RATHER THAN A MATTER OF DISTINCT PLAN AND EFFORT.// FOR INSTANCE, IT IS ASSUMED THAT AMERICAN NEGROES/ HAVING SUFFERED FROM EXTREME INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL EXPLOITATION/ WILL NATURALLY ACCEPT SOCIALISM/AS A METHOD OF ECONOMIC LIFE.// THIS IS QUITE UNTRUE/AND IS JUST WHAT NATURALLY THEY WILL NOT DO,/ IF THEY HAVE BEEN TAUGHT/ THAT AMERICAN CAPITALISM/IS THE BEST AND ONLY PATH/TO SUCCESS.// THIS IS

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JUST WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN TAUGHT/ AND WHAT FOR THE MOST PART/ THEY BELIEVE TODAY. THEIR ~~UNITED~~ MAIN CULTURAL EFFORT THEN/ IS TO GET RICH.// IF THAT OBJECT/ IS TO BE CHANGED, THIS MUST BE THE RESULT/ OF EDUCATION, ~~AND~~ EXPERIENCE. Y PLAN

OR AGAIN,/ MERELY BRINGING AMERICAN NEGROES/ ~~WHO BELIEVE THIS~~/ TOGETHER,/ IS NOT GOING OF ITSELF/ TO MAKE THEM/ A GROUP OR STATE/ OF MODERN THINKING AND MODERN-ACTING MEN.// IT ~~WILL~~ MAY UNITE THEM/ INTO GROUPS OF EXPLOITING, GET-RICH-QUICK TOWNS AND CITIES/ AFTER THE MOST APPROVED AMERICAN PATTERN.// THIS IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN NEGRO TOWNS/ LIKE BOLEY, OKLAHOMA, MOUNT BAYOU, MISSISSIPPI,/ AND A DOZEN OTHER EXPERIMENTS.

THIS IS THE REASON/ WHY THE BLACK BELT IN THE SOUTH/ HAS MISLED MANY ~~NEGRO~~ THINKERS/ TO ASSUME THAT HERE LIES THE NATURAL BASIS/ OF A NEGRO STATE.// THEY COMPARE THE ANALOGY/ OF SUPPRESSED STATES/ IN EASTERN EUROPE,/ WHICH LONG STROVE TO BECOME POLITICAL ENTITIES/ AND ONLY ACCOMPLISHED THIS/ IN OUR DAY/ PARTIALLY/ UNDER SOCIALISM. BUT THESE STATES/ WERE ALREADY CULTURAL UNITIES/ BEFORE THEY BECAME POLITICAL STATES.

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ABORTION

IT WAS THE OBJECT/ OF ~~THE~~ CZAR AND KING/ TO SUPPRESS THIS CULTURE/ BY/ IMPOSED POLITICAL FORCE.// ~~THE~~ OUR BLACK BELT HAD NO CULTURAL UNITY/ BUT ~~THIS MERELY MADE IT~~ (WAS AN ECONOMIC ~~MONSTROSITY AND~~) AN INSTRUMENT OF EXPLOITATION/ WHICH OWNERS AND MASTERS/ SOUGHT TO PRESERVE.// HAVING FAILED IN THIS, THE BLACK BELT/ IS RAPIDLY DISAPPEARING. (By decision of the Negroes) ~~IT~~ (COUNTIES WITH A MAJORITY OF BLACKS) HAD FOUR MILLION NEGROES IN 1900; 2½ MILLION IN 1940,/ AND TODAY PROBABLY HAS VE NOT MORE THAN A MILLION.// THIS HAS HAPPENED/ NOT BECAUSE NEGROES HAVE BEEN DRIVEN AWAY./ THEY HAVE THEMSELVES RUN AWAY/ AND ARE NOW/ IN TOWNS AND CITIES/ NORTH AND SOUTH/ WHERE THEY CAN EARN A FAR BETTER LIVING/ THAN IN THE BLACK BELT.// ~~THAT BELT, WHERE IT IS NOT WORN OUT, IS TURNING FROM COTTON TO CATTLE.~~ TOGETHER WITH POLITICAL POWER

THE AMERICAN BLACK BELT/ WAS A VERY EFFICIENT METHOD/ OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION.// IT BEGAN/ WITH THE CROWDING OF FIELD HANDS/ ON THE BLACK SOIL/ OF THE SOUTH/ UNDER A STRICT REGIME/ TO MAKE THEM WORK.// THE WHITE OWNERS AND OVERSEERS/ LIVED IN THE TOWNS AND CITIES,/ OWNED THE FIREARMS, ~~AND MUCH OF THE~~ STOCK, SEED AND MACHINERY,/ AND CENTRALIZED/ IN THESE ARMED TOWNS/ THE POWER AND CONTROL/ OF THE BLACK BELT.

AS RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPED/ THIS CONCENTRATION/AND INTEGRATION OF EXPLOITATION/ INCREASED IN THE BLACK BELT.// THE WHITE PEOPLE,/WITH SUCH INDUSTRIES AS THE SOUTH HAD,/ WERE IN THE TOWNS AND THE CITIES.// IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS,/IN CABINS AND HUTS,/LIVED THE WORKERS,/ UNDER THE CONTROL OF OVERSEERS/WITH EVERY FACILITY FOR BRINGING TO BEAR/THE POWER OF POLICE AND MILITIA/AND EVEN OF FEDERAL TROOPS/UPON THE WORKERS.// THE WORKERS HAD/FROM THE BEGINNING/FEW OR NO SCHOOLS/ AND EVEN TODAY THE SCHOOL FACILITIES/IN THE BLACK BELT ARE SUCH/THAT THE AVERAGE NEGRO CHILD/DOES NOT HAVE THE CHANCE/ TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE ~~DECENTLY~~.// THE RESULT WAS NATURAL./ THE NEGROES BEGAN/TO DESERT THE BLACK BELT/AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY/AND WHENEVER THERE WAS A CHANCE/TO GET TO THE TOWNS/OR TO MIGRATE TO THE NORTH/ THEY TOOK IT. THE BLACK BELT THEREFORE/ BEGAN TO FADE AWAY/AND IS STILL FADING AWAY FAST.// THE PERCENTAGE, ~~THEREFORE~~,/ OF LITERACY IN THE BLACK BELT IS LOW./ THE MEN AND WOMEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND ENERGY/HAVE BEEN DRAWN AWAY,/ AND TO LOOK/FOR THE INITIATION OF ANYTHING/THAT COULD BE CALLED A STATE/CULTURALLY OR POLITICALLY/IS NOT INTELLIGENT.// AND THAT IS TRUE! NOT BECAUSE (I) SAY SO/ OR YOU WANT IT TO BE TRUE?// BUT BECAUSE THE MASS OF WORERS INVOLVED/HAVE DECIDED/IT IS TRUE. IN THIS REGION

LET ME TELL YOU A TALE:

IN CONJUNCTION WITH A YOUNG PHYSICIAN/WHO WAS THE STEP-FATHER/ OF THE LATE LOUIS WRIGHT,// ~~WITH~~ AND WITH JOHN HOPE,/AFTERWARD PRESIDENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY,/ AND ~~WITH~~ SEVERAL OTHERS,// I SAT DOWN ~~SOME~~ 35 YEARS AGO/AND TRIED TO PLAN/SUCH AN UNDERTAKING/IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA.// WE TALKED OF GOING DOWN ~~TOWARD~~ THE SEA,/ BUYING LAND IN ~~A~~ LIBERTY COUNTRY WHICH WAS 3/4 NEGRO IN POPULATION,/ STARTING A COMMUNITY/AND TRYING TO DEVELOP IT.// WE HAD NO PARTICULAR SOCIALISTIC IDEAS/BUT WE DID THINK/OF A COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE WITH SOMETHING LIKE ECONOMIC EQUALITY/ WORKING FOR THE BEST INTERESTS/OF ALL/ UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF INTELLIGENT CO-WORKERS.// AFTER VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION/OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT/ ~~ON THE SPOT~~, WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION/THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES/IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.// IMPOSSIBLE/BECAUSE THE WHITE ~~BLACK FOLK WERE LEAVI~~ STATE WAS IN ORGANIZED PHYSICAL CONTROL/ AND ECONOMIC DOMINATION/ OF THAT PART OF THE STATE WHERE WE PROPOSED TO GO;/ ~~AND~~ (THE BLACKS WERE LEAVING LAND) THAT THERE WAS/ NO REASONABLE EXPECTATION/ THAT WE COULD CARRY OUT WHAT WE WANTED TO DO.// WE DID NOT PROPOSE TO TRY FORCE/ BECAUSE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SILLY.// WE WERE OUT-NUMBERED/AND THE PEOPLE AROUND US/HAD ARMS ~~AND THEY~~ TWO TO ONE (AND WEALTH) THEY OWNED/TRANSPORTATION/& DOMINATED FINANCE// THEY

HAD THE EAR OF THE NATION.// MOREOVER,/AT THAT TIME/THEY HAD PRACTICALLY/THE COMPLETE POLITICAL POWER.

TODAY THE SITUATION IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT./ POLITICAL POWER/HAS BEEN INCREASED/AMONG ~~COULD BE EXERCISED BY A~~ BLACK/~~COMMUNITY,~~ BUT ECONOMIC POWER ~~COULD~~ HAS NOT.// THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION/OF THE NEW SOUTH IS TREMENDOUS.// IT HAS BEEN SUBSIDIZED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.// IT HAS SEIZED AND MONOPOLIZED NATURAL RESOURCES.// AGRICULTURE IS YIELDING TO MANUFACTURE.

MOREOVER,/ SUCH A COMMUNITY/OR STATE OR REGION/COULD ~~AND SHALL~~ NOT BE RACIAL.// PEOPLE SHOULD NOT VOTE BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGROES/ OR ELECT OFFICIALS/BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGROES.// THEY COULD NOT WORK TOGETHER/JUST BECAUSE OF RACE.// IT WOULD BE A MATTER/OF CULTURAL PATTERNS AND SKILL/ OF INTELLIGENCE AND KNOWLEDGE.// THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART, MUSIC AND THE THEATER/, AND A KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION/NOT AS THEORY/BUT AS PRACTICE/~~IN ACTUALLY EARNING A LIVING.~~/ ABOVE ALL/A KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIALISM

IN OTHER WORDS,/A COMMUNITY OF THIS SORT/WOULD HAVE TO START/WITH AN ENDOWMENT/WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY ABSENT/FROM THE BLACK BELT TODAY.// YOU COULD CONCEIVE THE

DEVELOPMENT/OF SUCH A COMMUNITY/~~IN THE CITY, WITH THE~~ WHERE THERE ARE ADVANTAGES OF EDUCATION, AND ~~EQUAL~~ POLITICAL POWER/ ~~OF~~ LITERATURE AND ART.// BUT TO THINK OF THAT SORT OF DEVELOPMENT/BEGINNING IN CENTRAL ALABAMA TODAY IS PURE NONSENSE.

MOREOVER THE QUESTION IS/ IS THE OBJECT OF SUCH A STATE/THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES/OR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE?// IF IT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES/THEN WE ARE TURNING BACKWARD/TOWARD THAT SAME THEORY OF RACE/ AND RACE SEGREGATION/WHICH A GOOD MANY OF US/HAVE BEEN FIGHTING TO ELIMINATE.// SO LONG AS ITS ELIMINATION/WAS UNLIKELY/I WORKED FOR NEGRO TOWNS/ NEGRO BUSINESS/ NEGRO ORGANIZATION.// TODAY THAT IS ~~UNWISE/IF NOT UNTENABLE.~~ NO LONGER INEVITABLE

AS NEGROES POURED INTO CITIES/THEIR WHOLE ORGANIZED LIFE/TRIED AT FIRST/IN SELF-DEFENSE/ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SEGREGATION.// THEY TRIED TO A DEGREE TO SUPPLY EACH OTHER'S WANTS/ TO GIVE EACH OTHER WORK/AND TO GUIDE (FOR THEMSELVES) CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.// OUT OF THIS/ CAME THE POWERFUL NEGRO PRESS,/A ~~POWERFUL~~ (GREAT BLACK) CHURCH,/A NUMBER OF NEGRO COMMUNITIES,/ NEGRO HOUSING,/ SUPPORT OF NEGRO PROFESSIONAL MEN,/ AND SO FORTH.

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(FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING)

BUT IN THIS PLANNING/WE HAVE SO FAR/FOR THE MOST PART/FOLLOWED THE CAPITALIST IDEAL/WITHOUT ANY GREAT GUIDING KNOWLEDGE/OF SOCIALIST IDEALS/ OR OF DOING AWAY WITH EXPLOITATION// THE RESULT IS/THAT WE ARE BEGINNING/TO DEVELOP A PLAN OF EXPLOITATION/ WHICH IS RAISING/A CLASS OF NEGRO CAPITALISTS/ DIFFERING FROM WHITE CAPITALISTS/ ONLY IN THE EXTENT OF THEIR EXPLOITATION.

IT IS THEREFORE/OF GREAT IMPORTANCE/THAT THE MEANING AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM/BE UNDERSTOOD AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES/AND APPLIED TO GROUPS OF COMMUNITIES/SO FAR AS POSSIBLE/WITH THE DISTINCT UNDERSTANDING/THAT ~~INTELLIGENT~~ NEGROES MUST WORK/ AND THINK/WITH THE SOCIALISTIC FORCES/ OF THE WORLD/ IN ORDER TO REALIZE/AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE/SOCIALISM IN ALL GENERAL RELATIONS.

SO LONG, HOWEVER/ AS THE PREVAILING ECONOMY AND THOUGHT IN AMERICA/IS DOMINATED/BY THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE PROFIT/AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS MONOPOLY,/ THIS PLAN IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT/FOR NEGROES/ALTHOUGH NOT IMPOSSIBLE.// IT IS A QUESTION OF CAREFUL PLANNING/FOR SOCIALISM/TO BE CARRIED ON/IN SPITE OF THE DOMINANT BUSINESS TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

HISTORICALLY THERE WERE THREE COURSES OPEN TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO; THE FIRST AND THE OLDEST PROPOSAL WAS THAT NEGROES RETURN TO AFRICA; THE SECOND PROPOSAL WHICH CAME LATER WAS THAT THEY SHOULD MIGRATE TO SOME OTHER LAND; USUALLY IT WAS PROPOSED TO THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL OR SOUTH AMERICA. THE THIRD POSSIBILITY WAS STAYING HERE, AND THEN FOLLOWED THE QUESTION AS TO WHERE AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS; WHETHER THEY SHOULD CONGREGATE IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, AS FOR INSTANCE IN THE SOUTH WHERE THEY HISTORICALLY HAVE BEEN FOR SO LONG, OR IN PARTS OF THE WEST, OR GROUP THEMSELVES IN CERTAIN CITIES IN NORTHERN REGIONS; OR FINALLY, DISTRIBUTE THEMSELVES WITH NO PARTICULAR PLAN AMONG THE MASS OF THE POPULARION.

35-8-6

THE PROPOSAL TO RETURN TO AFRICA WAS NATURAL AMONG THOSE SLAVES WHO WERE BROUGHT HERE EITHER DIRECTLY FROM AFRICA OR WITH THE INTERLUDE OF A STOP IN THE WEST INDIES. CONSEQUENTLY IN THE 18th CENTURY THAT WAS THE NATURAL SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM WHICH OCCURRED BOTH TO BLACK AND WHITE. FOR THIS REASON ORGANIZATIONS

OF COLORED PEOPLE THAT STEM FROM THE 18th CENTURY ARE USUALLY CALLED "AFRICAN," LIKE THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, OR "NEGRO," LIKE THE NEGRO UNIONS OF NEW YORK AND NEWPORT.

THE GREAT FRUIT OF THIS MOVEMENT WAS LIBERIA. THIS EXPERIMENT PROVED SEVERAL THINGS: FIRST, AMERICAN NEGROES WERE NO LONGER AFRICANS IN LANGUAGE, RELIGION OR FOLKWAYS; THEY HAD TO FIGHT THE NATIVES FOR THE RIGHT TO LAND AND AUTONOMY. SECONDLY WHAT AFRICA NEEDED WAS CAPITAL GOODS AND MODERN SKILLS AND NOT COMMON LABOR; THAT AMERICA WAS NOT PREPARED TO FURNISH PROTECTION, MONEY OR HELP BUT USED LIBERIA TO GET RID OF NEGROES WHO FOR VARIOUS REASONS WERE NOT WANTED HERE. LIBERIA HAD THEREFORE TO STRUGGLE UP ALONE.

THE COLONIZATION MOVEMENT WHICH STARTED THE LIBERIA MOVEMENT WAS SOON RECOGNIZED BY THE MORE INTELLIGENT NEGROES AS A MOVEMENT NOT TO FIND HOMES FOR AMERICAN NEGROES BUT TO GET RID OF FREE NEGROES AND AGITATORS. CONSEQUENTLY THERE AROSE BITTER OPPOSITION TO THE MOVEMENT, AND VERY SOON IT WAS CLEAR THAT AFRICA WAS NOT AN

EMPTY CONTINENT; THAT THE TRAINING THE AMERICAN NEGROES HAD RECEIVED SINCE THEIR SEPARATION FROM AFRICA WAS NOT SUITED TO THE EXPLOITATION OF A PRIMITIVE LAND, AND THAT LIBERIA OFFERED NO DIRECT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO HERE. THERE PERSISTED THE POSSIBILITY OF SELECTING CERTAIN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA TO BE SETTLED BY AMERICAN NEGROES, BUT THIS NEVER REACHED THE STATUS OF A PLAN.

ON THE OTHER HAND, MIGRATION TO OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA WAS TAKEN UP SERIOUSLY JUST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, WHEN DELEGATIONS WENT TO HAITI AND TO MEXICO. OUT OF THE HAITIAN VISIT THERE CAME A CONSIDERABLE MIGRATION WHOSE INFLUENCE CAN BE FELT EVEN TODAY. THE MIGRATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA WAS NEGLIGIBLE. LATER, AFTER EMANCIPATION ABRAHAM LINCOLN TRIED TO GET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST MIGRATION BUT BY THAT TIME THE DOMINANT THOUGHT OF AMERICAN NEGROES WAS TO FIGHT OUT THEIR FUTURE RIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. THERE AGAIN, THE POSSIBILITY OF INDIVIDUAL MIGRATION TO OTHER PARTS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT STILL REMAINED BUT CALLED FOR CAREFUL PLANNING AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SKILLED AND INTELLIGENT WHICH NEVER DEVELOPED.

35-8-7

AS TO DISTRIBUTION IN AMERICA, THERE WERE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION DURING RECONSTRUCTION. SOME NEGROES AND WHITES THOUGHT THAT THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO LAY IN THE SOUTH WHERE MOST OF THEM HAD WORKED FOR CENTURIES AND WHERE THE CLIMATE WAS FAMILIAR. THERE, WITH SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL POWER THEY WOULD GRADUALLY BECOME THE DOMINANT ELEMENT. THERE WERE OTHERS WHO TOOK THE OPPOSITE VIEW AND SAID THAT WITH THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH WHICH NECESSARILY FOLLOWED THE ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE SYSTEM, THE BEST THING FOR THE NEGRO WAS TO GET OUT OF THE SOUTH IMMEDIATELY, ESTABLISH HIMSELF AS A FREE CITIZEN IN THE NORTH AND INTEGRATE HIMSELF WITH THE MASS OF THE POPULATION.

EVER SINCE THAT TIME THESE TWO DIFFERENT PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN DOMINANT, ACCORDING TO THE PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES WHICH PRESENTED THEMSELVES. WHEN LYNCHING AND LAWLESSNESS BECAME DOMINANT IN THE POST CIVIL WAR SOUTH AND AFTER THE BARGAIN OF 1876 WHEN BIG BUSINESS IN THE NORTH AGREED WITH THE PLANTER CLASS TO DISFRANCHISE THE NEGRO AND PUT THEM UNDER THE CASTE SYSTEM, THERE WERE SEVERAL ORGANIZED

EFFORTS TOWARD MIGRATION OUT OF THE OLD SOUTH. THERE WAS MUCH PLANNED MIGRATION TO FLORIDA, KANSAS AND TEXAS, AND SOME MIGRATION TO THE NORTH. BUT THE MIGRATION TO THE NORTH WAS DISCOURAGED BY THE INCREASING IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN LABOR, FIRST FROM IRELAND, THEN FROM GERMANY AND ITALY AND FINALLY FROM THE BALKAN STATES. THE COMPETITION FOR WORK AND THE LACK OF SKILLS ON THE PART OF SOUTHERN NEGROES MADE MIGRATION DIFFICULT, SO THAT FROM 1876 PRACTICALLY UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE MIGRATION WAS SLOW.

35-8-8

THEN, WITH STOPPING OF IMMIGRATION IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THE NEGRO BEGAN TO COME NORTH AND TO MEET THEM, AS HE HAD BEFORE, BITTER OPPOSITION FROM THE NEW LABOR UNIONS, WHICH CAME WITH THE IMMIGRANTS BUT WERE NOT WIDELY KNOWN AMONG NEGROES. THE DEPRESSION MADE IT NECESSARY FOR THE UNIONS TO ADMIT NEGROES, AND GRADUALLY, AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, NEGROES BEGAN TO DESERT THE SOUTH IN LARGE NUMBERS.

THE TIME NOW COMES WHEN THEY MUST RE-ASSESS THEIR CONCEPTION OF WHAT THEIR

FUTURE IS GOING TO BE. AS IT IS TODAY, OF THE 15 MILLION NEGROES, 9½ MILLION STILL LIVE IN THE SOUTH; 4½ MILLION IN THE NORTH AND A LITTLE LESS THAN 1 MILLION IN THE WEST. THE SOUTH IS LOSING Negro POPULATION PROPORTIONATELY, THE NORTH IS GAINING SLOWLY AND THE WEST SWIFTLY. ALSO, THE NEGRO POPULATION HAS CHANGED FROM BEING PREDOMINANTLY A RURAL POPULATION TO BEING OVERWHELMINGLY URBAN. ONLY 6 OF THE 15 MILLION ARE LIVING IN THE COUNTRY. THIS IS A TREMENDOUS SOCIAL REVOLUTION MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT FOR WORK, HOME AND FAMILY THAN MOST REALIZE.

WHAT DEVELOPMENT ARE WE TO LOOK FORWARD TO IN THE NEAR FUTURE? ARE NEGROES GOING TO LEAVE THE SOUTH IN EVEN LARGER NUMBERS SO THAT EVENTUALLY THERE MAY BE NO GREATER PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES THERE THAN IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY; OR ARE THEY GOING TO BEGIN A COUNTER-MOVEMENT TOWARD THE NEW INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTH? ARE THEY GOING TO CONTINUE THEIR RUSH TO CITIES AND TOWNS OR ARE THEY GOING TO RETURN TO THE LAND?

MANIFESTLY THE BLACK WORKER AS A MASS HAS A CERTAIN UNITY; PHYSICAL

BECAUSE OF HIS RACIAL DESCENT AND CULTURAL BECAUSE OF HIS HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE. WHAT PART WILL THESE FACTS PLAY IN THE NEGRO'S FUTURE? A VERY CONSIDERABLE PART; THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE LONG BEEN CONDITIONED TO REGARD COLOR AS A BADGE OF INFERIORITY, AND LOOK ON WORKING AND LIVING BESIDE COLORED FOLK AS LOWERING LIVING STANDARDS. AMERICAN WORKERS HAVE TAUGHT THIS TO IMMIGRANTS. THIS HAS GOT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

35-8-9

THIS FEELING IS GRADUALLY YIELDING TO REASON, EXPERIENCE AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE. IN TIME COLOR PREJUDICE WILL DISAPPEAR AMONG THE WORKERS, SKILLED AS WELL AS UNSKILLED. THIS WILL TAKE PERHAPS 50 YEARS AT LEAST. UNTIL IT DOES DISAPPEAR THE PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY AMONG NEGROES MUST INCLUDE EFFORT TO INCREASE KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACT BETWEEN RACES SO AS TO INCREASE MUTUAL SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING. IT CANNOT BY ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE INTERNAL, PURELY RACIAL AND SEGREGATED.

THE OBJECT OF THIS IS TO INCREASE CULTURAL UNITY AMONG ALL PEOPLE, THAT IS, TO USE HISTORY AND HABIT TO UNITE MEN IN PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR A FUTURE IN

ONE WORLD. THIS CALLS FOR A UNITY NOT PRIMARILY RACIAL IN THE PHYSICAL SENSE. SO LONG AS RACIAL UNITY WAS FORCED ON NEGROES THEY HAD TO INCREASE AND SOLIDIFY NEGRO CHURCHES, NEGRO CLUBS, NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND NEGRO SOCIAL ACTIVITIES. TODAY THEY ARE COMPELLED BY PREJUDICE STILL TO FOLLOW MANY OF SUCH ACTIVITIES, BUT AS SCIENCE INCREASINGLY DECRIES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PHYSICAL RACE IN HUMAN CIVILIZATION, SO NEGROES AND WHITES WHO SEEK TO FOLLOW SCIENCE AND TRUE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MUST TURN THEIR CHIEF ATTENTION TO CULTURAL UNITY AND SEEK BY ECONOMIC, ARTISTIC AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS TO UNITE MEN IN WORK, KNOWLEDGE AND ENJOYMENT.

MOST THINKERS READILY ADMIT THIS AND YET SEEM TO THINK THAT PROGRESS TOWARD IT WILL BE AUTOMATIC RATHER THAN A MATTER OF DISTINCT PLAN AND EFFORT. FOR INSTANCE, IT IS ASSUME THAT AMERICAN NEGROES, HAVING SUFFERED FROM EXTREME INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL EXPLOITATION, WILL NATURALLY ACCEPT SOCIALISM AS A METHOD OF ECONOMIC LIFE. THIS IS QUITE UNTRUE AND IS JUST WHAT NATURALLY THEY WILL NOT DO, IF THEY HAVE BEEN TAUGHT THAT AMERICAN CAPITALISM IS THE BEST AND ONLY PATH TO SUCCESS. THIS IS

JUST WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN TAUGHT AND WHAT FOR THE MOST PART THEY BELIEVE TODAY. THEIR UNITED CULTURAL EFFORT THEN IS TO GET RICH. IF THAT OBJECT IS TO BE CHANGED, THIS MUST BE THE RESULT OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE.

OR AGAIN, MERELY BRINGING AMERICAN NEGROES WHO BELIEVE THIS TOGETHER, IS NOT GOING OF ITSELF TO MAKE THEM A GROUP OR STATE OF MODERN THINKING AND MODERN-ACTING MEN. IT WILL UNITE THEM INTO GROUPS OF EXPLOITING, GET-RICH-QUICK TOWNS AND CITIES AFTER THE MOST APPROVED AMERICAN PATTERN. THIS IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN NEGRO TOWNS LIKE BOLEY, OKLAHOMA, MOUNT BAYA, MISSISSIPPI, AND A DOZEN OTHER EXPERIMENTS.

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THIS IS THE REASON WHY THE BLACK BELT IN THE SOUTH HAS MISLED MANY NEGRO THINKERS TO ASSUME THAT HERE LIES THE NATURAL BASIS OF A NEGRO STATE. THEY COMPARE THE ANALOGY OF SUPPRESSED STATES IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH LONG STROVE TO BECOME POLITICAL ENTITIES AND ONLY ACCOMPLISHED THIS IN OUR DAY PARTIALLY UNDER SOCIALISM. BUT THESE STATES WERE ALREADY CULTURAL UNITIES BEFORE THEY BECAME POLITICAL STATES.

IT WAS THE OBJECT OF THE CZAR AND KING TO SUPPRESS THIS CULTURE BY IMPOSED POLITICAL FORCE. THE BLACK BELT HAD CULTURAL UNITY BUT THIS MERELY MADE IT AN INSTRUMENT OF EXPLOITATION WHICH OWNERS AND MASTERS SOUGHT TO PRESERVE. HAVING FAILED IN THIS, THE BLACK BELT IS RAPIDLY DISAPPEARING. IT HAD FOUR MILLION NEGROES IN 1900; 2½ MILLION IN 1940, AND TODAY PROBABLY HAS NOT MORE THAN A MILLION. THIS HAS HAPPENED NOT BECAUSE NEGROES HAVE BEEN DRIVEN AWAY; THEY HAVE THEMSELVES RUN AWAY AND ARE NOW IN TOWNS AND CITIES NORTH AND SOUTH WHERE THEY CAN EARN A FAR BETTER LIVING THAN IN THE BLACK BELT. THAT BELT, WHERE IT IS NOT WORN OUT, IS TURNING FROM COTTON TO CATTLE.

THE AMERICAN BLACK BELT WAS A VERY EFFICIENT METHOD OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. IT BEGAN WITH THE CROWDING OF FIELD HANDS ON THE BLACK SOIL OF THE SOUTH UNDER A STRICT REGIME TO MAKE THEM WORK. THE WHITE OWNERS AND OVERSEERS LIVED IN THE TOWNS AND CITIES, OWNED THE FIREARMS, AND MUCH OF THE MACHINERY, AND CENTRALIZED IN THESE ARMED TOWNS THE POWER AND CONTROL OF THE BLACK BELT.

AS RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPED THIS CONCENTRATION AND INTEGRATION OF EXPLOITATION INCREASED IN THE BLACK BELT. THE WHITE PEOPLE, WITH SUCH INDUSTRIES AS THE SOUTH HAD, WERE IN THE TOWNS AND THE CITIES. IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS, IN CABINS AND HUTS, LIVED THE WORKERS, UNDER THE CONTROL OF OVERSEERS WITH EVERY FACILITY FOR BRINGING TO BEAR THE POWER OF POLICE AND MILITIA AND EVEN FEDERAL TROOPS UPON THE WORKERS. THE WORKERS HAD FROM THE BEGINNING FEW OR NO SCHOOLS, AND EVEN TODAY THE SCHOOL FACILITIES IN THE BLACK BELT ARE SUCH THAT THE AVERAGE NEGRO CHILD DOES NOT HAVE THE CHANCE TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE DECENTLY. THE RESULT WAS NATURAL. THE NEGROES BEGAN TO DESERT THE BLACK BELT AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY AND WHENEVER THERE WAS A CHANCE TO GET TO THE TOWNS OR TO MIGRATE TO THE NORTH THEY TOOK IT. THE BLACK BELT THEREFORE BEGAN TO FADE AWAY AND IS STILL FADING AWAY FAST. THE PERCENTAGE, THEREFORE, OF LITERACY IN THE BLACK BELT IS LOW. THE MEN AND WOMEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND ENERGY HAVE BEEN DRAWN AWAY, AND TO LOOK FOR THE INITIATION OF ANYTHING THAT COULD BE CALLED A STATE CULTURALLY OR POLITICALLY IS NOT INTELLIGENT.

35-8-11

IN CONJUNCTION WITH A YOUNG PHYSICIAN WHO WAS THE STEP FATHER OF THE LATE LOUIS WRIGHT, WITH JOHN HOPE, AFTERWARD PRESIDENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, AND WITH OTHERS, I SAT DOWN SOME 35 YEARS AGO AND TRIED TO PLAN SUCH AN UNDERTAKING IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA. WE TALKED OF GOING DOWN TOWARD THE SEA, BUYING LAND IN A COUNTRY WHICH WAS 3/4 NEGRO IN POPULATION, STARTING A COMMUNITY AND TRYING TO DEVELOP IT. WE HAD NO PARTICULAR SOCIALISTIC IDEAS BUT WE DID THINK OF A COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE WITH SOMETHING LIKE ECONOMIC EQUALITY WORKING FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF INTELLIGENT CO-WORKERS. AFTER VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT ON THE SPOT, WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT; IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE THE STATE WAS IN ORGANIZED PHYSICAL CONTROL AND ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF THAT PART OF THE STATE WHERE WE PROPOSED TO GO; AND THAT THERE WAS NO REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT WE COULD CARRY OUT WHAT WE WANTED TO DO. WE DID NOT PROPOSE TO TRY FORCE BECAUSE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SILLY. WE WERE OUT-NUMBERED AND THE PEOPLE AROUND US HAD ARMS AND THEY

HAD THE EAR OF THE NATION. MOREOVER, AT THAT TIME THEY HAD PRACTICALLY THE COMPLETE POLITICAL POWER.

TODAY THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT. POLITICAL POWER COULD BE EXERCISED BY A BLACK COMMUNITY, BUT ECONOMIC POWER COULD NOT. THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW SOUTH IS TREMENDOUS. IT HAS BEEN SUBSIDIZED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IT HAS SEIZED AND MONOPOLIZED NATURAL RESOURCES. AGRICULTURE IS YIELDING TO MANUFACTURE.

MOREOVER, SUCH A COMMUNITY OR STATE OR REGION COULD AND SHALL NOT BE RACIAL. PEOPLE SHOULD NOT VOTE BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGROES OR ELECT OFFICIALS BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGROES. THEY COULD NOT WORK TOGETHER JUST BECAUSE OF RACE. IT WOULD BE A MATTER OF CULTURAL PATTERNS AND SKILL, OF INTELLIGENCE AND KNOWLEDGE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART, MUSIC AND THE THEATER, AND A KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION NOT AS THEORY BUT AS PRACTICE IN ACTUALLY EARNING A LIVING.

35-8-12

IN OTHER WORDS, A COMMUNITY OF THIS SORT WOULD HAVE TO START WITH AN ENDOWMENT WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY ABSENT FROM THE BLACK BELT TODAY. YOU COULD CONCEIVE THE

DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH A COMMUNITY IN THE CITY, WITH THE ADVANTAGES OF EDUCATION AND EQUAL POLITICAL POWER, OF LITERATURE AND ART. BUT TO THINK OF THAT SORT OF DEVELOPMENT BEGINNING IN CENTRAL ALABAMA IS PURE NONSENSE.

MOREOVER THE QUESTION IS, IS THE OBJECT OF SUCH A STATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES OR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE? IF IT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES THEN WE ARE TURNING BACKWARD TOWARD THAT SAME THEORY OF RACE AND RACE SEGREGATION WHICH A GOOD MANY OF US HAVE BEEN FIGHTING TO ELIMINATE. SO LONG AS ITS ELIMINATION WAS UNLIKELY I WORKED FOR NEGRO TOWNS, NEGRO , NEGRO ORGANIZATION. TODAY THAT IS UNWISE IF NOT UNTENABLE.

AS NEGROES POURED INTO CITIES THEIR WHOLE ORGANIZED LIFE TRIED AT FIRST IN SELF-DEFENSE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SEGREGATION. THEY TRIED TO A DEGREE TO SUPPLY EACH OTHER'S WANTS, TO GIVE EACH OTHER WORK AND TO GUIDE CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION. OUT OF THIS CAME THE POWERFUL NEGRO PRESS, A POWERFUL CHURCH, A NUMBER OF NEGRO COMMUNITIES, NEGRO HOUSING, SUPPORT OF NEGRO PROFESSIONAL MEN, AND SO FORTH.

BUT IN THIS PLANNING WE HAVE SO FAR FOR THE MOST PART FOLLOWED THE CAPITALIST IDEAL WITHOUT ANY GREAT KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIALIST IDEALS OR OF DOING AWAY WITH EXPLOITATION. THE RESULT IS THAT WE ARE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP A PLAN OF EXPLOITATION WHICH IS RAISING A CLASS OF NEGRO CAPITALISTS, DIFFERING FROM WHITE CAPITALISTS ONLY IN THE EXTENT OF THEIR EXPLOITATION.

IT IS THEREFORE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT THE MEANING AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM BE UNDERSTOOD AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES AND APPLIED TO GROUPS OF COMMUNITIES SO FAR AS POSSIBLE WITH THE DISTINCT UNDERSTANDING THAT INTELLIGENT NEGROES MUST WORK AND THINK WITH THE SOCIALISTIC FORCES OF THE WORLD IN ORDER TO REALIZE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE SOCIALISM IN ALL GENERAL RELATIONS.

35-8-13

SO LONG, HOWEVER, AS THE PREVAILING ECONOMY AND THOUGHT IN AMERICA IS DOMINATED BY THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE PROFIT AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS MONOPOLY, THIS IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT FOR NEGROES ALTHOUGH NOT IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS A QUESTION OF CAREFUL PLANNING FOR SOCIALISM TO BE CARRIED ON IN SPITE OF THE DOMINANT BUSINESS TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

•16•

THERE WAS NO USE IN 1910 WHEN I CAME TO NEW YORK IN TRYING TO IGNORE RACE AND RACE PREJUDICE. IT WAS A FACT WHICH WE HAD TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AND WHICH I PERSONALLY THOUGHT WOULD LAST LONGER THAN I THINK NOW. THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE WITH TWO WORLD WARS AND REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE REVOLT OF ASIA AND UPRISING IN AFRICA, HAS MADE THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO QUITE DIFFERENT. THE ADVANCE WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN THE 20th CENTURY MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO DISREGARD PREJUDICES OF RACE AND DIFFERENCES OF CULTURE. BUT IF THEY ARE DISREGARDED, IT WOULD BE ONLY BY SUBSTITUTING FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHICH THE IDEA OF RACE BROUGHT ABOUT, SOMETHING MORE POWERFUL THAN CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND OR UNITY OF HERITAGE. THAT SOMETHING WOULD BE A NEW CONCEPTION OF HUMANITY AS PRODUCER AND CONSUMER UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY WOULD BE THE RESULT AND A NEW HUMAN CULTURE WOULD EMERGE.

THE GREAT NEGRO RACE IS BEGINNING TO DEVELOP IN AFRICA. BUT THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS VERY LITTLE CONCEPTION OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE THERE. THE DEVELOPMENT IN

IN THE WEST INDIES IS EXTRAORDINARY, AND SOUTH AMERICA IS BEGINNING TO FOLLOW. ALONG WITH THIS COMES THE UPHEAVAL OF THE WHOLE CONTINENT OF ASIA. IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE PART IN THIS AND HELP GUIDE IT WE HAVE GOT TO HAVE A GREAT DEAL MORE GENERAL KNOWLEDGE THAN WE HAVE.

THEN WE MUST DEVELOP CULTURALLY WITH KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY AND LITERATURE, WITH DEVELOPMENT OF ART FORMS, CONTACT WITH CULTURE PATTERNS, SO THAT WHEN COMMUNITIES DEVELOP AND AS THEY DEVELOP, WE AS NEGROES CAN TAKE PART IN THEM NOT SIMPLY AS BENEFICIARIES DEPENDING UPON OUR RACE, BUT AS CONTRIBUTORS DEPENDING UPON OUR CULTURE.

35-8-14

THE DANGER TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO TODAY IS THAT INSTEAD OF DEVELOPING OR TRYING TO DEVELOP ANYTHING LIKE A NEGRO CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN CULTURE, HE IS DROPPING AND GETTING RID OF THESE THINGS, INFLUENCES, OPINIONS AND CULTURE WHICH HE MIGHT DEVELOP, AND FOLLOWING THE VERY WORST THINGS IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE. THERE IS THE DANGER THAT THE CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITER AMONG NEGROES IS GOING TO BECOME A WORSE INSTRUMENT OF EXPLOITATION THAN THE WHITE EXPLOITER. THERE IS THE DANGER THAT OUR MANNERS

WHICH FROM OUR AFRICAN HERITAGE WERE RATHER CHOICE, ARE GOING TO BECOME LOUD AND VULGAR; THAT WE ARE GOING TO TRY TO SHOW OFF AND OVER-SPEND AND LIVE BEYOND OUR MEANS, AND MISTAKE NOISE FOR SELF-ASSERTION. AND THIS AT A TIME WHEN WHAT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF AMERICAN CULTURE HAS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD BECOME MORE AND MORE DESPISED AND REJECTED.

OUR FUTURE THEREFORE DEPENDS UPON PLANNED ECONOMY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND LITERATURE AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIALISM. IT DOES NOT DEPEND UPON ELECTING MEN TO OFFICE WITHOUT REGARD AS TO WHAT THEY KNOW AND WHAT THEY WANT OR SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN. AND CERTAINLY, OF ALL METHODS OF PLANNING OUR FUTURE, THE VISION OF A POLITICAL NEGRO STATE CONDUCTED BY BLACK MEN FOR BLACK MEN IS ON THE WHOLE IN MY OPINION ABOUT THE CRAZIEST REMEDY FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS THAT ONE COULD IMAGINE.

IF WE REALLY HAD A SCIENCE OF HISTORY; OR IF WHAT IS CALLED SOCIOLOGY WAS PURSUED SERIOUSLY AND CAREFULLY, THEN IN A DAY OF CRISIS AND DEEP APPREHENSION LIKE THIS, ALL OVER THE WORLD, WE WOULD BE ANXIOUSLY STUDYING THE PAST ACTIONS OF MANKIND IN ORDER TO SEE HOW AND WHEN IN THE PAST HUMANITY HAD MET CRISES SIMILAR TO THIS, HOW THEY WERE CAUSED AND WHAT MEN AND NATIONS DID TO RETRIEVE PAST MISTAKES AND CURE PRESENT EVIL. WE DO NOT MAKE SUCH COMPARISONS OF PAST AND PRESENT CONDITIONS, BECAUSE WE ARE SO PAINFULLY CONSCIOUS OF HOW DISTORTED AND FALSIFIED HISTORY HAS BEEN IN ORDER TO MAKE IT SERVE OUR PRESENT PLANS OF DECEIVING THE PEOPLE FOR OUR OWN ASSUMED ADVANTAGE.

35-8-1

YET PERHAPS ENOUGH OF TRUTH ABOUT THE HUMAN PAST CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM MYTH AND PROPAGANDA TO BE OF SOME SERVICE IN DAYS OF TROUBLE LIKE THESE. AND ONE GREAT SOLACE FOR US COULD BE A BACKWARD GLANCE TO EVEN MORE UNJUST AND EVIL DAYS THAN THESE.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO THERE WERE MEN STILL LIVING WHO HAD SEEN A YOUNG

JEWISH ARTISAN ACCUSED OF SUBVERSION AND FLOUTING OF RELIGION, ARRESTED, ARRAIGNED AND HANGED NAKED BY THE ROADSIDE TO ROT IN THE SUN UNTIL DEATH ENDED HIS PAIN AND MISERY. HE WAS A COMMUNIST, A CRITIC OF RELIGION, AND ONE WHO CLAIMED THAT HEAVEN COULD COME TO MEN ON EARTH IF THEY DID UNTO OTHERS AS THEY WOULD THAT OTHERS DO TO THEM. HE DIED A DEATH OF SHAME WHILE AUGUSTUS CAESAR REIGNED AND CLEOPATRA COMMITTED SUICIDE.

A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, IN (%$, OTTO THE GREAT BECAME EMPEROR OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. TRUE IT WAS AS BRYCE SAYS THAT THIS REALM WAS NEITHER HOLY, ROMAN, NOR AN EMPIRE, YET IT WAS THE HIGHEST HUMAN HONOR OF THAT DAY. OTTO STAGGERED TO A BLOOD-STAINED THRONE OUT OF AN ERA SO DARK AND EVIL, WITH EUROPE SO IGNORANT AND DEBASED THAT ALL HOPE OF SALVATION ON EARTH, HUMAN OR DIVINE, HAD DISAPPEARED, AND EVEN THE POWERFUL AND WEALTHY BEGAN TO SIGN THEIR LAST TESTAMENTS: "APPROPINQUENTI FINI MUNDI," (SINCE THE END OF THE WORLD IS APPROACHING) -- AND THIS THE VERY WORLD FOR WHICH 1200 YEARS BEFORE BUDDHA DIED AND FOR WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE JESUS OF NAZARETH WAS CRUCIFIED TO SAVE FROM COMMUNISM AND ATHEISM.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, IN 1454, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS WAS THREE YEARS

OLD AND HIS PEOPLE REMEMBERED THE BLACK DEATH WHICH HAD SWEPT OVER EUROPE IN THE PRECEDING CENTURY AND DESTROYED HALF THE WHOLE POPULATION OF THE CONTINENT IN HORRIBLE AND FILTHY DEATH. THIS COLUMBUS DISCOVERED A NEW WORLD, WHICH THE "MOST CHRISTIAN KINGS" WITHIN ANOTHER CENTURY HAD DEDICATED TO HUMAN SLAVERY.

BUT ALL THIS LONG MEMORY HAS TAKEN US INTO REALMS OF MYTH AND CONJECTURE. LET US COME NEARER HOME IN THIS CITY AND NATION IN 1854. "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" HAD JUST BEEN PUBLISHED AND JOHN BROWN WAS STARTING FOR KANSAS WHERE HIS BAND WOULD SIGN THE COVENANT: "WE WHOSE NAMES ARE FOUND ON THESE AND THE NEXT FOLLOWING PAGES DO HEREBY ENLIST OURSELVES TO SERVE IN THE FREE-STATE CAUSE UNDER JOHN BROWN... AND WE SEVERALLY PLEDGE OUR WORD AND OUR SACRED HONOR TO SAID COMMANDER; AND TO EACH OTHER, THAT DURING THE TIME FOR WHICH WE HAVE ENLISTED WE WILL FAITHFULLY AND PUNCTUALLY PERFORM OUR DUTY...FOR THE MAINTAINANCE OF THE RIGHTS & LIBERTIES OF THE FREE-STATE CITIZENS OF KANSAS."

BUT THIS GAVE NO IDEA OF PUBLIC OPINION IN NEW YORK CITY AND THE WORLD.

35-8-2

HERE WAS A NATION WHICH 78 YEARS BEFORE HAD ASTONISHED AND DELIGHTED THE AWAKENING WORLD BY ITS DECLARATION THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." FROM THIS HIGH CORNERSTONE TEN YEARS LATER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION SANG THE MARSEILLAISE AND PROCLAIMED LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD. YET IN 1854 THE GREATEST FREE NATION IN THE WORLD WAS ABOUT TO COMMIT SUICIDE TO MAKE HUMAN SLAVERY LEGAL IN EVERY STATE OF THIS UNION. THE WORLD RUBBED ITS EYES. THIS WAS SIMPLY UNBELIEVABLE. THE WORLD'S LEADERS CONTRADICTED THEMSELVES AND AFFIRMED AND DENIED IN ONE BREATH ALL THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID. DEFENDING NEGRO SLAVERY STOOD GLADSTONE, CARLISLE, ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING AND MOST OF THE GREAT SOCIAL LEADERS OF AMERICA. NEW YORK CITY WAS THE HOT BED OF PRO-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND POLITICS. ONLY ONE RESPECTABLE CHRISTIAN MINISTER DEFENDED THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT AND FOR THAT REASON MANY WERE CERTAIN THAT HENRY WARD BEECHER NEVER WAS RESPECTABLE. THE WITCH WORD THEN WAS NOT COMMUNISM BUT ABOLITION, AND EVEN

COMMUNISTS LIKE [redacted] AND WEITLING REFUSED TO OPPOSE NEGRO SLAVERY. TO BE AN ABOLITIONIST OR CONSORT WITH THEM OR ATTEND THEIR MEETINGS WAS TO STEP BEYOND THE PALE, TO INVITE THE SWARMING OF SPIES AND LIARS IN QUITE THE SAME WAY AS MEETINGS LIKE THIS ATTRACT THEM TODAY. NEW YORK A FEW YEARS LATER BURNED NEGRO CHILDREN IN THEIR POOR LONE ORPHANAGE AND HANGED BLACK WORKERS TO LAMP POSTS WITHIN A STONE'S THROW OF THIS VERY BUILDING. STREET CARS IN 1854 RAN ALONG THESE STREETS WITH SIGNS STRETCHED ACROSS THEM "COLORED PEOPLE ALLOWED IN THIS CAR." IN NO OTHER CARS COULD EVEN FREDERICK DOUGLASS RIDE. SCIENCE, LED BY DR. CARTRIGHT OF MISSISSIPPI IN THIS SAME DECADE SAID THAT THE HEBREW WORD IN THE BIBLE WHICH HAD BEEN TRANSLATED SERPENT SHOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED NEGRO AS IT WAS A NEGRO WHO TEMPTED EVE.

35-8-3

NEGROES WERE DEEPLY DISCOURAGED. EXACTLY A CENTURY AGO ONE HUNDRED NEGRO DELEGATES MET IN CLEVELAND, OHIO. IF THEY HAD MET IN THIS CITY THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN MOBBED BY IRISH AND GERMAN WORKERS. THE CLEVELAND MEETING OF 1854 SAID:

"WHEREAS, FOR YEARS THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN LOOKING, HOPING AND WAITING IN EXPECTATION OF REALIZING THE BLESSINGS OF CIVIL LIBERTY;

AND WHEREAS, DURING THIS LONG, TEDIOUS AND ANXIOUS PERIOD THEY HAVE BEEN DEPENDING UPON THEIR WHITE FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN TO EFFECT FOR THEM THIS DESIRABLE END BUT INSTEAD OF WHICH THEY HAVE MET WITH DISAPPOINTMENT, DISCOURAGEMENT AND DEGRADATION, RESOLVED:

THAT THE RIGHT TO BREATHE THE AIR AND USE THE SOIL ON WHICH THE CREATOR HAS PLACED US, IS CO-INHERENT WITH THE BIRTH OF MAN, AND COEVAL WITH HIS EXISTENCE; AND CONSEQUENTLY, WHATEVER INTERFERES WITH THIS SACRED INHERITANCE IS THE JOINT ALLY OF SLAVERY, AND AT WAR AGAINST THE JUST DECREE OF HEAVEN.

THAT WE HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN ANY POLITICAL PARTY WHICH ACKNOWLEDGES THE RIGHT OF MAN TO HOLD PROPERTY IN HIS FELLOW MAN -- WHETHER THIS RIGHT BE ADMITTED AS A "NECESSARY" PART OF THE NATIONAL COMPACT, THE PROVISIONS OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, THE DETESTABLY INSULTING AND DEGRADING FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT, OR THE MORE RECENT CONTEMPTIBLE NEBRASKA-KANSAS BILL."

THEY DECIDED ON EMIGRATION AND SENT EMMISSARIES TO AFRICA, HAITI AND MEXICO. MANY OF THEIR MORE CONSERVATIVE LEADERS OPPOSED SO RADICAL A MOVE, INCLUDING

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, DR. MCCUNE SMITH, A NEGRO PHYSICIAN FROM BROOKLYN, AND JOHN M. LANGSTON, LATER CONGRESSMAN FROM VIRGINIA. BUT A YOUNG NEGRO REPLIED, AUGUST 27, 1854:

"YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT SLAVERY IS NOT A FOREIGN ELEMENT IN THIS GOVERNMENT NOR IS IT REALLY ANTAGONISTIC TO THE FEELINGS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS AN ELEMENT COMMENCING WITH OUR EXISTENCE, RECEIVING THE SANCTION OF THE EARLY FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC, SUSTAINED BY THEIR DESCENDANTS THROUGH A PERIOD OF NEARLY THREE CENTURIES, DEEP AND FIRMLY LAID IN OUR ORGANIZATION. COMPLETELY INTERWOVEN INTO THE PASSIONS AND PREJUDICES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A LOCAL OR SECTIONAL INSTITUTION AS THE GENEROUS PROMPTINGS OF THE GREAT AND GOOD CHARLES SUMNER WOULD HAVE IT, BUT IS JUST AS NATIONAL AS THE CONSTITUTION WHICH GIVES IT AN EXISTENCE ...

"WHEN I REMEMBER THAT FROM MAINE TO GEORGIA, FROM THE ATLANTIC WAVES TO THE PACIFIC SHORE, I AM AN ALIEN AND AN OUTCAST, UNPROTECTED BY LAW, PROSCRIBED AND PERSECUTED BY CRUEL PREJUDICE, I AM WILLING TO FORGET THE ENDEARING NAME OF HOME AND COUNTRY, AND AS AN UNWILLING EXILE SEEK ON OTHER SHORES THE FREEDOM WHICH HAS BEEN DENIED ME IN THE LAND OF MY BIRTH."

ONE HUNDRED YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THIS YOUNG MAN SPOKE. WARS HAVE COME. WE HAVE LEARNED SOMETHING IN THIS TIME, BUT WE HAVE NOT LEARNED NEARLY AS MUCH AS WE MIGHT HAVE LEARNED. NEGRO SLAVERY HAS BECOME ILLEGAL IN THE UNITED STATES BUT IT IS STILL PRACTICED. NEGRO SLAVERY IN AFRICA IS STILL PRACTICED WITH THE CONSENT AND COOPERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE CONTINUED AND INCREASING SLAVERY OF FREE CITIZENS ACCUSED OF CRIME BUT NOT PROVEN CRIMINAL NOR GIVEN ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SUCH PROOF, IS STILL WITH US AND UNTIL IT DISAPPEARS SLAVERY IS STILL WITH US, AND JUDGE TANEY OF A CENTURY AGO STILL LIVES.

THE FIRST REACTION TO SUCH A REVIEW OF WORLD HISTORY CAN BE PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT AT WHAT WE HAVE NOT ACCOMPLISHED. BUT THIS IS WRONG. THE HUMAN PROGRESS IN THE LAST TWO THOUSAND YEARS HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS. FROM A DAY WHEN MOST MEN WERE DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE WE HAVE COME TO DREAM OF ALL MEN AS CITIZENS OF A FREE, HEALTHY, INTELLIGENT COMMUNITY. OUR DREAM SO FAR OUTPACES THE GRIM FACTS THAT WE CONTINUALLY

ASSUME THAT WE HAVE DONE WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE, AND FINALLY ACCOMPLISHED WHAT IN FACT WE HAVE JUST BEGUN. WE DID NOT ESTABLISH THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS AFTER THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS. WE TALKED BRAVELY AND LOUDLY ABOUT THEM AND THEN, LEAVING THEM HALF SECURED, FELL BACKWARD OVER A THEORY OF RACIAL DIFFERENCE WHICH RE-ESTABLISHED HUMAN SLAVERY IN THE WORLD AS THE BASIS OF 19TH CENTURY CIVILIZATION. COMPARING TODAY THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RACE HATE IN AMERICA IN 1864 WITH OUR BELIEF AND PRACTICE IN 1954 WE SEE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS. BUT SHIVERING UNDER THE IMPACT OF NEW AND IN A WAY GREATER HUMAN INJUSTICE WE ARE REMINDED OF THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE 18th CENTURY WHEN WE CELEBRATED LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD BEFORE WE HAD THEM OR KNEW HOW TO PRESERVE THEM WHEN THEY CAME, OR WERE REALLY AWARE JUST WHAT THREATENED THEM AND MADE IT SO EASY FOR FREE AMERICA TO BECOME SLAVE AMERICA AND THEN RELAPSE FROM EMANCIPATION INTO UTTER DISREGARD OF BASIC FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR WHITE AND YELLOW MEN AS WELL AS BLACK.

TRUE IT IS THAT THIS LEAVES US SET TO FIGHT AGAIN SOME OF THE SAME BATTLES OF HUMAN PROGRESS WHICH WE LONG SINCE REGARDED AS WON. THIS IS BECAUSE WE TOOK

VICTORY FOR GRANTED TOO SOON AND NOT BECAUSE THE FIGHTING OF JOHN BROWN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND HARRIET BEECHER STOWE WAS IN VAIN. WE MUST STILL SEE THE FIGHT FOR ABOLITION MAGNIFICENT, BUT REALIZE THAT IT WAS NOT CARRIED ON LONG ENOUGH TO ENGAGE THE GREATER ENEMY OF MANKIND WHICH IN THE 19th CENTURY BECAME THE WIDELY BELIEVED THEORY WHICH REGARDED ALL CIVILIZATION AS THE CREATION OF THE FAVORED FEW, BUILT ON THE DEGRADATION OF THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND. THIS FAR GREATER STRUGGLE STILL AWAITS THE BLOOD, SWEAT AND SACRIFICE OF THE WORLD.

45-8-96

JEWISH ARTISAN ACCUSED OF SUBVERSION AND FLOUTING OF RELIGION, ARRESTED, ARRAIGNED AND HANGED NAKED BY THE ROADSIDE TO ROT IN THE SUN UNTIL DEATH ENDED HIS PAIN AND MISERY. HE WAS A COMMUNIST, A CRITIC OF RELIGION, AND ONE WHO CLAIMED THAT HEAVEN COULD COME TO MEN ON EARTH IF THEY DID UNTO OTHERS AS THEY WOULD THAT OTHERS DO TO THEM. HE DIED A DEATH OF SHAME WHILE AUGUSTUS CAESAR REIGNED AND CLEOPATRA COMMITTED SUICIDE.

35-8-7

A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, IN (illegible), OTTO THE GREAT BECAME EMPEROR OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. TRUE IT WAS AS BRYCE SAYS THAT THIS REALM WAS NEITHER HOLY, ROMAN, NOR AN EMPIRE, YET IT WAS THE HIGHEST HUMAN HONOR OF THAT DAY. OTTO STAGGERED TO A BLOOD-STAINED THRONE OUT OF AN ERA SO DARK AND EVIL, WITH EUROPE SO IGNORANT AND DEBASED THAT ALL HOPE OF SALVATION ON EARTH, HUMAN OR DIVINE, HAD DISAPPEARED, AND EVEN THE POWERFUL AND WEALTHY BEGAN TO SIGN THEIR LAST TESTAMENTS: "APPROPINQUENTI FINI MUNDI," (SINCE THE END OF THE WORLD IS APPROACHING) -- AND THIS THE VERY WORLD FOR WHICH 1200 YEARS BEFORE BUDDHA DIED AND FOR WHICH A THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE JESUS OF NAZARETH WAS CRUCIFIED TO SAVE FROM COMMUNISM AND ATHEISM.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, IN 1454, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS WAS THREE YEARS

Parts not read

Progressive Party

Calif June

1954

35-8-147

Du Bois

THE FUTURE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

THOSE AMERICANS WHO IN THE LAST TWO ELECTIONS HAVE VOTED THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET ARE FACING THE COMING ELECTION WITH MISGIVINGS. A GREAT MANY OF THEM UNDOUBTEDLY ARE CONVINCED THAT THERE IS LITTLE USE OF TRYING TO PUT A PROGRESSIVE TICKET IN THE FIELD OR IN VOTING FOR SUCH TICKETS AS ARE NOMINATED. THEY HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A THIRD PARTY TODAY IN OPPOSITION TO THE DOMINANT REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC IS IMPOSSIBLE.

NOW IF THIS IS TRUE THEN WE ARE REACHING A SERIOUS SITUATION. OF COURSE, PART OF THE ATTITUDE ARISES FROM THE NATURAL DESIRE OF PEOPLE TO "BE ON THE BANDWAGON." IF EVERYBODY IS GOING TO VOTE THIS WAY, OR IF EVERYBODY IS GOING TO VOTE TWO WAYS, WELL, AFTER ALL, WHY TRY TO BE SINGULAR. THEREFORE FOLLOW IN STYLE - WITH HATS, SKIRTS, SHOES AND GLOVES.

BUT AFTER ALL, STYLES AND DEMOCRACY ARE A LITTLE DIFFERENT. IT IS OR AT LEAST IT USED TO BE CONSIDERED OF A GOOD DEAL MORE IMPORTANCE THAN FASHIONS. AND YET

IF WE LOOK AT THE MATTER FRANKLY TODAY, THERE IS A BASIS FOR CONCLUDING THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER BELIEVE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. OF COURSE NOT MANY OF THEM WOULD ADMIT THAT. BUT TAKE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ELECTIONS IN GENERAL: THE FACT THAT IT TAKES A GREAT DEAL OF STRUGGLE AND OF PERSUASION TO GET EVEN HALF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ENTITLED TO VOTE TO COME TO THE POLLS; THE FACT THAT IN NEW YORK RECENTLY THE LEADER OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY WHICH REPRESENTS THE PROGRESSIVES IN NEW YORK RESIGNED, NOT BECAUSE HE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY, NOR THAT THE PROGRESSIVES DIDN'T BELIEVE IN HIM, BUT THAT THEY SIMPLY WOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THE CAMPAIGN. THEY JUST SAT DOWN AND DID NOTHING.

NOW THAT EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT TODAY WE ARE NOT TAKING DEMOCRACY SERIOUSLY. WE DO NOT THINK OF VOTING AS A METHOD OF GOVERNING THE UNITED STATES, OF GETTING LAWS AND POLICIES ADOPTED WHICH WE WISH ADOPTED. IF THIS IS TRUE THEN WE ARE FACING A REALLY SERIOUS SITUATION AND REJECTING A GREAT AND IMPORTANT TASK. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES RATHER BOASTED OF HAVING THEIR OWN OPINIONS

ON ALL SORTS OF SUBJECTS. VERY OFTEN THEIR OPINIONS WERE REALLY NOT WORTH VERY MUCH BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT BASED ON KNOWLEDGE OR EXPERIENCE. AND YET I HAVE SEEN IN A NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING AN OPINIONATED AND STUBBORN MAN HOLD UP THE WHOLE TOWN FOR HOURS AND ON REPEATED OCCASIONS SIMPLY BECAUSE HE WAS DETERMINED TO EXPRESS HIMSELF. AND HE WAS ALLOWED TO DO IT BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF THAT TOWN THOUGHT THAT THE RIGHT OF A MAN TO EXPRESS HIS OWN OPINION WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE TOWN AND TO THE WORLD.

NOW TODAY WE ARE LOSING THAT ATTITUDE. WE ARE NOT TAKING VOTING SERIOUSLY. WE ARE NOT CAREFULLY CONSIDERING THE NOMINEES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE, AND WE ARE RATHER DISPOSED TO CYNICALLY SIT DOWN AND DO NOTHING IF WE FACE THE SITUATION WHERE DEMOCRACY DOESN'T SEEM TO WORK. THAT IS THE CASE THAT WE HAVE BEFORE US TODAY. THERE ARE CERTAIN THINGS THAT WE WOULD LIKE DONE. THERE IS NO EASY WAY TO DO THEM APPARENTLY, AND THEREFORE THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO DO NOTHING.

THE MOST SERIOUS THING, OF COURSE BEFORE US IS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TRUTH. OF THE GREAT THINGS THAT CALL FOR OUR ATTENTION OR SHOULD CALL, WE DO NOT KNOW THE

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FACTS AND WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN GETTING THEM. IN THE OLDER FORM OF OUR DEMOCRACY A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION WAS A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE GIVEN INFORMATION AS TO THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED, THE MEN NOMINATED, AND THE METHODS OF PROCEDURE NEEDED. TODAY THAT IS NOT TRUE. MOST PEOPLE, MOST HONEST PEOPLE WOULD HONESTLY SAY, FOR INSTANCE, THAT JUST WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN KOREA DURING THIS ATTEMPTED TRUCE THEY HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA AND THEY HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE AS TO HOW TO GET ANY SUCH IDEA. THERE IS NO USE OF REFERRING TO OUR NEWSPAPERS. THEY NOT ONLY CONTRADICT THEMSELVES BUT THEY SUPPRESS NEWS. WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL FROM OUR OWN UNAIDED EXPERIENCE.

THE FIRST THING, THEREFORE, THAT IS NECESSARY IN THIS ELECTION IS TO GET AT THE FACTS OF THE SITUATION SO THAT KNOWING WHAT IS BEING DONE WE CAN AT LEAST MAKE UP OUR MINDS AS TO WHAT ATTITUDE TO TAKE TOWARD CHANGE OF THOSE IDEAS. WE OUGHT TO HAVE AN INCREASE OF READING AND DISCUSSION. IF WE ARE NOT SURE ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA IT IS POSSIBLE FOR US TO GET HOLD OF BOOKS AND PERSONAL INFORMATION FROM WHICH WE CAN SATISFY OURSELVES. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT BOOKS AND TRAVELERS CONTRADICT

THEMSELVES. THAT IS TRUE IN EVERY KIND OF CONTROVERSY, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND THE TRUTH CONCERNING RUSSIA IF ONE WANTS TO. IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND THE TRUTH CONCERNING CHINA, AND IT IS VERY VERY NECESSARY. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED IN OUR TIME WHICH IS OF MORE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FUTURE OF MANKIND THAN THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA. IT IS A SIN THAT GROUPS OF PEOPLE DO NOT GET PUT BEFORE THEM CAREFULLY THE LATEST DATA CONCERNING CHINA BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN THERE AND BY PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT AFRAID TO SAY WHAT THEY THINK AND HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY ON WHICH TO BASE THEIR THOUGHT.

WE MUST RENEW AND EMPHASIZE TODAY AMONG ORDINARY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE THE READING OF BOOKS. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IN BOOKS THE CONSIDERED THOUGHT AND INFORMATION OF WRITERS ARE PUT. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN A GOOD DEAL OF THAT COULD BE FOUND IN MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALS. THAT IS PARTIALLY TRUE STILL BUT NOT NEARLY AS IT USED TO BE. THE PICTURE BOOKS ARE ARRANGED TO CARRY ADVERTISEMENTS AND ARE QUITE OBLIVIOUS TO THE TRUTH. THOSE OF OUR PERIODICALS WHICH HAVE THE LARGEST CIRCULATIONS ARE THOSE WHICH ARE LEAST APT TO GIVE US THE BASIC HONEST INFORMATION WHICH WE NEED.

38-6-91

THEN IN ADDITION TO THAT WE OUGHT TO BEGIN, ESPECIALLY FOR THE COMING CAMPAIGN AND FOR FUTURE CAMPAIGNS, A DISTRIBUTION OF PAMPHLETS, SHORT, CAREFUL STATEMENTS OF OPINIONS, SIGNED BY THE PERSON WHO HAD THE OPINIONS AND WHO HAD REASON TO HAVE THEM AND CHARACTER TO BACK THEM; AND GET THESE PAMPHLETS READ BY MILLIONS.

AND FINALLY, IF WE DO NOT RENEW IN THE UNITED STATES THE SMALL DISCUSSION GROUP WHERE INFORMATION IS HANDED FROM PERSON TO PERSON, BACKED BY KNOWLEDGE AND CHARACTER, IF WE DO NOT RENEW THIS WE CANNOT HAVE THE KIND OF INFORMATION WHICH WILL MAKE AN INTELLIGENT DEMOCRACY.

NOW IN THIS SORT OF THING SUPPOSE AGAIN WE FACE THE MATTER OF THE COMING ELECTION. WE HAVE GOT TO DECIDE WHETHER THIS NATION IS GOING TO MOVE TOWARD WORLD PEACE OR TO CONTINUE TO BE AS IT IS NOW THE GREATEST FOMENTOR OF WAR IN THE WORLD. WE HAVE GOT TO DECIDE AS TO WHETHER THE LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY WHICH IS RAISED IN TAXES CANNOT BE REASONABLY REDUCED WITHOUT DISASTER, AND IN ADDITION TO THAT, IF THE AMOUNT OF THAT MONEY WHICH IS RAISED AND THE PROPORTION WHICH IS DEVOTED TO WAR AND PREPARATION

TO WAR CANNOT BE CUT DOWN NOT BY A SMALL PERCENTAGE BUT BY HALF OR MORE. THERE IS NO REASON IN THE WORLD WHY WE SHOULD SPEND SIXTY BILLION DOLLARS FOR WAR. IT WOULD BE MUCH NEARER REASON TO SPEND SIX BILLION.

IN ADDITION TO THAT THERE MUST BE THE CAREFUL DECISION AS TO HOW FAR AND HOW QUICKLY WE MUST RAISE MONEY FOR SOCIAL SERVICES, FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE, FOR PUBLIC HOUSING, FOR EDUCATION, FOR FLOOD AND RIVER CONTROL. THESE ARE MATTERS ON WHICH WE SHOULD SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. OUR EXPENDITURE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE SHOULD EXCEED BY FAR OUR EXPENDITURES FOR WAR. WE KNOW THIS. NOW, HERE COMES A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN WHERE A START ON THESE MATTERS CAN BE MADE. BUT THEY CAN ONLY BE MADE IF WE HAVE THREE PRELIMINARY TRUTHS. FIRST, THAT WE KNOW THE ESSENTIAL FACTS ABOUT THE WORLD; SECONDLY, THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO HEAR AND DISCUSS THESE AND OTHER FACTS;: THIRDLY, THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT IF WE SO WISH TO VOTE AGAINST EITHER THE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR BOTH. WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT BETWEEN THESE PARTIES THERE IS NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE, THAT THEY STAND FOR THE SAME THING UNDER TWO NAMES, BUT WE ARE KEPT TODAY BY

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LAW AND ADMINISTRATION FROM VOTING FOR ANYTHING ELSE, AND THAT IS THE GREATEST DANGER TO DEMOCRACY AND THE GREATEST PATH TO WAR THAT WE FACE.

NOW THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT PUBLIC OPINION IF IT GIRDS ITSELF, CAN GET THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR A THIRD PARTY. IT SHOULD BE THE FIRST BUSINESS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN EVERY STATE BEGINNING NOW, TO SEE THAT THE NOMINEES OF THIS PARTY CAN AND DO APPEAR UPON THE BALLOT. SECONDLY, THEY SHOULD BEGIN TO INSIST ON OPEN, FREE DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS, AND TO OPPOSE ANY MAN OR MEN OR ORGANIZATION OR ANY ACCUMULATION OF MONEY THAT IS STOPPING AND PROPOSING TO STOP FREE DISCUSSION IN AMERICA.

WITH THESE PRELIMINARIES WE CAN GO BACK AND LOOK AT PAST FACTS AND AT PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS AND DECIDE AS TO WHO SHOULD BE OUR CANDIDATES AND WHAT WE SHOULD VOTE, BUT WITHOUT THIS PRELIMINARY WORK NOT ONLY IS IT IMPOSSIBLE TO VOTE THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET IN THE NEXT ELECTION, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN AMERICA.

AND NOW, WITHOUT FEAR LET US FACE FACTS SO AS TO CLEAR THE AIR.

TO ACHIEVE THE DESPERATELY NEEDED REFORMS IN OUR GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY AND MORALITY, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT A THIRD PARTY SOON REPLACE THE PRESENT ALLIANCE OF REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS. WHENEVER THIS HAS BEEN ATTEMPTED, THE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN STOPPED BY WIDESPREAD FEAR THAT ANY THIRD PARTY WOULD BE COMMUNISTIC OR INFLUENCED BY COMMUNISTIC IDEAS. THIS KILLED THE FARMER-LABOR MOVEMENT UNDER LA FOLLETTE; THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT UNDER WALLACE AND WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF MARCANTONIO FROM THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY IN NEW YORK MAY HAVE SIMILAR RESULTS IN NEW YORK.

100-6-93

EVERY HONEST THINKER KNOWS THAT ANY PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT MUST INVOLVE MANY IF NOT MOST OF THE AIMS OF SOCIALISM. IF NOW THE THIRD PARTY REJECTS THE WHOLE SOCIALIST PROGRAM BEFORE IT STARTS WORK, IT REJECTS ITS OWN OBJECTIVES. THIS HAS BEEN TRUE OF THE OLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA; OF THE ASSOCIATES FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION AND OTHER LIBERAL MOVEMENTS. IT IS THE OBJECT OF GROUPS WHICH DESIRE TO BLOCK REFORM FIRST TO INDUCE REFORMERS TO REPUDIATE SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND ALL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH SUPPORT ANY PART OF THEIR PLATFORM. AS THIS INCLUDES PRACTICALLY EVERY REFORM

OF OUR TIME, THE REFORM PROGRAM IS HAMSTRUNG FROM THE START. LET US THEREFORE FACE THE WITCH WORD: COMMUNISM.

WHAT IS COMMUNISM? IS IT ALL EVIL AND CRIME, OR HAS IT REAL HISTORIC MEANING? COMMUNISM IS A METHOD OF ACHIEVING COMPLETE SOCIALISM. SOCIALISM IS NOT A CRIME. ON THE CONTRARY IT IS AN IDEAL ORGANIZATION TOWARD WHICH MOST NATIONS EXPECT TO MOVE. SOCIALISM IS AN ORGANIZATION OF HUMAN WORK AND WAGE WHICH ALL MEN HOPE SOME DAY TO ACHIEVE. THERE IS DISPUTE AS TO HOW SOON OR HOW COMPLETELY THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. THERE IS NO DISPUTE BUT THAT WE WANT TO CARRY ON WORK AND DISTRIBUTE INCOME FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE SOCIAL GOOD AND NOT ALONE FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT. COMMUNISM AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE METHODS OF REACHING THE COMPLETE SOCIALIST STATE BY PUTTING ALL GOODS USED TO MAKE OTHER GOODS UNDER STATE OWNERSHIP AND PUTTING THE STATE UNDER CONTROL OF THE WORKERS. UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES THIS MAY BE ILLEGAL CONSPIRACY AND INVOLVE VIOLENT REVOLUTION. BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN EVEN RELIGION IS REVOLUTIONARY. COMMUNISM WAS ILLEGAL AND REVOLUTIONARY IN RUSSIA IN 1917. TODAY

AND HERE IN THE UNITED STATES IT IS NOT. ADHERENCE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PROOF OF ILLEGAL ACTIVITY. FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN NEEDED IN THE PAST AND MANY THINK IT IS NOW. VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS NOT ALWAYS WRONG AS OUR REVOLUTION AGAINST ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION PROVED. BUT IT IS THE TEACHING OF RELIGION AND THE HOPE OF SCIENCE THAT IN OUR DAY FUNDAMENTAL AND NECESSARY CHANGE CAN BE ACHIEVED BY REASON, WITHOUT VIOLENCE AND WITHOUT WAR.

DEVOTION TO THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH AND ABILITY TO IMPART KNOWLEDGE ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR TEACHING. A BELIEF IN COMMUNISM AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PART ARE NOT DISQUALIFICATIONS FOR TEACHING. ON THE CONTRARY, IN A DAY LIKE THIS THEY COULD BE RECOMMENDATIONS. ANY SINCERE BELIEF BINDS AN HONEST MAN TO A LINE OF CONDUCT AND TO AN EXTENT CONDITIONS HIS DEEDS, BUT IT NEED NEVER UNDERMINE HIS ESSENTIAL MANHOOD.

A ROSTER OF THOSE MEN OF OUR DAY WHO HAVE BELIEVED IN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM INCLUDES SOME OF THE GREATEST NAMES OF OUR ERA, AND THE LEADERS OF THE PRESENT COMMUNISTIC STATES HAVE A HIGH RECORD FOR ABILITY, SACRIFICE AND DEVOTION; PERHAPS

HIGHER THAN THEIR CONTEMPORARIES IN CAPITALISTIC STATES.

38-6-94

EVERY POLITICAL PARTY EXACTS LOYALTY OF ITS MEMBERS. OTHERWISE IT COULD NOT FUNCTION; AND WITHOUT POLITICAL PARTIES DEMOCRACY COULD NOT EASILY BE MADE TO WORK. THERE IS NO VALID PROOF THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS INVOLVED LOWER STANDARDS OF HONESTY AND LOYALTY THAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. INDEED, THE CONTRARY SEEMS TRUE.

TODAY COMMUNISM IS EXISTING AMONG MOST PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IN PEACE AND WITH PROGRESS. THE ATTEMPT TO DISPROVE THIS BY WORLD-WIDE PROPAGANDA IS NOT SUCCESSFUL AMONG THOSE WILLING TO ~~XXXXXX~~ READ AND STUDY, AND ABLE TO TRAVEL.

IT IS PERMISSABLE FOR THOSE WHO SEE A BETTER WAY TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM THAN THROUGH COMMUNISM TO TRY THAT WAY. IT IS NOT PERMISSABLE TO STOP THOUGHT BY FORCE OR DECEPTION OR TO ALLOW FREEDOM OF THOUGH AND SPEECH ON EVERY MATTER EXCEPT CHANGE IN OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

IN THIS NATION MANY HAVE BELIEVED THAT WE CAN REFORM CAPITALISM SO THAT

SOCIALISM WILL NOT BE NECESSARY. SO FAR THIS BELIEF HAS RESULTED IN THE GREATEST APPEAL TO UNIVERSAL VIOLENCE IN ALL OUR HISTORY, AND TO WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT SOCIALISM IS A CRIME AND COMMUNISM AN ILLEGAL CONSPIRACY. THIS IS FALSE AND WILL PROVE OUR UNDOING UNLESS IT STANDS CORRECTED.

WE HAVE A RIGHT AND DUTY TO PUNISH ILLEGAL ACTS. WE HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO STOP MEN THINKING AND TEACHING WHAT THEY THINK IS RIGHT TO THOSE WILLING TO LISTEN, NOR FROM ATTEMPTING LEGALLY TO ACHIEVE CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS BELIEF IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, NOR IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND WAGE. IF BEYOND THAT ANYONE IS PREPARED TO SUFFER THE PENALTIES OF LAW IN ORDER TO HAVE BETTER LAW, NO ONE MAY CONDEMN HIM FOR THUS IMITATING SAVONOROLA AND JESUS CHRIST; WHILE HE MUST SUBMIT TO HIS LEGAL PUNISHMENT. BUT WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO PUNISH MEN FOR illegal DEEDS WHICH WERE LEGAL WHEN COMMITTED.

THE CHIEF PLATFORM OF PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS MUST BE TO ACHIEVE REFORM AND NOT THE NEGATIVE OBJECT OF STOPPING OTHER FOLK FROM THINKING OR ADVOCATING PROGRAMS WHICH THE PROGRESSIVES REPUDIATE. MOST OF ANY PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM MUST INCLUDE MUCH THAT SOCIALIST AND COMMUNISTS ALSO SUPPORT: PUBLIC HOUSING; WATER CONTROL; THE RIGHT

38-6-95

OF LABOR TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN; MINIMUM WAGE; LIMITATION OF CHILD LABOR, ETC. WHEN PROGRESSIVES SUPPORT SUCH MEASURES THEY CANNOT BASE CAMPAIGNS ON FIGHTING OTHER PARTIES WHICH ALSO ADVOCATE THEM OR REPUDIATING THE SUPPORT OF PERSONS WHO BELONG TO THESE PARTIES. TO DO THIS PROVES THAT PROGRESSIVES MAY HATE COMMUNISM MORE THAN THEY LOVE REFORM.

PROGRESSIVES HAVE A RIGHT TO REFUSE TO FOLLOW SOCIALISTS OR DEMOCRATS BEYOND THEIR OWN PLATFORM. THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO DICTATE THE PLATFORMS OF OTHER PARTIES.

[illegible]

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS MUST NOT BE TEMPTED INTO REPUDIATING THE VERY ACTIONS WHICH THEY FAVOR AND WHICH SOCIALISTS ALSO FAVOR. THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY IS SOCIALISTIC. WE WANT IT AND MORE LIKE IT. COMMUNISTS ALSO FAVOR THE TVA. WILL WE ACCEPT REPUBLICAN SUPPORT FOR THE TVA AND REJECT COMMUNIST? WE CAN'T HAVE OUR CAKE AND EAT IT.

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS SHOULD THEREFORE REFUSE TO BE TEMPTED OR FRIGHTENED INTO "RED-BAITING." THEY SHOULD DECIDE ON THE REFORM PROGRAM WHICH THEY ENDORSE, AND WELCOME TO ITS SUPPORT ALL WHO WISH TO SUPPORT IT. THE FACT THAT ANY OF THESE SUPPORTERS MAY ALSO SUPPORT FURTHER OR MORE RADICAL PROGRAMS DOES NOT IN THE LEAST INTERFERE WITH THEIR SUPPORT OF YOURS. WHILE YOUR REFUSAL OF SUPPORT FROM ANY SOURCE IS DENIAL OF BELIEF IN YOUR OWN PROPOSAL. ALL PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS OUGHT THEN TO WELCOME THE SUPPORT OF SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS IN ALL LEGAL EFFORTS, AS WELL AS THAT OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS.

IF A REFORM MOVEMENT SUPPORTS A PROGRAM ONLY IF THAT PROGRAM IS ANNOUNCED BY ITS OWN MEMBERS AND REJECTS IT IF OUTSIDERS JOIN IN SUPPORT, THEY PROVE THAT THEIR PROGRAM OF REFORM IS NOT THEIR MAIN OBJECT.

38-6-96

MARCANTONIO RESIGNED FROM LEADERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY BECAUSE THAT PARTY, AFTER NOMINATING BY FAR THE BEST TICKET FOR NEW YORK CITY OFFICIALS IN THE FIELD, DID NOT RECEIVE THE SUPPORT OF THE PARTY AT THE POLLS, CASTING LESS THAN HALF THE STRENGTH OF ITS NORMAL VOTE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THERE WAS NOTHING

FOR MARCANTONIO TO DO BUT RESIGN. ALL NOW ASK, WHAT WILL NOW BECOME OF THE NEW YORK PROGRESSIVES? WHO SHOULD BE BLAMED FOR THIS UNFORTUNATE SITUATION? UNDOUBTEDLY THE APATHY OF THE VOTERS AND ALSO CONTRADICTORY ADVICE ON DIVERTING THE AMERICAN LABOR VOTE TO OTHER CANDIDATES. IF A MISTAKE WAS MADE, LET IT NOT BE MADE AGAIN. REMEMBER ONLY NOW THE FORWARD MARCH OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND THE EAGERNESS TODAY TO BLAME ON COMMUNISM ALL THE ILLS OF THE WORLD.

IF WE LOOK AT THE MATTER FRANKLY TODAY, THERE IS A BASIS FOR CONCLUDING THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER BELIEVE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. OF COURSE NOT MANY OF THEM WOULD ADMIT THAT. BUT TAKE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ELECTIONS IN GENERAL: THE FACT THAT IT TAKES A GREAT DEAL OF STRUGGLE AND PERSUASION TO GET EVEN HALF OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ENTITLED TO VOTE TO COME TO THE POLLS; THE FACT THAT IN NEW YORK RECENTLY THE LEADER OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY WHICH REPRESENTS THE PROGRESSIVES IN NEW YORK RESIGNED, NOT BECAUSE HE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY NOR THAT THE PROGRESSIVES DIDN'T BELIEVE IN HIM, BUT THAT THEY SIMPLY WOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THE CAMPAIGN. THEY JUST SAT DOWN AND DID NOTHING.

OR TAKE THE RECENT PRIMARIES IN PENNSYLVANIA. THIS IS ONE OF OUR GREATEST STATES; A TREMENDOUS INDUSTRIAL CENTER, WHERE THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE OF VAST IMPORTANCE, YET LESS THAN A THIRD OF THE VOTERS TOOK PART IN THE RECENT PRIMARIES. MOST OF THE VOTERS DELIBERATELY DEPRIVED THEMSELVES OF HAVING ANY REAL

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CHOICE BETWEEN PERSONS OR POLICIES IN THE NEXT ELECTION.

NOW THAT EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT TODAY WE ARE NOT TAKING DEMOCRACY SERIOUSLY. WE DO NOT THINK OF VOTING AS A METHOD OF GOVERNING THE UNITED STATES, OF GETTING LAWS AND POLICIES ADOPTED WHICH WE WISH ADOPTED. IF THIS IS TRUE THEN WE ARE FACING A REALLY SERIOUS SITUATION AND REJECTING A GREAT AND IMPORTANT TASK. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES RATHER BOASTED OF HAVING THEIR OWN OPINIONS

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TO SEE THAT ALL PEOPLE RECEIVE GOODS AND SERVICES ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY NEED. THIS IS THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM AND IT IS AS OLD AS THE WORLD.

THERE IS DISPUTE AS TO HOW SOON OR HOW COMPLETELY THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. THERE IS NO DISPUTE BUT THAT WE WANT TO CARRY ON WORK AND DISTRIBUTE INCOME FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE SOCIAL GOOD AND NOT ALONE FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT. COMMUNISM AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE METHODS OF REACHING THE COMPLETE SOCIALIST STATE BY PUTTING ALL GOODS USED TO MAKE OTHER GOODS UNDER STATE OWNERSHIP AND PUTTING THE STATE UNDER CONTROL OF THE WORKERS. UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES THIS MAY BE ILLEGAL CONSPIRACY AND INVOLVE VIOLENT REVOLUTION. BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN EVEN RELIGION IS REVOLUTIONARY. COMMUNISM WAS ILLEGAL AND REVOLUTIONARY IN RUSSIA IN 1917. TODAY

March 29, 1954

W.E.B. DuBois

35-9-80

BEN GOLD

I CAME TO NEW YORK/TO HELP FOUND/THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE/AND TO EDIT THE CRISIS MAGAZINE/JUST TWO YEARS BEFORE THE FURRIER'S UNION WAS FORMED.// I WAS INTERESTED IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT/ BUT MORE WITH REGARD/TO THE ADMISSION OF NEGROES/THAN IN THE GENERAL PROBLEMS/WHICH CONFRONTED THEM.//IN MY WRITING AND LECTURING/I TRIED TO IMPRESS/UPON THE COLORED PEOPLE/THE GREAT WORK WHICH THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT/HAD DONE FOR THEM/IN SPITE OF DISCRIMINATION/AGAINST THEM/IN VARIOUS UNIONS.

MY ATTENTION WAS DRAWN ESPECIALLY/TO THE FUR WORKERS/BY THE GREAT STRIKE IN 1926/WHICH WON FOR THE FIRST TIME/THE 40 HOUR, 5 DAY WEEK.// I HAD NOT THEN MET BEN GOLD/BUT I HEARD OF HIM.//AND ESPECIALLY REJOICED/WHEN THE CIO WAS FORMED/AND VARIOUS UNIONS,/ INCLUDING THE FUR WORKERS,/WELCOMED NEGROES.

MANY PERSONS/WITH WHOM I CAME IN CONTACT/AT THAT TIME,/ LIKE MAYOR LA GUARDIA/and/DR. LINDEMAN/OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK/PRAISED THE EFFORTS

35-9-81

OF THE FURRIER'S UNION/AND THE HIGH CHARACTER OF BEN GOLD.

I LEFT NEW YORK/AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE/IN 1934/BECAUSE OF THE EFFECT WHICH THE DEPRESSION HAD UPON THE CRISIS MAGAZINE.// I WAS AWAY TEN YEARS/ [TEACHING IN ATLANTA] I VISITED GERMANY, the Soviet Union, CHINA & JAPAN in that time I RETURNED TO NEW YORK IN 1944/FOR SPECIAL RESEARCH/IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE/ON COLONIAL PROBLEMS.// I ~~DID NOT MEET~~ MET BEN GOLD PERSONALLY/~~UNTIL~~ ABOUT 1950/WHEN HE RESIGNED FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY/ IN ORDER LEGALLY/TO CONTINUE LEADERSHIP OF HIS UNION.// I WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED/WHEN THE FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION/STARTED THEIR EFFORT TO RESCUE THE BLACK MENHADEN FISHERMEN/FROM THEIR OPPRESSION.// IN DISCUSSING BEN GOLD AND HIS WORK/WITH DR. KINGSBURY,/PAUL ROBESON,/ HENRY WALLACE,/HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD / AND CHARLES STUART/I HEARD NO DOUBT EXPRESSED/AS TO THE HONESTY AND SINCERITY/OF HIS ACTIONS

HE AND HIS UNION/WERE UNDER NO OBLIGATION/TO COME TO MY AID/WHEN I WAS COMPELLED/TO DEFEND MY RIGHT TO ADVOCATE PEACE.// BUT THEY DID./ THIRTEEN ~~INTERESTED~~ international

35-9-82

UNIONS CONTRIBUTED/ TO THE HEAVY LEGAL EXPENSES/ WHICH WERE FORCED UPON ME.// THEY BECAME CO-WORKERS/ WITH ALBERT EINSTEIN,/ JUDGE HUBERT DELANEY (OLIN DOWNS) AND 220 LEADING AMERICAN/ COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN/ IN OUR DEFENSE.

I REGARDED BEN GOLD THEN/ AND STILL DO/ AS A RELIABLE LABOR LEADER/ AND A MAN OF HONOR/ WHO HAS SUFFERED UNMERITED PERSECUTION/ IN HIS LONG AND SACRIFICIAL CAREER/ AND WHO WILL,/ IF ALLOWED,/ BRING ON THE TRIUMPH/ OF THE HIGHEST TYPE OF TRADE UNIONISM/ FOR THE UPLIFT/ OF THE WORKING CLASS.

NEWARK
APRIL 8, 1954

THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM

AT RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL IN NEW YORK THERE IS BEING REVIVED THIS WEEK A TUNEFUL OPERA, "ROSEMARIE." THE CHIEF EXCUSE FOR THIS OPERA IS THE LOVELY "INDIAN LOVE SONG." BUT THERE IS ANOTHER POINT OF INTEREST WHICH OUGHT TO BE NOTICED, AND THAT IS THE FACT THAT THE SUCCESSFUL LOVER AND HIS BRIDE DELIBERATELY LEAVE THE CITY AND CITY WAYS AND GO OFF TO MAKE THEIR OWN LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS.

THIS KIND OF INDIVIDUALISM AND PIONEERING HAS ALWAYS HAD A TEMPTATION FOR MOST PEOPLE. CONTINUALLY WE THINK OF HOW PLEASANT IT WOULD BE TO GET RID OF THE NOISE AND DIRT AND CROWDING OF CITIES AND GO OUT INTO THE WILD WOODS WITH NATURE AND FLOWERS AND TO DO JUST AS WE PLEASE. USUALLY THIS, HOWEVER, STOPS WITH THE THOUGHT, BECAUSE WE IMMEDIATELY RECALL THAT THE ATTEMPT TO SUPPORT AN INDIVIDUAL BY HIS OWN UNAIDED EFFORTS IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS HE IS WILLING TO LIVE ON A VERY LOW LEVEL. THE WORKING TOGETHER, THE COOPERATION OF INDIVIDUALS, BRINGS A FULFILLING OF THE WANTS OF MAN TO AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE. SO THAT THE

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HISTORY OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN THE HISTORY OF THE WAY IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS HAVE SURRENDERED INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND COMBINED TO WORK TOGETHER, RATHER THAN THE HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT.

THIS WAS FIRST REALIZED IN THE FAMILY. THE CHILDREN COULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DO AS THEY PLEASED. THE FATHER WAS NOT FREE AFTER HE HAD TAKEN ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF FAMILY LIFE, AND THE MOTHER WAS BOUND BY THE NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN. SO THAT THE FAMILY EARLY BECAME A SOCIALISTIC GROUP; THAT IS, A GROUP WHERE THERE WAS SOME INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, BUT NEVERTHELESS A GREAT DEAL OF NECESSARY WORKING TOGETHER XXXX UNDER COMPULSION FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE FAMILY.

BACK OF HUMAN COOPERATION THERE MUST BE POWER, AND THE FAMILY EXERCIZED THE POWER THROUGH THE FATHER, HELPED MORE OR LESS BY THE MOTHER, THROUGH THE ELDERS OF THE TRIBE AND FINALLY, THROUGH THE STATE.

THE STATE CAME TO BE PRESIDED OVER BY A KING WITH ABSOLUTE POWER, THEN BY A KING SHARING HIS POWER WITH THE ARISTOCRACY; AND FINALLY THERE CAME, LATE IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE, THE SPREAD OF THE IDEA THAT SOME IF NOT ALL INDIVIDUALS MUST HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND THUS CONTROL THE WORK OF ALL.

IN A BROAD SENSE ALL INDIVIDUAL EFFORT COOPERATING FOR SOCIAL ENDS CAN BE CALLED SOCIALISM, BUT TECHNICALLY WE CONFINE THE WORD SOCIALISM TO THAT BODY OF DOCTRINE WHICH ATTACKS THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITALISM BY PRIVATE PERSONS. CAPITALISM, THAT IS, MAKING GOODS NOT FOR CONSUMPTION BUT FOR USE IN ORDER TO MAKE OTHER CONSUMER GOODS WAS A GREAT HUMAN DISCOVERY DATING FROM EARLY TIMES. BUT CONQUEST AND THEFT IN INDIA TOGETHER WITH SLAVERY AND FREE LAND IN AMERICA LED TO STARTLING NEW TECHNIQUE IN THE LATE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURY. HENCE AROSE A NEW USE OF CAPITAL WITH THE CAPITAL OWNED MAINLY BY PRIVATE PERSONS. THERE AROSE A GREAT MOVEMENT WHICH IS CALLED SOCIALISM IN THE SPECIFIC SENSE. ITS EMPHASIS IS NOT ALONE ON

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COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION, BUT MORE ON DENYING TO PRIVATE CAPITALISTS THE RIGHT TO DISTRIBUTE THE PRODUCT AND DIRECT HUMAN SERVICES AS THEY THINK BEST. SOCIALISM IN THIS SENSE INSISTS THAT MEN SHOULD WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND CONSUME ACCORDING TO NEED. THIS GOAL OF INDUSTRY HAS NEVER BEEN COMPLETELY ATTAINED.

THIS KIND OF SOCIALISM HAS SPREAD WIDELY. VERY MUCH OF THE CONTROVERSY THAT RAGES ABOUT US DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT DESPITE ALL THAT MEN THINK AND DO SOCIALISM HAS SPREAD. IN THE UNITED STATES YOU WILL HEAR IT OFTEN SAID THAT THIS IS A LAND OF "FREE ENTERPRISE" WHERE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE CAN GO FAR. IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THAT FEW GREAT NATIONS IN THE WORLD HAVE GIVEN TO INDIVIDUALS THE CHANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT THAT WE HAVE. THIS IS BECAUSE OF TWO THINGS: FIRST, THE LARGE NUMBER OF HARD-WORKING PEOPLE WHO HAVE POURED OUT OF EUROPE AND AFRICA INTO THE UNITED STATES AND GIVEN THIS COUNTRY THE BENEFIT OF THEIR TOIL, AND SECONDLY, BECAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES THERE WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY WEALTH OF NATURAL RESOURCES; OF RICH LAND, OF FORESTS, LONG RIVERS, MINES OF COAL AND WELLS OF OIL, AND THE CHANCE TO DEVELOP WATER AND ELECTRIC POWER. SO THAT WE EARLY BEGAN TO BE A RICH LAND IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT SLAVERY EXISTED HERE, THAT POVERTY WAS WIDESPREAD, THAT HEALTH WAS NOT TAKEN CARE OF, AND THAT EDUCATION DID NOT GO AS FAR AS IT WAS PLANNED TO GO.

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THUS HERE AND IN LESS FAVORED PARTS OF THE WORLD IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE

STATE AND STATE-LIKE ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE CHARGE OF GROUP WORK WHICH INDIVIDUALS COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH BY THEMSELVES.

LET ME CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO TWELVE MATTERS IN WHICH THE STATE EITHER DIRECTS THE WORK ENTIRELY OR IN GREAT PART, INSTEAD OF LEAVING THESE MATTERS TO INDIVIDUAL EFFORT. FIRST, THERE IS THE MATTER OF TRANSPORT; OF CARRYING GOODS AND PERSONS FROM PLACE TO PLACE, OVER RAILROADS, OVER ROADS, AND THROUGH TUNNELS. THIS IS A TREMENDOUS UNDERTAKING. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE NATION IN THE WORLD IN WHICH THIS IS OR CAN BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUALS. TO DO SO, TO ATTEMPT TO DO SO, WOULD BE TO BREAK DOWN THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION. SO THAT EVERY COUNTRY IS SOCIALISTIC IN ITS TRANSPORTATION. WITH REGARD TO RAILROADS, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCANDINAVIA, GERMANY, AND ALL THE REST OF EUROPE, ALL SOUTH AMERICA AND MOST OF ASIA, HAVE RAILROADS OWNED BY GOVERNMENT. IN THE UNITED STATES OUR RAILROADS ARE OWNED BY CORPORATIONS.

BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CORPORATIONS ARE UNDER VERY CONSIDERABLE GOVERNMENT CONTROL. THEY ARE AT LEAST IN PART SOCIALIZED.

SECONDLY, THERE IS THE ALLIED MATTER OF COMMUNICATION, OF TRANSPORTING LETTERS, OF TRANSPORTING PEOPLE IN STREET CARS AND BUSSES, OF THE USE AND CONTROL OF TELEPHONES AND TELEGRAPHS, OF COLLECTING AND SPREADING OF NEWS. IN THIS MATTER SOME COUNTRIES ARE MUCH MORE SOCIALISTIC THAN OTHERS. NEARLY ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OWN AND CONTROL THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE, THE STREETCAR SYSTEMS; AND THEY REGULATE THE COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS. IN THE UNITED STATES TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE ARE UNDER WHAT IS CALLED "PRIVATE CONTROL", THAT IS, THEY ARE OWNED BY VAST CORPORATIONS. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE CARRIED ON BY INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND ARE NOT SOCIALISTIC. THEY ARE OWNED BY INDIVIDUALS AND THE REVENUE FROM THEM IS CONTROLLED BY CORPORATIONS, BUT THEIR METHOD OF CONDUCT IS COOPERATIVE, WITH CONTROL EXERCISED BY VAST AND DESPOTIC BODIES WHICH WIELD THE POWER IN PLACE OF GOVERNMENT.

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THIRD, THERE COMES THE MATTER OF HOUSING, OF HOUSING FOR COMMERCE, OF HOUSING FOR INDIVIDUALS, OF PUBLIC HOUSING. THUS THE OCCUPYING OF LAND COMES EVERYWHERE UNDER CONSIDERABLE GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION. IN SCANDINAVIA PRACTICALLY ALL THE HOUSING FOR WORKERS HAD BEEN BUILT BY AND IS SUPERVISED BY THE GOVERNMENT. IN THE UNITED STATES ONLY A SMALL PART OF SUCH HOUSING IS GOVERNMENT OWNED. NEVERTHELESS THE PRESSURE HERE FOR BETTER PROVISION OF HOMES, BETTER SUPERVISION OF OFFICE SPACE, FOR ZONING AND CONTROL, IS LARGE AND GROWING. IN OTHER WORDS, HOUSING IS BECOMING SOCIALISED.

FOURTH, THERE IS THE MATTER OF TRADE: THE INTERCHANGE OF GOODS FROM MAKER TO CONSUMER. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THIS WAS A MATTER THAT CALLED FOR GOVERNMENT REGULATION OVER MARKETS, WHEN BOTH THE MAKER AND THE BUYER WERE INDIVIDUALS. BUT THE EXPANSION OF TRADE WITH CIVILIZATION HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS, UNTIL THERE IS NOT ONLY THE CITY MARKET BUT A NATIONAL MARKET AND A WORLD MARKET; AND WHEN THE REGULATION OF TRADE IS LARGELY THE REGULATION OF MENS' LIVES AND THE SETTLING OF THEIR

STANDARD OF LIVING. THE SOCIALIZATION OF THIS TRADE HAS GONE FAR, NOT ONLY UNDER NATIONAL LAWS, BUT UNDER A SOMEWHAT INDEFINITE INTERNATIONAL LAW. INDEED, THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN TRADE, WITH ITS INTERLOCKING PROBLEMS OF IMPERIAL OWNERSHIP AND COLONIALISM, FORM ONE OF THE GREATEST PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY. THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MORE OR LESS UNDER STATE CONTROL. THEY ARE TODAY COMING TO BE MATTERS OF LEGISLATION EVERYWHERE. IN THE FUTURE OUR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TRADE ARE GOING TO BE INCREASINGLY MATTERS OF GOVERNMENT ACTION.

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THERE WAS A TIME WHEN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN WAS LOOKED UPON AS AN INDIVIDUAL OR FAMILY MATTER. IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF THE UNITED STATES UP UNTIL AFTER THE CIVIL WAR THERE WERE NO REAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY THE STATES. THERE WERE SCHOOLS FOR PAUPERS THAT WERE POORLY RUN, BUT REAL EDUCATION WAS A MATTER OF PRIVATE TUITION AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS. SO IN ENGLAND, WHICH THE SLAVE SOUTH COPIED. IT WAS WELL INTO THE 19th CENTURY BEFORE IT WAS RECOGNIZED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD EDUCATE THE CHILDREN OF THE MASS OF ENGLISHMEN. IT IS NOT YET ADMITTED THAT

ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE EMPIRE SHOULD BE TRAINED. TODAY OF COURSE, ALL OVER THE CIVILIZED WORLD POPULAR EDUCATION IS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE FIRST DUTIES OF GOVERNMENT. PERHAPS HERE WE HAVE THE MOST COMPLETE SOCIALISM OF ANY GOVERNMENT ACTION THAT WE KNOW OF. IN THE UNITED STATES THIS SOCIALISTIC WORK OF GOVERNMENT IS CLEARLY RECOGNIZED. IT TENDS TO GO FURTHER THAN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND IS REACHING UP INTO COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION. IT TAKES IN INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING, AND INDEED REACHES OUT TOWARD THE COMPLETE PREPARATION OF CHILD AND YOUTH FOR ACTUAL LIFE. IT IS NOT AS WELL OR COMPLETELY DONE IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT SHOULD BE, OR AS IT IS IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES AND IN FRANCE, OR AS IT USED TO BE IN GERMANY. BUT IT IS A GROWING EFFORT OF SOCIALISM WHICH MUST BE REFORMED AND EXTENDED.

A MUCH MORE CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT IS THAT OF INCOME. DOWN TO OUR DAY THERE IS THE FIERCE ASSERTION THAT A MAN'S INCOME IS ENTIRELY HIS PRIVATE AFFAIR AND SHOULD

NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE INQUIRED INTO OR EVEN KNOWN WITHOUT HIS CONSENT. FOR A LONG PERIOD THE IMPOSITION OF AN INCOME TAX WAS FIERCELY OPPOSED AND EVEN CALLED ILLEGAL BY THE SUPREME COURT. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, A NEW CONCEPTION HAS COME UPON US, NAMELY, THAT INCOMES ARE THE RESULT OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT, INCLUDING MOST ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY. THEY ARE THE RESULT OF SOCIAL EFFORT AND NOT MERELY OF INDIVIDUAL WORK. AS SUCH, INCOMES SHOULD BE REPORTED EVEN IF NOT PUBLICLY REVEALED; THIS IS THE REASON BEHIND THE WITHHOLDING TAX. MOREOVER, TAXES SHOULD BE PROPORTIONATE TO INCOME, WITH THE DISTINCT OBJECT OF REDUCING AND REGULATING INCOME BY A TAX BURDEN CALCULATED FOR THIS END. THIS IDEA IS MORE WIDELY SPREAD AND ACKNOWLEDGED IN EUROPE THAN IN AMERICA. NEVERTHELESS, EVEN IN AMERICA THERE IS LESS OPEN OBJECTION TO IT THAN THERE USED TO BE. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF PEOPLE RECEIVE A LARGE PART OF THE CURRENT INCOME WITHOUT GIVING IN RETURN ANY ADEQUATE RETURN, EITHER THROUGH WORK OR THOUGHT. PART OF THIS INCOME IS BASED ON GIFTS, ANOTHER PART ON NATURAL RESOURCES WHICH OUGHT NEVER TO BELONG TO INDIVIDUALS

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OR CORPORATIONS, BUT ARE THE HERITAGE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE. BEYOND THAT A CONSIDERABLE PART OF INCOME IS DUE TO CHANCE OR GAMBLING. THIS IS NOT AS WIDELY RECOGNIZED IN OUR COUNTRY AS IT IS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. NEVERTHELESS MOST PEOPLE KNOW IT. IT MAY WELL BE THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE WE WILL COME TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT WIDE SOCIALIZATION OF INCOME, THAT IS, DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO EFFORT AND NEED, MUST BE RECOGNIZED IN THIS COUNTRY. IT IS INTOLERABLE THAT SO MUCH OF WEALTH AND POWER IN THE UNITED STATES RESTS ON NATURAL RESOURCES WHICH SHOULD NEVER BE UNDER PRIVATE CONTROL: THE COAL, THE OIL, THE FORESTS, THE COPPER, SILVER AND GOLD; METALS AND OTHER GIFTS OF NATURE, BELONG TO PRIVATE PERSONS BY CHANCE AND INHERITANCE RATHER THAN BY WORK AND DESERT. THIS FUNDAMENTAL WRONG MUST BE RIGHTED IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE AND REASON. THIS IS A CLEAR JUSTIFICATION OF SOCIALISM.

CONNECTED WITH THIS, IS THE WHOLE MATTER OF LABOR AND WAGE; OF THE HOURS OF WORK, OF THE WORK OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND THE CARE OF THE OLD. MODERN

CIVILIZATION HAS BEEN LONG AND DILATORY IN FACING THIS PROBLEM. I CAN MYSELF REMEMBER THE TIME WHEN IN THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN WAGES WERE A MATTER OF INVARIABLE CUSTOM AND PRACTICALLY COULD NOT BE RAISED; THE HOURS OF WORK WERE SET AND WE WERE TAUGHT IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS THAT THE CHANGE FROM TEN HOURS TO EIGHT HOURS WAS FLYING IN THE FACE OF PROVIDENCE; WHEN LABOR UNIONS AND STRIKES WERE REGARDED AS WRONG, AND WHEN POVERTY WAS LOOKED UPON AS THE JUST REWARD FOR LAZINESS AND IMPROVIDENCE.

TODAY WE ARE COMPELLED TO SEE THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT RECEIVING FOR THEIR WORK ENOUGH ON WHICH TO LIVE DECENTLY; WHILE OTHERS RECEIVE MORE THAN THEY CAN SPEND; THAT THE MATTER OF INCOME AND CONDITIONS OF WORK MUST BE REGULATED IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST OR CIVILIZATION IS IN DANGER. RELUCTANTLY WE HAVE TAKEN SOME STEPS, BUT NOT AS MANY AS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN ENGLAND, DENMARK, SWEDEN, NORWAY AND FRANCE; WE HAVE PUT A LOW FLOOR UNDER WAGES, WE HAVE REGULATED THE WORK OF WOMEN, AND AT LEAST PASSED LAWS CONCERNING THE WORK OF CHILDREN,

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ALTHOUGH THEY ARE POORLY ENFORCED. WE ARE BEGINNING TO TAKE A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE THAN WE USED TO TOWARD THE OLD AND THE POOR. THUS SOCIALISM, STATE EFFORT TO DO WHAT INDIVIDUALS NEGLECT, IS SPREADING IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT HAS SPREAD IN THE WORLD. WE ARE NO LONGER FIGHTING TRADE UNIONS AS DESPERATELY AS WE USED TO IN THE 19th CENTURY, ALTHOUGH THE PRESENT OPPOSITION IS STRONG. WE ARE RECOGNIZING THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF WORKERS TO UNITE TO FORWARD THEIR INTERESTS, AND TO BE ABLE TO APPEAL TO THE PROTECTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SO DOING.

IN THE NEW TECHNIQUE WHICH HAS BECOME GENERAL IN THE 20th CENTURY AND WHICH MAKES OUR ERA MIRACULOUS AS COMPARED WITH EARLIER CENTURIES, THERE COMES A NEW QUESTION AS TO THE PLACE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE POWER WHICH RUNS OUR MACHINERY; OF WATER POWER AND THE PRODUCTION OF STEAM; PARTICULARLY OF ELECTRICITY, AND NOW LATELY OF THE NEW ATOMIC POWER. THIS, WE BEGIN TO SEE, MUST BE UNDER THE CONTROL IF NOT UNDER THE COMPLETE OWNERSHIP OF GOVERNMENT

IF IT IS TO BE USED FOR THE COMMON WEAL AND NOT FOR DESTRUCTION.

IT WAS THUS QUITE ACCURATE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CALL THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY "CREEPING SOCIALISM." IT WAS A STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM AND THIS STEP WILL AND MUST BE FOLLOWED BY OTHER SIMILAR STEPS. NO EFFORT OF THE ROOSEVELTIAN ERA WAS SO SUCCESSFUL AS THE CHAINING OF THE POWER OF THE TENNESSEE RIVER WHICH FOR YEARS HAD MADE FOR DESTRUCTION AND NOT FOR PRODUCTION. THE WORK HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETELY DONE. THE RESULTS ARE BEING USED FOR MONOPOLY FAR MORE THAN THEY OUGHT TO BE. BUT THEY POINT A WAY WHICH MUST IN TIME BE FOLLOWED IN THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI VALLEYS, IN THE ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT AND ON THE WESTERN COAST. IT ONLY CALLS FOR A CLEARN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL POWER MEANS TO HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE UNITED STATES BACK OF THIS STEP INTO SOCIALISM.

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THERE NEXT COMES THE MATTER OF HEALTH AND SANITATION. IN ALL THE LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD MEDICINE HAS BEEN MORE OR LESS" SOCIALIZED. THAT IS, JUST

AS THE STATE CARRIES THE MAIL AND BUILDS THE ROADS, SO IT SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE HAVE MEDICAL ADVICE AND HOSPITALIZATION. IT IS OUTRAGEOUS TO PUT THE BURDEN OF CARE ON THE DISABLED. THE MOST RECENT AND MOST SUCCESSFUL EFFORT OF THIS SORT HAS BEEN SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN ENGLAND. GREAT AS WAS THE OPPOSITION TO THIS FROM THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE WELL-TO-DO, IT HAS BECOME AN INSTITUTION WHICH NOT EVEN CHURCHILL'S CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT DARE ATTACK OR FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE. IT HAS BEEN ENDLESSLY LIED ABOUT IN AMERICA, YET IT IS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL EFFORT IN SOCIALISM YET TRIED. HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD AN EXTRAORDINARY CAMPAIGN ON THE PART OF INTELLIGENT PROFESSIONAL MEN TO STOP PUBLIC HEALTH EFFORT. IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN DISGRACEFUL. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE DIRT, FILTH AND POLLUTION IN THE AIR WHICH IS IN OUR CITIES IS A CRIME. IN THE VALLEY WHERE I WAS BORN FLOWED A RIVER, HOUSATONIC. IT OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN A BEAUTIFUL PARKWAY BETWEEN GREAT MOUNTAIN RANGERS, WATERING A BEAUTIFUL VALLEY. IT WAS A YELLOW, DIRTY, POLLUTED STREAM, INTO WHICH NOT ONLY PRIVATE HOMES BUT WOOLEN MILLS

DUMPED THEIR GARBAGE, AND THE RIVER ONLY PARTIALLY WASHED IT AWAY.

IN ADDITION TO THIS, THE LACK OF MEDICAL CARE IS HIDEOUS. I WENT LAST WINTER DOWN TO A LOVELY TROPICAL ISLE, WITH A BEACH OF GOLDEN SAND FIFTEEN MILES LONG; WITH TROPICAL FOLIAGE; WITH HUMBLE WORKING PEOPLE IN CLEAN HOMES. THERE WAS NEITHER A DOCTOR NOR A DENTIST WITHIN A RADIUS OF 100 MILES. THIS HAPPENED TO BE AN ENGLISH POSSESSION. BUT THE SAME THING IS TRUE OF LARGE PARTS OF THE SOUTH AND WEST IN THIS COUNTRY, AND OF CONSIDERABLE PARTS OF THE EAST. WE HAVE NOT NEAR ENOUGH PHYSICIANS, AND HOSPITALS ARE DESPERATELY BELOW OUR NEED. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT THE NEW TECHNIQUES OF XRAY AND OTHER APPLIANCES CANNOT BE AFFORDED BY ORDINARY PEOPLE, AND CONSEQUENTLY THE BURDEN OF DISEASE AND THE TRAGEDY OF DEATH RESTS UPON THIS COUNTRY TO AN EXTENT WHICH MAKES IT A CRIME. GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION, INDIVIDUAL COOPERATION, OR IN OTHER WORDS, SOCIAL MEDICINE, WOULD REMEDY NINE-TENTHS OF THIS DISASTER, AND YET IT IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY FOUGHT BY SOME OF THE BEST EDUCATED AND WELL-TO-DO CITIZENS OF OUR COUNTRY FOR REASONS ENTIRELY SELFISH AND BASED ON PROPAGANDA WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE.

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THERE IS THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMER: WE HAVE WASTED LITERATURE UPON THE "TILLER OF THE SOIL"; WE HAVE PREACHED SERMONS AND WRITTEN NOVELS, POINTING OUT HOW FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR CIVILIZATION IS THE WORK OF THE MAN THAT RAISES FOOD AND FIBER TO FEED AND CLOTHE THE PEOPLE. YET TODAY HE IS IN AN UNFORTUNATE POSITION AND HAS BEEN SO FOR CENTURIES. IT IS NOT BECAUSE FARMERS DO NOT WORK. THEY ARE AMONG THE HARDEST WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IT IS NOT ENTIRELY BECAUSE THEY ARE IGNORANT, ALTHOUGH LACK OF SCHOOLS AMONG THEM IS NOTORIOUS. IT IS PRIMARILY BECAUSE AGRICULTURE IN THE CURRENT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IS DELIBERATELY DEPRIVED OF A REASONABLE PART OF THE INCOME OF MAN'S WORK. IT IS BECAUSE IN THE WORLD MARKET THE RETURNS FROM AGRICULTURE ARE PRICED BELOW THEIR COST BY THOSE WHO CONTROL INDUSTRY, AND THE ONLY THING THAT CAN AND WILL BE DONE IS TO SOCIALIZE THIS WORK. THAT HAS BEGUN IN THE UNITED STATES BY GIVING TO THE FARMERS A BONUS TO KEEP THEM FROM STARVATION. THIS HAS BEEN OPPOSED, IT IS STILL OPPOSED, BY MANY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE AS BEING ABSOLUTELY CONTRARY TO OUR SYSTEM AND OUR IDEAL OF "PRIVATE INITIATIVE", AND TO

OUR ASSUMPTION THAT ALL INDUSTRY THAT DOES NOT "PAY" SHOULD BE ABOLISHED. THE DIFFICULTY IN THIS CASE IS THAT THE ABOLITION OF AGRICULTURE WOULD LEAD TO STARVATION. PRIVATE AND INDIVIDUAL CONTROL HAS FAILED. SOCIAL CONTROL UNDER GOVERNMENT MUST ENSUE.

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FINALLY, THERE COMES THE 12th AND LAST PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM, AND THAT IS, WAR. CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, WAR ON A SCALE NEVER DREAMED OF IN CENTURIES BEFORE OURS, IS BEING CARRIED ON AND PLANNED BY THOSE VERY PEOPLE WHO ARE THE GREATEST ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM, AND YET CARRIED ON BY A COMPLETELY SOCIALISTIC METHOD. THERE IS NO SOCIALISM EVER DESIGNED BY HUMAN BEINGS WHICH IS AS COMPLETE AS THE MODERN MILITARY SYSTEM. IT IS BASED ON ABSOLUTEL OBEDIENCE TO SUPERIOR OFFICERS WITH WHOSE SELEC-TION THE RANK AND FILE OF FIGHTERS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO VOICE. NOR CAN THEY CHOOSE WHY OR WHERE TO FIGHT. ITS OBJECT IS TO APPLY THE FORCE OF MURDER AND DESTRUCTION IN ORDER THAT PEOPLE SHALL OBEY A SINGLE GROUP, A SINGLE STATE OR A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL.

IT IS BEING USED TODAY WITH WEAPONS OF UNHEARD OF DESTRUCTIVE POWERS AND TO AN EXTENT WHICH THREATENS THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF CIVILIZATION.

YET WAR HAS BEEN DETERMINED UPON AND DECLARED IN THIS DEMOCRACY WITHOUT ANY APPEAL TO DEMOCRATIC METHODS, WITHOUT ANY CHANCE ON THE PART OF CONGRESS OR THE MASS OF PEOPLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER THEIR SONS SHALL BE OFFERED UP AS SACRIFICES TO THIS DETESTABLE HUMAN ACTIVITY. THE REPEATEDLY STATED REASON FOR THIS IS THAT CIVILIZATION IS IN SUCH DANGER AND PARTICULARLY THE RIGHTFUL OBJECTS OF THE UNITED STATES SO THREATENED, THAT WAR IS THE ONLY REMEDY. YET IN CONTRADICTION OF THIS, WE KNOW THAT EVEN IF THIS ALLEGATION WERE TRUE, WAR IS NOT THE WAY TO SETTLE THE CONTROVERSY; THAT NO WAR TODAY CARRYING OUT THE METHODS AND FORCES OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WAR, CAN LEAVE ANY NATION OR SET OF NATIONS IN POSITION TO CURE HUMAN ILLS, TO STOP EITHER SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM, OR TO ACHIEVE THE MINIMUM OBJECTS OF CIVILIZATION. ONLY IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND REASON CAN WE ATTACK THE PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE NEED TO MINIMIZE THESE PROBLEMS, THAT WE NEED TO ASSERT THAT THERE IS NO DEEP AND PUZZLING QUESTION AS TO HOW INDUSTRY IS TO BE CONDUCTED, AS TO HOW INCOME IS TO BE MEASURED, AS TO WHAT RETURN WORKERS SHOULD HAVE, AND AS TO WHAT THE STATE SHOULD DO OR SHOULD NOT DO. THESE ARE ALL DIFFICULT QUESTIONS WHICH CANNOT BE SETTLED IN FORUMS LIKE THIS OR IN THE DEBATES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE OR IN PRONOUNCEMENTS EITHER BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OR THE CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN, OR JOHN FOSTER DULLES. PEACE AND REASON IS THE FIRST PRE-REQUISITE TO ANY FACING OF THE PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY.

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IN THAT ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND REASON SOCIALISM IS ONE OF THE FIRST OF THE PROPOSED REMEDIES. IT CANNOT BE READ OUT OF COURT BY BEING CALLED IMPOSSIBLE. IT HAS BEEN PROVEN POSSIBLE BY DOZENS OF CIVILIZED NATIONS. IT IS BEING THUS PROVEN TODAY. IT CANNOT BE CALLED ALIEN TO THE IDEALS AND HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE SOCIALISM EITHER UNDER THE CONDUCT OF THE STATE OR UNDER THE EQUALLY POWERFUL CONTROL OF VAST CORPORATIONS, IS BEING CARRIED ON IN THIS NATION AND IS GROWING.

WE CANNOT EVADE THIS QUESTION BY CONFINING THE WORD "SOCIALISM" ONLY TO THAT COOPERATION BROUGHT ON BY DEMOCRATIC CONTROL AND CALLING THE SOCIALISM OF PRIVATE CORPORATIONS "PRIVATE INITIATIVE". SOCIALISM IS SOCIAL EFFORT HOWEVER EFFECTED. CIVILIZATION DEMANDS A SOCIALISM RULED BY DEMOCRACY OR STRIVING TOWARD SUCH AN END.

WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO DECEIVE OURSELVES BY TRYING TO PRETEND THAT THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS COUNTRY AND ITS INTELLIGENCE IS SUFFICIENT TO GIVE IT THE RIGHT TO RULE THE WORLD. THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT EVERY MISTAKE THAT OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD HAS MADE, WE HAVE MADE, AND THERE IS EVERY REASON TO THINK THAT IN THE FUTURE WE ARE GOING TO REPEAT THOSE MISTAKES, UNLESS WE LISTEN TO THE BEST WISDOM OF MANKIND. THIS, OUR PRESENT DETERMINATION TO START DELIBERATELY INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR BASED ON OUR DESIRE TO CONTROL THE RICE, TIN AND RUBBER OF EASTERN ASIA, AND ON OUR FEAR OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CHINA AND INDIA, IS ABSOLUTELY INADMISSABLE.

DU BOIS W.E.B. Du Bois April 27, 1954

Hotel McAlpin

THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE AND HOWARD FAST

THE SELECTION FOR PUBLIC AWARD AND COMMENDATION OF MEN WHO HAVE SERVED THEIR AGE AND FELLOW MEN WELL, IS AN HONORED CUSTOM IN ALL NATIONS AND DESERVES CONTINUED REPETITION AND EMPHASIS. PARTICULARLY IS IT OPPORTUNE IN A DAY WHEN SO VITAL A CAUSE AS PEACE AMONG MEN CALLS AS NEVER BEFORE FOR OUR THOUGHT AND EFFORT. NEVER BEFORE IN THE LONG HISTORY OF MANKIND HAS THERE BEEN SUCH NEED OF UNITED AND WORLD WIDE EFFORT TO DEFEND CIVILIZATION FROM THE HORRORS OF WAR; AND NOT SIMPLY FROM THE SUFFERING ALWAYS ASSOCIATED WITH WAR, BUT WITH THE IMMINENT PROSPECT OF WAR ON A SCALE AND OF A NATURE NEVER BEFORE ENVISONED BY THE MIND OF MAN. THIS PROSPECT COMES, TOO, AT A TIME WHEN AS AT NO PREVIOUS TIME, STRUGGLING HUMAN ENDEAVOR SEEMS ON THE THRESHHOLD OF BEING ABLE THROUGH THOUGHT AND DISCIPLINE, HELPED BY AN ALMOST MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE, TO USE THE FORCES OF NATURE FOR CONQUERING ONCE FOR ALL THOSE SCOURGES OF MANKIND: POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE.

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AT THIS HOUR AN INTERNATIONAL JURY HAS SELECTED HOWARD FAST AS WORTHY OF THE ANNUAL PEACE PRIZE ESTABLISHED BY JOSEPH STALIN. THIS JURY WISHED TO PRESENT THE PRIZE TO HIM IN PERSON AT THE KREMLIN IN MOSCOW, BUT THE AMERICAN STATE DEPARTMENT REFUSED HIM A PASSPORT. I AM THEREFORE ACTING FOR THE COMMITTEE, IN PURSUANCE TO THIS CABLEGRAM FROM MOSCOW:

"THE COMMITTEE ON THE INTERNATIONAL STALIN PEACE PRIZE, WHICH INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES, HAS COMMISSIONED ME TO APPROACH YOU WITH THE FOLLOWING REQUEST.

"AS YOU NO DOUBT KNOW, OUR COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR, AWARDED THE STALIN PRIZE TO THE INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN AMERICAN WRITER, HOWARD FAST, FOR HIS OUTSTANDING SERVICES IN THE CAUSE OF THE DEFENSE OF WORLD PEACE. HOWARD FAST HAS INFORMED ME THAT CIRCUMSTANCES DO NOT PERMIT HIM TO COME TO MOSCOW TO RECEIVE THE PRIZE IN PERSON. WE THEREFORE REQUEST OF YOU, AS A PERSON WIDELY KNOWN IN AMERICA AND OTHER COUNTRIES . . . TO UNDERTAKE THE MISSION OF BESTOWING

THE PRIZE ON FAST ON BEHALF OF OUR COMMITTEE.

"IN THE EVENT OF YOUR AGREEMENT, YOU MAY CONSIDER THIS MESSAGE FROM ME AS THE OFFICIAL . . . GRANTING OF FULL POWERS FOR THIS PURPOSE. . ."

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL STALIN PRIZE COMMITTEE CABLES TO MR. FAST:

"THE AWARDING OF THE PEACE PRIZE TO YOU IS THE RECOGNITION OF YOUR OUTSTANDING SERVICE NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLE OF YOUR OWN COUNTRY WHOSE ARDENT PATRIOT YOU ARE BUT TO THE PEOPLES OF OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD BY AWARDING YOU WITH THE PRIZE WE WANTED TO EXPRESS OUR FRIENDLY SENTIMENTS TO THE GREAT AMERICAN PEOPLE. BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES THERE ARE NO CONTENTIOUS QUESTIONS NOR CAN THERE BE. WE CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY. WE SHALL ALWAYS KEEP IN OUR HEARTS THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO LIKE YOU ARE INDEFATIGABLY WORKING FOR THE CAUSE OF SECURING A LASTING PEACE AND A FRIENDLY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLES. MY BEST WISHES OF GOOD HEALTH TO YOU AND OF FURTHER SUCCESSES IN YOUR NOBLE WORK."

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THE PRIZE ON FAST ON BEHALF OF OUR COMMITTEE.

"IN THE EVENT OF YOUR AGREEMENT, YOU MAY CONSIDER THIS MESSAGE FROM ME AS THE OFFICIAL ... GRANTING OF FULL POWERS FOR THIS PURPOSE. . ."

HOWARD FAST IS AN AMERICAN NOT ONLY BY BIRTH BUT BY BELIEF AND BY PASSIONATE IDEAL. HIS UNSHAKEABLE FAITH IN THE PROMISE OF THIS NATION PUTS TO SHAME THE WAVERING ALLEGIANCE OF MANY AMERICANS WHOSE FAMILIES HAVE LIVED CENTURIES IN THIS LAND AND FLOURISHED UNDER ITS PROTECTING CARE. FROM THE TIME HIS FIRST BOOK WAS PUBLISHED, IN THE YEAR FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THROUGH THE YEARS OF THE PUBLICATION OF HIS EIGHTEEN OTHER VOLUMES, WHOSE COPIES HAVE BEEN READ BY MILLIONS IN EVERY LAND AND LANGUAGE ON EARTH, HOWARD FAST HAS STRIVEN TO VOICE AND REPEAT THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF THIS LAND FOUNDED TO BECOME A REAL LAND OF THE FREE. HE HAS STRIVEN TO REALIZE HERE THE DREAMS OF HIS OWN RUSSIAN FOREFATHERS IN <u>THIS</u> NATION WHICH HE SO DEEPLY LOVED AND SO PATRIOTICALLY SERVED, AND IN WHOSE DESTINY HE STILL

25-8-237

45-8-17

SO FIRMLY BELIEVES.

HIS ACTIVE LIFE BEGAN WITH THE NEW DEAL, DURING THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT. HIS THESIS WAS PEACE AS THE CHIEF AND ONLY ROAD TO PROGRESS. FOR THIS PURPOSE HE MADE KNOWN THE MESSAGE OF "TOM PAINE" IN A SIMILAR AGE OF UNIVERSAL WAR; HE FOLLOWED THE HARD "FREEDOM ROAD" OF NEGROES OUT OF SLAVERY AFTER OUR OWN CIVIL WAR; HE TOLD THE CRUEL STORY OF THE ROMAN SLAVE "SPARTACUS", AND THE WRITHINGS OF THE JEWISH MACCABEES, HIS OWN "GLORIOUS BROTHERS."

HE WAS NOT CONTENT SIMPLY TO THINK AND WRITE, SIMPLY TO ADMONISH AND ADVISE. HE WORKED WITH POLITICAL PARTIES, CAMPAIGNED FOR PUBLIC OFFICE, AND JOINED IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FOR UPLIFT. HE HELPED THE SPANISH EFFORT TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN A GREAT BUT SORELY OPPRESSED LAND. HE WAS ONE OF THE CHIEF ORGANIZERS AND DIRECTORS OF THAT GREAT PEACE CONGRESS WHICH MET IN THIS CITY IN 1949 AND BROUGHT TOGETHER FOR THE FIRST TIME THE GREAT LEADERS OF THE EAST AND WEST, OF THE SOVIET UNION

AND POLAND; OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRIA; OF ALL EUROPE AND OF ASIA, AFRICA AND ALL AMERICA, AND WHICH FOR THAT VERY REASON WAS DENOUNCED AND VILIFIED. LATER FAST SPOKE AT THAT GREAT WORLD CONGRESS OF THE PARTISANS OF PEACE IN PARIS, WHICH MODERN CIVILIZATION CAN NEVER FORGET.

OUT OF THIS CEASELESS ACTIVITY HOWARD FAST HAS REAPED SMALL REWARD. HE HAS BEEN JAILED AS A COMMON CRIMINAL FOR REFUSING TO BE A GOVERNMENT STOOL-PIGEON; HE HAS BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO A PASSPORT; HE HAS BEEN ALMOST DRIVEN FROM THE PUBLIC PLATFORM AND HIS NEWER MANUSCRIPTS HAVE BEEN DENIED PUBLICATION IN THE UNITED STATES. HIS HEALTH SHOWS THE RESULTS OF THIS PERSECUTION. YET HE HAS NEVER WAVERED. HE DENOUNCED THE INVASION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS. HE DENOUNCED THE ATOM BOMB AND THE HYDROGEN HORROR. THERE IS NO LIVING AMERICAN ON WHOM THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE OF 50,000 RUBLES AND A GOLD MEDAL CAN BE MORE FITTINGLY BESTOWED.

I HEREBY CONFER IT, BY THE AUTHORITY GIVEN ME BY THE INTERNATIONAL JURY, AND IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ANDREI VISHINSKY.

358-238

81-8-54

April 1954

THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE AND HOWARD FAST

by W.E.B. DU BOIS

The selection for public award and commendation of men who have served their age and fellowmen well, is an honored custom in all nations and deserves continued repetition and emphasis. Particularly is it opportune in a day when so vital a cause as Peace among men calls ~~for~~ as never before for our thought and effort. Never before in the long history of mankind has there been such need of united and world wide effort to defend civilization from the horrors of war; and not simply from the suffering always associated with ~~this word~~ war, but with the imminent prospect of war on a scale and of a nature never before envisioned by the mind of man. This prospect comes too, at a time when as at no previous time, struggling human endeavor seems on the threshhold of being able through thought and discipline, helped by an almost miraculous technique, to use the forces of nature for conquering once for all those scourges of mankind: Poverty, Ignorance and Disease.

35-8-131

At this hour an international jury has selected Howard Fast as worthy of the annual Peace Prize established by Joseph Stalin. This jury wished to present the prize to him in person at the Kremlin in Moscow, but the American State Department has refused him a passport. I am therefore acting for the committee, in pursuance ~~of~~ to this cablegram from Moscow:

> "The Committee on the International Stalin Peace Prize, which includes representatives of democratic public opinion of various countries, has commissioned me to approach you with the following request.
> "As you no doubt know, our Committee in December of last year, awarded the ~~International~~ Stalin prize to the internationally known American writer, Howard Fast, for his outstanding services in the cause of the defense of world peace. Howard Fast has informed me that circumstances do not permit him to come to Moscow to receive the prize in person. We therefore request of you, as a person widely known in America and other countries [for your courageous struggle for the peaceful co-existence of peoples,] to undertake the mission of receiving the prize ~~for~~ on Fast on behalf of our Committee.
> "In the event of your agreement, you may consider this message from me as the official ~~accreditation~~ (granting of full powers) for this purpose."...
>
> (Professor Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Regular Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

[redacted]

The chairman of the International Stalin Prize Committee cables to Mr. Fast:

"The awarding of the Peace Prize to you is the recognition of your outstanding service not only to the people of your own country whose ardent patriot you are but to the peoples of other countries of the world by awarding you with the prize. We wanted to express our friendly sentiments to the great American people. Between our peoples there are no contentious questions nor can there be. We can live in peace and harmony. We shall always keep in our hearts the names of those who like you are indefatigably working for the cause of securing a lasting peace and a friendly cooperation between the peoples. My best wishes of good health to you and of further successes in your noble work."

[redacted]

35-8-132

Howard Fast is an American not only by birth but by belief and by passionate ideal. His unshakeable faith in the promise of this nation puts to shame the wavering allegiance of many Americans whose families have lived centuries in this ~~nation~~ land and flourished under its protecting care. From the time his first book was published, in the year Franklin Roosevelt became president of the United States, through the years of the publication of his eighteen other volumes, whose copies have been read by millions in every land and language on earth, Howard Fast has striven to voice and repeat the highest ideals of this land founded to become a real Land of the Free. He has striven to realize here the dreams of his own Russian forefathers in this nation which he so deeply loved and so patriotically served, and in whose destiny he still so firmly believes.

35-8-133

His active life began with the New Deal, during the reign of Roosevelt. His thesis was Peace as the chief and only road to Progress. For this purpose he made known the message of "Tom Paine" in a similar age of universal war; he followed the hard "Freedom Road" of Negroes out of slavery after our own Civil War; he told the cruel story of the Roman slave "Spartacus," and the writhings of the Jewish Maccabees, his own "Glorious Brothers". He was not content simply to think and write, simply to admonish and advise. He worked with political parties, campaigned for public office, and joined in social movements for uplift. He helped the Spanish effort to achieve freedom and democracy in a great but sorely oppressed land. He was one of the chief organizers and directors of that great Peace Congress which met in this city in 1949 and brought together for the first time the great leaders of the East and West, of the Soviet Union and Poland; of Czechoslovakia and Austria; of all Europe and of Asia, Africa and all America, and which for that very

35-8-134

reason was denounced and vilified. Later Fast spoke at that great world congress of the Partisans of Peace in Paris, which modern civilization can never forget.

Out of this ceaseless activity Howard Fast has reaped small reward. He has been jailed as a common criminal for refusing to be a government stool-pigeon; he has been denied the right to a passport; he has been almost driven from the public platform and his newer manuscripts have been denied publication in the United States. His health shows the results of this persecution. Yet he has never wavered. He denounced the invasion of the civil rights of American citizens. He denounced the atom bomb and the hydrogen horror. There is no living American on whom the Stalin Peace Prize of 50,000 rubles and a gold medal can be more fittingly bestowed.

I hereby confer it, by the authority given me by the international jury, and in the presence of His Excellency, the Head of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations, Andrei Vishinski.

New York
April 22, 1954

35-9-83

1954
CAA April 24,

AFRICA AND AFRO-AMERICA

IRELAND HAS BEEN RAISED FROM THE DEAD BY THE EFFORTS OF IRISH AMERICANS; // SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA HAVE GIVEN ~~GREAT~~ MUCH (TO ADEQUATE) AID TO DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN; // ITALIANS IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN THE SAVIORS OF ITALY; // GREECE AND POLAND HAVE DEPENDED ON THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN THIS LAND FOR INDISPENSABLE HELP. // EVEN GERMANS, FRENCH AND ENGLISHMEN HAVE OFTEN RECEIVED ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT FROM THEIR KIN IN AMERICA.

IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE FURNISHED IN THE PAST OR ARE FURNISHING TODAY EQUALLY IMPORTANT AID FOR AFRICA // THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE HAVE DONE NOTHING. // IT DOES MEAN THAT OUR HELP AND INSPIRING UNDERSTANDING OF THE DESPERATE PROBLEMS OF THE DARK CONTINENT HAVE NEVER BEEN WHAT THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN.

THE REASON FOR THIS IS ALL TOO CLEAR // AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS HAVE NEVER BEEN POPULAR IN AMERICA // ON THE CONTRARY, AMERICA FOR THE MOST PART HAS CONCEIVED HER BEST INTERESTS LAY IN ACTIONS AND POLICIES WHICH INVOLVED DISASTER AND REPRESSION FOR AFRICA AND HER CHILDREN // CONSEQUENTLY WE AMERICAN NEGROES WHOSE FRANTIC ENDEAVOR HAS

35-9-84

-2-

LONG BEEN TO BE AMERICANS IN ~~EVERY~~ RIGHT, $ THOUGHT AND ACTION // HAVE USUALLY HASTENED TO FOLLOW EVERY WIND OF AMERICAN OPINION WITH REGARD TO AFRICA.

THIS HAS NOT BEEN INVARIABLY SO // DURING THE 18th CENTURY WHEN MANY AMERICAN NEGROES WERE ACTUALLY AFRICAN BY BIRTH, OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA WAS GENUINE AND BASED ON KNOWLEDGE AND MEMORY // WE NAMED MANY OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS "AFRICAN" AND WE ENVISAGED A DAY WHEN THE BULK OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY WOULD RETURN TO THE AFRICAN FATHERLAND // FROM THIS FEELING CAME THE STATE OF LIBERIA.

LATER AS THERE GREW UP IN AMERICA A GENERATION OF NEGROES WHO NOT ONLY KNEW NOTHING OF AFRICA BUT IN ADDITION HAD BEEN TAUGHT BY AMERICAN SCHOOLS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE TO DESPISE ~~ITS~~ AFRICA'S PAST AND PRESENT // THERE AROSE AMONG US A FIERCE DISTASTE OF BEING IN ANY WAY ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICA // NEVERTHELESS THE NEGRO CHURCH IN THE NATION TRIED TO SUPPORT AND MAINTAIN MISSIONARY EFFORT IN AFRICA. // THEY COOPERATED WITH WHITE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, EVEN WHEN THE WHITES DID NOT WANT TO SEND BLACK MISSIONARIES TO THE LAND OF THE BLACKS. // ALSO, NEGRO CHURCHES ORGANIZED AND SENT THEIR OWN MISSIONARIES,

35-9-85

FP FOR THE MOST PART THIS MISSIONARY EFFORT WAS TOO CONVENTIONAL AND TOO LITTLE BASED ON KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL UPLIFT TO BE VERY EFFECTIVE. BUT IT DID SPARK MOVEMENTS TOWARD INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHURCHES IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA. IT DID SOME WORK IN EDUCATION IN LIBERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND SENT BLACK STUDENTS TO AMERICA.

THERE ALSO CAME IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19th CENTURY A RENEWED INTEREST IN AFRICA IN OUR SCHOOLS. MY OWN LITTLE BOOK, "THE NEGRO," PUBLISHED IN 1915 AND WOODSON'S "JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY," WHICH BEGAN PUBLICATION IN 1916, HELPED THIS. AFRICAN HISTORY BEGAN TO BE TAUGHT IN NEGRO SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND EVEN TO BE NOTICED BRIEFLY IN WHITE INSTITUTIONS. GRADUALLY HUNDREDS OF AFRICAN STUDENTS WERE TAUGHT IN OUR NEGRO COLLEGES AND MANY IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

ALSO THERE GREW THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR DURING THE PEACE EFFORTS WHICH FOLLOWED. THIS HAD NO WIDE BACKING AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES AND FEW TANGIBLE RESULTS IN THE WORLD. BUT THE CONGRESSES HELD REGULARLY FROM 1919 TO 1925

DID SEVERAL IMPORTANT THINGS. THEY AROUSED THE IMPERIALISTS OF EUROPE TO THE DANGER TO THEM OF AFRICAN THOUGHT AND COOPERATION. THEY INSPIRED AFRICANS IN EVERY CENTER WHERE THEY HAD ACTIVE LEADERSHIP TO ORGANIZE LOCAL AFRICAN CONGRESSES. TODAY THERE ARE SUCH AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN EVERY LAND WHERE AFRICAN MOVEMENTS TOWARD AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM ARE TAKING PLACE. IN WEST AFRICA; IN THE SUDAN; IN KENYA; IN SOUTH AFRICA; THE RHODESIAS AND NYASSALAND. THE ~~CONTEMPORARY~~ GARVEY MOVEMENT AFFECTED THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST INDIES TOWARD ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE THERE AS PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT.

35-9-86

WHILE, THEN, AMERICAN NEGRO EFFORT HAS AFFECTED AFRICA IN MANY WAYS. YET IT HAS NOT DONE NEARLY SO MUCH AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. THIS IS ALL TOO EVIDENT TODAY AND SHOWS ITSELF IN THE STRANGE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OR INTEREST AMONG COLORED FOLK IN WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA. IT WOULD BE INTERESTING, BUT I FEAR DISAPPOINTING, TO KNOW HOW FAR NEGRO STUDENTS IN THIS NATION REALIZE WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA AND WHAT ITS HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE IS. IN OTHER GROUPS AND IN OTHER NATIONS, THE

35-9-87

DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA TODAY/ ARE OF FIRST SIGNIFICANCE/ AND ARE BEING WATCHED/ WITH BATED BREATH.// WHY?

IN THE 19th CENTURY/ THERE HAD BEEN COMPLETED IN EUROPE/ A SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY AND WORLD COMMERCE/ WHICH MANY CONSIDERED PERFECT.// IT ENVISIONED COMFORT, (ART, LITERATURE, SCIENCE,) EASE, LUXURY/ FOR THE [redacted] PEOPLE OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE/ WITH MORE OR LESS PARTICIPATION/ BY OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS/ AND BY THE UNITED STATES.// THIS EUROPEAN CULTURE/ RESTED (INCREASINGLY) ON THE FREE LAND/ HARD WORK/ AND LOW WAGE/ OF COLONIAL PEOPLES/ IN ASIA, AFRICA AND OTHER AREAS.

P WITH THE FOOD/ AND OTHER MATERIALS/ WHICH THIS LOW COST OF PRODUCTION/ ENABLED EUROPE TO IMPORT/ HER INDUSTRIAL LEADERS/ COULD MANUFACTURE/ AND SELL THE GOODS/ WHICH THEY WANTED AND OTHER GOODS/ WHICH THEY COULD FORCE COLONIAL PEOPLES/ TO BUY.// AT THE SAME TIME/ THE WHITE WORKERS IN EUROPE/ AND NORTH AMERICA/ COULD BE PAID A FAIRLY HIGH WAGE/ COULD WORK UNDER INCREASINGLY BETTER CONDITIONS/ AND ENJOY THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE/ IN GOVERNMENT SO LONG/ AS THEY DID NOT THREATEN/ THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.// THIS WAS/ IN MANY WAYS/ AN IDEAL ARRANGEMENT.// THE SMOOTH COMFORT OF LONDON/ IN THE DAY/ WHEN I FIRST SAW IT/ IN 1892;

THE MIGHT of BERLIN

35-9-88

// THE MAGNIFICENCE OF PARIS; THE HOMES/ THE WELL-TRAINED SERVANTS/ THE WELL-DRESSED PEOPLE/ THE ELEGANT HORSES AND CARRIAGES;// THE UNIFORMS AND JEWELS/ THE ART GALLERIES.// PARKS AND MONUMENTS.// THIS WAS THE HEIGHT/ OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.// THE ONLY PEOPLE/ WHO WERE UNCOMFORTABLE AND UNAPPRECIATIVE/ OF THIS SPLENDOR/ WERE THE POVERTY-STRICKEN,/ IGNORANT AND SICK,/ YELLOW, BROWN AND BLACK SERFS/ WHO FURNISHED CHEAPLY/ THE MATERIALS WHICH THIS GREAT WORLD/ USED AND ENJOYED. // AND ALSO SOME of the poorest White laborers at home who planted the Trade Unions

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

THE UNSOPHISTICATED/ MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT/ THAT THESE (colonial) SERFS WOULD HAVE REVOLTED/ FORTHWITH.// BUT, NO.// THEY WERE WEAK,/ UNORGANIZED/ AND THREATENED BY/ ARMED FORCE/ FOR WHICH THE WELL-PAID/ WHITE WORKERS OF EUROPE/ WERE TAKEN OUT OF INDUSTRY/ AND SET AS SOLDIERS/ TO MAKE THAT INDUSTRY/ SAFE FOR WHITE PEOPLE.// POETS/ LIKE KIPLING CALLED THIS/ "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

SILENCED BY RELIGION

SO IN THE DAWNING 20th CENTURY/ THERE WAS NO EFFECTIVE REVOLT/ AMONG THE COLONIAL PEOPLES.// BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH/ THE DISSATISFACTION AND REVOLT/ CAME FROM WHITE

35-9-89

NATIONS OF EUROPE WHO WERE BITTERLY ENVIOUS AND DISSATISFIED AT THE SHARE OF THE LOOT IN ASIA AND AFRICA WHICH THEY WERE GETTING AS COMPARED WITH FRANCE AND BRITAIN. GERMANY ESPECIALLY WANTED A LARGER SHARE OF COLONIAL LABOR AND MATERIALS AND THIS WAS THE CAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. // THIS WAR HAD THREE UNEXPECTED TOTALLY RESULTS: IT AROUSED THE DEPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLES, WHEN THEY WERE ASKED TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN CONTINUED ENSLAVEMENT; SECONDLY, THIRDLY IT SMASHED IN 1929 TO 1936 THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SYSTEM WHICH IT WAS FOUGHT TO PRESERVE. // BEFORE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION COULD RESTORE ITS POWER AND ORGANIZE ANEW, // GERMANY AND ITALY GOT A NEW IDEA OF A NEW IMPERIALISM WHICH THEY WOULD LEAD INSTEAD OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

THIRDLY, THE [redacted] WAR PRECIPITATED REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, A NATION WHICH HAD LONG BEEN A SUBORDINATE PART OF EUROPE [redacted].

¶ THE WAR WAS THEREFORE RENEWED UNDER THE NAME OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. // THIS ALSO HAD TWO EXTRAORDINARY RESULTS: // THE INDEPENDENCE OF RUSSIA AND OF CHINA AND INDIA FORMERLY THE LARGER PART OF THE COLONIAL AREA WHENCE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION HAD OBTAINED ITS CHEAP LABOR,

35-9-90

FREE LAND AND MUCH OF ITS FOOD AND CLOTHES AND OTHER INDISPENSABLE MATERIALS. // THEREUPON THE UNITED STATES DETERMINED TO FORCE RUSSIA BACK INTO DEPENDENCE ON WEST EUROPE AND TO RESTORE CHINA TO THE COLONIAL AREA AND TO JOIN ENGLAND, BELGIUM AND FRANCE IN MAKING AFRICA THE CENTER OF A NEW COLONIALISM.

BUT STRUGGLING AND LATER FREE INDIA HAD SECURED BY MIGRATION A SMALL FOOTHOLD IN AFRICA AND THAT FACT, TOGETHER WITH THE IDEAS PLANTED BY THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT AND THE RESULTING AFRICAN CONGRESSES LIGHTED FIRES ALL OVER AFRICA. // I SAW THE BEGINNINGS OF THIS AT THE LAST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS HELD IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND IN 1945. // THIS SESSION OF THE CONGRESS HAD BEEN CALLED BY AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS WHICH HAD JUST BEEN FORMED IN PARIS. // THERE MEMBERS OF NEW BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS APPEARED, AND THE WHITE UNIONS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA WANTED TO SPEAK FOR THEM AND NOT ALLOW THEM TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. // THE AFRICANS WON BUT AS A RESULT THE WHITE UNIONS (of Britain + America) LATER WITHDREW AND EVENTUALLY FORMED A NEW WORLD BODY,

THEY PRETENDED THAT THIS NEW INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT WAS AGAINST COMMUNISM — IN TRUTH IT WAS IN DEFENSE OF COLONIALISM

35-9-91

MEANTIME THE BLACK UNIONS FROM PARIS/CALLED A NEW SESSION/OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/AND INVITED ME TO PRESIDE.// I DID SO.// THERE I MET MANY AFRICANS/ AMONG THEM/NKRUMAH,/NOW PRIME MINISTER OF THE BRITISH GOLD COAST/ THE FIRST INDEPENDENT NEGRO STATE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE;// AND JUMO KENYATTA/WHO WAS LATER ACCUSED/OF LEADING THE MAU MAU REBELLION/IN KENYA.// ALSO PRESENT/WERE MEN FROM NIGERIA/WHICH IS ON THE THRESHHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE;/ AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA/WHERE THE BATTLE FOR A FREE AFRICA/ IS CENTERING.

THUS THE CENTER OF THE FIGHT/FOR MAINTAINING/AND RESTORING COLONIALISM IS MOVING TODAY FROM ASIA/ WHERE EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES/ARE LOSING// TO AFRICA WHERE THEY ARE ORGANIZING/ A DETERMINED LAST STAND/FOR MAKING THE COLOR LINE/PERPETUATED IN THE MODERN WORLD.// SURELY THIS IS A MATTER IN WHICH AMERICAN NEGROES/ MUST [redacted]- BE INTERESTED. For if colonial serfdom is maintained in Africa, the color line will not [redacted]R./ HOW THEN DOES THE BATTLE LINE IN AFRICA STAND TODAY? disappear in Afro-America.

WITH AMERICAN CAPITAL

FIRST/LET US CLEARLY UNDERSTAND/JUST WHAT IS THE ESSENCE/OF COLONIALISM.

R IT IS NOT SIMPLY/THE MATTER OF OWNING A COUNTRY.// IT IS A MATTER/OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION,

35-9-92

(AT HOME)

OF EARNING AN INCOME/BY MEANS OF FREE/COLONIAL LAND/AND CHEAP COLONIAL LABOR.// IT IS OFTEN SAID/THAT ENGLAND MAKES NO PROFIT/ON HER COLONIES.//THAT FRANCE SPENDS MORE/FOR HER COLONIES/THAN SHE RECEIVES.// THIS IS TRUE IF BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE/YOU MEAN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS.// BUT IT IS NOT TRUE/IF YOU MEAN/THE PERSONS ENGAGED IN (COLONIAL) INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

TODAY/OUT OF AFRICA/COMES 98%/OF THE DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD,/80% OF THE COBALT; 75% OF THE SISAL HEMP;/75% OF THE PALM OIL; 70% OF THE COCOA;/60% OF THE GOLD; 35% OF THE PHOSPHATES;/30% OF THE CHROME AND MANGANESE;/20% OF THE COPPER, 15% OF THE COFFEE, AND ALL OF THE CLOVES.

WEST AFRICA/SUPPLIES THE WORLD/~~NEARLY 70%~~ MOST/OF ITS COCOA AND CHOCOLATE.// THIS AROSE/THROUGH THE ENTERPRISE/OF A BLACK NATIVE,/ TETTIE QUARSIE,/ WHO OUT-MANEUVERED THE PLANS/OF SPANISH PLANTATION OWNERS/AND THE BRITISH MANUFACTURERS.// THE COCOA CROP,/ VARYING FROM 250 THOUSAND/TO 400 THOUSAND TONS/A YEAR,/ IS RAISED ON SMALL FARMS/ A TON TO A FARM.// THE COCOA IS TAKEN TO ENGLAND,/ HOLLAND AND THE UNITED STATES,/ AND PROCESSED

35-9-93

-11- (THIS IS A WELL-KNOWN COLONIAL TECHNIQUE)

AND SOLD TO YOU/AT A PRICE/WHICH MAKES MILLIONAIRES/OF THE QUAKER CADBURYS/AND AT THE SAME TIME/~~PRICE FLUCTUATIONS~~/PUTS THE FARMERS IN BANKRUPTCY.

BRITISH, DUTCH AND AMERICAN CAPITAL/BEAT DOWN THE SELLING PRICE/BY COMBINATION./ BUT THE FARMERS, ~~TOO~~ COMBINED, TOO./ THEY HELD 13 EUROPEAN FIRMS AT BAY/UNTIL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT/HAD TO INTERVENE/WHEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR CAME./ /THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOOK COMPLETE CONTROL/OF THE COCOA MARKETS,/A SOCIALISTIC PLAN./ /A LOW PRICE WAS FIXED/BUT THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED/TO RETURN ANY PROFITS/TO THE FARMERS./ /EVENTUALLY PROFITS OF EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS/WERE REALIZED (IN 5 YEARS) BUT THE FARMERS GOT NOTHING!/ THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO SPEND IT/"FOR THE FARMERS BENEFIT."

AFTER THE WAR/AS A RESULT OF THIS/AND OTHER INJUSTICES/THERE CAME A DEMAND/BY THE PEOPLE OF WEST AFRICA/FOR A CHANGE/IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY./ /THE WHOLE THING/WAS PLANNED/BY ~~THE RECENTLY~~ AN ORGANIZED BODY/KNOWN AS THE "UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION."/ THE DISTURBANCES BEGAN WITH STRIKES/ BOYCOTT OF ALL IMPORTED GOODS/ LOOTING OF THE STORES/OF BOTH EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC MERCHANTS./ /IT ENDED WITH OPEN ATTACKS ON THE

35-9-94

-12- (LOCAL)

EUROPEANS,/ESPECIALLY THE POLITICAL OFFICIALS./ /BLACK POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES/STOOD AS MERE SPECTATORS/WHEN THEY WERE ORDERED/TO DEAL WITH THE CROWD!//SOLDIERS FROM BLACK NIGERIA/WERE ASKED TO COME/TO THE AID/OF THE GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT./ AND REFUSED!//CURFEW WAS IMPOSED/ON ALL THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS/OF THE COUNTRY./ /THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS/WAS TAMPERED WITH/ AND SOME LEADING OFFICERS/OF THE "GOLD COAST CONVENTION"/WERE JAILED AS "COMMUNISTS."/ /THE BRITISH NAVY/WAS SUMMONED FROM GIBRALTAR./ /IT WAS IN VAIN.// LAST YEAR/THE GOLD COAST/BECAME A SELF-GOVERNING COLONY./ /THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER/WAS NKRUMAH,/ ONE OF THE SO-CALLED "COMMUNISTS."// THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD/THAT THE GOLD COAST/WILL ~~SURELY~~ BE TURNED BACK FROM (COMPLETE) INDEPENDENCE/OR THAT ITS NEIGHBOR, NIGERIA/ WITH ~~25~~ 32 MILLION NEGROES/WILL NOT SOON GO THE SAME WAY.

THE STORY OF COCOA/IS CHARACTERISTIC OF COLONIAL TRADE./ /NOT ONLY DO EUROPE AND AMERICA/GET RAW MATERIAL/FOR ALMOST NOTHING/AND SELL IT FOR HIGH PRICES./ /BUT ON THE OTHER HAND/THEY MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA/CHEAP GOODS/WHICH THE NATIVES/USED TO FURNISH THEMSELVES/BUT ARE NOW UNDERSOLD/IN THEIR OWN MARKETS/AND MUST BUY FROM EUROPEANS. ~~INDUSTRY~~ ~~EUROPEANS~~ ~~TO HAVE MADE~~ ~~THE GOVERNMENT~~ ~~THEY~~ POOR

35-9-95

foreigners BY CHEAPER FOREIGN GOODS/WHICH TAX IMPOSITIONS/AND OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS/COMPELL THEM TO BUY.// INDUSTRY EVEN ARRANGES/TO HAVE MOST RISKS OF INVESTMENT/BORNE BY THE HOME GOVERNMENT/AND MUCH OF THE CAPITAL/FROM WHICH PRIVATE INCOME/IS DERIVED/IS FURNISHED FROM THE TAXES/LAID ON THE POOR/AT HOME

35-9-96

THIS IS THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.// IT BEGAN TO FALL/AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ AND AFTER THE SECOND/RESULTED IN THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA AND CHINA.//FROM THAT MOMENT WEST EUROPE,/LED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/AND ITS ORGANIZED INDUSTRY/ DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN REMAINING COLONIALISM IN AFRICA/AND IF POSSIBLE TO RE-ESTABLISH COLONIALISM/IN CHINA, IF NOT IN EASTERN EUROPE.//AGAINST THIS/THE ASIANS ARE REVOLTING/AND REVOLT HAS BEGUN IN AFRICA.

IT IS DIFFICULT,/OF COURSE,/WITH THE SUPPRESSION OF NEWS/ FOR US TO KNOW EXACTLY/WHAT IS GOING ON IN AFRICA.//BUT CERTAIN OUTSTANDING OCCURRENCES/ARE CLEAR. FIRST OF ALL,/ IN NORTH AFRICA,/ INCLUDING EGYPT,/ THERE IS A REVOLT/AGAINST DOMINATION BY FRANCE,/ITALY AND GREAT BRITAIN.//ITALY HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.//THE FIGHT AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN IN EGYPT/AND AGAINST FRANCE IN ALGIERS AND TUNIS/ IS WIDELY KNOWN,/ AND IS CONTINUING,/WITH CHANCES IN FAVOR/OF THE NATIVE POPULATION.

BELOW EGYPT/LIE~~S~~ THE 9 MILLION PEOPLE/OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.// THE SUDAN IS OF IMPORTANCE/BECAUSE IT CONTROLS/THE WATER SUPPLY OF EGYPT/ON WHICH THE VERY LIFE/OF

35-9-97

THE COUNTRY DEPENDS.// A PECULIAR POLITICAL STRUGGLE/IS GOING ON THERE/BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT.// THE BRITISH HAVE EDUCATED/A SMALL GROUP OF BLACK PEOPLE/WHO ARE THE POLITICAL AGENTS/FOR THE BRITISH.// OPPOSED TO THEM/ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES/ SOME PRIMITIVE TRIBES/WHO WISH INDEPENDENCE.// THAT FIGHT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED/BY A STRONG TRADE UNION MOVEMENT./ [redacted]

TO THE WEST OF THE SUDAN/LIES THE VAST FRENCH WEST AFRICA/AND SOUTH OF THAT FRENCH CONGO.// HERE RECENTLY/THERE HAS COME ORGANIZATION/AMONG THE BLACKS.// IT IS MADE DIFFICULT/BECAUSE THERE IS A BLACK ÉLITE/RECOGNIZED BY THE FRENCH/WITHOUT A COLOR LINE, WHO ARE OFTEN MORE FRENCH/THAN THE FRENCH,/AND OPPOSE THE INTERESTS/OF THE GREAT MASS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE.// ON THE OTHER HAND,/UNDER THE NEW FRENCH FEDERAL UNION/AND UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MEN/LIKE GABRIEL D'ARBUSSIER/THERE HAS BEEN STRONG EFFORT/TO SECURE SOME DEGREE OF AUTONOMY.

IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA, ~~INCLUDING THE GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA~~ AS I have INDICATED, HAS COME THE GREATEST SUCCESS.// THE GOLD COAST IS PRACTICALLY AN INDEPENDENT DOMINION,/AND NIGERIA

35-9-98

IS FOLLOWING.// THE DIFFICULTY THERE/IS THAT THE LEADERS/ARE NOT DEVELOPING THE ANCIENT AFRICAN SOCIALISM/BUT ARE DISPOSED TO FOLLOW/MODERN EUROPEAN BUSINESS ENTERPRISE/ WITH EUROPEAN CAPITAL.// WHICH MAY (HAVE THE) RESULT/THAT WHITE BUSINESS EXPLOITATION/WILL GO INTO THE HANDS OF BLACK EXPLOITERS,/ WITH LITTLE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE.

THIS TRIUMPH/OF NEGRO ORGANIZATION/IN WEST AFRICA/IS INFLUENCING THE WHOLE OF THE REST/OF BLACK AFRICA.// IN EAST AFRICA/AND IN KENYA/IT CENTERS ON LAND OWNERSHIP. IN KENYA/MOST OF THE BEST LAND/WAS SOLD TO WHITE ENGLISHMEN/50 YEARS AGO/AT 1¢ AN ACRE AND BECAME A PLACE/FOR IDLE ARISTOCRATS/USING SLAVE LABOR/TO RAISE (MONEY) CROPS/WHICH THE NEGROES/WERE REFUSED THE RIGHT/TO RAISE.// FOR YEARS/THERE HAS BEEN AN ATTEMPT/TO SETTLE THIS PEACEFULLY/BY AN APPEAL/TO THE BRITISH "SENSE OF JUSTICE."// THIS HAS NOT SUCCEEDED AND LAST YEAR/THERE BROKE OUT/A BITTER REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT/UNDER THE KIKIYU TRIBE/ WHICH SEEKS BY BLOODY (PRISAL) ~~REVOLUTION~~/TO DO WHAT ORGANIZATION AND APPEAL/OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH.

IN [redacted]

35-9-99

ETHIOPIA

NORTHEAST OF KENYA/ LIES THE ANCIENT /AND TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT REALM OF ETH
OUT OF ETIOPIA/ CAME THE CIVILIZATION /OF THE WHOLE NILE VALLEY /FOR 5000 YEARS./
DURING THE MIDDLE AGE/ IT WAS THE BULWARK /BETWEEN CHRISTIAN EUROPE /AND THE MOHAMME
DAN EAST // IN MODERN TIMES /BOTH BRITAIN AND ITALY/ HAVE TRIED TO CONQUER IT // BUT
THE BLACK MAHDI IN 1883/ FOILED BRITAIN/ AND IN 1945, STALINGRAD DROVE OUT
ITALY // TODAY A RE-BORN ETHIOPIA/ WITH ITS SEACOAST RECOVERED/ IS BEING COURTED
ASSIDOUSLY/ BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA // THAT IS THE MEANING OF THE CURRENT WELCOME/ OF
A BLACK EMPORER /TO THE UNITED STATES/ / BRITAIN INDUCED ETHIOPIA/ TO JOIN IN THE
KOREAN WAR./ THE UNITED STATES /IS TRYING TO RANGE ETHIOPIA/ WITH THE WESTERN ENE-
MIES /OF THE SOVIET UNION// IT WILL BE A SIGHT TO WATCH/ AND SEE IF THIS GREATEST
XXXX BLACK NATION/ CAN BE ALLIED /WITH THE ATTEMPT /TO FASTEN COLONIAL SLAVERY ON
AFRICA // I GREATLY DOUBT IT./ MUCH DEPENDS/ ON THE AMERICAN NEGROES /WHOM HE MET

WEST OF KENYA /LIES UGANDA, ONE OF THE GREATEST SURVIVING FEUDALISMS/
OF MEDIEVAL AFRICA./ IT IS TODAY A COTTON-RAISING COUNTRY /

35-9-100

WITH THE LAND STILL IN THE POSSESSION/ OF THE NATIVES /BUT THE WHOLE TRADE ECONOMY/ DOMINATED BY WHITE
BUSINESSMEN // IN ORDER TO STOP REBELLION THERE/ THE KING /OF PART OF UGANDA/ WAS KIDNAPPED
AND TAKEN TO ENGLAND/ LEST HE JOIN IN THE TACTICS/ OF WEST AFRICA

IN THE BELGIAN CONGO/ EVERY ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE/ BY BELGIUM/ TO DEPRIVE THE
GREAT NEGRO MASS /OF EDUCATED LEADERSHIP /THROUGH THE APPEASEMENT OF TRAINED NEGROES./
AND ON THE OTHER HAND/ VARIOUS AND CAREFUL CONCESSIONS /HAVE BEEN MADE/ TO THE PERSONS
STILL IN TRIBAL ORGANIZATION // IN THE COPPER COUNTRY/ OF THE BELGIAN CONGO/ AND RHODESIA
(ALL THE SKILLED WORK IS IN THE HANDS OF NATIVES)
THERE HAS RISEN /A STRONG NEGRO TRADE UNION MOVEMENT/ WHICH HAS REPEATEDLY ORGANIZED/
SUCCESSFUL STRIKES.

BUT IT IS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA /WHERE THE REAL FIGHT IS CENTERING/
HERE A ~~BRUTTISH~~ WHITE REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT /IS TRYING TO ESTABLISH /A COMPLETE COLOR LINE
IN WORK./ WAGES AND CIVIL RIGHTS/ BETWEEN 10 MILLION BLACK AND COLORED PEOPLE/ AND 2 1/2
MILLION WHITES // THIS HAS RECENTLY /CLAIMED THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD // SOUTH AFRICAN
REACTION /IS BRUTAL AND ADAMANT // IT CLAIMS JURISDICTION/ NOT ONLY OVER THE LAND AND LABOR /
WITH ALL POWER TO THE WHITES

35-9-101

OF THE NATIVES OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, BUT OVER THE HALF MILLION OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA WITH ITS DIAMONDS AND GOLD.

AGAINST THIS THERE IS FIGHTING A CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC OPINION AMONG THE WHITE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. // ON THE OTHER HAND, AMONG THE NEGROES OF SOUTH AFRICA THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF THOSE TRAINED IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF NEGRO CHURCHES AND THERE ARE THOSE WHOM THESE STUDENTS, ON RETURN TO AFRICA, HAVE TRAINED IN THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS. // THEY FORM TOGETHER WITH THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS A BODY OF STRONG AND DETERMINED OPPOSITION. // THEY HAVE CARRIED ON STRIKES AND AGITATION. THEY HAVE GONE TO PRISON FOR THEIR OPINIONS. // THEY HAVE RESISTED ALL SORTS OF COMPROMISE AND THEY ARE STILL FIGHTING. // THE ONLY OUTSIDE BODY WHICH HAS GIVEN THEM ANY HELP IS THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE GREAT MASS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE STOOD BY IGNORANT AND UNMOVED BY ONE OF THE GREATEST BATTLES OF THE MODERN WORLD. IN ADDITION TO THIS SOME OF THE WHITE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA, OCCUPYING A PREFERRED POSITION, WITH THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND A HIGH WAGE, HAVE CAST IN THEIR LOT WITH THE NEGROES.

Work the U.S. called "subversive"

35-9-102

THIS WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING STRUGGLES WHICH THE ~~MODERN~~ WORLD WILL SEE.

WHAT OF COURSE, OUGHT TO HAPPEN IN AFRICA IS THE ORGANIZATION OF A NEW AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF THE OLD AFRICAN TRIBAL AUTHORITY. // THIS TRIBAL AUTHORITY WAS DISTINCTLY SOCIALISTIC. // IT CENTERED ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE HEAD OF THE TRIBE AND THAT CHIEF WAS NOT A DICTATOR BUT A MAN WHO FOLLOWED THE ADVICE OF A COUNCIL, AND THIS COUNCIL REPRESENTED THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE. // THIS KIND OF ORGANIZATION WAS COMMON AMONG ALL PEOPLE IN PRIMITIVE TIMES. // IT WAS CHANGED IN MODERN EUROPE WHEN THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE WAS TAKEN BY INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD CAPITAL AND ASSUMED THAT THEY HAD THE RIGHT TO ACT FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM THE COMMUNITY OR THE GOVERNMENT.

IT HAS BEEN PROVEN THAT THIS SELF-GOVERNING CAPITALISM HAS RUINED AND WILL FURTHER RUIN CIVILIZATION. // IT WOULD BE A CALAMITY TO HAVE THE SAME KIND OF MISTAKE MADE IN THE NEW AFRICA. // IT IS THE DUTY OF ~~ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THIS AND THE PEOPLE YOU REPRESENT~~ OF PROGRESSIVES FIRST TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND THOROUGHLY JUST WHAT IS GOING ON IN AFRICA AND HOW IT IS CONNECTED WITH THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN WORLD // AND THEN TO HELP BY ~~YOUR~~ CONTRIBUTIONS AND

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~~YOUR~~ ADVICE/ THE STRUGGLE/ OF THIS PART OF THE WORLD/ WHICH IS MORE/ THAN THE LAST BATTLE OF THE WEST. IT IS THE THIRD BATTLE/ OF THE RISING EAST.

THE FIRST WAS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/ ~~XTHEXSEXENE~~ TO EMANCIPATE WHITE LABOR/ THE SECOND,/ THE REVOLUTION IN ~~CHINA~~ INDIA AND CHINA/ TO FREE YELLOW AND BROWN LABOR/ THE THIRD IS THE COMING REVOLUTION/ IN AFRICA/ TO FREE BLACK LABOR.

AND THUS COMPLETE EMANCIPATION/ IN AMERICA

AFRICA AND AFRO-AMERICA

IRELAND HAS BEEN RAISED FROM THE DEAD BY THE EFFORTS OF IRISH AMERICANS; SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA HAVE GIVEN GREAT AID TO DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN; ITALIANS IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN THE SAVIORS OF ITALY; GREECE AND POLAND HAVE DEPENDED ON THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN THIS LAND FOR INDISPENSABLE HELP. EVEN GERMANS, FRENCH AND ENGLISHMEN HAVE OFTEN RECEIVED ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT FROM THEIR KIN IN AMERICA.

IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE FURNISHED IN THE PAST OR ARE FURNISHING TODAY EQUALLY IMPORTANT AID FOR AFRICA. THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE HAVE DONE NOTHING. IT DOES MEAN THAT OUR HELP AND INSPIRING UNDERSTANDING OF THE DESPERATE PROBLEMS OF THE DARK CONTINENT HAVE NEVER BEEN WHAT THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN.

THE REASON FOR THIS IS ALL TOO CLEAR: AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS HAVE NEVER BEEN POPULAR IN AMERICA. ON THE CONTRARY, AMERICA FOR THE MOST PART HAS CONCEIVED HER BEST INTERESTS LAY IN ACTIONS AND POLICIES WHICH INVOLVED DISASTER AND REPRESSION FOR AFRICA AND HER CHILDREN. CONSEQUENTLY WE AMERICAN NEGROES WHOSE FRANTIC ENDEAVOR HAS

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LONG BEEN TO BE AMERICANS IN EVERY RIGHT, THOUGHT AND ACTION, HAVE USUALLY HASTENED TO FOLLOW EVERY WIND OF AMERICAN OPINION WITH REGARD TO AFRICA.

THIS HAS NOT BEEN INVARIABLY SO. DURING THE 18th CENTURY WHEN MANY AMERICAN NEGROES WERE ACTUALLY AFRICAN BY BIRTH, OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA WAS GENUINE AND BASED ON KNOWLEDGE AND MEMORY. WE NAMED MANY OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS "AFRICAN" AND WE ENVISAGED A DAY WHEN THE BULK OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY WOULD RETURN TO THE AFRICAN FATHERLAND. FROM THIS FEELING CAME THE STATE OF LIBERIA.

LATER AS THERE GREW UP IN AMERICA A GENERATION OF NEGROES WHO NOT ONLY KNEW NOTHING OF AFRICA BUT IN ADDITION HAD BEEN TAUGHT BY AMERICAN SCHOOLS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE TO DESPISE ITS PAST AND PRESENT, THERE AROSE AMONG US A FIERCE DISTASTE OF BEING IN ANY WAY ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICA. NEVERTHELESS THE NEGRO CHURCH IN THE NATION TRIED TO SUPPORT AND MAINTAIN MISSIONARY EFFORT IN AFRICA. THEY COOPERATED WITH WHITE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS, EVEN WHEN THE WHITES DID NOT WANT TO SEND BLACK MISSIONARIES TO THE LAND OF THE BLACKS. ALSO, NEGRO CHURCHES ORGANIZED AND SENT THEIR OWN MISSIONARIES.

FOR THE MOST PART THIS MISSIONARY EFFORT WAS TOO CONVENTIONAL AND TOO LITTLE BASED ON KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL UPLIFT TO BE VERY EFFECTIVE; BUT IT DID SPARK MOVEMENTS TOWARD INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHURCHES IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA; AND IT DID SOME WORK IN EDUCATION IN LIBERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND SENT BLACK STUDENTS TO AMERICA.

THERE ALSO CAME IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19th CENTURY A RENEWED INTEREST IN AFRICA IN OUR SCHOOLS. MY OWN LITTLE BOOK, "THE NEGRO," PUBLISHED IN 1915, AND WOODSON'S "JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY," WHICH BEGAN PUBLICATION IN 1916, HELPED THIS. AFRICAN HISTORY BEGAN TO BE TAUGHT IN NEGRO SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND EVEN TO BE NOTICED BRIEFLY IN WHITE INSTITUTIONS. GRADUALLY HUNDREDS OF AFRICAN STUDENTS WERE TAUGHT IN OUR NEGRO COLLEGES AND MANY IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

35-8-4122

ALSO THERE GREW THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR DURING THE PEACE EFFORTS WHICH FOLLOWED. THIS HAD NO WIDE BACKING AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES AND FEW TANGIBLE RESULTS IN THE WORLD. BUT THE CONGRESSES, HELD REGULARLY FROM 1919 TO 1925,

DID SEVERAL IMPORTANT THINGS: THEY AROUSED THE IMPERIALISTS OF EUROPE TO THE DANGER TO THEM OF AFRICAN THOUGHT AND COOPERATION; THEY INSPIRED AFRICANS IN EVERY CENTER WHERE THEY HAD ACTIVE LEADERSHIP TO ORGANIZE LOCAL AFRICAN CONGRESSES. TODAY THERE ARE SUCH AFRICAN CONGRESSES IN EVERY LAND WHERE AFRICAN MOVEMENTS TOWARD AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM ARE TAKING PLACE: IN WEST AFRICA; IN THE SUDAN; IN SOUTH AFRICA; THE RHODESIAS AND NYASSALAND. THE CONTEMPORARY GARVEY MOVEMENT AFFECTED THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST INDIES TOWARD ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE THERE AS PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT.

WHILE, THEN, AMERICAN NEGRO EFFORT HAS AFFECTED AFRICA IN MANY WAYS, YET IT HAS NOT DONE NEARLY AS MUCH AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. THIS IS ALL TOO EVIDENT TODAY AND SHOWS ITSELF IN THE STRANGE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OR INTEREST AMONG COLORED FOLK IN WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA. IT WOULD BE INTERESTING, BUT I FEAR DISAPPOINTING, TO KNOW HOW FAR NEGRO STUDENTS IN THIS NATION REALIZE WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA AND WHAT ITS HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE IS. IN OTHER GROUPS AND IN OTHER NATIONS, THE

DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA TODAY ARE OF FIRST SIGNIFICANCE AND ARE BEING WATCHED WITH BATED BREATH. WHY?

IN THE 19th CENTURY THERE HAD BEEN COMPLETED IN EUROPE A SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY AND WORLD COMMERCE WHICH MANY CONSIDERED PERFECT. IT ENVISIONED COMFORT, EASE AND LUXURY FOR THE WHITE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE WITH MORE OR LESS PARTICIPATION BY OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS AND BY THE UNITED STATES. THIS EUROPEAN CULTURE RESTED ON THE FREE LAND, HARD WORK AND LOW WAGE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES IN ASIA, AFRICA AND OTHER AREAS. WITH THE FOOD AND OTHER MATERIALS WHICH THIS LOW COST OF PRODUCTION ENABLED EUROPE TO IMPORT, HER INDUSTRIAL LEADERS COULD MANUFACTURE AND SELL THE GOODS WHICH THEY WANTED AND OTHER GOODS WHICH THEY COULD FORCE COLONIAL PEOPLES TO BUY. AT THE SAME TIME THE WHITE WORKERS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA COULD BE PAID A FAIRLY HIGH WAGE, COULD WORK UNDER INCREASINGLY BETTER CONDITIONS, AND ENJOY THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT SO LONG AS THEY DID NOT THREATEN THE COLONIAL SYSTEM. THIS WAS IN MANY WAYS AN IDEAL ARRANGEMENT. THE SMOOTH COMFORT OF LONDON IN THE DAY WHEN I FIRST SAW IT IN 1892;

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THE MAGNIFICENCE OF PARIS; THE WELL-TRAINED SERVANTS, THE WELL-DRESSED PEOPLE, THE ELEGANT HORSES AND CARRIAGES; THE UNIFORMS AND JEWELS; THE ART GALLERIES, PARKS AND MONUMENTS. THIS WAS THE HEIGHT OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO WERE UNCOMFORTABLE AND UNAPPRECIATIVE OF THIS SPLENDOR, WERE THE POVERTY-STRICKEN, IGNORANT AND SICK, YELLOW, BROWN AND BLACK SERFS WHO FURNISHED CHEAPLY THE MATERIALS WHICH THIS GREAT WORLD USED AND ENJOYED.

THE UNSOPHISTICATED MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT THAT THESE SERFS WOULD HAVE REVOLTED FORTHWITH. BUT, NO. THEY WERE WEAK, UNORGANIZED AND THREATENED BY the ARMED FORCE FOR WHICH THE WELL-PAID WHITE WORKERS OF EUROPE WERE TAKEN OUT OF INDUSTRY AND SET AS SOLDIERS TO MAKE THAT INDUSTRY SAFE FOR WHITE PEOPLE. POETS LIKE KIPLING CALLED THIS "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

SO IN THE DAWNING 20th CENTURY THERE WAS NO EFFECTIVE REVOLT AMONG THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH THE DISSATISFACTION AND REVOLT CAME FROM WHITE

delayed by religion

NATIONS OF EUROPE WHO WERE BITTERLY ENVIOUS AND DISSATISFIED AT THE SHARE OF THE LOOT IN ASIA AND AFRICA WHICH THEY WERE GETTING AS COMPARED WITH FRANCE AND BRITAIN. GERMANY ESPECIALLY WANTED A LARGER SHARE OF COLONIAL LABOR AND MATERIALS AND THIS WAS THE CAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THIS WAR HAD three TOTALLY UNexpected RESULTS: IT AROUSED THE DEPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLES, WHEN THEY WERE ASKED TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN CONTINUED ENSLAVEMENT; SECONDLY, thirdly IT SMASHED IN 1929 TO 1936 THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SYSTEM WHICH IT WAS FOUGHT TO PRESERVE. BEFORE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION COULD RESTORE ITS POWER AND ORGANIZE ANEW, GERMANY AND ITALY GOT A NEW IDEA OF A NEW IMPERIALISM WHICH THEY WOULD LEAD INSTEAD OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

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THEREFORE, THE FIRST WORLD WAR PRECIPITATED REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, A NATION WHICH HAD LONG BEEN A SUBORDINATE PART OF EUROPE UNDER CONTROL OF FRANCE AND GERMANY. THE WAR WAS THEREFORE RENEWED UNDER THE NAME OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THIS ALSO HAD TWO EXTRAORDINARY RESULTS: THE INDEPENDENCE OF RUSSIA, CHINA AND INDIA, FORMERLY THE LARGER PART OF THE COLONIAL AREA WHENCE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION HAD OBTAINED ITS CHEAP LABOR.

FREE LAND AND MUCH OF ITS FOOD AND CLOTHES AND OTHER INDISPENSABLE MATERIALS. THEREUPON THE UNITED STATES DETERMINED TO FORCE RUSSIA BACK INTO DEPENDENCE ON WEST EUROPE AND TO RESTORE CHINA TO THE COLONIAL AREA AND TO JOIN ENGLAND, BELGIUM AND FRANCE IN MAKING AFRICA THE CENTER OF A NEW COLONIALISM.

BUT STRUGGLING AND LATER FREE INDIA HAD SECURED BY MIGRATION A SMALL FOOTHOLD IN AFRICA AND THAT FACT, TOGETHER WITH THE IDEAS PLANTED BY THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT AND THE RESULTING AFRICAN CONGRESSES LIGHTED FIRES ALL OVER AFRICA. I SAW THE BEGINNINGS OF THIS AT THE LAST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, HELD IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND IN 1945. THIS SESSION OF THE CONGRESS HAD BEEN CALLED BY AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS WHICH HAD JUST BEEN FORMED IN PARIS. THERE MEMBERS OF NEW BLACK AFRICAN UNIONS APPEARED, AND THE WHITE UNIONS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA WANTED TO SPEAK FOR THEM AND NOT ALLOW THEM TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. THE AFRICANS WON BUT AS A RESULT THE WHITE UNIONS, LATER WITHDREW AND EVENTUALLY FORMED A NEW WORLD BODY, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

7 Britain & America

MEANTIME THE BLACK UNIONS FROM PARIS CALLED A NEW SESSION OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND INVITED ME TO PRESIDE. I DID SO. THERE I MET MANY AFRICANS, AMONG THEM NKRUMAH, NOW PRIME MINISTER OF THE BRITISH GOLD COAST, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT NEGRO STATE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE; AND JOMO KENYATTA WHO WAS LATER ACCUSED OF LEADING THE MAU MAU REBELLION IN KENYA. ALSO PRESENT WERE MEN FROM NIGERIA WHICH IS ON THE THRESHHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE; AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA WHERE THE BATTLE FOR A FREE AFRICA IS CENTERING.

THUS THE CENTER OF THE FIGHT FOR MAINTAINING AND RESTORING COLONIALISM IS MOVING TODAY FROM ASIA, WHERE EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES ARE LOSING, TO AFRICA WHERE THEY ARE ORGANIZING A DETERMINED LAST STAND FOR MAKING THE COLOR LINE PERPETUATED IN THE MODERN WORLD. SURELY THIS IS A MATTER IN WHICH AMERICAN NEGROES MUST ~~NOT BE~~ be interested. For if colonial serfdom is maintained in Africa, the color line will not disAPPEAR IN AFRO-AMERICA. HOW THEN DOES THE BATTLE LINE IN AFRICA STAND TODAY?

FIRST LET US CLEARLY UNDERSTAND JUST WHAT IS THE ESSENCE OF COLONIALISM. IT IS NOT SIMPLY THE MATTER OF OWNING A COUNTRY. IT IS A MATTER OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

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OF EARNING AN INCOME BY MEANS OF FREE COLONIAL LAND AND CHEAP COLONIAL LABOR. IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT ENGLAND MAKES NO PROFIT ON HER COLONIES, THAT FRANCE SPENDS MORE FOR HER COLONIES THAN SHE RECEIVES. THIS IS TRUE IF BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE YOU MEAN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS. BUT IT IS NOT TRUE IF YOU MEAN THE PERSONS ENGAGED IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

TODAY OUT OF AFRICA COMES 98% OF THE DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD, 80% OF THE COBALT; 75% OF THE SISAL HEMP; 75% OF THE PALM OIL; 70% OF THE COCOA; 60% OF THE GOLD; 35% OF THE PHOSPHATES; 30% OF THE CHROME AND MANGANESE; 20% OF THE COPPER, 15% OF THE COFFEE, AND ALL OF THE CLOVES.

WEST AFRICA SUPPLIES THE WORLD NEARLY 70% OF ITS COCOA AND CHOCOLATE. THIS AROSE THROUGH THE ENTERPRISE OF A BLACK NATIVE, TETTIE QUARSIE, WHO OUT-MANEUVERED THE PLANS OF SPANISH PLANTATION OWNERS AND THE BRITISH MANUFACTURERS. THE COCOA CROP, VARYING FROM 250 THOUSAND TO 400 THOUSAND TONS A YEAR, IS RAISED ON SMALL FARMS A TON TO A FARM. THE COCOA IS TAKEN TO ENGLAND, HOLLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AND PROCESSED

AND SOLD TO YOU AT A PRICE WHICH MAKES MILLIONAIRES OF THE QUAKER CADBURYS AND AT THE SAME TIME PRICE FLUCTUATIONS PUT THE FARMERS IN BANKRUPTCY.

BRITISH, DUTCH AND AMERICAN CAPITAL BEAT DOWN THE SELLING PRICE BY COMBINATION. THE FARMERS, HAD COMBINED, TOO. THEY HELD 15 EUROPEAN FIRMS AT BAY UNTIL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD TO INTERVENE WHEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR CAME. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOOK COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE COCOA MARKETS, A SOCIALISTIC PLAN. A LOW PRICE WAS FIXED BUT THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO RETURN ANY PROFITS TO THE FARMERS. EVENTUALLY PROFITS OF EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS WERE REALIZED, BUT THE FARMERS GOT NOTHING. THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO SPEND IT "FOR THE FARMERS BENEFIT."

AFTER THE WAR AS A RESULT OF THIS AND OTHER INJUSTICES THERE CAME A DEMAND BY THE PEOPLE OF WEST AFRICA FOR A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE WHOLE THING WAS PLANNED BY THE RECENTLY ORGANIZED BODY KNOWN AS THE "UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION." THE DISTURBANCES BEGAN WITH STRIKES, BOYCOTT OF ALL IMPORTED GOODS, LOOTING OF THE STORES OF BOTH EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC MERCHANTS. IT ENDED WITH OPEN ATTACKS ON THE

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EUROPEANS, ESPECIALLY THE POLITICAL OFFICIALS. BLACK POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES STOOD AS MERE SPECTATORS WHEN THEY WERE ORDERED TO DEAL WITH THE CROWD! SOLDIERS FROM NIGERIA WERE ASKED TO COME TO THE AID OF THE GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT, AND REFUSED! CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON ALL THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF THE COUNTRY. THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS WAS TAMPERED WITH, AND SOME LEADING OFFICERS OF THE "GOLD COAST CONVENTION" WERE JAILED AS "COMMUNISTS." THE BRITISH NAVY WAS SUMMONED FROM GIBRALTAR. IT WAS IN VAIN. LAST YEAR THE GOLD COAST BECAME A SELF-GOVERNING COLONY. THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER WAS NKRUMAH, ONE OF THE SO-CALLED "COMMUNISTS." THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE GOLD COAST WILL EASILY BE TURNED BACK FROM INDEPENDENCE OR THAT ITS NEIGHBOR, NIGERIA, WITH 25 MILLION NEGROES WILL NOT SOON GO THE SAME WAY.

THE STORY OF COCOA IS CHARACTERISTIC OF COLONIAL TRADE. NOT ONLY DO EUROPE AND AMERICA GET RAW MATERIAL FOR ALMOST NOTHING AND SELL IT FOR HIGH PRICES, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND THEY MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA CHEAP GOODS WHICH THE NATIVES USED TO FURNISH THEMSELVES BUT ARE NOW UNDERSOLD IN THEIR OWN MARKETS AND MUST BUY FROM EUROPEANS.

THIS IS THE COLONIAL SYSTEM. IT BEGAN TO FALL AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, AND AFTER THE SECOND RESULTED IN THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA AND CHINA. FROM THAT MOMENT WEST EUROPE, LED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS ORGANIZED INDUSTRY, DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN REMAINING COLONIALISM AND IF POSSIBLE TO RE-ESTABLISH COLONIALISM IN CHINA, IF NOT IN EASTERN EUROPE. AGAINST THIS THE ASIANS ARE REVOLTING AND REVOLT HAS BEGUN IN AFRICA.

IT IS DIFFICULT, OF COURSE, WITH THE SUPPRESSION OF NEWS, FOR US TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT IS GOING ON IN AFRICA, BUT CERTAIN OUTSTANDING OCCURRENCES ARE CLEAR. FIRST OF ALL, IN NORTH AFRICA, INCLUDING EGYPT, THERE IS A REVOLT AGAINST DOMINATION BY FRANCE, ITALY AND GREAT BRITAIN. ITALY HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. THE FIGHT AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN IN EGYPT AND AGAINST FRANCE IN ALGIERS AND TUNIS IS WIDELY KNOWN, AND IS CONTINUING, WITH CHANCES IN FAVOR OF THE NATIVE POPULATION.

BELOW EGYPT LIES THE 9 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN. THE SUDAN IS OF IMPORTANCE BECAUSE IT CONTROLS THE WATER SUPPLY OF EGYPT ON WHICH THE VERY LIFE OF

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THE COUNTRY DEPENDS. A PECULIAR POLITICAL STRUGGLE IS GOING ON THERE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT. THE BRITISH HAVE EDUCATED A SMALL GROUP OF BLACK PEOPLE WHO ARE THE POLITICAL AGENTS FOR THE BRITISH. OPPOSED TO THEM ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES, SOME PRIMITIVE TRIBES WHO WISH INDEPENDENCE. THAT FIGHT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED BY A STRONG TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, WITH THE CHANCES IN FAVOR OF BLACK INDEPENDENCE.

TO THE WEST OF THE SUDAN LIES THE VAST FRENCH WEST AFRICA AND SOUTH OF THAT FRENCH CONGO. HERE RECENTLY THERE HAS COME ORGANIZATION AMONG THE BLACKS. IT IS MADE DIFFICULT BECAUSE THERE IS A BLACK ELITE RECOGNIZED BY THE FRENCH WITHOUT A COLOR LINE, WHO ARE OFTEN MORE FRENCH THAN THE FRENCH, AND OPPOSE THE INTERESTS OF THE GREAT MASS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, UNDER THE NEW FRENCH FEDERAL UNION AND UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MEN LIKE GABRIEL D'ARBUSSIER THERE HAS BEEN STRONG EFFORT TO SECURE SOME DEGREE OF AUTONOMY.

IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA, INCLUDING THE GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA, HAS COME THE GREATEST SUCCESS. THE GOLD COAST IS PRACTICALLY AN INDEPENDENT DOMINION, AND NIGERIA

IS FOLLOWING. THE DIFFICULTY THERE IS THAT THE LEADERS ARE NOT DEVELOPING THE ANCIENT AFRICAN SOCIALISM BUT ARE DISPOSED TO FOLLOW MODERN EUROPEAN BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, WITH EUROPEAN CAPITAL, WHICH MAY RESULT THAT WHITE BUSINESS EXPLOITATION WILL GO INTO THE HANDS OF BLACK EXPLOITERS, WITH LITTLE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE.

THIS TRIUMPH OF NEGRO ORGANIZATION IN WEST AFRICA IS INFLUENCING THE WHOLE OF THE REST OF BLACK AFRICA. IN EAST AFRICA AND IN KENYA IT CENTERS ON LAND OWNERSHIP. IN KENYA MOST OF THE BEST LAND WAS SOLD TO WHITE ENGLISHMEN 50 YEARS AGO AT 1/ AN ACRE AND BECAME A PLACE FOR IDLE ARISTOCRATS USING SLAVE LABOR TO RAISE CROPS WHICH THE NEGROES WERE REFUSED THE RIGHT TO RAISE. FOR YEARS THERE HAS BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THIS PEACEFULLY BY AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH "SENSE OF JUSTICE." THIS HAS NOT SUCCEEDED AND LAST YEAR THERE BROKE OUT A BITTER REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT UNDER THE KIKIYU TRIBE WHICH SEEKS BY BLOODY REVOLUTION TO DO WHAT ORGANIZATION AND APPEAL OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH.

35-8-128

IN UGANDA THERE IS DANGER OF THE SAME THING. HERE IS A COTTON COUNTRY

WITH THE LAND IN THE POSSESSION OF THE NATIVES BUT THE WHOLE ECONOMY DOMINATED BY WHITE BUSINESSMEN. IN ORDER TO STOP REBELLION THERE THE KING OF PART OF UGANDA WAS KIDNAPPED AND TAKEN TO ENGLAND.

IN THE BELGIAN CONGO EVERY ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE BY BELGIUM TO DEPRIVE THE GREAT NEGRO MASS OF EDUCATED LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE APPEASEMENT OF TRAINED NEGROES. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, VARIOUS AND CAREFUL CONCESSIONS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE PERSONS STILL IN TRIBAL ORGANIZATION. IN THE COPPER COUNTRY OF THE BELGIAN CONGO AND RHODESIA THERE HAS RISEN A STRONG NEGRO TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHICH HAS REPEATEDLY ORGANIZED SUCCESSFUL STRIKES.

BUT IT IS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA WHERE THE REAL FIGHT IS CENTERING. HERE A PRIMITIVE, REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO ESTABLISH A COMPLETE COLOR LINE IN WORK, WAGES AND CIVIL RIGHTS BETWEEN 10 MILLION BLACK AND COLORED PEOPLE AND 2 1/2 MILLION WHITES. THIS HAS RECENTLY CLAIMED THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD. SOUTH AFRICAN REACTION IS BRUTAL AND ADAMANT. IT CLAIMS JURISDICTION NOT ONLY OVER THE LAND AND LABOR

OF THE NATIVES OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, BUT OVER THOSE HALF MILLION OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA, WITH ITS DIAMONDS AND GOLD.

AGAINST THIS THERE IS FIGHTING A CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC OPINION AMONG THE WHITE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, AMONG THE NEGROES OF SOUTH AFRICA THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF THOSE TRAINED IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF NEGRO CHURCHES AND THERE ARE THOSE WHOM THESE STUDENTS, ON RETURN TO AFRICA, HAVE TRAINED IN THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS. THEY FORM TOGETHER WITH THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS A BODY OF STRONG AND DETERMINED OPPOSITION. THEY HAVE CARRIED ON STRIKES AND AGITATION. THEY HAVE GONE TO PRISON FOR THEIR OPINIONS. THEY HAVE RESISTED ALL SORTS OF COMPROMISE AND THEY ARE STILL FIGHTING. THE ONLY OUTSIDE BODY WHICH HAS GIVEN THEM ANY HELP IS THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE GREAT MASS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE STOOD BY IGNORANT AND UNMOVED BY ONE OF THE GREATEST BATTLES OF THE MODERN WORLD. IN ADDITION TO THIS SOME OF THE WHITE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA, OCCUPYING A PREFERRED POSITION, WITH THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND A HIGH WAGE, HAVE CAST IN THEIR LOT WITH THE NEGROES.

35-8-129

THIS WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING STRUGGLES WHICH THE MODERN WORLD WILL SEE.

WHAT OF COURSE, OUGHT TO HAPPEN IN AFRICA IS THE ORGANIZATION OF A NEW AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF THE OLD AFRICAN TRIBAL AUTHORITY. THIS TRIBAL AUTHORITY WAS DISTINCTLY SOCIALISTIC. IT CENTERED ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE HEAD OF THE TRIBE AND THAT CHIEF WAS NOT A DICTATOR BUT A MAN WHO FOLLOWED THE ADVICE OF A COUNCIL, AND THIS COUNCIL REPRESENTED THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE. THIS KIND OF ORGANIZATION WAS COMMON AMONG ALL PEOPLE IN PRIMITIVE TIMES. IT WAS CHANGED IN MODERN EUROPE WHEN THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE WAS TAKEN BY INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD CAPITAL AND ASSUMED THAT THEY HAD THE RIGHT TO ACT FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM THE COMMUNITY OR THE GOVERNMENT.

IT HAS BEEN PROVEN THAT THIS SELF-GOVERNING CAPITALISM HAS RUINED AND WILL FURTHER RUIN CIVILIZATION. IT WOULD BE A CALAMITY TO HAVE THE SAME KIND OF MISTAKE MADE IN THE NEW AFRICA. IT IS THE DUTY OF ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THIS AND THE PEOPLE YOU REPRESENT FIRST, TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND THOROUGHLY JUST WHAT IS GOING ON IN AFRICA AND HOW IT IS CONNECTED WITH THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN WORLD, AND THEN TO HELP BY YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS AND

YOUR ADVICE THE STRUGGLE OF THIS PART OF THE WORLD WHICH IS MORE THAN THE LAST BATTLE OF THE WEST. IT IS THE THIRD BATTLE OF THE RISING EAST.

35-8-130

Keynote Address by
Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois
Vice Chairman, Council on African Affairs
at the Working Conference in Support of African Liberation
Friendship Baptist Church, New York City, April 24, 1954

Mass

AFRICA AND AFRO-AMERICA

Ireland has been raised from the dead by the efforts of Irish Americans; Scandinavians in America have given much aid to Denmark, Norway and Sweden; Italians in the United States have been the saviors of Italy; Greece and Poland have depended on their countrymen in this land for indispensable help. Even Germans, French and Englishmen have often received assistance and support from their kin in America.

It cannot be said that American Negroes have furnished in the past or are furnishing today equally important aid for Africa. This does not mean we have done nothing. It does mean that our help and inspiring understanding of the desperate problems of the dark continent have never been what they should have been.

45-9-1

The reason for this is all too clear: Africa and its problems have never been popular in America. On the contrary, America for the most part has conceived her best interestslay in actions and policies which involved disaster and repression for Africa and her children. Consequently we American Negroes, whose frantic endeavor has long been to be Americans in every right, thought and action, have usually hastened to follow every wind of American opinion with regard to Africa.

This has not been invariably so. During the 18th century when many American Negroes were actually African by birth, our interest in Africa was genuine and based on knowledge and memory. We named many of our organizations "African" and we envisaged a day when the bulk of the Negro population of this country would return to the African Fatherland. From this feeling came the state of Liberia.

Later, as there grew up in America a generation of Negroes who not only knew nothing of Africa but in addition had been taught by American schools, literature and science to despise its past and present, there arose among us a fierce distaste of being in any way associated with Africa. Nevertheless the Negro church in the nation tried to support and maintain missionary effort in Africa. They cooperated with white missionary organizations, even when the whites did not want to send black missionaries to the land of the Blacks. Also, Negro churches organized and sent their own missionaries. For the most part, this missionary effort was too conventional and too little based on knowledge of modern scientific social uplift to be very effective; but it did spark movements toward independent African churches in South and East Africa; and it did some work in education in Liberia and South Africa, and sent black students to America.

There also came in the latter part of the 19th century a renewed interest in Africa in our schools. My own little book, "The Negro," published in 1915, and Woodson's "Journal of Negro History," which began publication in 1916, helped this. African history began to be taught in Negro schools and colleges and even to be noticed briefly in white institutions. Gradually hundreds of African students were taught in our Negro colleges and many in white schools.

Also there grew the Pan-African movement after the First World War during the peace efforts which followed. This had no wide backing among American Negroes and few tangible results in the world. But the Congresses, held regularly from 1919 to 1925, did several important things: they aroused the imperialists of Europe to the danger to them of African thought and cooperation; they inspired Africans in every center where they had active leadership to organize local African Congresses. Today there are such African Congresses in every land where African movements toward autonomy and freedom are taking place: in West Africa; in the Sudan; in South Africa; the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The contemporary Garvey movement affected the Negroes in the United States and the West Indies toward attempts to organize there as peoples of African descent.

While, then, American Negro effort has affected Africa in many ways, yet it has not done nearly as much as might have been expected. This is all too evident today and shows itself in the strange lack of understanding or interest among Colored folk in what is happening in Africa. It would be interesting, but I fear disappointing, to know how far Negro students in this nation realize what is happening in Africa and what its historical and social significance is. In other groups and in other nations, the developments in Africa today are of first significance and are being watched with bated breath. Why?

In the 19th century there had been completed in Europe a system of industry and world commerce which many considered perfect. It envisioned comfort, ease and luxury for the white people of Britain and France with more or less participation by other European nations and by the United States. This European culture rested on the free land, hard work and low wages of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa and other areas. With the food and other materials which this low cost of production enabled Europe to import, her industrial leaders could manufacture and sell the goods which they wanted and other goods which they could force colonial peoples to buy. At the same time the white workers in Europe and North America could be paid a fairly high wage, could work under increasingly better conditions, and enjoy the right to participate in Government so long as they did not threaten the colonial system. This was in many ways an ideal arrangement. The smooth comfort of London in the day when I first saw it in 1892; the magnificence of Paris; the

well-trained servants, the well-dressed people, the elegant horses and carriages; the uniforms and jewels; the art galleries, parks and monuments. This was the height of European civilization. The only people who were uncomfortable and unappreciative of this splendor were the poverty-stricken, ignorant and sick yellow, brown and black serfs who furnished cheaply the materials which this great world used and enjoyed.

The unsophisticated might have thought that these serfs would have revolted forthwith. But no. They were weak, unorganized, silenced by religion, and threatened by the armed force for which the well-paid white workers of Europe were taken out of industry and sent as soldiers to make that industry safe for white people. Poets like Kipling called this "The White Man's Burden."

So in the dawning 20th Century there was no effective revolt among the colonial peoples. But curiously enough the dissatisfaction and revolt came from white nations of Europe who were bitterly envious and dissatisfied at the share of the loot in Asia and Africa which they were getting as compared with France and Britain. Germany especially wanted a larger share of colonial labor and materials and this was the cause of the First World War. This war had three totally unexpected results: It aroused the depressed colonial peoples, when they were asked to fight for their own continued enslavement; secondly, the First World War precipitated revolution in Russia, a nation which had long been a subordinate part of Europe under control of France and Germany; thirdly, it smashed in 1929 to 1936 the whole industrial and commercial system which it was fought to preserve. Before European civilization could restore its power and organize anew, Germany and Italy got a new idea of a new imperialism which they would lead instead of Britain and France. The war was therefore renewed under the name of the Second World War. This also had two extraordinary results: the independence of Russia, China and India, formerly the larger part of the colonial area whence European civilization had obtained its cheap labor, free land and much of its food and clothes and other indispensable materials. Thereupon the United States determined to force Russia back into dependence on West Europe and to restore China to the colonial area and to join England, Belgium and France in making Africa the center of a new colonialism.

But struggling and later free India had secured by migration a small foothold in Africa and that fact, together with the ideas planted by the Pan-African movement and the resulting African Congresses, lighted fires all over Africa. I saw the beginnings of this at the last Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, in 1945. This session of the Congress had been called by African members of the World Federation of Trade Unions which had just been formed in Paris. There members of new black African unions appeared, and the white unions of England

45-9-2

and America wanted to speak for them and not allow them to speak for themselves. The Africans won but as a result the white unions of Britain and America later withdrew and eventually formed a new world body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Meantime the black unions from Paris called a new session of the Pan-African Congress and invited me to preside. I did so. There I met many Africans, among them Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the British Gold Coast, the first independent Negro state in the British Empire; and Jomo Kenyatta, who was later accused of leading the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Also present were men from Nigeria, which is on the threshold of independence; and from South Africa, where the battle for a Free Africa is centering.

Thus the center of the fight for maintaining and restoring colonialism is moving today from Asia, where Europe and the United States are losing, to Africa, where they are organizing a determined last stand for making the color line perpetuated in the modern world. Surely this is a matter in which American Negroes must be interested, for if colonial serfdom is maintained in Africa, the color line will not disappear in Afro-America. How, then, does the battle line in Africa stand today?

First, let us clearly understand just what is the essence of colonialism. It is not simply the matter of owning a country. It is a matter of economic organization, of earning an income by means of free colonial land and cheap colonial labor. It is often said that England makes no profit on her colonies, that France spends more for her colonies than she receives. This is true if by England and France you mean the English and French Governments. But it is not true if you mean the persons engaged in industry and commerce.

Today out of Africa comes 98% of the diamonds of the world; 80% of the cobalt; 75% of the sisal hemp; 75% of the palm oil; 70% of the cocoa; 60% of the gold; 35% of the phosphates; 30% of the chrome and manganese; 20% of the copper; 15% of the coffee, and all of the cloves.

West Africa supplies the world nearly 70% of its cocoa and chocolate. This arose through the enterprise of a black Native, Tettie Quarsie, who out-maneuvered the plans of Spanish plantation owners and the British manufacturers. The cocoa crop, varying from 250,000 to 400,000 tons a year, is raised on small farms, a ton to a farm. The cocoa is taken to England, Holland and the United States, and processed and sold to you at a price which makes millionaires of the Quaker Cadburys and at the same time price fluctuations put the farmers in bankruptcy.

British, Dutch and American capital beat down the selling price by combination. The farmers had combined too. They held 13 European firms at bay until

the British Government had to intervene when the Second World War came. The British Government took complete control of the cocoa markets, a socialistic plan. A low price was fixed but the Government promised to return any profits to the farmers. Eventually profits of 8 million dollars were realized, but the farmers got nothing. The Government promised to spend it "for the farmers' benefit."

After the war, as a result of this and other injustices, there came a demand by the people of West Africa for a change in the constitution of the country. The whole thing was planned by the recently organized body known as the "United Gold Coast Convention." The disturbances began with strikes, boycott of all imported goods, looting of the stores of both European and Asiatic merchants. It ended with open attacks on the Europeans, especially the political officials. Black police and military forces stood as mere spectators when they were ordered to deal with the crowd! Soldiers from Nigeria were asked to come to the aid of the Gold Coast Government and refused! Curfew was imposed on all the principal towns of the country. The liberty of the press was tampered with, and some leading officers of the "Gold Coast Convention" were jailed as "Communists." The British Navy was summoned from Gibraltar. It was in vain. Last year the Gold Coast became a self-governing colony. The first Prime Minister was Nkrumah, one of the so-called "Communists." There is little likelihood that the Gold Coast will easily be turned back from independence or that its neighbor, Nigeria, with 25 million Negroes, will not soon go the same way.

The story of cocoa is characteristic of colonial trade. Not only do Europe and America get raw material for almost nothing and sell it for high prices, but on the other hand they manufacture in England and America cheap goods which the Africans used to furnish themselves but are now undersold in their own markets and must buy from Europeans.

This is the colonial system. It began to fall after the First World War, and after the Second, resulted in the independence of India and China. From that moment West Europe, led by the United States of America and its organized industry, determined to maintain remaining colonialism and, if possible, to re-establish colonialism in China, if not in Eastern Europe. Against this the Asians are revolting and revolt has begun in Africa.

It is difficult, of course, with the suppression of news, for us to know exactly what is going on in Africa, but certain outstanding occurrences are clear. First of all, in North Africa, including Egypt, there is a revolt against domination by France, Italy and Great Britain. Italy has virtually been eliminated. The fight against Great Britain in Egypt and against France in Algiers and Tunis and Morocco is widely known, and is continuing, with chances in favor of the Native population.

45-9-3

Below Egypt lies the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan with its 9 million people. The Sudan is of importance because it controls the water supply of Egypt on which the very life of the country depends. A peculiar political struggle is going on there between Great Britain and Egypt. The British have educated a small group of black people who are the political agents for the British. Opposed to them are a large number of Negroes, some primitive tribes who wish independence. That fight has been implemented by a strong trade union movement, with the chances in favor of black independence.

To the west of the Sudan lies the vast French West Africa and south of that, French Congo. Here recently there has come organization among the Blacks. It is made difficult because there is a black elite, educated and recognized by the French without a color line, who are often more French than the French, and oppose the interests of the great mass of the Negro people. On the other hand, under the new French Federal Union and under the leadership of men like Gabriel D'Arboussier, there has been strong effort to secure some degree of autonomy.

In British West Africa, including the Gold Coast and Nigeria, has come the greatest success. The Gold Coast is practically an independent dominion, and Nigeria is following. The difficulty there is that the leaders are not developing the ancient African socialism but are disposed to follow modern European business enterprise, with European capital, which may have the result that white business exploitation will go into the hands of black exploiters, with little essential difference.

This triumph of Negro organization in West Africa is influencing the whole of the rest of Black Africa. In East Africa and in Kenya it centers on land ownership. In Kenya most of the best land was sold to white Englishmen 50 years ago at one cent an acre and became a place for idle aristocrats using slave labor to raise crops which the Negroes were refused the right to raise. For years there has been an attempt to settle this peacefully by an appeal to the British "sense of justice." This has not succeeded and last year there broke out a bitter revolutionary movement under the Kikuyu tribe which seeks by bloody revolution to do what organization and appeal ought to have been able to accomplish.

In Uganda there is danger of the same thing. Here is a cotton country with the land in the possession of the Natives but the whole economy dominated by white businessmen. In order to stop rebellion there, the King of part of Uganda was kidnapped and taken to England.

In the Belgian Congo every attempt is being made by Belgium to deprive the great Negro mass of educated leadership through appeasement of trained Negroes, and on the other hand, various and careful concessions have been made to the persons still in tribal organizations. In the copper country of the Belgian Congo and

Rhodesia there has risen a strong Negro trade union movement which has repeatedly organized successful strikes.

But it is in the Union of South Africa where the real fight is centering. Here a primitive, reactionary Government is trying to establish a complete color line in work, wages, and civil rights between 10 million black and colored people and 2½ million whites. This has recently claimed the attention of the world. South African reaction is brutal and adamant. It claims jurisdiction not only over the land and labor of the Natives of the Union of South Africa, but over those half million of Southwest Africa, with its diamonds and gold.

Against this there is fighting a considerable public opinion among the white people of Europe and North America. On the other hand, among the Negroes of South Africa there are large numbers of those trained in the United States through the efforts of Negro churches and there are those whom these students, on return to Africa, have trained in their own institutions. They form, together with the East Indian immigrants, a body of strong and determined opposition. They have carried on strikes and agitation. They have gone to prison for their opinions. They have resisted all sorts of compromise and they are still fighting. The only outside body which has given them any help is the Council on African Affairs. The great mass of the Negro people in the United States have stood by ignorant and unmoved by one of the greatest battles of the modern world. In addition to this, some of the white workers of South Africa occupying a preferred position, with the right to organize and a high wage, have cast in their lot with the Negroes. This will be one of the most interesting struggles which the modern world will see.

4-6-4

What, of course, ought to happen in Africa is the organization of a New Africa on the basis of the old African tribal authority. This tribal authority was distinctly socialistic. It centered economic organization in the head of the tribe and that Chief was not a dictator but a man who followed the advice of a Council, and this Council represented the mass of the people. This kind of organization was common among all people in primitive times. It was changed in modern Europe when the control of industry and commerce was taken by individuals who had capital and assumed that they had the right to act for their own interests without interference from the community or the Government.

It has been proven that this self-governing capitalism has ruined and will further ruin civilization. It would be a calamity to have the same kind of mistake made in the New Africa. It is the duty of organizations like this and the people you represent, first, to try to understand thoroughly just what is going on in Africa and how it is connected with the evolution of the modern world, and then to help by your contributions and your advice the struggle of this part of the world which is more than the last battle of the West. It is the third battle of the Rising East. The first was the Russian Revolution. The second was the revolution of China to free yellow labor. The third coming revolution, in Black Africa, is to free black labor, and thus to complete Negro emancipation in the United States.

"THE LAST BATTLE OF THE WEST . . . THE THIRD BATTLE OF THE RISING EAST"

Passages from the Key-note Address by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois at the Conference in Support of African Liberation, sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, New York City, April 24th

"....In the 19th century there had been completed in Europe a system of industry and world commerce which many considered perfect. It envisioned comfort, ease and luxury for the white people of Britain and France with more or less participation by other European nations and by the United States. This European culture rested on the free land, hard work and low wages of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa and other areas. With the food and other materials which this low cost of production enabled Europe to import, her industrial leaders could manufacture and sell the goods which they wanted and other goods which they could force colonial peoples to buy. At the same time the white workers in Europe and North America could be paid a fairly high wage, could work under increasingly better conditions, and enjoy the right to participate in government so long as they did not threaten the colonial system.

"This was in many ways an ideal arrangement. The smooth comfort of London in the day when I first saw it in 1892; the magnificence of Paris; the well-trained servants, the well-dressed people, the elegant horses and carriages; the uniforms and jewels; the art galleries, parks and monuments. This was the height of European civilization. The only people who were uncomfortable and unappreciative of this splendor were the poverty-stricken, ignorant, and sick yellow, brown and black serfs who furnished cheaply the materials which this great world used and enjoyed. . .

35-8-119

Africa after World War II

"I saw the beginnings of [revolt in Africa] at the last Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, in 1945. This session of the Congress had been called by African members of the World Federation of Trade Unions which had just been formed in Paris. There members of new Black African unions appeared, and the white unions of England and America wanted to speak for them and not allow them to speak for themselves. The Africans won but as a result the white unions of Britain and America later withdrew and eventually formed a new world body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

"Meantime the black unions from Paris called a new session of the Pan-African Congress and invited me to preside. I did so. There I met many Africans, among them Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the British Gold Coast, the first independent Negro state in the British Empire; and Jomo Kenyatta, who was later accused of leading the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Also present were men from Nigeria, which is on the threshold of independence; and from South Africa where the battle for a Free Africa is centering.

"Thus the center of the fight for maintaining and restoring colonialism is moving today from Asia, where Europe and the United States are losing, to Africa where they are organizing a determined last stand for making the color line perpetuated in the modern world. Surely this is a matter in which American Negroes must be interested, for if colonial serfdom is maintained in Africa, the color line will not disappear in Afro-America. How then does the battle line in Africa stand today?

Nature of Colonialism

"First, let us clearly understand just what is the essence of colonialism. It is not simply the matter of owning a country. It is a matter of economic organization, of earning an income by means of free colonial land and cheap colonial labor. It is often said that England makes no profit on her colonies, that France spends more for her colonies than she receives. This is true if by England and France you mean the English and French Governments. But it is not true if you mean the persons engaged in industry and commerce.

"Today out of Africa come 98% of the diamonds of the world, 80% of the cobalt, 75% of the sisal hemp, 75% of the palm oil, 70% of the cocoa, 60% of the gold, 35% of the phosphates, 30% of the chrome and manganese, 20% of the copper, 15% of the coffee, and all of the cloves. West Africa supplies the world nearly 70% of its cocoa and chocolate. . . The cocoa is taken to England, Holland and the United States, and processed and sold to you at a price which makes millionaires of the Quaker Cadburys, and at the same time price fluctuations put the farmers in bankruptcy. . .

"The story of cocoa is characteristic of colonial trade. Not only do Europe and America get raw material for almost nothing and sell it for high prices, but on the other hand they manufacture in England and America cheap goods which the colonial peoples used to furnish themselves but are now undersold in their own markets and must buy from Europeans.

"This is the colonial system. It began to fall after the First World War, and after the Second, resulted in the independence of India and China. From that moment West Europe, led by the United States of America and its organized industry, determined to maintain remaining colonialism and, if possible, to re-establish colonialism in China, if not in Eastern Europe. Against this the Asians are revolting and revolt has begun in Africa. . .

(continued on next page)

35-8-120

To Free Black Labor

"What, of course, ought to happen in Africa is the organization of a New Africa on the basis of the old African tribal authority. This tribal authority was distinctly socialistic. It centered economic organization in the head of the tribe and that Chief was not a dictator but a man who followed the advice of a Council, and this Council represented the mass of the people. This kind of organization was common among all people in primitive times. It was changed in modern Europe when the control of industry and commerce was taken by individuals who had capital and assumed that they had the right to act for their own interests without interference from the community or the Government.

"It has been proven that this self-governing capitalism has ruined and will further ruin civilization. It would be a calamity to have the same kind of mistake made in the New Africa. It is the duty of organizations like this and the people you represent first to try to understand thoroughly just what is going on in Africa and how it is connected with the evolution of the modern world, and then to help by your contributions and your advice the struggle of this part of the world which is more than the last battle of the West.

"It is the third battle of the Rising East. The first was the Russian Revolution. The second was the revolution of China to free yellow labor. The third coming revolution, in Black Africa, is to free black labor, and thus to complete Negro emancipation in the United States." * * *

CHURCHILL DUCKS A STRAIGHT ANSWER TO MALAN

One might assume from press reports that Churchill had given a flat "No" to Malan's latest demand for spreading South Africa's white-supremacy dominion over the long-coveted three neighboring Protectorates. The truth is that Churchill's "No" was wrapped up in qualifications that might well spell an eventual "Yes." This is how the discussion of this question ran in the British House of Commons last month:

Churchill: "There can be no question of H.M. Government agreeing at the present time to the transfer of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa. We are pledged, since the South Africa Act of 1909, not to transfer these territories until their inhabitants have been consulted and until the United Kingdom Parliament has had an opportunity of expressing its views."

Mr. Sorensen: "Is the Prime Minister aware that this reply will give profound satisfaction both to the people of this country and to the indigenous inhabitants of these three Protectorates? Is he further aware that the crucial reference is to the word 'consult'? Can we take it now that 'consultation' in this context means also consent?"

Hon. Members: "Answer."

Mr. Sorensen: "If the Prime Minister did not hear me, may I repeat that the first part of my supplementary question asked him whether he did not appreciate that his answer would give profound satisfaction?"

Churchill: "Yes, sir; I got that all right."

Mr. Sorensen: "As the rt. hon. gentleman did not get the second part of my question, may I ask him again whether we are to take it that the word 'consult' in the context in which it is used can now be taken to be synonymous with 'consent'?"

Churchill: "I should greatly hesitate to try to give my opinion now on a matter full of legal subtleties, and with the deep constitutional importance attaching to it."

Miss Lee: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the second part of his answer is neither as clear nor as satisfactory as the first part? Would he agree that it is essential that the people of these territories should be absolutely certain that this Government will not permit them to fall under the influence of Dr. Malan? Will he therefore say something now that will free us from any fear that when he talks about consulting the people of the territories he may mean consulting in the same way as when Seretse Khama was banished? Would he not agree that the people wanted Seretse Khama back and that therefore we do not want ambiguity?"

Churchill: "Strong views, however agreeably expressed, are by no means a qualification for being a constitutional authority."

Miss Lee: "I wish to give notice that, in view of the entirely unsatisfactory nature of the Prime Minister's answer, I shall raise the matter on the adjournment."

Mr. L. M. Lever: "Is not this a situation where the least said at present the better?" * * *

May 1, 1954
Bard College

THE HISTORY OF AFRICA

ANYONE WHO WANTS TO GET AN IDEA OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES CAN EASILY FIND A SMALL, AUTHORITATIVE VOLUME, WHICH WILL COVER THE MATTER. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE. IN THE CASE OF ASIA THERE MAY BE SOME DIFFICULTY BUT ONE CAN FIND ~~SOME~~ BOOKS ~~ON~~ THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND OF INDIA. WHEN IT COMES TO HISTORIES OF SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES THERE IS ~~SOME~~ DIFFICULTY, AND REGARDING THE HISTORY OF AFRICA IT IS ~~EXTREMELY DIFFICULT~~ TO GET ANY VOLUME OR ANY RECOGNIZED AUTHORITY WHICH ~~SUPPORTED~~ THAT THIS HISTORY. INDEED, THERE ARE PERSONS STILL AFFIRMING WHAT WAS 50 YEARS AGO THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL JUDGMENT, THAT AFRICA HAS NO HISTORY.

IF YOU LOOK AT THIS SITUATION IT MAY OCCUR TO YOU THAT THE PART OF THE WORLD WHICH HAS BEEN HELD SUBORDINATE TO THE LEADERS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AND HAS FURNISHED FREE LAND AND CHEAP LABOR UNDER ALMOST SLAVE CONDITIONS REVEALS THIS SITUATION IN ~~THE~~ HISTORICAL WRITINGS ABOUT THEM. IN OTHER WORDS, HISTORY, INSTEAD OF BEING A SCIENCE, IS EVIDENTLY A MATTER OF PROPAGANDA, SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,

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READING THEIR HISTORY MAY HAVE A GLOW OF SATISFACTION OVER THEIR EXTRAORDINARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, READING OR NOT READING THE HISTORY OF AFRICA ~~OR~~ ~~NOT~~ WILL COME TO THE NATURAL CONCLUSION THAT ~~THESE~~ PEOPLE ~~HAVE~~ HAD NO HISTORY WORTH WRITING.

THIS SITUATION WAS NOT TRUE BEFORE 1600. IN MEDIEVAL AND ANCIENT HISTORY AFRICA BULKED LARGE IN IMPORTANCE. IT WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST OF LANDS TOWARD WHICH BOTH GREECE AND ROME LOOKED, NOT ONLY FOR INFORMATION BUT FOR INSPIRATION. THE ROMANS SAID, "ALWAYS SOMETHING NEW OUT OF AFRICA."

WHAT I AM GOING TO TRY TO DO TODAY IS TO OUTLINE THE HISTORY OF THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA, BASING WHAT I SAY UPON WHAT SEEMS TO ME THE BEST AND MOST RELIABLE AUTHORITY.

YOU WILL FIND MANY WHO DISAGREE WITH ME.

May 1, 1954
Bard College

THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA IN ITS FINAL MODERN FORM HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A QUESTION MARK, AS AN INVERTED SAUCER, AS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S CONTINENTS. INCLUDING MADAGASCAR, IT IS THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF EUROPE, FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF THE UNITED STATES; AND THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, INDIA, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES COULD BE HELD WITHIN ITS BORDERS. IN ACTUAL MEASUREMENT IT IS NEARLY SQUARE; FIVE THOUSAND MILES LONG BY FOUR THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED MILES WIDE. BUT ITS NORTHERN HALF IS BY FAR THE LARGER, WITH THE SOUTHERN HALF TAPERING OFF. IN THE MIDDLE THE EQUATOR CUTS ACROSS AFRICA, AND THE WHOLE CONTINENT LIES MAINLY WITHIN THE TROPICS.

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OF THE PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF AFRICA, ITS RELATIVELY UNBROKEN COASTLINE HAS HAD THE GREATEST EFFECT UPON ITS HISTORY. ALTHOUGH AFRICA IS ABOUT THREE TIMES LARGER THAN EUROPE IN AREA, THE COASTLINE OF EUROPE IS FOUR THOUSAND MILES LONGER THAN THAT OF AFRICA. IN OTHER WORDS, AFRICA HAS ALMOST NO PENINSULAS, DEEP BAYS OR NATURAL HARBORS. ITS LOW AND NARROW COAST, ALMOST LEVEL, RISES RAPIDLY TO A CENTRAL PLATEAU WITH A DEPRESSION IN THE CENTER. THUS THE GREAT RIVERS FALL SUDDENLY TO THE OCEAN, AND THEIR NAVIGATION IS IMPEDED BY RAPIDS AND FALLS.

SIXTY MILLION YEARS AGO VAST REPTILES AND DINOSAURS WANDERED OVER THIS CONTINENT. IT BECAME, AS THE YEARS PASSED, A ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN WITH WILD ANIMALS OF ALL SORTS. FINALLY THERE CAME DOMESTICATED CATTLE, SHEEP, AND GOATS AND A TREMENDOUS DEVELOPMENT OF INSECTS. AS SIR HARRY JOHNSTON WELL REMARKS, "AFRICA IS THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD OF THE REAL DEVIL -- THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF NATURE HOSTILE TO THE UPRISE OF HUMANITY. HERE BEELZEBUB, KING OF THE FLIES, MARSHALS HIS VERMIFORM AND ARTHROPOD HOSTS -- INSECTS, TICKS AND NEMATODE WORMS -- WHICH MORE THAN IN OTHER CONTINENTS (EXCEPTING NEGROID ASIA) CONVEY TO THE SKIN, VEINS, INTESTINES, AND SPINAL MARROW OF MEN AND OTHER VERTEBRATES THE MICROORGANISMS WHICH CAUSE DEADLY, DISFIGURING OR DEBILITATING DISEASES, OR THEMSELVES CREATE THE MORBID CONDITION OF THE PERSECUTED HUMAN BEING, BEASTS, BIRD, REPTILE, FROG, OR FISH."

AFRICA IS A BEAUTIFUL LAND; NOT MERELY COMELY AND PLEASANT BUT HAUNTED WITH SWAMP AND JUNGLE; STERNLY BEAUTIFUL IN ITS LOVELINESS OF TERROR, ITS DEPTH OF GLOOM,

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AND FULLNESS OF COLOR; ITS HEAVEN-TEARING PEAKS, ITS SILVER OF ENDLESS SAND, THE MIGHT, WIDTH, AND BREADTH OF ITS RIVERS, DEPTH OF ITS LAKES AND HEIGHT OF ITS HOT, BLUE HEAVEN. THERE ARE MYRIADS OF LIVING THINGS, THE VOICE OF STORM, THE KISS OF PESTILENCE AND PAIN, OLD AND EVER NEW, NEW AND INCREDIBLY ANCIENT.

THE ANTHROPOID APE WITH THE GREAT BRAIN WHO WALKED ERECT AND USED HIS HANDS AS TOOLS DEVELOPED UPON EARTH NOT LESS THAN HALF A MILLION YEARS AGO. TRACES OF HIM HAVE BEEN FOUND IN AFRICA, ASIA AND EUROPE AND IN THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA. MANY TYPES WHICH DEVELOPED HAVE DOUBTLESS BEEN LOST, BUT ONE SPECIES HAS SURVIVED, DRIVEN HITHER AND YON BY COLD AND HUNGER, SEGREGATED FROM TIME to time BY EARTHQUAKE AND GLACIER AND UNITED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST HUNGER AND WILD BEASTS.

GROUPS OF THIS SPECIES MUST HAVE INBRED AND DEVELOPED SUB-TYPES OVER PERIODS OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS. OF THE SUB-SPECIES THUS DEVELOPED, SCIENTISTS HAVE USUALLY DISTINGUISHED various races ALL OF WHICH WERE FERTILE IN THEIR CROSS-BREEDING WITH ONE ANOTHER. IN COURSE OF TIME THEY HAVE GIVEN RISE TO MANY TRANSITIONAL GROUPS and intermediary types.

THREE, FIVE, TWENTY RACES have been DIFFERENTIATED UNTIL AT LAST IT WAS EVIDENT that at least 2/3 of MANKIND WOULD NOT FIT ACCURATELY INTO ANY SCIENTIFIC DELIMITATION OF RACIAL CATEGORIES; NO MATTER WHAT CRITERIA WERE USED, MOST MEN FELL INTO INTERMEDIATE CLASSES. Finally there prevailed for descriptive purposes the general classification into 3 races!

THE LONG-HEADED DARK PEOPLE WITH MORE OR LESS CRINKLED HAIR WHOM WE KNOW AS NEGROIDS; THE BROAD-HEADED YELLOW PEOPLE WITH STRAIGHT AND WIRY HAIR WHOM WE CALL MONGOLOIDS; AND A TYPE BETWEEN THESE, POSSIBLY FORMED BY THEIR UNION, WITH BLEACHED SKINS AND INTERMEDIATE HAIR, KNOWN AS THE CAUCASOIDS.

NO SOONER HAD THESE VARIANT TYPES APPEARED IN CENTRAL AFRICA, ON THE STEPPES OF ASIA, AND IN EUROPE, THAN THEY MERGED AGAIN. THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE TYPES WAS NOT SO MUCH THEIR PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES AND LIKENESSES AS THEIR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. AS FROBENIUS SAYS: "WITH VAST AND GROWING WEIGHT THERE BEGINS TO EMERGE TODAY [redacted] A NEW CONCEPTION AMONG LIVING MEN OF THE UNITY OF HUMAN CULTURE." [redacted]

[redacted]. THE THEORY OF ABSOLUTELY DEFINITE RACIAL GROUPS WAS THEREFORE ABANDONED, AND "PURE" RACIAL TYPES CAME TO BE REGARDED AS MERELY THEORETICAL ABSTRACTIONS WHICH NEVER OR VERY RARELY EXISTED.

THE NAME "NEGRO" ORIGINALLY EMBRACED A CLEAR CONCEPTION OF ETHNOLOGY -- THE AFRICAN WITH DARK SKIN, SO-CALLED "WOOLLY" HAIR, THICK LIPS AND NOSE; BUT IT IS ONE OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF MODERN SCIENCE TO CONFINE THIS TYPE TO A SMALL DISTRICT EVEN IN AFRICA.

YELLOW AFRICANS LIKE THE HOTTENTOTS, BROWN AFRICANS LIKE THE ZULUS, EVEN BLACK AFRICANS LIKE THE NUBIENS WERE NOT NEGROES. AND THUS THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA WAS PEOPLED BY RACES WHO WERE NOT "GENUINE" NEGROES. NATURALLY THIS REFINEMENT OF SCIENCE HAS LATELY BEEN DROPPED. BY "NEGRO" WE MEAN TODAY THE DARKER PORTION OF MANKING, WITH CLOSE-CURLED HAIR AND ROUNDED RATHER THAN SHARP FEATURES.

35-8-106a

"THERE WAS ONCE AN 'UNINTERRUPTED BELT' OF NEGRO CULTURE FROM CENTRAL EUROPE TO SOUTH AFRICA. 'THESE PEOPLE,' SAYS GRIFFITH TAYLOR, 'MUST HAVE BEEN QUITE ABUNDANT IN EUROPE TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE PALEOLITHIC AGE. [redacted] THEIR SKELETONS reach FROM BRITTANY, SWITZERLAND, and [redacted], LOMBARDY, to ILLYRIA, AND BULGARIA. THEY ARE UNIVERSAL THROUGHout AFRICA AND [redacted] MELANESIA, WHILE THE [redacted] SKULLS OF EAST BRAZIL SHOW WHERE SIMILAR FOLK PENETRATED TO THE NEW WORLD.' [redacted]

[redacted]

IT SEEMS REASONABLE TO SUPPOSE THAT dark pigmies [redacted] ORIGINATING IN AFRICAN OR ASIA [redacted] APPEARED in North Africa when THE SAHARA A[redacted] WAS [redacted]-COVERED WITH RIVERS AND VERDURE AND [redacted] WAS IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE. THERE CAME UPON THE pigmies [redacted] A WAVE OF NEGROIDS WHO WERE HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN AND USED STONE IMPLEMENTS. THE REMAINS OF AN AFRICAN STONE AGE ARE SCATTERED OVER A WIDE AREA WITH AMAZING ABUNDANCE, AND THERE IS SUCH A RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN

AFRICA AND THOSE IN EUROPE THAT WE CAN APPLY, WITH FEW DIFFERENCES, THE SAME NAMES. THE SEQUENCE IN CULTURE IN EUROPE RESEMBLES THE SEQUENCE IN AFRICA ALTHOUGH THEY MAY NOT HAVE BEEN CONTEMPORARY.

IN THE EYES OF THE GREEKS A THOUSAND YEARS B.C. AND EVEN IN THE AGE OF PERICLES, BLACK AFRICANS WERE CONSIDERED EQUAL TO [redacted] GREEKS, AND SUPERIOR TO EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC BARBARIANS. SIGNIFICANT INDEED WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY GREEKS TOWARD AFRICA. IT WAS TO THEM A LAND OF IDEALS. HERE IN LEGEND THEIR GODS RETIRED TO REST AND RECUPERATE. IN THE DAWN OF GREEK LITERATURE, [redacted] WE HEAR OF THE GODS FEASTING AMONG THE "BLAMELESS ETHIOPIANS."

WHEN GREEK POETS ENUMERATED THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH, IT WAS NOT ONLY NATURAL BUT INEVITABLE TO MENTION MEMNON, KING OF ETHIOPIA, AS LEADER OF ONE OF THE GREAT ARMIES THAT BESIEGED TROY. (the Greek word Ethiopia meant "Land of Burned Faces") WHEN A WRITER LIKE HERODOTUS, FATHER OF HISTORY, WANTED TO VISIT THE WORLD, HE WENT AS NATURALLY TO EGYPT AS AMERICANS GO TO LONDON AND PARIS. NOR WAS HE SURPRISED TO FIND THE EGYPTIANS, AS HE DESCRIBED THEM, "BLACK AND CURLY-HAIRED."

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF AFRICA WOULD SEEM TO BE SOMETHING AS FOLLOWS: THE SUNRISE OF [redacted] CULTURE TOOK PLACE IN central Africa [redacted], SPREADING DOWN THE NILE VALLEY AND BECOMING THE CRADLE OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA CENTERED THE TRADE IN GOLD AND OTHER MATERIALS ON WHICH THE PROSPERITY OF EGYPT DEPENDED. FROM CENTRAL AFRICA EGYPT BROUGHT gold, SLAVES, SOLDIERS AND LEADERS. FROM EUROPE AND ASIA SHE BROUGHT SLAVES AND CITIZENS. WHEN ASIA OVERWHELMED EGYPT, EGYPT SOUGHT REFUGE IN ETHIOPIA AS A CHILD RETURNS TO ITS MOTHER, AND ETHIOPIA THEN FOR CENTURIES DOMINATED EGYPT AND INVADED ASIA. NEITHER GREECE, ROME NOR ISLAM SUCCEEDED IN CONQUERING ETHIOPIA BUT THEY PUSHED HER BACK AND SHUT HER UP IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA WHICH HINDERED [redacted] CONTACT BETWEEN HER AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNTIL THE DAY OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

35-8-108

THE PRE-DYNASTIC EGYPTIANS WERE HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN AND [redacted] invented agriculture. THEY MADE CLOTHES AND BASKETS AND WERE DISTINCTLY NEGROID IN PHYSIQUE. THEY CAME UNDOUBTEDLY FROM WHAT IS NOW CALLED NUBIA. culture

NEGROES FROM [redacted] central Africa MOVED SLOWLY AND CONTINUOUSLY DOWN THE nile VALLEY FOR

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THOUSANDS OF YEARS. THEY MINGLED THEIR BLOOD WITH THE ASIATICS WHO MOVED INTO THE VALLEY FROM THE EAST, FORMING GRADUALLY THE TYPE WHICH WE KNOW AS "EGYPTIAN" — BROWN OR YELLOW IN COLOR; WITH CURLY HAIR WHICH THEY COVERED WITH A WIG OR HEADDRESS; THE TYPE CAN STILL BE SEEN IN NORTH AFRICA, AMONG THE FELLAHIN OR PEASANTS OF MODERN EGYPT, AMONG THE BEJA AND IN PARTS OF MODERN ETHIOPIA.

However, black Egyptians [redacted] RECUR CONTINUALLY IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY. FOR INSTANCE IN THE 18th DYNASTY, THE NEW EMPIRE [redacted] CAME TO POWER IN 1580 B.C. AND LASTED THREE CENTURIES. THE POWER OF AAHMES, ITS FOUNDER, WAS REINFORCED BY HIS MARRIAGE WITH AN ETHIOPIAN PRINCESS, NEFERTARI. She was invariably painted black in Egyptian art and yet was as Petrie says, "The most venerated figure of Egyptian history." It is thought that Aahmes married her to secure the help of the Negro tribes in his wars, and that it was owing to this alliance that he succeeded in expelling the Hyksos.

FIFTEEN HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE CHRIST A SERIES OF GREAT KINGS ruled in [redacted] EGYPT. ONE OF THEM WAS TUTHMOSIS IV, WHO MARRIED A BLACK WOMAN, MUTEMUA. THEIR SON BUILT THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR AT KARNAK AND FROM HIM DESCENDED THE GREAT AKENATON (AH KEN AH TON) WHO REVOLUTIONISED [redacted] THE RELIGION OF EGYPT [redacted]

AN AMERICAN WRITER HAS CALLED HIM "NOT ONLY THE MOST INTERESTING PHAROAH IN ALL THE LONG LINES OF THEM MANY DYNASTIES BUT HE WAS IN MANY WAYS ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE HUMAN BEINGS WHO EVER LIVED.

IN THE 6th CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST ASIA PRECIPITATED ITSELF UPON AFRICA. TAHARQUA, ONE OF THE GREATEST OF BLACK KINGS, HELD BACK THE ASIATIC POWERS FROM 688 B.C. to 663 B.C.

35-8-109

RANDALL-MACIVER SAID, "IT SEEMS AMAZING THAT AN AFRICAN NEGRO SHOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE WITH ANY SORT OF JUSTIFICATION TO STYLE HIMSELF EMPEROR OF THE WORLD." TAHARQA ASCENDED THE THRONE IN 688 B.C. AT THE AGE OF ABOUT FORTY-TWO. FOR FIFTEEN YEARS HE FOSTERED THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT. THE TRADE OF THE COUNTRY INCREASED, AND THERE WAS MONEY TO REPAIR THE ANCIENT TEMPLES AND BUILD NEW ONES. TAHARQA ESTABLISHED FRIENDLY ALLIANCES WITH WESTERN ASIA AND WITH ASSYRIA. THE HEBREW BIBLE CHRONICLES THIS IN THE DOWNFALL OF SENNACHERIB, AND NOTES ETHIOPIA'S TRADE.

35-8-110

IT HAS LONG BEEN THE BELIEF OF MODERN MEN THAT THE HISTORY OF EUROPE COVERS THE ESSENTIAL HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION, WITH UNIMPORTANT EXCEPTIONS; THAT THE PROGRESS OF THE WHITE RACE HAS BEEN ALONG THE ONE NATURAL, NORMAL PATH TO THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE HUMAN CULTURE. EVEN IN ITS COLLAPSE TODAY, THE DOMINANT OPINION IS THAT THIS IS BUT AN UNFORTUNATE HALTING ON THE WAY; THE SAME MARCH MUST AND WILL BE RESUMED AFTER A

BREATHING SPACE FOR RECOVERY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE KNOW THAT THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE IS VERY SHORT; [redacted] AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF ETERNAL EGYPT. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS NOT MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OLD; FRANCE IN HER PRESENT STATURE DATES BACK 300 YEARS; THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN ONLY 170 YEARS AGO; AND GERMANY LESS THAN 100 YEARS. WHEN, THEREFORE, WE COMPARE MODERN EUROPE WITH THE GREAT EMPIRES WHICH HAVE DIED, IT IS NOT FAR DIFFERENT IN LENGTH OF DAYS FROM THE EMPIRES OF PERSIA, ASSYRIA, THE HITTITES, AND BABYLON. ETHIOPIA RULED THE WORLD LONGER THAN ENGLAND HAS.

LET US NOW BRIEFLY GIVE ATTENTION TO THE VARIOUS PARTS OF AFRICA WHICH AFTER THE DECLINE OF EGYPT DEVELOPED DISTINCTIVE STREAMS OF HISTORY. ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENTS OF culture IN AFRICA WAS ON THE WEST COAST AROUND THE GREAT GULF OF GUINEA. FROBENIUS HAS FANCIFULLY CALLED THIS "ATLANTIS" AND REGARDS IT AS POSSIBLY A DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURE OF THAT FABLED ISLAND IN THE ATLANTIC. WHATEVER ITS ORIGIN, THERE GREW UP ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA A PECULIARLY AFRICAN STATE. HOW FAR BACK ITS DEVELOPMENT EXTENDS, NO MAN KNOWS. WE HAVE A FAIRLY AUTHENTIC HISTORY FROM THE 17th CENTURY ON,

creditable but discontinuous) to 600 B.C.

EXPORTS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH, AND BEFORE THAT [redacted] TRADITION AND LEGEND.

ON A COAST PROTECTED [redacted] ISLAND BY MOUNTAIN, FOREST AND DESERT, AND ON THE WEST BY THE OCEAN, THERE GREW UP AN AGRICULTURAL CULTURE CENTERING IN THE VILLAGE. ON THIS WAS DEVELOPED IN TIME, INDUSTRY AND ART. INDUSTRY DISCOVERED DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN CITIES; EACH TOWN HAD ITS OWN PECULIAR INDUSTRY AND THEN TRADED ITS SURPLUS WITH THE OTHER TOWNS. THE TOWNS WERE UNITED IN A LOOSE CONFEDERACY WITH COUNCILS AND CHIEFS. they had a well developed religion + cosmography.

600 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, PHOENICIANS TRADED ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA AND A CENTURY LATER THE CARTHAGINIANS. FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES THIS COAST WAS PEOPLED BY THE BLACK WEST AFRICAN TYPE OF NEGRO with a strong family development. THE CENTER OF THEIR CULTURE LAY ABOVE THE BIGHT OF BENIN, [redacted] AND REACHED EAST AND NORTH. IT CAN BE TRACED IN STONE MONUMENTS, ARCHITECTURE, WORKS OF ART, AND ESPECIALLY PATTERNS OF CULTURE. THE TRUE WEST AFRICAN SHOWED GREAT SKILL IN PLASTIC ART; HE CARVED IVORY AND WOOD, AND THE BRONZES OF BENIN ARE AMONG THE MOST NOTEWORTHY REMAINS OF ARTISTIC EFFORT IN THE WORLD.

35-7-111

IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE WEST COAST NEGROES FIRST GAVE TO CIVILIZATION THE ART OF WELDING IRON WHICH SPREAD OVER ALL AFRICA AND THEN EVENTUALLY INTO EUROPE AND ASIA. IT IS of course POSSIBLE THAT IRON WELDING WAS DISCOVERED ON OTHER CONTINENTS INDEPENDENTLY OF AFRICA, BUT NO CONTINENT HAD SO WIDE A USE OF IRON IN EARLIEST TIMES.

EARLY IN THE 7th CENTURY ISLAM [redacted] ENTERED NORTH AFRICA AND PROSELYTED AMONG THE BERBERS AND NEGROES. AIDED BY BLACK SOLDIERS and with many black rulers, THE MOSLEMS CROSSED INTO SPAIN; IN THE FOLLOWING CENTURY, REPULSED IN EUROPE, THEY returned, CROSSED THE WEST END OF THE SAHARA AND CAME TO NEGROLAND. LATER, IN THE 11th CENTURY, ARABS again PENETRATED Europe, THE SUDAN AND CENTRAL AFRICA FROM THE EAST, FILTERING THROUGH THE NEGRO TRIBES OF DARFUR, KANEM, AND NEIGHBORING REGIONS.

35-8-112

FROBENIUS REMINDS US THAT THE ENSUING CULTURE in Africa WAS NOT ARAB BUT NEGRO: "THE REVELATIONS OF 15th AND 17th CENTURY NAVIGATORS FURNISH US WITH CERTAIN PROOF THAT NEGRO AFRICA, WHICH EXTENDED SOUTH OF THE SAHARA DESERT ZONE, WAS STILL IN FULL BLOOM, IN THE FULL BRILLIANCE OF HARMONIOUS AND WELL-FORMED CIVILIZATIONS."

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THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO SUDAN IS EXTRAORDINARY. Before [redacted] THE 11th CENTURY GHANA WAS THE PRINCIPAL KINGDOM. BY THE 12th CENTURY THE KING HAD BECOME MOHAMMEDAN IN FAITH AND HAD A PALACE WITH SCULPTURE AND GLASS WINDOWS. THERE WAS A PROSPEROUS TRADE ACROSS THE DESERT. IT RULED OVER WHAT IS NOW MAURITANIA. ABOUT 1040 ALMORAVIDES, WHO WERE BERBERS WITH NEGRO BLOOD, LED BY YUSSEF HIMSELF A NEGRO, CONQUERED THE NEGRO KINGDOMS TO THE SOUTH AND ALSO CONQUERED SPAIN, HOLDING THAT COUNTRY UNTIL 1220.

THE NEXT SUDANESE STATE WAS THE KINGDOM OF THE black MANDINGOS, WITH MELLE, its capital, situated [redacted] ON THE UPPER NIGER RIVER. MELLE REACHED ITS highest [redacted] POWER IN THE 14th CENTURY.

THE GREATEST DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA AFTER EGYPT AROSE LATE and Timbuctoo IN THE 15th CENTURY IN THE EMPIRE OF THE SONGAY.

THE ORGANIZED SONGHAY STATE AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER UNDER THE BLACK [redacted] ASKIA THE GREAT WAS A REMARKABLE STATE FROM ANY POINT OF VIEW. ITS ORGANIZED ADMINISTRATION, ITS ROADS AND METHODS OF COMMUNICATION, ITS SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SECURITY, PUT IT ABREAST OF ANY CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN OR ASIATIC STATE. IT WAS AS LARGE AS EUROPE. THE EMPEROR "WAS OBEYED WITH AS MUCH DOCILITY ON THE FARTHEST LIMITS OF HIS EMPIRE AS IN HIS OWN PALACE." GAO, TIMBUKTU, AND JENNE WERE INTELLECTUAL CENTERS, AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SANKORE GATHERED THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS OF LAW, [redacted] GRAMMAR, GEOGRAPHY AND SURGERY. A LITERATURE BEGAN TO DEVELOP IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES. THE UNIVERSITY WAS IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH [redacted] INSTITUTIONS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST.

35-B-113

IT WAS FINALLY OVERTHROWN BY THE MOROCCANS armed with gunpowder IN THE 17th CENTURY AND WAS SUCCEEDED BY THE HAUSA STATES AND OTHERS, vestiges of WHICH STILL EXIST.

THE MOVEMENT OF ISAM UP THE NILE CONTINUED FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 13th TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURIES. AS A RESULT, THE BANTU TRIBES, WHICH PROBABLY HAD ORIGINALLY MOVED NORTH FROM THE GREAT LAKES TOWARD THE MEDITERRANEAN, BEGAN A COUNTERMOVEMENT PERHAPS LONG BEFORE THE 11th CENTURY. THEY MOVED TOWARD THE WEST COAST AND THE KINGDOM OF THE CONGO, WHICH DOMINATED THE VALLEY AND FORESTS OF THE GREAT CONGO SYSTEM; THEY then PRESSED UPON THE GREAT LAKES, THREATENING THE NEGROIDS AND MULATTOES ON THE EAST COAST; AND THEY FELL UPON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MONOMOTAPA CENTERING AT ZIMBABWE. THEY OVERTHREW AND CHANGED THE CULTURES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUING them. THEY MARCHED ON IN A SERIES OF STOPS AND FORAYS UNTIL THEY REACHED SOUTH AFRICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY.

35-8-114

THESE BANTU PEOPLES WERE OF MANY TYPES. LIVINGSTONE, STANLEY, AND OTHERS WERE STRUCK WITH THE EGYPTIAN FEATURES OF MANY OF THE [redacted] THIS IS TRUE OF MANY OF THE PEOPLES BETWEEN CENTRAL AFRICA AND EGYPT, SO THAT SOME STUDENTS HAVE TRIED TO INVENT A "HAMITIC" RACE TO ACCOUNT FOR THEM — AN ENTIRELY UNNECESSARY and unproven HYPOTHESIS. THE BANTU CULTURES INCLUDED THE HERDSMAN CRAFT, AGRICULTURE WITH THE HOE, KNOWLEDGE OF IRON AND COPPER. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE BANTU INVASION WAS FACILITATED BY THEIR IRON WEAPONS.

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CERTAIN IT IS THAT THE GREATEST KINGDOM OF CENTRAL AFRICA WAS THAT OF THE MONOMOTAPA, AND THE GREATEST CULTURAL REMAINS OF THE MONOMOTAPA ARE THE CELEBRATED RUINS OF ZIMBABWE. AN EARLY NEGRO MIGRATION, SOME THOUSAND YEARS [redacted] HAD COME UPON OR FOUNDED THE REMARKABLE CIVILIZATION WHICH WE KNOW AS THAT OF ZIMBABWE. BY THE 10TH CENTURY A LATER BANTU MIGRATION HAD OVERTHROWN AND REORGANIZED IT, ESTABLISHING AMONG THE MAKA-LANGA, MATABELE, AND MASHONA, A LINE OF RULERS CALLED THE MONOMOTAPA. This [redacted] WAS AN EXTENSIVE STATE. IN THE 17th CENTURY IT STRETCHED FROM THE ZAMBESI RIVER DOWN TO THE FISH RIVER, RAN SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILES INLAND, AND WAS APPROXIMATELY THE SIZE OF MEXICO. FROBENIUS REGARDED IT AS UNDOUBTEDLY A "VERY GREAT KINGDOM"; [redacted]

[redacted] Zimbabwe [redacted] MEANS "PRINCE OF THE MINE", AND THE AREA WAS A MINERAL CENTER, PROM with irrigation WHICH CAME GOLD, DIAMONDS, AND RUBIES LONG BEFORE MODERN TIMES.

EUROPE KNEW OF CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA. IT TALKED AND WROTE ABOUT IT FROM THE FIFTH TO THE 15th CENTURY. OTTO THE GREAT MADE A NEGRO THE PATRON SAINT OF GERMANY. THE FATHER OF PARSIFAL, KNIGHT OF THE GRAIL, WAS PICTURED AS HAVING A SON BY A BLACK AFRICAN QUEEN. THIS KNIGHT, FEIREFIS, MAGNANIMOUSLY SPARED THE LIFE OF PARSIFAL IN BATTLE AND RETURNED TO AFRICA. SUCH LEGENDARY LORE ILLUSTRATES THE ATTITUDE toward Africa OF ENLIGHTENED AND CIVILIZED SOCIETY IN EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES, IN GERMAN AND IN LATIN EUROPE, STATUES OF THE "BLACK VIRGIN MARY" AND PORTRAITS OF NEGRO SAINTS OF THE CHURCH WERE WIDELY EXHIBITED. THE STAINED GLASS OF THE CATHEDRAL AT CHARTRES today ESPECIALLY ILLUSTRATES THIS.

AFTER THE 15th CENTURY ALL THIS BEGAN TO CHANGE. THE ERA OF THE RENAISSANCE FOR EUROPE BECAME THE DAY OF HUMAN SLAVERY FOR AFRICA ON A SCALE FAR WIDER THAN AFRICA HAD EVER KNOWN. THIS BEGAN ON THE AFRICAN WEST COAST.

25-8-115

CULTURE, WITHDRAWING FROM THE SUDANESE IMPERIALISM, MET EXPANDING Muhammed religion and EUROPE, AND THAT there EUROPE, BEGINNING WITH TRADE IN GOLD AND PEPPER, TURNED TO A TRADE IN HUMAN FLESH ON THE GREATEST SCALE THE WORLD HAD EVER SEEN. THE GAIN arising FROM [redacted] BLACK LABOR TOGETHER WITH THE LOOT OF INDIA CHANGED THE FACE OF WORLD INDUSTRY. BUILT ON A MIRACULOUS UNION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE, THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM WAS FOUNDED ON AFRICAN SLAVERY AND [redacted] soon EUROPE RULED THE WORLD.

Christian (On the sea)

in America

theft in Asia.

21 (for supremacy among European states)

WITH THE 17th CENTURY THE BATTLE [redacted] WAS ON. THE DUTCH AND THE BRITISH FOUGHT TO A FINISH IN THE ATLANTIC TO DOMINATE THE (slave + sugar) TRADE. THE PORTUGUESE, BRITISH AND DUTCH FOUGHT IN INDIA. BETWEEN THEM THEY KILLED THE TRADE OF THE GERMAN HANSEATIC LEAGUE AND OVERTHREW THE [redacted] DOMINANCE OF SPAIN. CROMWELL SEIZED JAMAICA AS A CENTER OF BRITISH SLAVERY AND THE Atlantic SLAVE TRADE. IN AFRICA THE KINGDOMS OF THE BLACK SUDAN declined AND MOVED EAST AND DISPLACED THE NILOTIC NEGROES, [redacted] BETWEEN THE NILE AND THE WEST COAST, AND they PRESSED FARTHER DOWN UPON THE WITHDRAWING BANTU.

35-8-116

[redacted] THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA EXPANDED. IT WAS NOT YET HOWEVER A TRADE WHICH MADE THE WORD SYNONYMOUS WITH NEGRO OR BLACK: DURING THESE YEARS THE MOHAMMEDAN RULERS OF EGYPT WERE BUYING WHITE SLAVES BY THE TENS OF THOUSANDS IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND BRINGING THEM TO SYRIA, PALESTINE, AND THE VALLEY OF THE NILE. [redacted]

A new negro slavery and slave trade, based on ivory for England and America, was started by the Arabs.

22

THE LABOR SITUATION IN EUROPE AT THE TIME MADE SLAVE LABOR IN AMERICA PECULIARLY PROFITABLE. THE WORKING POPULATION OF EUROPE IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES WAS LIMITED. THE DEVASTATION OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE DEMAND FOR LABOR AND SERVICES ON THE FEUDAL ESTATES MADE ANY LARGE-SCALE EXPORTATION OF LABOR TO AMERICA UNTHINKABLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUGAR, COTTON, AND TOBACCO WERE SUITABLE TO MASS PRODUCTION ON THE American PLANTATIONS WITH CONVENTIONAL STANDARDS OF WORK, SIMPLE TOOLS, AND COMPARATIVELY SMALL OUTLAY FOR CLOTHING AND FOOD. THE ORGANIZED black SLAVE GANG WAS MORE PROFITABLE ON THE LAND THAN THE white PEASANT PROPRIETOR. THE NEW CAPITALISM AS A METHOD OF PRODUCTION AND TRADE BEGAN TO SUPPLANT THE FARMER AND MERCHANT AT HOME IN EUROPE (and bring in the factory).

IN 1660 THE UPHEAVAL OF CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND WAS AT AN END, AND ENGLAND WAS READY TO EMBARK ON THE SLAVE TRADE FOR THE BENEFIT OF HER SUGAR AND TOBACCO COLONIES. THE BRITISH INCREASED THE IMPORT OF SLAVES TO AMERICA, RAISED SUGAR, INDIGO, AND COTTON, AND BEGAN TO BRING THESE GOODS TO ENGLAND FOR PROCESSING. THEY THEN EXPORTED SOME OF THESE PROCESSED GOODS TO AFRICA TO BUY MORE SLAVES. TRADE BEGAN TO CHANGE

FROM A GAMBLER'S SEARCH FOR TREASURE TO INVESTMENT FOR PERMANENT INCOME; AND THIS INCOME CONSISTED OF GOODS FOR SALE WHICH WERE IN PRACTICE FOUND MORE VALUABLE THAN TREASURE FOR HOARDING. TO PERFECT THIS ARRANGEMENT SLAVES AND MORE SLAVES MUST BE HAD. 15 million Negroes crossed the Atlantic in 2 centuries.

[redacted] THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD BEGAN TO WRITHE. "MODERN SLAVERY WAS CREATED BY CHRISTIANS, IT WAS CONTINUED BY CHRISTIANS, IT WAS IN SOME RESPECTS MORE BARBAROUS THAN ANYTHING THE WORLD HAD YET SEEN, AND ITS WORST FEATURES WERE TO BE WITNESSED IN COUNTRIES THAT WERE MOST OSTENTATIOUS IN THEIR PARADE OF CHRISTIANITY.

35-X-117

[redacted]

THERE HAD BEEN THE SPLENDOR OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER ALEXANDER VI AND LEO X, AND THEN THE REVOLT LED BY LUTHER, in THE REFORMATION. THUS [redacted] THE GROWING CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL was BROUGHT FACE TO FACE WITH African SLAVERY AND A NEW SLAVE TRADE. GRADUALLY IT WAS RATIONALIZED WIDELY AS A METHOD OF RESCUING THE HEATHEN FROM PERDITION AND SAVING HIS SOUL. HOWEVER, THIS RATIONALIZATION MEANT NOTHING WHEN IT CONFLICTED WITH THE PROFITS OF TRADE; AND PLANTERS PARTICULARLY, [redacted] REFUSED TO RELEASE CONVERTS.

THEREUPON THEY PROCEEDED TO PROVE BY SCIENCE AND THE BIBLE THAT NEGROES WERE FIT ONLY FOR SLAVERY. THEY SUPPRESSED AFRICAN HISTORY IN SCHOOL AND LIBRARY. THEY PUBLISHED THE ARABIAN KNIGHTS AND SUPPRESSED THE EQUALLY CELEBRATED STORIES OF BLACK ANTAR. THEY DEPRIVED NEGRO OF ITS CAPITAL LETTER AND THEY INTRODUCED COLOR CASTE. THEY THUS MADE SLAVERY SAFE FOR PROFIT.

811-8-55

THERE ARE MANY PATHS WHICH I MIGHT NOW TAKE TO FOLLOW THE HISTORY OF AFRICA. I MIGHT CONCLUDE THE HISTORY OF THE SUDAN SOUTH OF THE SAHARA; I MIGHT TAKE UP THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA AND STUDY KENYA AND UGANDA; I MIGHT PURSUE THE ENGLISH ON THE WEST COAST, THE BELGIANS IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA. AND I MIGHT FOLLOW THE BLOOD-STAINED PATH FROM CAPE TO CAIRO; SEE THE BLACK MAHDI DRIVE BRITAIN OUT OF THE SUDAN AND THE ZULUS KILL THE PRINCE IMPERIAL OF FRANCE.

BUT THERE IS NOT TIME. I LEAVE ONLY THIS THOUGHT:

IN THE 100 YEARS BETWEEN 1817 and 1917, BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION WAS FORMED, THERE TOOK PLACE IN THE WORLD 204 WARS. SEVEN OF THESE WARS WERE OF GREAT MAGNITUDE, CULMINATING IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AT LEAST 40 OTHER CONFLICTS WERE LARGE-SCALE STRUGGLES INVOLVING THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS, AND 150 OF THE SMALLER ONES MEANT WIDESPREAD MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. IF TODAY, AS SO MANY PERSONS THINK, COMMUNISM IS THE CHIEF CAUSE AND THREAT OF WAR, WHAT CAUSED THE MORE THAN 200 WARS

OF THE 19th CENTURY BEFORE THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS WAS BORN? THE ANSWER IS: GREED, CUPIDITY, AVARICE; RUTHLESS DESIRE FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT ANY COST TO PUBLIC WELFARE. AND THE SUBJECT OF MY WORDS TODAY IS THAT THIS SAME UNBRIDLED GREED WHICH CAUSED WAR YESTERDAY IS CAUSING IT TODAY AND THREATENING IT TOMORROW.

AND IT IS ALSO THE REASON THAT THE STORY OF TWO HUNDRED MILLION HUMAN BEINGS, WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO OUTLINE TO YOU TODAY, HAS SO SUCCESSFULLY BEEN CONCEALED THAT IT SOUNDS TO YOU LIKE A FAIRY TALE. BELIEVE ME, IT IS NOT.

June 12, 1954 (in Phylon under "other Writings")

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-8-35

THE PASSING OF ALAIN LOCKE

ALAIN LOCKE/WAS A MAN/WHO DELIBERATELY CHOSE/THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE.// NOT [redacted] AS A DESIRABLE RELIEF/FROM REALITY/BUT AS A VOCATION/COMPARED WITH WHICH ALL ELSE WAS OF LITTLE ACCOUNT.// IN A LAND LIKE AMERICA/AND AMONG A GROUP/AS INEXPERIENCED/AS AMERICAN NEGROES/THIS WAS SIMPLY NOT UNDERSTANDABLE.// THAT A MAN/IN THE MIDST OF MONEY-MAKING/OR GAMBLING//SHOULD AT INTERVALS/DEVOTE SOME TIME/TO THOUGHT ITSELF/OR TO THE BASES OF HUMAN REASON,/ IS TO OUR DAY POSSIBLE/IF NOT PROFITABLE.//BUT TO GIVE A LIFE/TO THINKING AND ITS MEANING,/ THAT IS TO MOST AMERICANS/QUITE INEXPLICABLE.//SO THAT TO MANY/THIS LONELY FIGURE,/WHO SPOKE QUIETLY/AND SMILED WITH RESTRAINT,/ BECAME OFTEN AN OBJECT OF PITY/IF NOT EVIL GOSSIP/AND RIDICULE.

YET IN TRUTH/ALAIN LOCKE/STOOD SINGULAR/IN A STUPID LAND/AS A RARE SOUL WHO PURSUED/FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY,/ STEADILY AND UNEMOTIONALLY,/THE ONLY END OF MAN/WHICH JUSTIFIES HIS LIVING/AND DIFFERENTIATES HIM/FROM THE BEAST AND BIRD;

35-8-36

AND THAT IS THE INQUIRY/AS TO WHAT THE UNIVERSE IS/AND WHY;//HOW IT EXISTS/AND [redacted] WHEN IT MAY CHANGE.// THE PATHS POINTED OUT/BY SOCRATES AND ARISTOTLE,/ BACON AND DESCARTES, KANT AND HEGEL,/ MARX AND DARWIN,/WERE THE ONES/LOCKE FOLLOWED/AND [redacted] THIS INEVITABLY MADE HIM UNKNOWN/AND UNKNOWABLE/TO A TIME/STEEPED IN THE LORE/OF MICKY SPILLANE.

¶ AND YET/IN LOCKE'S LIFE/LAY A CERTAIN FINE TRIUMPH.// HE KNEW LIFE'S GREATER THINGS/ /PICTURES AND POETRY/ MUSIC AND DRAMA;/ CONVERSATION WHICH WAS NOT FILTH;/ LAUGHTER NOT CLOWNISH;/AND APPETITES/WHICH NEVER FELL TO CHEAP LUST.// HIS SEVERE LOGIC, HIS PENETRATING ANALYSIS,/ HIS WIDE READING/GAVE HIM A WORLD WITHIN/ SPARSELY PEOPLED TO BE SURE,/ BUT ~~NOBLY~~ FINELY FURNISHED/AND UNFORGETTABLE/IN BREADTH AND DEPTH.//

¶ IT BUILT A MAN/NOT FIT FOR WAR/BUT NOBLY COURAGEOUS/AND SIMPLY CONSISTENT,/ WHO COULD BEAR/PAIN AND DISAPPOINTMENT/AND YET LIVE AND WORK.

[redacted]

FOR HIS DARK COMPANIONS/ HE HAD FAITH AND FELLOWSHIP;/ FOR THEIR SMALLER PROBLEMS/ ADVICE AND GUIDANCE.// BUT FOR HIMSELF/ HE HAD ONLY TRUTH

35-9-24

35-8-37

HIS QUEST FOR TRUTH AND LOGIC/WAS NO EASY TASK./ IT WAS OFTEN CONTRADICTORY AND DISAPPOINTING// IT EITHER APPEALED IN VAIN/TO UNDERSTANDING/OR FOUND NO UNDERSTANDING/TO WHICH IT COULD APPEAL// IT WAS A THANKLESS TASK/TO THOSE WHO SEE LIFE/AS MONEY, NOTORIETY OR DIRT// AND YET ITS FAITHFUL PURSUIT/IS MORE THAN LIVING,/ IT ~~IS MORE THAN~~ TRANSCENDS DEATH.

WE MAY MOURN/THAT HIS LATTER DAYS/OF HARD-EARNED LEISURE/COULD NOT HAVE LASTED LONGER// BUT PERHAPS HE WOULD SAY/IF HE SPOKE NOW,/THAT LIFE IS NOT LENGTH OF DAYS/NOR PLETHORA OF PLEASURE/BUT SATISFACTION OF WORK ATTEMPTED// AND THIS SURELY HE HAD.

FROM TOO MUCH LOVE/OF LIVING
FROM HOPE AND FEAR/SET FREE
WE THANK/WITH BRIEF THANKSGIVING
WHATEVER GODS MAY BE,
THAT NO LIFE LIVES FOREVER
THAT DEAD MEN RISE UP NEVER
THAT EVEN THE WEARIEST RIVER
WINDS/SOMEWHERE/SAFE TO SEA.

Compass 45-8-39 Du Bois
June 18, 1954

THE STATUS OF COLONIALISM

FROM THE BEGINNING OF HISTORY/THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN WANTS/BY CONSCIOUS EFFORT/HAS RESULTED IN THE WORK/OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN/BEING DONE/MAINLY FOR THE SATISFACTION OF THE FEW.// WE MEASURE HUMAN PROGRESS/ROUGHLY/BY THE DEGREE IN WHICH/ LARGER NUMBERS OF MEN/HAVE THEIR NEEDS MET/BY MORE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED EFFORT.// WE LOOK FORWARD/TO A MILLENIUM/WHEN ALL MEN/WILL WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY/AND WILL RECEIVE INCOME/ACCORDING TO NEED.

THE INTERVAL/BETWEEN COMPLETE SLAVERY/OF A WORKING CLASS/AND THIS MILLENIUM/ INVOLVES A SERIES OF STEPS/WHICH RECEIVE DIFFERENT NAMES/BUT WHICH DENOTE/NOT ABSOLUTE BUT ONLY RELATIVE CHANGE.// SLAVERY, FOR INSTANCE,/ HAS BEEN LEGALLY/LONG SINCE ABOLISHED,/ BUT THE NUMBER OF LABORERS/WHO WORK BY COMPULSION/IS STILL LARGE.// [illegible] IN NO CASE/ARE WORDS MORE MISLEADING/THAN IN TALK/ABOUT COLONIALISM.//WE HAVE, FOR INSTANCE,/ GREETED THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS/AS MARKING THE END OF COLONIALISM.// THIS IS OVER-OPTIMISTIC

AND MORE A MATTER OF WORDS/RATHER THAN OF REALITIES/

A COLONY/ AT ONE TIME/WAS A SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS/FROM ONE NATION/IN THE TERRITORIES OF ANOTHER/ BRINGING WITH THEM/THEIR OWN CULTURE/WHICH THEY SOUGHT WITH VARYING RESULTS/ TO IMPOSE ON THE INVADED LAND// THAT SORT OF COLONIALISM,/ AS PRACTISED BY GREECE AND ROME/ HAS LARGELY DISAPPEARED// QUITE ANOTHER KIND OF COLONIALISM/FOLLOWED TRADE RELATIONS/ WITH ASIA,/ AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA// FROM THESE EXPERIMENTS/AROSE THE SLAVE TRADE/AND POLITICAL IMPERIALISM// THE SLAVE TRADE ARISING FROM TRANSFER OF LABORERS/ FROM ONE LAND TO ANOTHER,/ AND IMPERIALISM/FROM CONTROL OF A COUNTRY/BY ANOTHER/ FOR THE PURPOSE OF USING NATIVE LABOR/AND SECURING VALUABLE RAW MATERIALS.// THIS LATTER PHASE OF COLONIALISM/IS THE ONE BEST KNOWN TODAY AND WHEN DISPUTE/ OVER ITS PROFIT/ BECAME CAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ ITS END WAS ASSUMED/AS A RESULT OF THE SECOND// PROOF OF THIS/SEEMED CLEAR/BECAUSE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA, BURMA AND CHINA/ AND OF SEVERAL NATIONS/ OF THE NEAR EAST/(AND OF SOME COUNTRIES IN THE CARIBBEAN.// BESIDE THIS,/ PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE/SECURED BY

INDONESIA/AND THE PHILLIPINES./ /FOLLOWING THIS LINE OF DEFINITION/THE HEAD OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SECTION/OF THE UNITED NATIONS /HAS RECENTLY ESTIMATED/THE DECREASE OF THE COLONIAL POPULATION/FROM 750 MILLION/TO 200 MILLION PEOPLE.

35-8-47

BUT THIS IS AGAIN/BEING MISLED BY NAMES/AND THUS FAILING TO ASSESS REALITIES. //(THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES/WHICH HAVE NOMINAL INDEPENDENCE/WHICH ARE YET UNDER ALMOST AS COMPLETE CONTROL/BY OTHER NATIONS/AS FORMERLY.//JUST AS CHATTEL SLAVERY/PASSED INTO SERFDOM,/ CASTE, CONTRACT LABOR/AND THE WAGE SYSTEM,/ SO COLONIALISM IN OUR ERA/HAS PASSED/FROM POLITICAL DOMINATION/IN MANY LANDS/TO AN ECONOMIC CONTROL/WHICH IS STILL IMPERIALISM./ / JUST AS THE WAGE SYSTEM/INVOLVES MORE FREEDOM/AND POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS/ THAN SLAVERY,/SO ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM/IS AN ADVANCE ON POLITICAL./ BUT IT IS A MATTER OF DEGREE NOT OF ESSENCE./ / TODAY THE GREAT NATIONS/WHICH CONTROL MILITARY MIGHT/AND CAPITAL GOODS,/COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS./ /CONTROL THE MAJORITY/OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD/NOT AS COMPLETELY/AS UNDER POLITICAL IMPERIALISM/ BUT VERY CONSIDERABLY. THE PHILLIPINES/ARE FREER THAN UNDER SPAIN,/ BUT THEY ARE NOT FREE./ / THERE HAS BEEN

A CHANGE IN THE METHOD OF CONTROL/AND IN THE IDENTITY OF THE MASTER NATIONS,/ BUT LESS CHANGE/IN THE FACTS/AND IN THE RIGOR OF RESULTS.

35-8-47

THE ESSENTIAL UNDERLYING FACT,/ WHETHER IN SLAVERY,/ SERFDOM OR COLONIALISM,/ IS THAT A FOREIGN PEOPLE/HAVE [redacted] CONTROL/ OF THE LABOR OF A COUNTRY/AND OF THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE LAND,/ /AND HAVE LARGE POWER TO FIX WAGES,/ AND THE PRICES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS./ / IT IS, FOR INSTANCE,/AN EXAGGERATION/TO CALL INDIA TODAY INDEPENDENT. SHE HAS ESCAPED/A CERTAIN SPECIES OF INSULT/IN HER OWN LAND,/ A PRIVILEGED CASTE OF RESIDENT WHITE MASTERS/ COMPULSORY SEGREGATION/IN DOMICILE AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION/ HUMILIATION/IN FOREIGN RELATIONS./ / THIS IS A DISTINCT MATERIAL/AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GAIN. BUT IN OTHER/AND THE REALLY FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS/ OF WORK AND INCOME,/ INDIA REMAINS AT THE DICTATION/OF THOSE WHO CONTROL CAPITAL AND COMMERCE/ AND THE KNOW-HOW OF MODERN INDUSTRY./ / SHE MUST PAY PRICES/ DETERMINED IN LONDON AND NEW YORK/ AND SELL FOR PRICES SET IN SAN FRANCISCO AND PARIS./ / SHE MUST PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURE/NOT MAINLY WHAT HER PEOPLE NEED/BUT WHAT EUROPE AND AMERICA WANT/ AND WILL BUY.// HER PROGRESS TOWARD

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY/HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY STYMIED/BY ENCOURAGING WITHIN HER OWN BORDERS/~~OR~~ RELIGIOUS FANATICISM/WHICH WILL ~~DOUBT~~ DEFY REASON/AND WHICH WAS AIDED AND ABETTED/FOR THAT VERY REASON/LONG BEFORE INDIA/WAS EVEN NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT/ IN HER OWN BORDERS.//WORLD ORGANIZATION OF CAPITAL/AND HER OWN NATIVE CAPITALISTS/ WILL GRIP AND RETARD INDIA/FOR MANY DECADES.

THE PHILLIPINES,/CUBA AND PUERTO RICO/AS WELL AS HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC/ARE AT THE ALMOST ABSOLUTE MERCY/OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY/ COMMERCE AND BANKING.// CUBAN SUGAR,/HAITIAN COFFEE/AND DOMINICAN PRODUCTS/ARE SOLD AT PRICES/AND IN QUANTITIES/WHICH NEW YORK BANKERS/DICTATE.// PHILLIPINE ECONOMY/IS CONTROLLED BY THE UNITED STATES,/AND OFFICIALS TAKE ORDERS/FROM NEW YORK.//TIN FROM BOLIVIA,/NITRATES FROM CHILE,/COFFEE FROM BRAZIL,/GOLD FROM SOUTH AFRICA,/COPPER FROM RHODESIA,/AND URANIUM FROM THE CONGO,//ARE ALL UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL/AND THE NATIVE POPULATIONS/HAVE THEIR INCOME/AND WAY OF LIFE/DICTATED BY POWERS/OUTSIDE THEIR POLITICAL CONTROL//WHETHER THEY ARE CALLED "COLONIES"/OR REGARDED AS FREE.

THE OBJECTS AND GOALS/BEHIND THIS NEW PHASE/OF IMPERIALISM/IS EXACTLY THE SAME/AS THOSE BEHIND/THE IMPERIALISM OF THE 19th CENTURY.// NAMELY, CONTROL OF THE LABOR/OF ASIA AND AFRICA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC/BY THE RULING CLASSES/IN WESTERN EUROPE/AND NORTH AMERICA.//AIDED AND ABETTED/BY THOSE NATIVE AGENCIES/WITHIN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES/WHO ARE WILLING/OR WHO ARE INDUCED/TO BETRAY THEIR FATHERLANDS/AND FELLOW NATIVES.// THIS FACT/IS BACK OF THE VOGUE/OF STOOL-PIGEONS,/SPIES AND INFORMERS/WHICH IS SO POPULAR TODAY.

THERE IS NO DOUBT/THAT THIS CHANGE/FROM EFFORT TO CONTROL/ASIA AND AFRICA/ AND THE SEA ISLES/BY ACTUAL FORCE/MARKS A VICTORY OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES.// THE PRESENT CONTROL/CANNOT BE SO COMPLETELY RELIED ON/AS ACTUAL WEAPONS/ON THE SPOT/IN THE HANDS OF A FOREIGN MASTER CLASS.// BUT THIS LOCAL FORCE/HAS FOR A LONG TIME/BEEN WANING IN EFFICIENCY/SO THAT MOST COLONIES/WERE LATELY HELD BY NATIVE TROOPS/ WHO COULD NOT ALWAYS BE TRUSTED.// TODAY A MORE INTELLIGENT CLASS/OF NATIVE MERCHANTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS/MUST BE SELECTED/AS IN SOUTH KOREA.// BUT THE VERY INTELLIGENCE/OF SUCH ASIATIC

AND AFRICAN PUPPETS/ OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH CAPITALISM/ MAKE THEM A POSSIBLE LIABILITY IN THE FUTURE.

TWO CONSIDERATIONS/ PLACE THIS NEW ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM/ IN A NEW LIGHT/ WHICH MUST BE STUDIED/ AND CONSIDERED BY FUTURE REFORMERS// (1) THE PERSONALITY OF THE MASTER NATIONS/ OF THE WORLD IS CHANGING// AND (2) GROWING SOCIALISM/ IS BRINGING NEW FORCES TO POWER/ IN THE MASTER LANDS THEMSELVES// THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS FALLEN/ AND ALTHOUGH ITS DECLINE/ MAY PROVE AS GRADUAL/ AS THAT OF ROME/ WHOSE FALL LASTED FIVE CENTURIES.// YET THE END IS CERTAIN.// THE BRITISH EMPIRE OF THE 19th CENTURY/ WILL NEVER RETURN./ BUT IN ITS PLACE/ THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY/ THE GREATEST COLONIAL POWER/ IN THE WORLD AND IS RAPIDLY DISPLACING/ BRITAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE, ITALY/ SPAIN, HOLLAND AND BELGIUM/ AS MASTER OF THE LABOR/ AND OWNER OF THE RAW MATERIALS/ OF THE EARTH.// THE ENORMOUS EXTENT OF OUR INVESTMENT/ IN ASIA, AFRICA, CANADA/ AUSTRALIA AND ALL THE AMERICAS/ IS NOT KNOWN WITH COMPLETE CERTAINTY/ OWING TO THE POSSIBILITY/ OF CONCEALING LEGAL OWNERSHIP/ OF PROPERTY IN MODERN CIVILIZATION// BUT THE FACT/ OF OUR PRESENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY,/ COMMERCE

AND INVESTMENT/ IN THE WORLD/ IS TOO WELL KNOWN FOR DENIAL.

THE REASON FOR THIS CONTROL/ IS THE SAME/ AS THE REASON FOR/ COLONIAL POLITICAL IMPERIALISM/ FROM 1800 TO 1900// NAMELY, PRIVATE PROFIT/ FROM LOW WAGES OF COLORED WORKERS/ AND LOW PRICES/ FOR PRICELESS/ AND UNIVERSALLY DESIRED/ RAW MATERIALS/ ALL OVER THE EARTH.// THIS ENORMOUS PROFIT/ WHICH ONCE WAS THE MONOPOLY/ OF SPAIN, ENGLAND AND FRANCE/ AND THE LURE WHICH/ TURNED GERMANY/ FROM SCIENCE TO MILITARISM/ IN THE 20th CENTURY// IS NOW FLOWING INTO OUR POCKETS/ WITH TWO RESULTS:// INCREASE OF MILITARY MIGHT/ TO PROTECT AND RETAIN THIS PROFIT,/ AND SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS/ TO PREVENT INTERFERENCE/ WITH THIS PROGRAM.// IT IS NECESSARY TO REALIZE THIS/ IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND/ OUR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE.// THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION/ IN OUR HYSTERIA IS IN/ ACCIDENTAL.// IF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/ HAD NEVER TAKEN PLACE/ THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN/ MUCH THE SAME EFFORT/ ON THE PART OF OUR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/ TO MAINTAIN PROFIT/ FROM COLONIAL ENTERPRISE/ AND TO PROTECT THAT SYSTEM/ BY MILITARY MIGHT./ UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR WAR/ AND VAST PUBLIC EXPENDITURE/ FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

IT WAS OF COURSE TRUE/THAT IF SOCIAL CONTROL/OF PRIVATE PROPERTY/IN RUSSIA, ENGLAND OR ELSEWHERE,/ SUCCEEDED/IN WITHDRAWING FROM EXPLOITATION/ ANY AREA WHERE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE/FORMERLY MADE LARGE PROFIT,/ THE TEMPTATION/TO PREVENT THIS EFFORT/ WOULD BE VAST.// THUS WHEN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY/ WAS PROPOSED IN RUSSIA,/ THE WESTERN WORLD/HASTENED TO PREVENT THE EXPERIMENT.// THE ARGUMENT/WHICH SENT THE ARMIES OF 14 ~~SIXTEEN~~ NATIONS,/ INCLUDING OUR OWN,/ ONTO RUSSIAN SOIL,/ WAS /THAT SOCIALISM WAS IMPOSSIBLE,/ AND TO PREVENT/ SUFFERING FROM A CRAZY EXPERIMENT/ WE WOULD USE ARMED FORCE.// AT THE SAME TIME,/ BACK OF THIS EXHIBITION OF FORCE/WAS THE FACT/THAT RUSSIA, HER NEIGHBORS AND THE BALKANS/WERE AND HAD BEEN LONG/A PROFITABLE FIELD/OF WHAT WAS/IN FACT/COLONIAL ENTERPRISE.//GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN,/ FRANCE AND AMERICA/ WERE REAPING LARGE AND INCREASING PROFIT/ FROM INVESTMENT IN THESE LANDS/AND THIS PATH OF PROFIT/ LED STRAIGHT TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA.// THUS THE CERTAINTY /OF THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM/UNDER THE SOVIET REGIME/WAS STRENGTHENED /BY THE FEAR/THAT IT MIGHT IN SOME DEGREE/SUCCEED AND PREVENT THE RESTORATION/OF COLONIAL ENTERPRISE/IN THE WORLD.

WE CAN FIND AN EXACT PARALLEL TO THIS/IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH/TOWARD THE NEGRO VOTER/DURING RECONSTRUCTION: / AT FIRST THE SOUTH SAID/NEGROES WERE NOT INTELLIGENT ENOUGH/FOR DEMOCRACY.//THEN THE SOUTH BECAME AFRAID/THE NEGRO MIGHT SUCCEED/AND DISFRANCHISED THEM/LEST THEY SHOULD SUCCEED!

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENT/WAS NOT CONFINED TO THE SOVIET UNION/ IN THE 20th CENTURY.//IN WESTERN EUROPE/AND IN THE UNITED STATES/THE TREND TOWARD SOCIALISM WAS PLAIN./ /THE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS/AND COMMUNICATIONS/BY THE STATE.// THE CONTROL/OF HOUSING AND HEALTH,/ PUBLIC EDUCATION,/AND STATE-OWNED INDUSTRY/ INCREASED IN EUROPE.//WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES/THE NEW DEAL WAS ACTUAL/IF NOT THEORETICAL SOCIALISM.// IF THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROFIT/WAS TO BE MAINTAINED/AND TRENDS TOWARD SOCIALISM CURBED,/ THEN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS MUST BE LIMITED.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY/HAD TO MEET THE THREAT OF SPREADING SOCIALISM/IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.//IN EUROPE AND AMERICA / THERE WAS A GROWING CLASS/OF INCREASINGLY INTELLIGENT MEN,/ WHO HAD BEEN TAUGHT/THE PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL /AND WERE READING/NOT

35-8-72

ONLY KARL MARX, BUT H.G. WELLS, BERNARD SHAW, HENRY GEORGE AND EDWARD BELLAMY. 45-8-49 THIS LABOR MOVEMENT WAS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY TOWARD BELIEF IN CONTROL OF WEALTH FOR THE COMMON WELFARE AND NOT FOR PRIVATE MONOPOLY AND POWER.

SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENTS WERE RISING AND SPREADING IN THE EUROPEAN WORLD, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE DISASTER OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THERE WAS BUT ONE WAY TO STOP THIS TREND, BACKED AS IT WAS BY THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AND THAT WAS TO SCARE THE WORKING CLASS INTO HYSTERICS BY THREAT OF WAR; BY TURNING THEIR SONS INTO A STANDING ARMY TO CONQUER THE WORLD; BY BURYING THEIR INCOME INTO A BOTTOMLESS PIT OF TAXATION; AND MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AGAINST AN ENEMY WHICH MUST BE PAINTED AS RUTHLESS, CRIMINAL AND GREEDY BEYOND ANYTHING THE WORLD EVER KNEW.

TO ACCOMPLISH THIS THOSE WHO HAD CONTROL OF THE WEALTH OF THIS NATION ENTERED INTO THE MOST GIGANTIC AND RUTHLESS EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA WHICH THE WORLD EVER SAW AND WHICH MAKE THE ANTICS OF HITLER PALE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE. BY MONOPOLIZING AND CHANNELLING ALL OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION; BY SCARING OUR LEADERS AND THINKERS INTO SILENCE; BY SUPPRESSING DISCUSSION, MAKING SEARCH FOR TRUTH DANGEROUS, AND

 45-8-50

35-8-73

THREATENING EVERY INDEPENDENT THINKER OR WORKER WITH STARVATION OR JAIL; ESPECIALLY WE HAVE HAD PAINTED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES A PICTURE OF ~~RUSSIA~~ THE SOVIET UNION, HER CHARACTER AND DESIGNS, AND HER ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHICH NO OTHER NATION ON EARTH BELIEVES AND WHICH EVERY HONEST STUDENT OF SOCIAL PROGRESS KNOWS IS EXAGGERATED.

NO ONE, NOT EVEN THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, FOR A MOMENT REGARD THEMSELVES AS PARAGONS OF VIRTUE OR MIRACLES OF EFFICIENCY; THEY KNOW THEIR MISTAKES AND FAILURES BUT THEY ALSO KNOW THE MARVELLOUS PROGRESS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE IN 37 YEARS IN THE FACE OF THE UNTIRING MISREPRESENTATION, INTRIGUE AND OPPOSITION OF THE WORLD.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO REALIZE IS THAT THE PICTURE OF THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS CARICATURED IN MAGAZINE AND NEWSPAPER, OVER THE RADIO AND ON THE PLATFORM HAS NO RELATION TO THE TRUTH; AND THAT WHAT IT HIDES AND DISGUISES IS THE ACTION WHICH WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE IF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAD NEVER OCCURRED. AND THAT IS THE DETERMINATION OF GREEDY WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES NEVER

(SURRENDER)

TO ~~YIELD~~ THE ENORMOUS PROFITS/WHICH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE/HAS HEAPED UP IN THIS LAND/ FROM OUR NATURAL RESOURCES/MUCH MORE/THAN FROM OUR BRAINS AND WORK.

WHEN UNITED LABOR/IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD/BEGAN TO USE THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD/ TO DISTRIBUTE WEALTH AND WORK/MORE EQUITABLY.//TRUSTS AND MONOPOLY/SPLIT THEM WITH THE COLOR LINE,// NOT ONLY HERE/BUT THE WORLD OVER,/ UNTIL THE WHITE AMERICAN/GREW UP THINKING/HE HAD A RIGHT TO MAKE "NIGGERS" WORK/AND TO STEAL THEIR RESOURCES/AT THE POINT OF BAYONETS/GREASED WITH RELIGION.

WHEN THIS LIE/BEGAN TO LOSE WEIGHT/THERE CAME/WHAT SOME MIGHT REGARD/AS THE PROVIDENTIAL ENTRANCE/OF A WHITE NATION/TRYING TO TEACH SOCIALISM/TO A STRICKEN LAND.//THE RUSSIANS WERE NOT RIPE/FOR INTELLIGENT SOCIAL CHANGE.// THEY WERE 90% ILLITERATE;/ THEY WERE POVERTY-STRICKEN/AND PRIEST-RIDDEN,/ SUPERSTITIOUS AND HOPELESS;/ AND MOST OF THEM/HAD BEEN EMANCIPATED FROM SLAVERY/AT THE SAME TIME/NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES WERE FREED.//AND WITH ABOUT THE SAME DEGREE OF FREEDOM.

THIS WAS THE PEOPLE/THAT WERE FORCED/TO CHALLENGE/THE ORGANIZED GREED OF

THE CIVILIZED WORLD.// WHETHER THEY SUCCEEDED OR FAILED,/ THE SAME FATE AWAITED THEM:// ABSOLUTE DISBELIEF/IN THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR SUCCESS,/DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF THEIR AIMS,/ ARMED INTERVENTION/TO STOP THEIR EFFORT/ AND STUDIED DETERMINATION TO DEPRIVE THEM/OF THE SYMPATHY OF THE WORLD.// YOU REMEMBER/THE UNIVERSAL CAMPAIGNS OF LIES://ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE PROSTITUTES;/ ALL RUSSIAN PEASANTS/WERE STARVING;//ALL RUSSIAN LEADERS/WERE MURDERERS.// AND FINALLY,/ WAR WAS PLANNED/NOT ON SOCIALISM/WHICH IS STILL ADVANCING/~~BOTH~~ IN ENGLAND, FRANCE,/ SCANDINAVIA AND THE UNITED STATES./ BUT TO RESTORE ~~IMPERIAL~~ ECONOMIC COLONIALISM/IN ASIA AND AFRICA,/WHICH RUSSIA NEVER HAD/BUT WHICH AMERICA NOW LEADS/IN THE WORLD.

I REPEAT,/ THAT WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS/OF COLONIALISM,/ RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM HAVE NOTHING TO DO/ IF THERE HAD BEEN/NO SUCH COUNTRY/AND NO SUCH DOCTRINE THERE WOULD STILL REMAIN/THE QUESTION/OF WHO IS GOING TO CONTROL/COFFEE, SUGAR, COCOA,/ COPPER, GOLD/AND A HUNDRED THINGS/WHICH YOU DEMAND AND DEMAND CHEAP.//AND IF BLACK,

YELLOW AND BROWN LABOR/COULD BE WHIPPED OR STARVED/INTO FURNISHING THESE THINGS,/ DID YOU PROTEST?// AND IF WHITE LABOR/GETS IDEAS OF WAGES/TOO HIGH/FOR THE PRESENT LEVEL OF PROFITS,/WHY NOT BRIBE THEM/BY MAKING THEM PARTNERS/IN ~~YOUR~~ IMPERIAL ENTERPRISE? -- BY PUTTING THEIR SONS/IN UNIFORM,/ BY SOUNDING THE TRUMPETS/AND BEATING THE DRUMS,/ BY FORCING THEM/TO DIE FOR BIG PROFITS/WHICH SOMEBODY ELSE REAPS!/WHILE THEIR FATHERS GOT HIGH WAGES/FOR FURNISHING ARMS AND AMMUNITION/TO KILL OFF/THE DARKIES OF THE WORLD.

MOST AMERICANS/ARE NOT THE CONSCIOUS VICTIMS/OF SUCH GREED/AS DRIVES GREAT NATIONS TO WAR.//AND WHICH HAS BEEN/THE CAUSE OF MOST OF THE WARS/IN THE WORLD SINCE ~~1800~~ 1500.//BUT UNCONSCIOUSLY/THE ITCH FOR WEALTH/IN THIS LAND IS FRIGHTENING./ IT IS FAR MORE/THAN THE DEMAND FOR DECENCY AND HEALTH./ IT IS THE URGE TO OSTENSTATION/AND SENSELESS LUXURY.//FOR VULGAR DISPLAY/AND UNBRIDLED POWER.//WE SEE IT ALL ABOUT US, IN THE ~~LUXURY~~ HOTELS OF MIAMI,/ IN THE ESTATES OF HOLLYWOOD,/ IN THE ~~SMALL~~ PRINCIPALITIES OWNED ~~IN AMERICA~~ BY OUR INDUSTRIAL BARONS;//IN THE ABILITY/OF OUR WEALTHY/TO TAKE OVER SCIENCE AND EDUCATION/AND CONDUCT ~~IT~~ THEM AS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.//THIS IS THE

35-8-76

URGE/BACK OF OUR DRINKING, DRUG-TAKING,/ OUR ENDLESS AND UNSUPPRESSIBLE GAMBLING,/ THE ORGANIZATION OF CRIME/AND LOWERING OF HONESTY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS.// WE ARE LOSING OUR SOULS TO GAIN;/ AND BACK OF OUR POWER/TO GET WEALTH/ WAS AND IS/COLONIAL EXPLOITATION.//THE ONLY WAY/TO START FIGHTING THIS SITUATION/IS TO DEMAND PEACE -- NO MORE WAR!

35-8-77

SO MUCH/FOR THE THEORY OF PRESENT DAY COLONIALISM.// BUT WHAT ATTRACTS YOUR ATTENTION/TO THE SUBJECT/IS NOT THEORY/BUT THE SPECIFIC CASES/OF COLONIAL UNREST AND REVOLT/WHICH FILLS THE FOREIGN NEWS.// YOU HEAR OF KOREA,/ INDO-CHINA AND MALAYA;/ OF SOUTH AFRICA,/ TANGANYIKA, KENYA AND UGANDA.//OF BRITISH AND FRENCH WEST AFRICA;// OF TUNIS, ALGERIA AND MOROCCO;/ OF THE WEST INDIES/AND GUIANA,/ GUATEMALA IN EACH OF THESE CASES/ THERE IS A LONG HISTORY/AND A PRESENT CRISIS.// BUT TO ATTEMPT/TO COVER ALL THESE CASES/WOULD CALL FOR A WEEK/INSTEAD OF A NIGHT.

LET ME THEN/INDICATE BRIEFLY/THE KIND OF PROBLEM/SOME OF THESE CASES INDICATE.//KOREA HAS ZINC, COPPER, IRON,/ COAL AND TUNGSTEN.//WE WANT THESE ARTICLES/TO USE AND SELL,/AND WE WANT CHEAP LABOR TO GET THEM.//THAT WAS THE REAL REASON BACK

OF THE KOREAN WAR.

IN INDO-CHINA IS RICE, RUBBER, PEPPER AND TIN. // FRANCE WANTS THESE FOR USE AND TRADE; // THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO HELP FRANCE KEEP THEM AND AGAINST THIS THE VIET-MINH ARE FIGHTING. // THERE IS LESS NEWS FROM BRITISH MALAYA, BUT HERE IS THE GREATEST SOURCE OF TIN IN THE WORLD. // FOR THIS THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN FIGHTING TEN YEARS AND THE NATIVES IN THE SWAMPS HAVE BEEN RESISTING. // MOST OF ASIA, REPRESENTED BY CHINA AND INDIA HAVE ESCAPED POLITICAL COLONIALISM, BUT STILL WRITHE UNDER ECONOMIC COLONIALISM

IN AFRICA, ~~ON THE OTHER HAND,~~ THE CHANCE FOR PROFIT SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAS BEEN ENORMOUS. // TODAY OUT OF AFRICA COMES 98% OF THE DIAMONDS OF THE WORLD; 80% OF THE COBALT; 75% OF THE SISAL HEMP; 70% OF THE PALM OIL; 70% OF THE COCOA; 60% OF THE GOLD; 35% OF THE PHOSPHATES; 30% OF THE CHROME AND MANGANESE; 20% OF THE COPPER AND 15% OF THE COFFEE. // [illegible]

TO CONTROL THIS WORLD TREASURE THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS FOUGHT FOR FOUR

HUNDRED YEARS WITH FABULOUS EXPENDITURE IN WEALTH AND HUMAN LIFE. UNTIL TODAY THAT PART OF THE EMPIRE WHICH RULES SOUTH AFRICA IS STRIVING TO ESTABLISH THE RULE OF TWO MILLION WHITES OVER TEN MILLION BLACKS AND COLORED PEOPLE IN ORDER TO DEPRIVE THEM OF ALL VOICE IN GOVERNMENT // OF THE RIGHT TO LAND OR LABOR UNIONS TO KEEP THEM IGNORANT AND COMPELLED TO WORK FOR 75¢ OR LESS A DAY. // THE UNITED STATES IS INVESTING MILLIONS IN THIS EFFORT, AND OUR CONSUL GENERAL CALLS SOUTH AFRICA THE "MOST PROMISING COUNTRY IN THE WORLD". // IN CENTRAL AFRICA A BRITISH UNION OF COLONIES HAS BEEN FORMED SO AS TO KEEP CONTROL OF COPPER AND BLACK LABOR WITH A MILLION WHITES OWNING THE LAND AND CONTROLLING THE LABOR OF FIFTEEN MILLION BLACKS.

IN KENYA, WITH 40,000 WHITES, 100,000 EAST INDIANS AND FIVE MILLION NEGROES, THE WHITES HAVE SEIZED ALL THE BEST LAND AND CROWDED THE NEGROES TO DESERT AND SWAMP. // THE NEGROES ROSE IN BLOODY REBELLION AND ARE TODAY FIGHTING TO EXPEL THE WHITES. // IN WEST AFRICA, WHERE THE COCOA AND CHOCOLATE OF THE WORLD IS RAISED, WITH PALM OIL AND TIN, THE NEGROES, AFTER BEING CHEATED AND ENSLAVED FOR TWO CENTURIES,

ROSE IN REBELLION/AND TODAY/HAVE WON RECOGNITION/AS THE FIRST INDEPENDENT BLACK DOMINION/IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.// IN NORTH AFRICA,/ FRANCE HAS EXPLOITED TUNIS, ALGERIA AND MOROCCO/UNDER PRETENSE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT/UNTIL TODAY ALL NORTH AFRICA IS IN SECRET OR OPEN REBELLION.// WE ARE HELPING FRANCE,/ NOT ONLY BY DIRECT BRIBE/BUT BY INVESTMENT.

FROM AFRICA/WE MIGHT TURN/TO THE WEST INDIES/AND CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA/ AND NOTE HOW AMERICAN INVESTMENT/IS HOLDING MILLIONS/OF WORKERS IN SERFDOM.// BUT THERE IS NOT TIME.// IN MEANTIME/YOU AMERICAN WORKERS/MAY ASSUME/THAT NO GUILT FOR THIS COLONIALISM/LIES AT YOUR DOORS./ BUT REMEMBER: ~~IT WOULD BE EXTRAORDINARY IF~~ THE LEADING CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES/LIKE THE BRITISH EMPIRE/ FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES/ ~~COULD NOT~~ BOAST/THAT THE INCOME AND COMFORT/OF THEIR WORKING CLASSES/HAS GREATLY INCREASED/IN THE LAST CENTURY/AND IS TODAY HIGHER/THAN THAT OF MOST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.// NEVERTHELESS THEY MUST ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE/THAT THE PROSPERITY OF THESE WHITE

WORKING CLASSES/HAS BEEN BUILT ON/AND STILL STANDS/UPON THE FOUNDATIONS/OF THE DEGRADATION OF COLONIAL PEOPLES// ON THEIR POVERTY/ THEIR DISEASE/AND THEIR IGNORANCE. AND THE GREAT WORLD BATTLE/WHICH HAS ENSUED/HAS NOT BEEN THE BATTLE/BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND "FREE ENTERPRISE"./ ON THE CONTRARY,/ IT IS THE SUSTAINED AND UNREMITTING EFFORT/ OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD/TO ESCAPE THE DOMINATION OF THE WESTERN WHITE RACE.// TODAY WE ARE ADVERTISING/THAT ANY ATTEMPT/OF BACKWARD PEOPLE/TO ESCAPE NORDIC EXPLOITATION/WILL INCUR THE ARMED ENMITY/OF THE UNITED STATES.

THIS IS THE REAL MEANING/OF KOREA AND INDO-CHINA/AND OF CHINA ITSELF. THE SOVIET UNION/DID NOT START THE KOREAN WAR.// INDO-CHINA IS NOT A CASE/OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION./ CHINA DOES NOT REPRESENT THE EFFORT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ANNEX ASIA. AMERICAN, BRITISH/AND FRENCH INDUSTRY/WANTED DESPERATELY THE CHEAP LABOR/ LAND AND MATERIALS/OF THESE COLORED NATIONS/AND ~~HAD~~ FOR ~~MANY~~ CENTURIES/EXPLOITED THEM.// WHEN, UNDER THE IMPACT/OF WAR I/A NEW NATIONALISM/THESE PEOPLES/BEGAN FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM,/ EUROPE AND AMERICA/BEGAN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT/TO KEEP THEM IN COLONIAL SLAVERY.// THIS

35-8-82

IS THE CRIMINAL EFFORT/FOR WHICH AMERICAN CITIZENS/ARE ASKED TODAY/TO RAISE CRUSHING TAXES,/WASTE FABULOUS SUMS/ON ARMS/AND DESTRUCTION/AND SEND YOUTH INTO DEATH/AND MANY THINGS WORSE THAN DEATH//ON THE PRETEXT THAT THUS/WE WILL PREVENT THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM/IN THE WORLD.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY/UNDER TRUMAN/STARTED THIS FALSEHOOD/AND WITHOUT CONSENT OF CONGRESS/OR ANY MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE,/PLUNGED US INTO WAR/IN ORDER TO ENABLE AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS/TO REGAIN THE CHINA/WHICH THEIR OWN BLUNDERS LOST!//

P WHEN IN 1952/THE REPUBLICANS REPLACED THE DEMOCRATS,/THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN POLICY/BIG BUSINESS/REMAINED IN THE SADDLE/AND WAR STILL ~~LOOMS~~/THREATENS

AS HE DIED/SIXTY YEARS AGO/WALT WHITMAN CRIED TO US:

35-8-83

AWAY WITH THEMES OF WAR!/AWAY WITH WAR ITSELF!//
HENCE FROM MY SHUDDERING SIGHT/TO NEVER MORE
RETURN/THAT SHOW/OF BLACKENED, MUTILATED CORPSES!//
THAT HELL UNPENT/AND RAID OF BLOOD/FIT FOR WILD
TIGERS/OR LOP-TONGUED WOLVES//NOT REASONING MEN.

AND IN ITS STEAD/SPEED INDUSTRY'S CAMPAIGNS/
WITH THY UNDAUNTED ARMIES,/ENGINEERING/
THY PENNANTS,/LABOR,/LOOSENED TO THE BREEZE/
THY BUGLES SOUNDING/LOUD AND CLEAR!

THE STATUS OF COLONIALISM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

FROM THE BEGINNING OF HISTORY THE SATISFACTION OF HUMAN WANTS BY CONSCIOUS EFFORT HAS RESULTED IN THE WORK OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN BEING MAINLY FOR THE SATISFACTION OF THE FEW. WE MEASURE HUMAN PROGRESS ROUGHLY BY THE DEGREE IN WHICH LARGER NUMBERS OF MEN HAVE THEIR NEEDS MET BY MORE GENERALLY DISTRIBUTED EFFORT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A MILLENNIUM WHEN ALL MEN WILL WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND WILL RECEIVE INCOME ACCORDING TO NEED.

35-2-28

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN COMPLETE SLAVERY OF A WORKING CLASS AND THIS MILLENNIUM INVOLVES A SERIES OF STEPS WHICH RECEIVE DIFFERENT NAMES WHICH DENOTE NOT ABSOLUTE BUT ONLY RELATIVE CHANGE. SLAVERY FOR INSTANCE HAS BEEN LEGALLY LONG SINCE ABOLISHED BUT THE NUMBER OF LABORERS WHO WORK BY COMPULSION IS STILL LARGE. IN NO CASE ARE WORDS MORE MISLEADING THAN IN TALK ABOUT COLONIALISM. WE HAVE FOR INSTANCE GREETED THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS AS MARKING THE

END OF COLONIALISM. THIS IS OVER-OPTIMISTIC AND MORE A MATTER OF WORDS RATHER THAN OF REALITIES.

A COLONY AT ONE TIME WAS A SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS FROM ONE NATION IN THE TERRITORIES OF ANOTHER, BRINGING WITH THEM THEIR OWN CULTURE WHICH THEY SOUGHT TO IMPOSE ON THE INVADED LAND, WITH VARYING RESULTS. THAT SORT OF COLONIALISM, AS PRACTISED BY GREECE AND ROME HAS LARGELY DISAPPEARED. QUITE ANOTHER KIND OF COLONIALISM FOLLOWED TRADE RELATIONS WITH ASIA, AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA. FROM THESE EXPERIMENTS AROSE THE SLAVE TRADE AND POLITICAL IMPERIALISM: THE SLAVE TRADE ARISING FROM TRANSFER OF LABORERS FROM ONE LAND TO ANOTHER; AND THE OTHER ARISING FROM CONTROL OF A COUNTRY BY ANOTHER FOR USE OF NATIVE LABOR AND VALUABLE RAW MATERIALS. THIS LATTER PHASE OF COLONIALISM IS THE ONE BEST KNOWN TODAY AND WHEN DISPUTE OVER ITS PROFIT BECAME CAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, ITS END WAS ASSUMED AS A RESULT OF THE

SECOND. PROOF OF THIS SEEMED CLEAR BECAUSE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA, BURMA AND CHINA: OF SEVERAL NATIONS OF THE NEAR EAST: OF THE BALKANS AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES: OF SOME COUNTRIES IN THE CARIBBEAN: BESIDE THIS, PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE SECURED BY INDONESIA AND THE PHILLIPINES. FOLLOWING THIS LINE OF DEFINITION THE HEAD OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAS RECENTLY ESTIMATED THE DECREASE OF THE COLONIAL POPULATION FROM 750 MILLION TO 200 MILLION PEOPLE.

35-7-27

BUT THIS IS AGAIN BEING MISLED BY NAMES AND THUS FAILING TO ASSESS REALITIES. WHEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ABOLISHED SLAVERY IN THE 19TH CENTURY THE WORLD REJOICED AT THE FREEDOM OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD. THIS WAS NOT WHOLLY TRUE: THERE WERE STILL MILLIONS OF WORKERS COMPELLED TO WORK FOR PERSONS WHO HAD LEGAL CONTROL OVER THEIR SERVICES. IN A SMILIAR WAY TODAY, THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOMINAL INDEPENDENCE WHICH ARE UNDER ALMOST AS COMPLETE CONTROL BY OTHER NATIONS AS FORMERLY.

JUST AS CHATTEL SLAVERY PASSED INTO SERFDOM, CASTE, CONTRACT LABOR AND THE WAGE SYSTEM, SO COLONIALISM IN OUR ERA HAS PASSED FROM POLITICAL DOMINATION IN MANY LANDS TO AN ECONOMIC CONTROL WHICH IS STILL COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. JUST AS THE WAGE SYSTEM INVOLVES MORE FREEDOM AND POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS THAN SLAVERY, SO ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IS AN ADVANCE ON POLITICAL: BUT IT IS A MATTER OF DEGREE NOT OF ESSENCE. TODAY THE GREAT NATIONS WHICH CONTROL MILITARY MIGHT AND CAPITAL GOODS, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS, CONTROL THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ALMOST AS COMPLETELY AS UNDER POLITICAL IMPERIALISM. THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE IN THE METHOD OF CONTROL, AND IN THE IDENTITY OF THE MASTER NATIONS BUT NOT GREAT CHANGE IN THE FACTS OR RIGOR OF RESULTS.

THE ESSENTIAL UNDERLYING FACT, WHETHER IN SLAVERY, SERFDOM OR COLONIALISM IS THAT A FOREIGN PEOPLE CONTROL THE LABOR OF A COUNTRY AND PARTIALLY PROCESSED

GOODS AND THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE LAND: AND HAVE THE POWER TO FIX WAGES, LIVING CONDITIONS AND PRICES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS. IT IS FOR INSTANCE AN EXAGGERATION TO CALL INDIA TODAY INDEPENDENT. SHE HAS ESCAPED A CERTAIN SPECIES OF INSULT IN HER OWN LAND: A PRIVILEGED CASTE OF RESIDENT WHITE MASTERS: COMPULSORY SEPARATION IN DOMICILE AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION, HUMILIATION IN FOREIGN RELATIONS. THIS IS A DISTINCT MATERIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GAIN. BUT IN OTHER AND THE REALLY FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS OF WORK AND INCOME, INDIA REMAINS AT THE DICTATION OF THOSE WHO CONTROL FOREIGN CAPITAL AND COMMERCE AND THE KNOW-HOW OF MODERN INDUSTRY. SHE MUST PAY PRICES DETERMINED IN LONDON AND NEW YORK AND SELL FOR PRICES SET IN SAN FRANCISCO AND PARIS. SHE MUST PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURE NOT MAINLY WHAT HER PEOPLE NEED BUT WHAT EUROPE AND AMERICA WANT AND WILL BUY. HER PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY STYMIED BY THE ENCOURAGING WITHIN HER OWN BORDERS OF RELIGIOUS FANATICISM WHICH WILL LO DEFY REASON AND WAS AIDED AND ABETTED FOR THAT REASON LONG BEFORE

INDIA WAS EVEN NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT IN HER OWN BORDERS. WORLD ORGANIZATION OF CAPITAL WILL GRIP AND RETARD INDIA FOR MANY DECADES.

THE PHILLIPINES, CUBA AND PUERTO RICO AS WELL AS HAITI AND THE DOMICAN REPUBLIC ARE AT THE ALMOST ABSOLUTE MERCY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND BANKING. CUBAN SUGAR, HAITIAN COPPER AND DOMINICAN PRODUCTS ARE SOLD AT PRICES AND IN QUANTITIES WHICH NEW YORK BANKERS DICTATE: PHILLIPINE ECONOMY IS CONTROLLED BY THE UNITED STATES AND OFFICIALS TAKE ORDERS FROM NEW YORK. TIN FROM BOLIVIA, NITRATES FROM CHILE, COPPER FROM BRAZIL, GOLD FROM SOUTH AFRICA, COPPER FROM RHODESIA, AND URANIUM FROM THE CONGO ARE ALL UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL AND THE NATIVE POPULATIONS HAVE THEIR INCOME AND WAY OF LIFE DICTATED BY POWERS OUTSIDE THEIR POLITICAL CONTROL.

THE OBJECTS AND GOALS BEHIND THIS NEW PHASE OF COLONIALIMPERIALISM IS EXACTLY THE SAME AS THOSE BEHIND THE IMPERIALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY:

NAMELY CONTROL OF THE LABOR OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC BY THE RULING CLASSES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, AIDED AND ABETTED BY THOSE NATIVE AGENCIES IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES WHO ARE WILLING OR ARE INDUCED TO BETRAY THEIR FATHERLANDS AND FELLOW NATIVES. THIS FACT IS BACK OF THE VOGUE OF STOOL-PIGEONS, SPIES AND INFORMERS WHICH IS SO POPULAR TODAY.

35-7-31

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS CHANGE FROM EFFORT TO CONTROL ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE SEA ISLES BY ACTUAL FORCE MARKS A DISTINCT VICTORY OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES. THE PRESENT CONTROL CANNOT BE SO COMPLETELY RELIED ON AS ACTUAL WEAPONS ON THE SPOT IN THE HANDS OF A FOREIGN MASTER CLASS. BUT THIS LOCAL FORCE HAS FOR A LONG TIME BEEN WANING IN EFFICIENCY SO THAT MOST COLONIES WERE LATELY HELD BY NATIVE TROOPS, WHO COULD NOT ALWAYS BE TRUSTED. TODAY A MORE INTELLIGENT CLASS OF NATIVE MERCHANTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS MUST BE SELECTED AS IN SOUTH KOREA BUT THE VERY INTELLIGENCE OF SUCH ASIATIC AND AFRICAN PUPPETS OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH CAPITALISM MAKE THEM A POSSIBLE LIABILITY IN THE FUTURE.

TWO CONSIDERATIONS PLACE THIS NEW ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IN A NEW LIGHT WHICH MUST BE STUDIED AND CONSIDERED BY FUTURE REFORMERS. (1) THE PERSONALITY OF THE MASTER NATIONS OF THE WORLD IS CHANGING. AND (2) GROWING SOCIALISM IS BRINGING NEW FORCES TO POWER IN THE MASTER LANDS THEMSELVES. THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS FALLEN AND ALTHOUGH ITS DECLINE MAY PROVE AS GRADUAL AS THAT OF ROME, WHOSE FALL LASTED FIVE CENTURIES, YET THE END IS CERTAIN. THE BRITISH EMPIRE OF THE 19TH CENTURY WILL NEVER RETURN, BUT IN ITS PLACE THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY THE GREATEST COLONIAL POWER IN THE WORLD AND IS RAPIDLY DISPLACING GERMANY, FRANCE, ITALY, SPAIN, HOLLAND AND BELGIUM AS MASTER OF THE LABOR AND OWNER OF THE RAW MATERIALS OF THE EARTH. THE ENORMOUS EXTENT OF OUR INVESTMENT IN ASIA, AFRICA, CANADA, AUSTRALIA AND ALL THE AMERICAS IS NOT KNOWN WITH COMPLETE CERTAINTY, OWING TO THE POSSIBILITY OF CONCEALING LEGAL OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. BUT THE FACT OF OUR PRESENT CONTROL OF

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND INVESTMENT IN THE WORLD IS TOO WELL KNOWN FOR DENIAL.

THE REASON FOR THIS CONTROL IS THE SAME AS THE REASON FOR COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM 1800 to 1900: NAMELY PRIVATE PROFIT FROM LOW WAGES OF COLORED WORKERS AND LOW PRICES FOR PRICELESS AND UNIVERSALLY DESIRED RAW MATERIALS ALL OVER THE EARTH. THIS ENORMOUS PROFIT WHICH ONCE WAS THE MONOPOLY OF SPAIN, ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND THE LURE OF WHICH TURNED GERMANY FROM SCIENCE TO MILITARISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY IS NOW FLOWING INTO OUR POCKETS WITH TWO RESULTS: INCREASE OF MILITARY MIGHT TO PROTECT AND RETAIN THIS PROFIT: AND SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS TO PREVENT INTERFERENCE WITH THIS PROGRAM. IT IS NECESSARY TO REALIZE THIS IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND OUR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE. THE ROLE OF RUSSIA IN OUR WAR HYSTERIA IS ACCIDENTAL. IF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAD NEVER TAKEN PLACE, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN THE SAME EFFORT ON THE PART OF OUR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION TO RESTORE AND MAINTAIN PROFIT FROM COLONIAL ENTERPRISE AND TO PROTECT THAT SYSTEM BY MILITARY MIGHT, UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR WAR AND VAST

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. IT WAS OF COURSE TRUE THAT IF SOCIAL CONTROL OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, IN RUSSIA, ENGLAND OR ELSEWHERE, SUCCEEDED IN WITHDRAWING FROM EXPLOITATION ANY LARGE AREA WHERE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FORMERLY MADE LARGE PROFIT, THE TEMPTATION TO PREVENT THIS EFFORT WOULD BE VAST. THUS WHEN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY WAS PROPOSED IN RUSSIA, THE WESTERN WORLD HASTENED TO PREVENT THE EXPERIMENT. THE ARGUMENT WHICH SENT THE ARMIES OF FOURTEEN NATIONS, INCLUDING OUR OWN, INTO RUSSIAN SOIL, WAS THAT SOCIALISM WAS IMPOSSIBLE AND TO PREVENT SUFFERING FROM A CRAZY EXPERIMENT, WE WOULD USE ARMED FORCE. AT THE SAME TIME BACK OF THIS EXHIBITION OF FORCE WAS THE FACT THAT RUSSIA, HER NEIGHBORS AND THE BALKANS WERE AND HAD BEEN LONG A PROFITABLE FIELD OF WHAT WAS IN FACT COLONIAL ENTERPRISE. GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA WERE REAPING LARGE AND INCREASING PROFIT FROM INVESTMENT IN THESE LANDS AND THIS PATH OF PROFIT LED STRAIGHT TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA. THUS THE

35-7-33

CERTAINTY OF THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM UNDER THE SOVIET REGIME WAS STRENGTHENED BY THE FEAR THAT IT MIGHT IN SOME DEGREE SUCCEED AND PREVENT THE RESTORATION OF COLONIAL ENTERPRISE IN THE WORLD. WE CAN FIND AN EXACT PARALLEL TO THIS IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH TOWARD THE NEGRO VOTER DURING RECONSTRUCTION: AT FIRST THE SOUTH KNEW NEGROES WERE NOT INTELLIGENT ENOUGH FOR DEMOCRACY: THEN IT WAS AFRAID THEY MIGHT SUCCEED SO THEY DISFRANCHISED LEST THEY SHOULD SUCCEED.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENT was not CONFINED TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE 20TH CENTURY. IN WESTERN EUROPE AND IN THE UNITED STATES THE TREND TOWARD SOCIALISM WAS PLAIN. THE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS AND COMMUNICATION BY THE STATE: THE CONTROL OF HOUSING AND HEALTH: PUBLIC EDUCATION AND STATE-OWNED INDUSTRY INCREASED IN EUROPE: WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS ACTUAL IF NOT THEORETICAL SOCIALISM. IF THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROFIT WAS TO BE MAINTAINED AND TRENDS TOWARD SOCIALISM CURBED, THEN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS MUST BE LIMITED.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY HAD TO MEET THE THREAT OF GROWING SOCIALISM IN THE LABOR

MOVEMENT. IN EUROPE AND AMERICA THERE WAS A GROWING CLASS OF INCREASINGLY INTELLIGENT MEN, WHO HAD BEEN TAUGHT THE PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL AND WERE READING NOT ONLY KARL MARX, BUT BERNARD SHAW, EDWARD BELLAMY AND NORMAN THOMAS BEFORE HE WENT CRAZY. THIS MASS OF LABOR WAS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY TOWARD BELIEF IN A CONTROL OF WEALTH FOR THE COMMON WELFARE AND NOT FOR PRIVATE MONOPOLY OSTENTATION AND EXERCISE OF POWER.

SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENTS WERE RISING AND SPREADING IN THE EUROPEAN WORLD, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE DISASTER OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THERE WAS BUT ONE WAY TO STOP THIS TREND, BACKED AS IT WAS BY THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AND THAT WAS TO SCARE THE WORKING CLASS INTO HYSTERICS BY THREAT OF WAR! BY TURNING THEIR SONS INTO A STANDING ARMY TO CONQUER THE WORLD: BY BURYING THEIR INCOME INTO A BOTTOMLESS PIT OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AGAINST AN ENEMY WHICH MUST BE PAINTED AS RUTHLESS, CRIMINAL, AND GREEDY BEYOND ANYTHING THE WORLD EVER KNEW.

TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, THOSE WHO HAD CONTROL OF THE WEALTH OF THIS NATION ENTERED INTO THE MOST GIGANTIC AND RUTHLESS EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA WHICH THE WORLD EVER SAW AND WHICH MAKE THE ANTICS OF HITLER PALE INTO INSIGNIFICANCE BY MONOPOLIZING AND CHANNELLING ALL OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION, BY SCARING OUR LEADERS AND THINKERS INTO SILENCE; BY SUPPRESSING DISCUSSION, MAKING SEARCH FOR TRUTH DANGEROUS AND THREATENING EVERY INDEPENDENT THINKER OR WORKER WITH STARVATION OR JAIL. ESPECIALLY WE HAVE HAD PAINTED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES A PICTURE OF RUSSIA, HER CHARACTER AND DESIGNS, AND HER ACCOMPLISHMENTS NO OTHER NATION ON EARTH BELIEVES AND WHICH EVERY HONEST STUDENT OF SOCIAL PROGRESS KNOWS IS EXAGGERATED.

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NO ONE, NOT EVEN THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, FOR A MOMENT REGARD THEMSELVES AS PARAGONS OF VIRTURE OR MIRACLES OF EFFICIENCY: THEY KNOW THEIR MISTAKES AND FAILURES BUT THEY ALSO KNOW THE MARVELLOUS PROGRESS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE IN 34 YEARS IN THE FACE OF THE UNTIRING MISREPRESENTATION

INTRIGUE AND OPPOSITION OF THE WORLD.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO REALIZE IS THAT THE PICTURE OF THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS CARICATURED IN MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS, OVER THE RADIO AND ON THE PLATFORM HAS NO RELATION TO THE TRUTH AND THAT WHAT IT HIDES AND DISGUISES IS THE ACTION WHICH WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE IF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAD NEVER OCCURRED. AND THAT IS THE DETERMINATION OF GREEDY WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES NEVER TO YIELD THE ENORMOUS PROFITS WHICH PRIVATE ENTERPRIZE HAS REAPED UP IN THIS LAND FROM OUR NATURAL RESOURSES MUCH MORE THAN FROM OUR BRAINS AND WORK. WHEN UNITED LABOR IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD BEGAN TO USE THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD TO DISTRIBUTE WEALTH AND MORE EQUITABLY, TRUSTS AND MONOPOLY SPLIT THEM WITH THE COLOR LINE NOT ONLY HERE BUT THE WORLD OVER: UNTIL THE WHITE AMERICAN GREW UP THINKING HE HAD A RIGHT TO MAKE "NIGGERS" WORK AND TO STEAL THEIR RESOURCES AT THE POINT OF BAYONETS GREASED WITH RELIGION.

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WHEN THIS LIE BEGAN TO LOSE WEIGHT THERE CAME WHAT SOME MIGHT REGARD AS THE PROVIDENTIAL ENTRANCE OF A WHITE NATION TRYING TO TEACH SOCIALISM TO A STRICKEN LAND. THE RUSSIANS WERE NOT RIPE FOR INTELLIGENT SOCIAL CHANGE: THEY WERE 90% ILLITERATE, THEY WERE POVERTY STRICKEN AND PRIEST RIDDEN, SUPERSTITIOUS AND HOPELESS: AND MOST OF THEM HAD BEEN EMANCIPATED FROM SLAVERY AT THE SAME TIME NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES WERE FREED, AND WITH ABOUT THE SAME DEGREE OF FREEDOM.

THIS WAS THE PEOPLE THAT WERE FORCED TO CHALLENGE THE ORGANIZED GREED OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD. WHETHER THEY SUCCEEDED OR FAILED, THE SAME FATE AWAITED THEM: ABSOLUTE DISBELIEF IN THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR SUCCESS, DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF THEIR AIMS, ARMED INTERVENTION TO STOP THEIR EFFORT, AND STUPID DETERMINATION TO DEPRIVE THEM OF THE SYMPATHY OF THE WORLD. YOU REMEMBER THE UNIVERSAL CAMPAIGNS OF LIES: ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE PROSTITUTES: ALL RUSSIAN

PEASANTS WERE STARVING: ALL RUSSIAN LEADERS WERE MURDERERS. AND FINALLY WAR WAS PLANNED NOT ON SOCIALISM WHICH IS STILL ADVANCING BOTH IN ENGLAND, FRANCE SCANDINAVIA AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT TO RESTORE IMPERIAL COLONIALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA, WHICH RUSSIA NEVER HAD BUT WHICH AMERICA NOW LEADS IN THE WORLD.

I REPEAT THAT WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF COLONIALISM, RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM HAVE NOTHING TO DO. IF THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH COUNTRY AND NO SUCH DOCTRINE THERE WOULD STILL REMAIN THE QUESTION OF WHO IS GOING TO CONTROL COFFEE, SUGAR, COCOA, COPPER, GOLD AND A HUNDRED THINGS WHICH YOU DEMAND AND DEMAND CHEAP: AND IF BLACK, YELLOW AND BROWN LABOR COULD BE WHIPPED OR STARVED INTO FURNISHING THESE THINGS, DID YOU PROTEST? AND IF WHITE LABOR GETS IDEAS OF WAGES TOO HIGH FOR THE PRESENT LEVEL OF YOUR PROFITS, WHY NOT BRIBE THEM BY MAKING THEM PARTNERS IN YOUR IMPERIAL ENTERPRISE? BY PUTTING THEIR SONS IN UNIFORM, BY SOUNDING THE TRUMPETS AND BEATING THE DRUMS, BY FORCING THEM TO DIE

FOR BIG PROFITS WHICH SOMEBODY ELSE REAPS: WHILE THEIR FATHERS GOT HIGH WAGES FOR FURNISHING ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO KILL OFF THE DARKIES OF THE WORLD.

MOST AMERICANS ARE NOT THE CONSCIOUS VICTIMS OF SUCH GREED AS DRIVES GREAT NATIONS TO WAR AND WHICH HAS BEEN THE CAUSE OF MOST OF THE WARS IN THE WORLD SINCE 1500. BUT UNCONSCIOUSLY THE ITCH FOR WEALTH IN THIS LAND IS FRIGHTENING. IT IS FAR MORE THAN THE DEMAND FOR DECENCY AND HEALTH : IT IS THE URGE TO OSTENTATION AND SENSELESS LUXURY: FOR VULGAR DISPLAY AND UNBRIDLED POWER. WE SEE IT ALL ABOUT US: IN THE LUXURY HOTELS OF MIAMI: IN THE EXCLUSIVE RESTAURANTS OF PARIS: IN THE SMALL PRINCIPALITIES OF OUR INDUSTRIAL BARONS: IN THE ABILITY OF OUR WEALTHY TO TAKE OVER SCIENCE AND EDUCATION AND CONDUCT IT AS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE: THIS IS THE URGE BACK OF OUR DRINKING, DRUG-TAKING, THE ENDLESS AND UNSUPPRESSIBLE GAMBLING, THE ORGANIZATION OF CRIME AND LOWERING OF HONESTY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS. WE ARE LOSING OUR SOULS TO GAIN, AND BACK OUR POWER TO

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GET WEALTH IS AND WAS COLONIAL EXPLOITATION. THE ONLY WAY TO START FIGHTING THIS SITUATION IS TO DEMAND PEACE--NO MORE WAR!

THE STATUS OF COLONIALISM - 25

From the beginning of history the satisfaction of human wants by conscious effort has resulted in the work of the majority of men being mainly for the satisfaction of the few. We measure human progress roughly by the degree in which larger numbers of men have their needs met by by more generally distributed effort. We look forward to a millenium when all men will work according to ability and will receive income according to need.

The interval between complete slavery of a working class and this millenium involves a series of steps which receive different names which denote not absolute but only relative change. Slavery for instance has been legally abolished long since but still the number of laborers who work by compulsion is still large. In no case are words more misleading than in talk about colonialism. We have for instance greeted the First and Second World Wars as marking the end of colonialism. This is over-optimistic and more a matter of words rather than of realities. A colony at one time was a settlement of immigrants from one nation in the territories of another, bringing with them their own culture which they sought to impose on the invaded land, with varying results. That sort of colonialism, as practised by Greece and Rome has largely disappeared. Quite another kind of colonialism followed trade relations with Asia, and European settlement of America. From these experiments arose the slave trade and political imperialism: the slave trade arising from transfer of laborers from one land to another ~~for use~~; and the other arising from control of a country by another for use of native labor and valuable raw materials. This latter phase of colonialism is the one best known today and when it became cause of the First World war, its end was assumed as a result of the Second. Proof of this seemed clear because of the independence of India Burma and China, of several nations of the Near East, of the Balkans and other eastern European states; of some countries in the Caribbean; beside this, partial independence ~~has been~~ secured by Indonesia and the Phillipines. Following this line of definition the head of the Trusteeship section of the United Nations has recently estimated the decrease of colonialism from the population from 750 million to 200 million people..

But this is again being misled by name and thus failing to assess realities. When Great Britain the British Empire abolished slavery and the United States ~~90 years later emancipated four million slaves~~ in the 19th century, the world rejoiced at the freedom of the working class of the world. That was not wholly true; there were still millions of workers compelled to work for persons who had legal control over their services. In a similar way today, there are many countries which have nominal independence which are under almost as complete control by other nations as formerly

Just as chatel slavery passed into serfdom, contract labor and the wage system, so Colonialism in our era has passed from political domination of many lands to economic control which is still colonialism imperialism. Just as the wage system involves more freedom and possibility of progress than slavery, so economic imperialism is an advance on political; but it is a matter of degree not of essence. Today the great nations which control military might and capital goods, commerce and communications, control the majority of the peoples of the world as completely ~~and in some cases more completely than was the case~~ as under political imperialism. There has been a change in method of control, and identity of the master nations but not in the facts or rigor of results

38-12-358

The essential underlying fact, whether in slavery, serfdom or colonialism is that a foreign people control the labor of a country and the raw material of the land, and have the power to fix wages, living conditions and prices of imports and exports. It is for instance an exaggeration to call India independent. She has escaped a certain species of insult in her own land: a priviged caste of resident white masters; compulsory separation in domicile and public accommodation, humiliation in foreign relations. This is a distinct material and psychological gain. But in other and the really fundamental matters of work and income, India remains at the dictation of those who control foreign capital and the know-how of modern industry. She must pay prices determined in London and New York and sell for prices set in San Francisco and Paris. She must manufacture not what her people need but what Europe and America demand and will buy. Her progress toward economic self-sufficiency has been deliberately stymied by the ~~raising~~ encouraging within her own borders of religious fanaticism which will long defy reason and ~~were encouraged and~~ was aided abetted for that reason long before India was even nominally independent. World organization of capital will grip and retard India for many decades

The Phillipines, Cuba and Porto Rico; as well as Haiti and ~~Santo Domingo~~ the Dominican Republic are at the almost absolute mercy of the American industry, commerce and banking. Cuban sugar, Haitian coffee and Dominican products are sold at prices and in quantities which New York bankers dictate; Phillipine economy is controlled by the United States and officials take orders from New York. Tin from Bolivia, nitrates from Chile, coffee from Brazil, gold from South Africa, and copper from Rhodesia, and uranium from the Congo are all under foreign control and the native populations have their income and way of life dictated by powers outside their political control.

The objects and goals behind this new phase of Colonial Imperialism is exactly the same as those behind the imperialism of the 19th century: namely control of the labor of Asia and Africa and the islands of the Pacific by the ruling classes in Western Europe

and North America, aided and abetted by those classes in the colonial countries who are willing or are induced to betray their fatherlands and fellow natives.

There is no doubt that this change from actual effort to control Asia and Africa and the sea isles by actual force on the ground marks a distinct victory of democratic forces. The remaining control is not so reliable and cannot be so completely relied on as actual weapons on the spot in the hands of foreign master class. But this local force has for a long time been waning in efficiency so that most colonies were lately held by native troops who could not always be trusted. Today a more intelligent class of native merchants and industrialists must be selected and relied on and the very intellgence of American and British representa Asiatic and African puppets of American and British capitalism make them a possible liability in the future.

Two considerations make this new economic imperialism in a new light which must be studied and considered by future reformers. The personality of the masters of the world is changing and growing socialism is bringing new forces in the master lands themselves. The British Empire has fallen and although its end may prove as gradual as that of Rome, whose fall lasted five centuries, yet the end is certain. But in its place the United States is today the greatest colonial power in the world and is rapidly displacing Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Holland and Belgium as arbitor of the labor and raw materials of the earth. The enormous extent of our investment in Asia, Africa , Canada, Australia and all the Americas is unknown with complete certainty, owing to the possiblity of concealing legal ownership in modern civilization. But the fact of our present control of industry, commerce and investment in the world is too well-known for denial. The reason for this control is the same as the reason for colonial imperialism from 1800 to 1900: namely private profit from low wages of colored workers and low prices for priceless raw materials all over the earth.

This enormous profit which once was the monopoly of England and France, and the lure of which turned Germany to militarism is now flowing into our pockets with two results: pr

is now flowing into the pockets of Americans with two results: increase of military might to protect and retain this profit; and suppression of democratic controls to prevent interference with this program. It is necessary to realize this in order to understand our present attitude toward peace. The role of Russia in our war hysteria is accidental. If the Russian revolution had never taken place, there would have been the same effort on the part of our industrial organization to restore and maintain profit from colonial enterprise and to protect that system by military might, universal training for war and vast public expenditure for private profit. It was of course true that if social control of private property, in Russia England or elsewhere, succeeds in withdrawing from exploitation any large area where private enterprise formerly made large profit, the temptation to prevent this effort would be vast. Thus when a socialist economy was proposed in Russia, the Western world hastened to prevent the experiment. The argument which sent the armies of 14 nations, including our own, onto Russian soil, was that socialism was impossible and to prevent suffering from a crazy experiment, we would use armed force. At the same time back of this exhibition of force was the fact that Russia, her neighbors and the Balkans were and had been long a profitable field of what was in fact colonial enterprise. Germany, Great Britain, France and America were reaping large and increasing profit from investment in these lands and thus the path of profit lead straight to the middle east and Asia. Thus the certainty of the failure of socialism under the Soviet regime was strengthened by the fear that it might in some degree succeed and prevent the restoration of colonial enterprise in the world.

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Now was Socialism and socialistic experiment confined to the Soviet Union. In the 20th century in western Europe and in the United States the trend toward socialism was plain. The ownership of railways and communication by the state; the control of housing and health; public education and state-owned industry increased in Europe; while in the United States the New Deal was actual if not theoretical socialism. If the system of private profit was to be maintained and trends toward socialism curbed, then the democratic process must be limited.

1903 Juan Tolvon & Stella Gonzalez

1898 - 1909 Calls on Reyes

1902 Tod invited to White House

Called Treaty a SCAM

1903 Fought on Cuam

1908 Last called on T R

1908 Guardsmen

1910 8 Years

We can find an exact parallel to this in the attitude of the South toward the Negro voter during Reconstruction: at first the South knew Negroes were not intelligent enough for democracy; then ~~they~~ it was were afraid they might succeed so they disfranchised lest they should succeed.

are doomed. But that was not the only foe which the American colonialism feared or feared most. The chief foe toward which American business first trained its guns was the American labor movement in conjunction with the English and French. Here was a growing class of increasingly intelligent men, who had been taught the philosophy of democratic control and were reading not only Karl Marx, but Edward Bellamy Bernard Shaw, and Norman Thomas before he went crazy. This mass of labor was progressing rapidly toward belief in a control of wealth for the common welfare and not for private ostentation and exercise of power monopoly Socialistic experiments were rising and spreading in the European world, especially after the disaster of the First World War. There was but one way to stop this trend, backed as it was by the right to vote, and that was to scare the working class into hysterics; by turning their sons into a standing army to conquer the world; by burying their income into a bottomless pit of military preparedness against an enemy which must be painted as ruthless, criminal, and greedy beyond anything the world ever knew.

38-12-361

To accomplish this, those who had control of the wealth of this nation entered into the most gigantic and ruthless efforts at propaganda which the world ever saw and which make the antics of Hitler pale into insignificance. By monopolizing and channelling all our sources of information, by scaring our leaders and thinkers into silence; by suppressing discussion, making search for truth dangerous and threatening every independent thinker or worker with starvation or jail, we have had painted for the people of the United States a picture of Russia, her character and designs, and her accomplishment no other nation on earth, and which every honest student of social progress knows is exagerated and untrue. Noone, not even the people of the Soviet Union itself, for a moment regard themselves as parogons of virtue or efficiency; they know their mistakes and failures but they also know the marvellous progress which the Soviet Union has made in 34 years in the face of the untiring opposition of the world

And what we ought to realize is that the picture of the 200 milion people of the Soviet Union which is caricatured in magazine and newspaper, radio and on platform has not relation to the truth and that what it hides and disguises would have taken place if the Russian revolution had never occurred. And that is the determination of greedy wealth in the United States never to yield the enormous profits which private enterprize has heaped up in this land from our natural resources much more than from our brains and work. When united labor in the civilized world began to use the democratic method to distribute wealth and work more equitably, trusts and monopoly

Tillman

Senator 1895

unscrupulous self righteous
rude & obscene

All the yankees from Cape Cod to Hell
Could make us submit to Negro domination

fought with Wade Hampton — Rear (first senate fight in 50 yrs
Bloody shirt
4 days DX debate — no decision until Pierce Butler
profanity
believes in brotherly

Born 1847 @ Chester, Edgefield Dist SC
Butler, Wigfall 2,000 acres
Blind in one eye — 65

1881 Reds Farmers
1873 Straightout — Dem reader — one Democrat
1876 Hamburg
1882 Cafe Eagfield Hamp
Rice failed in Lowlands, Cotton flourished in uplands
Bourbons fatten Grady
1883-6, near bankruptcy
1887 Farmers Alliance
1892 Farmers Conv.
1890 governor — conv. stampeded
Hackett dolls Dark Negroes
vote T 59,000 Hackett 15,000 unclaim 5,000 Negroes
Increase corporate taxes
Hamlin replaced by Irby
1892 T. re-elected — D. Clerk House Leader
espouses Populists — wholesale frauds

92 2nd Hackett manifesto
94 Dec. Leg. elects Tillman senator
offset by divide - T Democrats & Negro vote
1894 Evans nominated Gov.
Pope fights for Negro vote Evans elected 39,000 & 17,000
all but 10,000 of Democrats 130,000 Negroes voted kept from polls

spit them with the color line not only here but the world over, until the white American grew up thinking he had a right to make "niggers" work and to steal their resources ~~of the weaker world~~ at the point of the bayonets, greased with religion. When this lie began to lose weight there came the providential entrance of a white nation trying to teach socialism to a stricken land. They were not ripe for intelligent social change; they were 90% illiterate, they were poverty-stricken and priest-ridden, superstitious and hopeless; and most of them had been emancipated from slavery at the same time Negroes in the United States were freed, and with about the same kind of freedom. This was the people that dared challenge the organized greed of the civilized world. Whether they succeeded or failed, the same fate awaited them: deliberate distortion of their ~~higher~~ aims and studied ~~effort~~ to deprive them of the sympathy of the world. And finally war, not on socialism which is still advancing both in England, France and the United States, but on imperial colonialism ~~which Russia never had but which America now leads in the world.~~

I repeat that with the fundamental problems of colonialism Russia and Communism have nothing to do. If there ~~was~~ no such country and no such doctrine there would still remain the question of who is going to control coffee, sugar, cocoa, copper, gold and a hundred things which you demand and demand cheap; and if black, yellow and brown labor ~~can~~ be whipped or starved into furnishing these things, ~~why not use it~~? And if white labor gets ideas of wages too high for the present level of your profits, why not bribe them by making them partners in your imperial enterprise? ~~By~~ their sons in uniform ~~to die~~ for big profits which somebody else reaps; ~~and give~~ their fathers high wages for furnishing arms and ammunition to kill off the darkies of the world.

Most Americans are not the conscious victims of such greed as drives great nations to war and has been the cause of most of the wars in the world since 1500. But unconsciously the itch for wealth in this land is frightening. It is far more then the demand for decency and health; it is the urge to ostentation and senseless luxury; for vulgar display and unbridled power. We see it all about us: in the luxury hotels of Miami; in the exclusive restaurants of Paris; in the small principalities of our industrial barons; in the ability of our wealthy to take over science and education and conduct it as private enterprise; tihs is the urge back of our endless and unsuppressible gambling. We are losing our souls to gain, and back of our power to get wealth is and was colonial exploitation.

Your remarks the universal carcharges of Russ:
all Russian women were prostitutes; all Russian
peasants were slavery; all Russian leaders
were murderers

Du Bois

June 27, 1954
JPFO

35-9-64

SCHOOLS FOR MINORITIES

THE STATE OF VIRGINIA DECLARED IN HER REVISED CODE IN 1819 THAT ANY SCHOOL FOR TEACHING NEGROES READING AND WRITING, EITHER IN THE DAY OR NIGHT, SHALL BE CONDEMNED AND CONSIDERED AN UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY AND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT MAY BE INFLICTED UPON THE OFFENDER NOT EXCEEDING TWENTY LASHES.

THE REASON FOR THIS, AS THE SOUTH CAROLINA LAW HAS IT, IS THAT THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES "MAY BE ATTENDED BY MANY INCONVENIENCES."

SOME FIFTY YEARS LATER THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES IN DENYING THAT THE NEGRO, DRED SCOTT, COULD BE A CITIZEN, SAID THAT IN OUR HISTORY NEGROES HAD NEVER HAD ANY RIGHTS WHICH THE WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT. IN 1912 THE SUPREME COURT DECLARED THE NEGROES CITIZENS, AND LAST MAY THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED UNANIMOUSLY THAT SEGREGATION OF NEGROES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS WAS A DENIAL OF EQUAL RIGHTS. THESE DECISIONS INDICATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND POSE THE QUESTION AS TO HOW FAR THE EDUCATION

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OF CITIZENS IN THIS NATION CAN BE FREE, PUBLIC AND COMPULSORY.

THERE ARE MANY ARGUMENTS AGAINST THIS. IT WAS SAID FOR YEARS THAT EDUCATION OF CHILDREN WAS A PRIVATE MATTER WHICH OUGHT TO BE PAID FOR BY THE PARENTS OF THE CHILDREN, IGNORING THE FACT THAT MOST PARENTS COULD NOT AFFORD SUCH PAYMENT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A CONTROVERSY AS TO HOW FAR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AT LEAST SHOULD BE PUBLIC AND INCLUDE ALL GROUPS AND CLASSES. THIS WAS LONG OPPOSED AND IS STILL OPPOSED BY MANY BECAUSE THE MINGLING OF GROUPS FROM DIFFERENT FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT INCOMES AND DIFFERENT CULTURE PATTERNS AND WITH DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS, MAKE MANY DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF ANY NATION AIMS TO BE UNIFIED AND COMPOSED OF EQUAL CITIZENS, THE BEST MEANS TO THIS IS THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

FINALLY, SINCE IGNORANCE IS A DANGER TO ALL, MOST CIVILIZED STATES HAVE BEEN COMPELLED TO MAKE THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN COMPULSORY UP TO A CERTAIN AGE.

35-9-66

IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE NOT ACCOMPLISHED THESE AIMS. THERE ARE MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WHERE NO ADEQUATE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IS FURNISHED. THERE ARE OTHER PARTS WHERE THE TENDENCY IS TO EDUCATE CERTAIN CLASSES OF CHILDREN IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND FURNISH THERE BETTER TRAINING THAN THE MASS OF CHILDREN GET. AND FINALLY, THE ENFORCEMENT OF SCHOOLING UPON ALL IS NOT COMPLETELY ACHIEVED IN A LARGE PART OF THE NATION. THIS MEANS THAT OUTSIDE THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MOST PEOPLE ARE COMPELLED TO GIVE THOUGHT AND ACTION TO THE TRAINING OF THEIR CHILDREN.

IN THE CASE OF AMERICAN NEGROES THIS PROBLEM CALLED FIRST FOR SECRET SCHOOLS, BEFORE THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES; AND MISSION SCHOOLS DURING RECONSTRUCTION. AFTER ENFRANCHISEMENT NEGROES HAD TRIED TO FURNISH FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR WHITE AND BLACK, BUT THERE CAME THE CASTE SYSTEM WHICH SET UP IN ALL THE FORMER SLAVE STATES AND SOME PARTS OF THE NORTH SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES AND WHITES. THE COURTS, IN TRYING TO ESTABLISH A LEGAL BASIS FOR THIS SEPARATION DECLARED IN A CELEBRATED DECISION THAT THE SEGREGATION WAS LEGAL IF THE TWO SETS OF SCHOOLS WERE EQUAL.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE IMPOVERISHED SOUTH AFTER THE CIVIL WAR HAD NEITHER THE WISH NOR THE WEALTH TO ESTABLISH A SET OF SCHOOLS FOR WHITES, AND CERTAINLY WAS NOT ABLE TO ESTABLISH TWO SETS OF SCHOOLS WITH EQUAL FACILITIES.

35-9-67

SINCE 1876 THEREFORE NEGROES HAVE BEEN FIGHTING; AND BY AGITATION, APPEAL AND COURT DECISION TRIED FIRST, TO MAKE THE SOUTHERN STATES FURNISH NEGRO SCHOOLS EQUAL TO THE WHITES AND THEN, KNOWING QUITE WELL THAT THIS WAS ECONOMICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, SUDDENLY TURNED A FEW YEARS AGO AND DECLARED IN CASES BEFORE THE COURTS THAT SEGREGATION IN ITSELF WAS A DENIAL OF EQUAL RIGHTS. THEY STARTED WITH THOSE GRADUATE SCHOOLS WHERE THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT AT ALL TO GIVE NEGROES ANY FACILITIES, AND THEN TURNED TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE RESULT WAS THE UNANIMOUS DECISION OF MAY 7th.

MANY AMERICANS SEEM TO THINK THAT THIS SETTLES THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO EDUCATION. THERE IS A SENSE IN WHICH WE MAY SAY THAT IT MERELY BEGINS IT, BECAUSE IN THE SEPARATE NEGRO SCHOOLS MANY THINGS WERE DONE WHICH WILL NOT BE DONE IMMEDIATELY OR EVEN FOR A LONG TIME IN INTEGRATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS, WITHOUT GREAT, STRUGGLE.

FOR INSTANCE, THE CHILDREN IN NEGRO SCHOOLS WERE ENCOURAGED TO GO TO SCHOOL, EVEN WHEN THEY CAME FROM HOMES WHICH GAVE NO SUCH NATURAL INCENTIVE. NEGRO CHILDREN WERE TAUGHT ABOUT THEIR OWN PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION, AND OF THE HISTORY OF THEIR PEOPLE; MATTERS NOT ONLY NOT TAUGHT BUT UNKNOWN IN THE WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THUS THE RACE PROBLEM ITSELF WAS TURNED INTO AN INCENTIVE TO MAKE NEGRO CHILDREN TRY TO EXCEL.

35-9-68

THERE WILL NOW COME SLOWLY BUT CERTAINLY A CHANGE. NEGRO CHILDREN WILL INCREASINGLY ASSOCIATE WITH WHITE CHILDREN IN THE SAME SCHOOLS. THERE THEY WILL SUFFER DISCRIMINATION, NEGLECT, IN SOME CASES ACTUAL OPPRESSION. THEY WILL HEAR NOTHING OF NEGRO HISTORY AND SEE NOTHING OF NEGRO ART. THEY WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO QUIT SCHOOL AT AN EARLY AGE AND BE THROWN INTO UNFAIR COMPETITION WITH WHITE CHILDREN WHO HAVE HAD ADVANTAGES OVER THEM IN HOME AND SOCIAL CONTACTS. FOR THIS REASON SOME NEGROES NOW AND MORE NEGROES IN THE FUTURE WILL SILENTLY IF NOT OPENLY OPPOSE THE INTEGRATION OF WHITES AND BLACKS IN THE SAME SCHOOLS. THEY WILL DEPLORE THE LOSS OF JOBS BY NEGRO TEACHERS WHO IN THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS HAVE BEEN WIDELY AND WELL-

TRAINED FOR THEIR SPECIAL WORK.

35-9-69

ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT THAT THIS HARD STEP IS ONE THAT NEGROES MUST TAKE IF THEY ARE GOING TO BE PART OF THE MODERN WORLD. IN TAKING THIS STEP THEY WILL FIND CERTAIN ADVANTAGES. THEY WILL COME INTO DIRECT AND PERSONAL CONTACT WITH WHITE PEOPLE; THEY WILL KNOW WHITE CHILDREN AS THEY ARE, AND MEASURE THEIR OWN POSSIBILITIES AGAINST THEM. THEY WILL EMERGE FROM SUCH TRAINING NOT AS NEGROES BUT AS AMERICANS AND AS MEMBERS OF THE MODERN WORLD. THEY MUST THEREFORE TAKE THIS STEP, BUT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT.

THERE ARE OTHER GROUPS THAT HAVE MET AND WILL MEET SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES. THERE ARE THE FOREIGN BORN, FOR INSTANCE. I REMEMBER VIVIDLY HOW THE IRISH IN NEW ENGLAND ONCE WERE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THEY WERE NEVER FORCED INTO SEPARATE SCHOOLS BUT THEY WERE ENCOURAGED TO LEAVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS EARLY BECAUSE OF THEIR POVERTY, THEIR LACK OF HOME TRAINING, THEIR RELIGION AND THEIR SPEECH. OTHER FOREIGN BORN HAVE SUFFERED IN THE SAME WAY.

35-9-70

WE ESPECIALLY REMEMBER THE PLIGHT OF THE JEWS IN EDUCATION, WHICH DIFFERS BECAUSE OF THEIR PECULIAR HISTORY IN THE MODERN WORLD. IF THE JEWS WISH THAT THEIR HISTORY BE NOT FORGOTTEN, THAT THEIR FAMILY ORGANIZATION BE PRESERVED AND THAT THEIR PECULIAR CULTURE PATTERNS BE ENCOURAGED AND NOT DESPISED, THEN THE SENDING OF THEIR CHILDREN TO THE FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS INVOLVES DIFFICULTY. JEWISH HISTORY WILL NOT BE TAUGHT THERE; JEWISH RELIGION WILL BE DESPISED, AND JEWISH CUSTOMS LAUGHED AT. SO THAT AMONG JEWS JUST AS AMONG CATHOLICS THERE HAS BEEN STRONG TENDENCY TOWARD A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM; TOWARD SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR JEWISH CHILDREN AND FOR CATHOLIC CHILDREN.

BUT THERE AGAIN COME THE SAME COUNTER-ARGUMENTS WHICH WE HAVE IN THE CASE OF THE NEGROES. IF JEWISH CHILDREN ARE GOING TO BE TRAINED AS JEWS THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE INTEGRATED INTO THE AMERICAN NATION OR INDEED INTO THE MODERN WORLD. THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATION LONG CURRENT AMONG THEM IS GOING TO BE EMPHASIZED AT A TIME WHEN EVERY THOUGHTFUL EFFORT SHOULD BE TOWARD MAKING THE WORLD ONE. ON THE OTHER

35-9-71

HAND BOTH NEGROES AND JEWS HAVE THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO REMEMBER THAT OUTSIDE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN WHICH THEY MUST TAKE PART, THERE SHOULD ALSO COME SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE HOME AND IN MANY GROUP ACTIVITIES, TO PRESERVE FOR THEM THAT WHICH THEY AND THE WORLD CANNOT FORGET; THE SLAVERY OF THE NEGROES, THEIR FREEDOM AND THEIR STRUGGLES; AND THE LONG HISTORY OF JEWISH RELIGION AND JEWISH NATIONALITY; OF THEIR GREAT MEN, THEIR LITERATURE AND CULTURE. THE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE INNUMERABLE STRAINS OF HUMANITY WHICH HAVE BEEN UNITED TO MAKE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, SHOULD BE TO KEEP THIS INTEGRATION FROM BEING A LOSS OF VITAL ELEMENTS AND MAKE IT AS IT SHOULD BE, A UNION AND SHARING OF WHAT VARIOUS PEOPLES HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION.

FOR THIS REASON THERE MUST BE FOR A LONG TIME, JEWISH EDUCATION AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN A WORLD WHICH IN MANY AND DIFFERING WAYS DESPISES AND BELITTLES BOTH GROUPS. JEWISH AND NEGRO CHILDREN AS WELL AS ALL OTHER CHILDREN MUST ATTEND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE NATION. BUT OUTSIDE THESE SCHOOLS THERE MUST BE

35-9-72

CONCERTED AND CONTINUOUS EFFORT TO AFFORD THESE CHILDREN SUCH TRAINING IN THE HISTORY AND STRUGGLES OF THEIR PEOPLE; THE STORY OF THEIR EMANCIPATION AND ESPECIALLY THE WAY IN WHICH MANY MINORITY PEOPLES HAVE NOT ONLY PROVEN THEIR RIGHT TO SHARE AND EVEN TO LEAD CIVILIZATION; AND YET TO BE AS TRUE AMERICANS AS PEOPLES OF ENGLISH, GERMAN OR FRENCH DESCENT.

WHETHER THIS EFFORT CAN BEST BE CARRIED ON IN SPECIAL SCHOOLS OR IN HOMES, CHURCHES OR SYNAGOGUES, IN ORGANIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL INTERCOURSE OR ARTISTIC EXHIBITION -- THIS MUST BE SETTLED AS TIME, PLACE OR CIRCUMSTANCE WILL DIRECT. ONLY THE REAL OBJECT MUST EVER REMAIN: TO SEE THAT CHILDREN ARE EDUCATED WHOLLY AND COMPLETELY AND THAT THEY NEVER GROW UP TO FORGET THAT WHICH MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN.

AFRICA

SOMETIMES IT SEEMS AS THOUGH THIS NATION WERE DETERMINED NOT TO LEARN FROM THE PAST. PERHAPS THIS IN PART IS TO BE BLAMED UPON OUR TEACHING OF HISTORY. INSTEAD OF HISTORY BEING HELD UP TO US AS REAL AND AS THE GUIDING HAND OF THE PAST POINTING TOWARD THE FUTURE; INSTEAD OF THAT, HISTORY SEEMS TO MANY STUDENTS TO BE A STORY, MORE OR LESS UNREAL, ABOUT PEOPLE NOT LIKE THOSE LIVING TODAY. AND INDEED TO MANY GRADUATE STUDENTS HISTORY IS A MEANS OF MAKING US BELIEVE CERTAIN THINGS CONCERNING THE FUTURE WHICH ARE NOT REALLY PROVEN BY THE PAST.

35-9-56

AT ANY RATE, IF WE TURN OUR ATTENTION TODAY TOWARD AFRICA WE OUGHT TO SEE THERE THE KIND OF THING WHICH GUIDED US ONCE IN AMERICA, WHICH WAS PART OF THE HISTORY OF EVERY NATION IN EUROPE, AND WHICH IS NOW APPEARING IN ASIA. WE DO NOT MAKE THIS REAL BECAUSE WE EITHER KNOW SO LITTLE OR HAVE SUCH VAGUE AND CONTRADICTORY IDEAS ON AFRICA. LET US REMEMBER THAT AFRICA IS A CONTINENT FILLED WITH HUMAN BEINGS WHO HAVE FEELINGS COMPARABLE TO OURS, GOING BACK OVER THE SAME LONG DEVELOPMENT IN

HISTORY. FOR MANY REASONS THE HISTORY OF AFRICA IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF EUROPE, ASIA AND AMERICA. BUT THE COMPELLING REASON IS NOT A DIFFERENCE IN THE KIND OF HUMAN BEINGS OR IN THE GENERAL WAY IN WHICH THEY HAVE REACTED TO ENVIRONMENT OR IN THEIR GIFTS AS MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE. IT IS BECAUSE OF THE CLIMATE THEY HAVE STRUGGLED WITH, THE PECULIAR GEOGRAPHY OF THE CONTINENT, AND THE AGGRESSION OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD. FOR SUCH REASONS THE AFRICAN CONTINENT TODAY IS IN REBELLION, FROM NORTH TO SOUTH, FROM EAST TO WEST AND IN THE GREAT CENTRAL REGIONS. IN THE NORTH, INCLUDING EGYPT AND THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, THERE IS RESENTMENT AGAINST THE BRITISH EMPIRE WHICH, HAVING ENTERED THE VALLEY OF THE NILE A CENTURY AGO IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE SUEZ CANAL AS A HIGHWAY TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN ASIA, AND HAVING PROMISED REPEATEDLY THAT ITS STAY WAS TEMPORARY. IT DID IN FACT AT LAST DOMINATE EGYPT AND MADE IT PART OF HER WORLD-WIDE DOMINION.

THE EGYPTIANS NOW HAVE DETERMINED THAT THEY ARE GOING TO BE MASTERS IN THEIR

OWN HOUSE. THEY HAVE CURTAILED THE POWER OF BRITAIN REPEATEDLY, AND ARE FINALLY TRYING TO DRIVE HER OUT OF THE DOMINATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

SOUTH OF EGYPT IS THE TERRITORY WHICH USED TO BELONG TO ETHIOPIA AND WAS CALLED BY THE ARABS THE "LAND OF THE BLACKS." IT IS TODAY A TERRITORY WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF PRIMITIVE TRIBES, WITH A HISTORY OF WAR AND AGGRESSION, BUT WITH A SMALL INTELLIGENTSIA TRAINED BY THE BRITISH TO HELP THEM IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY. HERE IS A LAND WHICH BOTH EGYPT AND BRITAIN WANT. THE BRITISH, WORKING THROUGH THEIR RELIGIOUS COMPATRIOTS, ARE FIGHTING FOR CONTROL OF THIS LAND WHICH DOMINATES THE NILE VALLEY AND ON WHICH THE PROSPERITY OF EGYPT AND OF BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN EGYPT DEPEND. THERE ARE HERE A NUMBER OF STRONG TRADE UNIONS AMONG THE BLACKS, TOWARD THE WEST THEY MERGE INTO FRENCH WEST AFRICA. TOWARD THE EAST THEY BORDER ON KENYA AND UGANDA. THE FIGHT HERE, WHILE SMOULDERING, HAS IMPORTANT RAMIFICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

35-9-57

IN EAST AFRICA THERE IS KENYA, WHICH GREAT BRITAIN TRIED AFTER THE FIRST WORLD

WAR TO TURN INTO A REFUGE FOR WHITE VETERANS. ON THE HIGHLANDS LAND WAS SOLD TO ENGLISHMEN AND SOUTH AFRICANS FOR TWO CENTS AN ACRE UNTIL THEY HAD MONOPOLIZED THE BEST LAND IN THE COUNTRY AND HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE NATIVE TRIBES TO LIVE. THE WHOLE MAUMAU REBELLION IS BASED ON THE RESULTING LAND HUNGER.

GREAT BRITAIN CAME INTO KENYA BECAUSE OF HER INTEREST IN UGANDA. UGANDA WAS A WELL ORGANIZED MEDIEVAL STATE WITH A FEUDAL SYSTEM AND A RULING CASTE. HERE ROMAN CATHOLICISM, ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM AND EASTERN MOHAMMEDANISM MET IN DETERMINATION TO DOMINATE THE COUNTRY. THE RESULT WAS THE TRIUMPH OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM AND A COMPLICATED SYSTEM OF RULE WHICH TODAY IS MEETING OPPOSITION. THE OXFORD-TRAINED KING OF THE MOST ADVANCED SECTION OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN DEPOSED ARBITRARILY BY GREAT BRITAIN BECAUSE HE WAS BEGINNING TO FOLLOW WEST AFRICA IN DEMAND FOR GREATER AUTONOMY.

SOUTH OF THIS REGION IS FORMER GERMAN EAST AFRICA, NOW CALLED TANGANYIKA AND UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE BRITISH. THERE AROSE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR A SCHEME FOR DEVELOPING PLANTATIONS TO RAISE PEANUTS AND SUPPLY FATS FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

IT COLLAPSED BUT STILL PLANTATIONS DEVELOPED COFFEE AND SISAL, WHILE DIAMONDS AND OTHER PRODUCTS ARE PRODUCING IN TANGANYIKA SOMETHING OF THE SAME LAND HUNGER THAT BROUGHT THE MAU MAU REBELLION IN KENYA.

IN WEST AFRICA THERE IS THE MOST DETERMINED STAND FOR AFRICAN AUTONOMY. THIS WAS THE CENTER OF THE OLD INDUSTRY AND ART UNDER BENIN AND YORUBA. NEGROES TRANSPLANTED HERE THE SPANISH AFRICAN COCOA INDUSTRY. WITH THIS START TOWARD SHARING IN THE INDUSTRY OF THE MODERN WORLD THEY CAME TO THE PLACE WHERE TODAY THEY ARE DEMANDING SELF-GOVERNMENT. OPEN REVOLUTION WAS BARELY AVOIDED A DECADE AGO AND TODAY THE GOLD COAST IS ALMOST FREE AND NIGERIA IS FOLLOWING: WHICH MEANS THAT FROM 30 to 40 MILLION NEGROES ON THE WEST COAST ARE IN SIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS WELL-ADVISED THEY WILL LET THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT GO THROUGH, BUT THERE IS STRONG OPPOSITION WITHIN THE EMPIRE. IT IS A BAD EXAMPLE, ESPECIALLY FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

HERE, AFTER THE CLASH OF BANTU, BOER AND ENGLISH IN THE 19th CENTURY, CECIL

RHODES NEARLY SUCCEEDED IN BUILDING A BRITISH EMPIRE STRETCHING FROM CAPE TO CAIRO. DESPITE SEIZURE OF LAND AND POWER AND CURTAILMENT OF EDUCATION THERE HAD GROWN UP IN SOUTH AFRICA A NATION OF LESS THAN TWO MILLION WHITES AND 10 MILLION BLACK AND COLORED FOLK, WHERE THE FIGHT FOR LAND, POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IS GROWING FIERCER YEAR BY YEAR. THE NATIVES HAVE SOME EDUCATION AND ARE GOING TO HAVE MORE. THEY HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF MOST OF THEIR LAND BUT THEY ARE FIGHTING TO GET LAND RIGHTS BACK. THEY ARE PUSHING INTO THE NEW INDUSTRY ALTHOUGH HANDICAPPED BY DISCRIMINATION IN TRADE UNIONS AND LOW WAGES. DESPITE ALL THIS EITHER THERE IS GOING TO BE INCREASED RECOGNITION OF THE DARKER FOLK IN THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND WIDER LAND HOLDING, OR THERE IS GOING TO BE REVOLUTION.

FURTHER NORTH IN THE RHODESIAS THERE HAS BEEN RECENTLY ORGANIZED A NEW CENTER OF BRITISH IMPERIAL RULE, WITH A HANDFUL OF WHITES IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOMINATION OF SEVERAL MILLION NEGROES. THE RIGHT OF NEGROES TO SOME REPRESENTATION, THE RIGHT TO THEIR RETAINING OF SOME PART OF THEIR LAND, IS RECOGNIZED BUT ONLY TO A SMALL DEGREE.

MOST OF THE PEOPLE LOOK TO SOUTH AFRICA AS THEIR GUIDE AND THERE WILL BE EVERY EFFORT IN THIS PART OF AFRICA TO MAKE THE WHITE MAN ABSOLUTELY DOMINANT OVER THE BLACK.

ON THE OTHER HAND IN THE BELGIAN CONGO, A COLONY FOURTEEN TIMES THE SIZE OF ITS OWNER, BELGIUM, THERE IS ANOTHER SORT OF BATTLE, WHERE THE BELGIANS ARE TRYING VERY CAREFULLY TO PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA AND AT THE SAME TIME, AS IT DEVELOPS, TO BRING IT INTO CLOSER INTEGRATION WITH THE BELGIAN RULERS. THERE IS ELEMENTARY EDUCATION CONDUCTED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND AIMED TOWARD MAKING THE NATIVES SUBSERVIENT, AND ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS ENCOURAGEMENT OF TRIBAL LIFE WHICH KEEPS NATIVE POWER AND CUSTOM. HOW FAR THE POWER OF BELGIUM, BACKED BY THE CAPITALISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA CAN HOLD THESE BLACK MEN IN LEASH IS A QUESTION. FOR HERE BLACK WORKERS CARRY ON THE SKILLED TRADES; THEY ARE THE MINERS AND RAILROAD MEN AND THEIR POWER HAS BEEN SHOWN RECENTLY IN STRIKES AGAINST THE WRETCHEDLY LOW WAGE PAID. ANOTHER CENTER, THEN, OF INCIPIENT REBELLION IS HERE REVEALED.

35-9-59

SOUTH OF TANGANYIKA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO, SPLIT BY THE RHODESIAS, LIES PORTUGESE AFRICA, WHICH WAS TORN IN TWO BY CECIL RHODES. PORTUGAL ITSELF IS NOT MUCH MORE THAN A COLONY OF BRITISH CAPITAL BUT IT HANGS ON TO ITS AFRICAN EMPIRE IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. THERE THE MASTERS ARE PORTUGESE OR PORTUGESE MULATTOS, AND THEIR POWER OVER THE MASS OF WORKERS IS ABSOLUTE. BUT THE RACE LINE IS NOT SO EVIDENT HERE AS IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA, AND IT COULD EASILY BE THAT THESE TWO VAST TERRITORIES WHENCE COME THE MINERS AND LABORERS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OF RHODESIA, WOULD SIDE EVENTUALLY WITH THE BLACK AFRICAN WORLD.

RETURNING NOW NORTHWARD WE HAVE IN THE NORTHEAST, ETHIOPIA, RESTORED FROM ITALIAN DOMINATION AND AT LAST BORDERING ON THE SEA. HER DEVELOPMENT DEPENDS ON HOW FAR SHE CAN ESCAPE THE THREATENED EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CAPITALIST INVASION.

AT THE OTHER CORNER OF THE CONTINENT IN THE NORTHWEST, LIES THE VAST POWER OF FRANCE. FRANCE HAS NOT BEEN WISE IN HER CONTROL OF COLONIES, NEITHER IN AFRICA NOR ASIA. HER BEGINNINGS IN AFRICA WERE AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC FRENCH TRADITION, WITH

35-9-60

A FUTURE OF INTEGRATION AND EQUALITY. BUT THIS FELL UNDER THE DOMINATION OF FRENCH INDUSTRY AND THE EXPLOITATION OF NORTH AFRICA BOTH OVER ARABS AND NEGROES HAS BEEN PITIABLE. THE REVOLT IS NOW COMING:MORE OR LESS OPEN REVOLT IN MOROCCO AND TUNIS, AND MORE HIDDEN BUT CLEARN OPPOSITION IN BLACK WEST AFRICA. MORE OF THIS IS GOING TO BE HEARD IN THE FUTURE, BUT AT PRESENT NEWS OF IT IS MORE OR LESS SUPPRESSED.

ON THE WEST GUINEA COAST THERE IS THE LITTLE FREE STATE OF LIBERIA WHICH IS BECOMING NOW MORE AND MORE DOMINATED BY AMERICAN CAPITAL. HOW FAR IT CAN CONSERVE ITS OWN AUTONOMY IS A GRAVE QUESTION.

OFF THE SOUTHEAST COAST LIES THE VAST ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR WHICH HAS BEEN IN OPEN REBELLION IN THE LAST DECADE AND WHICH IS STILL STUBBORNLY STRIVING FOR SOME RESTORATION OF ITS ANCIENT FREEDOM.

35-9-61

WHAT IS AFRICA TO ME:

COPPER SUN OR SCARLET SEA,

JUNGLE STAR OR JUNGLE TRACK,

STRONG BRONZED MEN, OR REGAL BLACK

WOMEN FROM WHOSE LOINS I SPRANG

WHEN THE BIRDS OF EDEN SANG?

ONE THREE CENTURIES REMOVED

FROM THE SCENES HIS FATHERS LOVED,

SPICY GROVE, CINNAMON TREE,

WHAT IS AFRICA TO ME?

Parts not read in Calif
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Africa

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June 1954
West Coast

THE ONLY WAY OUT

THE ONLY WAY FOR THIS NATION TO ESCAPE ITS PRESENT DILEMMA, FRUSTRATION AND HYSTERIA IS FRANKLY NOW TO REPUDIATE CERTAIN LIES: 1. THAT ALL COMMUNISTS ARE SCOUNDRELS AND COMMUNISM IS ALWAYS A CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY. THIS IS AN OUTRAGEOUS FALSEHOOD AND EVERY HONEST MAN KNOWS IT. IT INVOLVES SLANDER ON SOME OF THE GREATEST MODERN MEN; ON KARL MARX AND ENGELS, ON SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB, ON H.G. WELLS, ON BERNARD SHAW, ON HAROLD LASKI.

2. THAT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ALL COMMUNIST NATIONS ARE TYRANNIES COMPOSED OF ENSLAVED PEOPLES CRYING FOR RESCUE BY AMERICANS. THAT THE SOVIET UNION REGULARLY REPUDIATES ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS AND PARTICULARLY DID THIS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

3. THAT STATESMEN LIKE MOLOTOF AND VISHINSKY CANNOT BE TREATED LIKE GENTLEMEN OR BE RECOGNIZED AS MEN OF ABILITY AND HONOR BUT ALWAYS GREETED AS LIARS AND CONSPIRATORS.

41-3-87

SUCH HONEST AND FRANK DISAVOWAL OF CALUMNY DOES NOT FOR A MOMENT DENY OUR RIGHT TO:

PREFER THE PRIVATE CAPITALIST SYSTEM TO SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM.

TO PUNISH CRIMINAL ACTS WHICH CONTRAVENE OUR LAWS.

TO DEFEND OUR NATION FROM ATTACK.

BUT THE INSISTENCE ON WHAT WE KNOW ARE UNTRUTHS COMPEL US TO DEFEND LIES BY ADDITIONAL FALSEHOOD; TO REFUSE TO EXPLORE, DISCUSS OR STUDY SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES; TO RUIN OUR STANDARDS OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND JUSTICE: TO ESTABLISH NEW, ABHORRENT AND EXTRAORDINARY PRINCIPLES OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS , FOR INSTANCE, THAT FULL CREDIT IS TO BE GIVEN THE TESTIMONY OF PAID SPIES AND CONFESSED LIARS; THAT COLLECTIONS OF UNSWORN AFFIDAVITS CONSISTING OF GOSSIP AND HEARSAY CAN BE USED TO BLACKEN CHARACTER EVEN OF THE DEAD WITH NO REVELATION OF SOURCE OR WITHOUT CONFRONTING OF THE ACCUSED WITH THE ACCUSER; THAT MEN CAN BE JAILED AND RUINED

IN FINANCE AND REPUTATION FOR WHAT THEY ONCE THOUGHT; AND THAT AGAINST THIS NO ACT NOR REPUTATION CAN PREVAIL.

41-3-88

Du Bois

JUNE 1954
West Coast

CIVIL LIBERTIES

THE MOST ARRESTING THING IN OUR DAY IS THE LOSS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE UNITED STATES. MOST PEOPLE DO NOT REALIZE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS HAS GONE. THEY ARE USED TO THINKING OF THEMSELVES AS FREE AND THEY CANNOT CONCEIVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY SUBSTANTIAL CURTAILMENT IN THEIR FREEDOM. IT IS ASSUMED, FOR INSTANCE, THAT AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE FREE TO TRAVEL. WE KNOW THAT THAT IS NO LONGER SO. ACCORDING TO MY LAST INQUIRY I CANNOT TRAVEL OUTSIDE OF THE CONFINES OF THE UNITED STATES UNLESS I MAKE CERTAIN PROMISES AND CERTAIN STATEMENTS. IF I WENT TO ENGLAND I COULD NOT ATTEND A MEETING OF THE PEACE COUNCIL, I COULD NOT LISTEN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LABOR PARTY; PRESUMABLY I COULD NOT VISIT THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY WHOM I COUNT AS A FRIEND. IF I WENT TO PARIS I COULD NOT LISTEN TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHIEF COMMUNIST PAPER, L'HUMANITE, WHO IS PROBABLY THE GREATEST MAN OF LETTERS IN FRANCE. I COULD NOT ATTEND A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL. THERE WOULD BE EVEN GREATER RESTRICTIONS UPON MY VISITING PERSONS OR TAKING PART IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF ORGANIZATIONS IN POLAND,

35-8-80

[redacted] SOVIET UNION. AND ALL THIS BECAUSE IN ORDER TO TRAVEL I AM REQUIRED TO SAY THAT I WILL NOT GIVE AID OR COUNCIL TO THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, NOT SIMPLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, BUT TO THE "COMMUNIST MOVEMENT." AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT APPARENTLY HAS THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHAT THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS.

IF I DO NOT TRAVEL BUT SPEAK IN THE UNITED STATES, I AM THREATENED BOTH AS TO THE CONTENT OF MY SPEECHES AND TO THE AUDIENCE BEFORE WHICH THEY ARE DELIVERED. IF I SHOULD BE TALKING TO THE PEACE COUNCIL OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA IN SAN FRANCISCO, OR OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA IN LOS ANGELES, I SHOULD BE UNDER THE DIRECT AND CAREFUL SURVEILLANCE OF OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. WHILE IN SEATTLE OR PORTLAND I SHOULD STAND A GOOD CHANCE OF HAVING MY AUDIENCE BROKEN UP BY THE STATE OR THE UNITED STATES.

IT USED TO BE A MATTER OF PRIDE AMONG AMERICANS TO FEEL THAT THEY COULD SAY WHAT THEY WANTED TO. SOMETIMES THEY TALKED WHEN THEY THEMSELVES KNEW THAT THEY WERE PERHAPS EXAGGERATING THEIR POINT OF VIEW. BUT THEY WANTED TO MAKE IT PLAIN NOT ONLY TO LISTENERS BUT TO THEMSELVES THAT THEY HAD THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ANY OPINION THEY

WANTED TO SO LONG, NATURALLY, AS IT WAS NOT LIBEL OR INCENTIVE TO DIRECT VIOLENCE.

BEYOND THAT AMERICANS CLAIMED A SPECIAL FREEDOM IN WRITING AND PUBLISHING, IN OPPOSING THE PARTIES IN POWER, IN TALKING AGAINST SUCH VESTED INTERESTS AS SLAVERY, IN ATTACKING TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES, IN ASSERTING THEIR RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS AND THEIR DISLIKE OF THE WORK AND PROFESSIONS OF THE CHURCH. ALL THESE THINGS THEY NOT ONLY HAD THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS BUT THEY HAD THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH THESE EXPRESSIONS AND TO DISTRIBUTE THEM.

TODAY THAT RIGHT HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY CURTAILED. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET OPINIONS PUBLISHED IN BOOKS, ON THE LECTURE STAND, ON THE RADIO AND OVER TELEVISION, OR BY PAMPHLETS. IN FACT, WHILE THE MAN WHO TALKS LOW OR SAYS NOTHING CAN GET the FRONT PAGE OF MAGAZINES WITH MILLIONS OF CIRCULATION, OR A MOVING PICTURE LIKE THE LAST ONE OF INGRID BERGMAN IS DIFFICULT TO FIND OR TO SEE, NOT BECAUSE IT IS NOT A WORK OF ART BUT BECAUSE IT ATTACKS CURRENT OPINION.

OF ALL THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS THAT OF TALKING TO YOUR FRIENDS AND YOUR

35-8-181

ENEMIES, OR LISTENING TO PERSONS IN POWER AND TO PERSONS WHO OPPOSE POWER OF ALL SORTS; IN FINE, FREEDOM OF CONSULTATION WITH ALL FOLKS OF ANY SORT WHO HAVE OPINIONS, HAS BEEN ONE OF OUR CHERISHED RIGHTS. THIS IS DISAPPEARING, AND DISAPPEARING ALMOST WITHOUT SIGNS OF EFFECTIVE PROTEST.

I HAVE KNOWN THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ALMOST FROM ITS INCEPTION. I WOULD HAVE BEEN A CHARTER MEMBER BUT FOR THE FACT THAT I WAS AN OFFICIAL IN AN ORGANIZATION WITH MANY OF THE SAME OBJECTS. NATURALLY, WHEN I NEEDED LEGAL DEFENSE I WENT TO MY FRIEND WHO IS A PROMINENT ATTORNEY FOR THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. HE SYMPATHIZED WITH MY CASE AND WANTED TO APPEAR AS MY ATTORNEY. THE UNION REFUSED TO LET HIM.

WHICH BRINGS UP ANOTHER ORDINARY LIBERTY OF WHICH WE HAVE LONG BOASTED. IF AN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, A POLICEMAN OR A SECRETARY OF STATE INTERFERED WITH OUR RIGHTS WE COULD ALWAYS APPEAL TO THE COURTS. THIS RIGHT HAS BEEN INFRINGED UPON. I BELONG TO PERHAPS A HALF DOZEN ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE OBJECTS ARE CLEAR AND LEGAL, WHO HAVE

DONE NO ACT, WHICH BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION COULD BE CALLED IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE LAW. YET WITHOUT HEARING OR WITNESSES PRACTICALLY ALL OF THESE HAVE BEEN DE - CLARED SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS. AND THEN, UPON THAT DECLARATION HAS BEEN BASED ACTION BY THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES CURTAILING MY RIGHTS IN VARIOUS WAYS. THE OPPOR- TUNITY OF PUTTING THE JUSTICE OF THESE ACTIONS BEFORE THE COURTS IS HINDERED NOT SIMPLY BY COST BUT BY DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING THE SERVICES OF ATTORNEYS AND BEING UN- ABLE TO OVERCOME THE DELIBERATE DELAYS OF THE ORGANS OF ADMINISTRATION WHOSE DECISION I OBJECT TO.

ALL THIS IS NOT NEW TO THE WORLD. IN FACT, FROM THE BEGINNING OF OUR FIGHT FOR MODERN FREEDOM WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE IT EASY FOR MEN TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES, TO HEAR OTHERS, TO GO FROM PLACE TO PLACE WHERE THEY COULD SEE AND KNOW, AND TO BE CURTAILED IN THEIR LIBERTY ONLY AFTER THE JUDGMENT OF A COURT. ANY NUMBER OF ACTS HAVE BEEN PASSED BY CONGRESSES AND LEGISLATURES IN THE RECENT PAST WHICH MAKES THIS KIND OF FREEDOM IMPOSSIBLE.

35-8-82

NOW THIS INVOLVES NOT SIMPLY A LOSS OF THE RIGHT TO ACTIVITY AND EXPRESSION. IT IS AN ATTACK UPON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. AND PROBABLY TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE IN THE WORLD DEMOCRACY IS DISCREDITED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND WE HAVE COME TO VITAL DECISIONS AND WILL COME TO OTHERS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. INDEED THE VERY FACT THAT NOT MORE THAN HALF OF THE QUALIFIED VOTERS TODAY GO TO THE POLLS EVEN IN IMPORTANT ELECTIONS SHOWS HOW LITTLE WE BELIEVE IN THE CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT BY PUBLIC OPINION. AND OF THOSE WHO GO TO VOTE A VERY LARGE PROPORTION GO BECAUSE THEY REGARD VOTING AS A DUTY WHICH THEY MUST TRY TO DO IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE SMALL RELIANCE UPON ITS EFFICIENCY OR UPON THE HONESTY OF ITS CONDUCT. THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO COULD TODAY MAKE A REASONABLE DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY AND PROVE BY REVIEW OF THEIR ACTIONS THAT THEY REALLY BELIEVED IN DEMO- CRATIC RULE TODAY WOULD, I AM SURE, BE VERY SMALL.

NOW THE LOSS OF DEMOCRACY IS NOT TO BE REGARDED WITH INDIFFERENCE. BUT IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE EVER SEEN DEMOCRACY IN THIS COUNTRY ENTIRELY TRIUMPHANT

OR INDEED, HAS THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD IN OTHER COUNTRIES BEEN ALTOGETHER REASSURING. YET WE STAND BY THIS BELIEF BECAUSE WE MUST. WE DO NOT DENY, AS OF COURSE WE CANNOT DENY, THAT THE RIGHT THING CAN BE DONE, THE RIGHT POLICY INAUGURATED AND CARRIED OUT BY INDIVIDUALS, BY GROUPS OF POWERFUL MEN, BY ORGANIZATIONS OF POWERFUL INTERESTS. BUT SOONER OR LATER THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT COMES TO GRIEF. IT FAILS, AND ITS FAILURES IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN SO TREMENDOUS AND HAVE LEFT SUCH SCARS ON THE FACE OF MANKIND THAT WE TURN FROM THAT AND SAY THERE IS, AFTER ALL, AND WE KNOW IT, ONLY ONE FINAL RESOURCE. AND THAT RESOURCE IS AND MUST BE THE OPINIONS OF MEN, THEIR WISHES AND THEIR EMOTIONS BASED UPON THEIR EXPERIENCES. EVEN THIS RELIANCE MAY GO WRONG. THE MOB HAS HAD ITS EXCESSES. AND YET THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT IN THE LONG RUN AND OVER THE EARTH THE OPINION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE IS AS NEAR RIGHT AS WE CAN GET TO RIGHT.

35-8-783

WHAT WE DO, THEREFORE, IS TO TRY TO LEAVE THAT OPINION FREE, TO MAKE IT AN EDUCATED OPINION, TO SUPPORT IT BY APPRECIATION AND GOOD WILL. AND THEN, WHEN THAT

KIND OF OPINION CAN BE EXPRESSED, TO GIVE IT THE POWER TO RULE. WE KNOW THAT IN SPITE OF ALL ABERRATIONS IN THE PAST THIS IS AND MUST BE THE FINAL RELIANCE OF GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT IT WE SHALL STAGGER INTO THE SAME HORRIBLE MISTAKES THAT THE WORLD HAS SUFFERED IN THE PAST.

Du Bois

June 1954
West Coast

PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND PEACE

THE DANGER OF THE UNITED STATES BECOMING INVOLVED IN WAR IS STILL BEFORE US. THE ELECTION OF 1952 SO FAR AS IT WAS AN ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS PUBLIC OPINION, WAS A DECISIVE VOTE AGAINST WAR. THE CONSEQUENT EFFORT TO STOP THE WAR IN KOREA WAS NOT SINCERE, WAS NOT CARRIED OUT WITH ANY IDEA OF BRINGING WORLD PEACE, AND TODAY, TWO YEARS LATER, WHILE ACTUAL FIGHTING HAS BEEN STOPPED IN KOREA, THERE IS YET NO FINAL TRUCE. IN ADDITION TO THIS WE BARELY ESCAPED INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN INDO-CHINA, AND THERE ARE STILL STRONG FORCES THAT ARE PUSHING US TOWARD THAT WAR. THE RECENT TRIP OF VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON MIGHT HAVE LED US DIRECTLY TO A THIRD WORLD WAR. HE CAME BACK PREDICTING THE FALL OF NEW CHINA AND WARNING US THAT WE MUST INTERFERE IN INDO-CHINA. HIS TRIAL BALLOON FOR SENDING TROOPS TO INDO-CHINA WAS A DETERMINED EFFORT TO INVOLVE US IN THAT WAR AND ONLY THE OVERWHELMING PROTEST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES STOPPED IT.

35-8-86

WE HAVE HAD SINCE THAT THE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN AND THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA.

THE CONFERENCE IN BERLIN WAS NOT A FAILURE. IT DID NOT, TO BE SURE, UNITE EAST AND WEST GERMANY AND IT DID NOT STOP ALTHOUGH IT SLOWED DOWN THE RE-ARMING OF WEST GERMANY. IT DID PLAN A CONFERENCE IN GENEVA where FOR THE FIRST TIME THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CHINA WAS REPRESENTED. AS A RESULT OF THIS CONFERENCE, NOW GOING ON, THE PROSPECTS FOR WORLD PEACE ARE BETTER THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN A LONG TIME. BUT THERE IS STILL GRAVE DANGER, WHICH LIES IN THE CONTINUED INSISTENCE THAT THE EXISTENCE OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST STATES IN THE WORLD ARE IN THEMSELVES REASONS FOR FEAR OF AGGRESSION BECAUSE OF CONSPIRACY AND CRIME. WE MUST THEREFORE GO BACK CONTINUALLY AND EXAMINE THIS ARGUMENT.

SOME PEOPLE STILL SAY THAT PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE THE WORLD IS DIVIDED BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE; THAT SOCIALISM INVOLVES THE SLAVERY OF THE WORKER, GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF LAND, TOOLS AND MATERIALS, AND PLANNED ECONOMY. THEY CONCEIVE THE "FREE WORLD" AS NATIONS WHERE WORKERS ARE FREE TO LABOR AS THEY WILL, WHERE PROPERTY IS OWNED MAINLY BY INDIVIDUALS AND WHERE THE GOVERNMENT IS

DEMOCRATIC. AND MANY ARGUE THAT BETWEEN THESE SYSTEMS OF WORK THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL ONE FORCIBLY CONQUERS THE OTHER.

THE ANSWER T@ THIS FIERCELY HELD BELIEF IS TWOFOLD: FIRST, IF IT WERE TRUE, HOW WOULD MURDER AND CONTINUOUS AND WORLD-WIDE DESTRUCTION SETTLE IT AND PROVE WHICH SYSTEM IS BEST? AND SECONDLY, IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE WORLD TODAY IS DIVIDED INTO

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FOR HIMSELF OR BY GROUPS OF PERSONS WORKING FOR THE COMMON GOOD. AS THE WORLD HAS PROGRESSED THIS WORK OF INDIVIDUALS TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD HAS PERSISTED, WHICH IS MERELY ANOTHER WAY OF SAYING THAT THERE HAS BEEN A PROGRESSIVE PREVALENCE OFSSOCIALISM FROM THE BEGINNING OF TIME TO OUR OWN DAY. THUS SOCIALISM DOMINATED PRIMITIVE FAMILY LIFE AND BROADENED TO CLAN AND STATE. COMMUNISM WAS USUAL IN SCORES OF EARLY RELIGIOUS AND EC NOMIC GROUPS, INCLUDING CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND INDIAN TRIBES.

AS SOCIETY GREW SOCIALISM HAD TO PERSIST. SINGLE FARMERS COULD NOT RUN FARMS SATISFACTORILY. EVEN FISHING AND HUNTING CALLED FOR COOPERATION. AND WHEN SPINNING AND WEAVING WENT INTO FACTORIES, BUSINESS BECAME SOCIALISTIC. WITH MODERN BIG BUSINESS SOCIALISM, IN THIS SENSE, BECAME AS WIDE AS INDUSTRY AND BEGAN TO DOMINATE THE STATE AND THE INTER-NATION.

WHEN NOW I USE THE WORD "SOCIALISM" IN THIS RESPECT THERE IS CALL FOR CLARIFICATION. BECAUSE THIS "SOCIALISM" INVOLVES TWO DIFFERENT PROCESSES, EITHER ONE OF WHICH CAN EXIST ALONE. THAT IS, WE MEAN BY SOCIALISM COOPERATIVE EFFORT OF INDIVIDUALS TO PRODUCE GOODS AND FURNISH SERVICES; AND WE ALSO MEAN THE EFFORT TO SEE THAT THESE GOODS AND SERVICES ARE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE PRODUCERS OR AMONG PERSONS IN THE COMMUNITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SOME RULE OF JUSTICE. MANIFESTLY IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE PEOPLE COOPERATING FOR PRODUCTION AND STILL NOT RESULT IN THE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF THESE GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE PUBLIC.

35-8-88

WHEN, THEREFORE, THE WORD "SOCIALISM" IS USED ONE MUST DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SOCIALISM AS "PRODUCTION" AND SOCIALISM AS JUST DISTRIBUTION AS WELL AS PRODUCTION. IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY SOCIALISM, IN THE SENSE OF PLANNED, COOPERATIVE EFFORT FOR PRODUCTION HAS REACHED TREMENDOUS PROPORTIONS. AND, TOO, THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESULTING GOODS AND SERVICES HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT MORE WIDELY, PERHAPS, THAN EVER BEFORE IN HUMAN SOCIETY. AND YET THE RUSSIANS THEMSELVES WOULD BE THE FIRST TO

SAY THAT DISTRIBUTION IS NOT YET "ACCORDING TO NEED." IT IS SIMPLY TRYING TO APPROACH THAT GREAT IDEAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE UNITED STATES THE INCREASE OF COMPULSORY WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE GREAT ENDS OF ESTABLISHING INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION HAS REACHED TREMENDOUS PROPORTIONS. AND, ALSO, WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD DISTRIBUTING THE RESULTS OF THIS PRODUCTION AMONG THE MASS OF PEOPLE.

I SAY THIS TO EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NEARLY SO GREAT AS SOME PEOPLE WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE. ONE WOULD BE LED TO BELIEVE BY CURRENT COMMENT IN AMERICA THAT THE VISITOR TO A STEEL MILL IN THAT GREAT RUSSIAN CENTER ON THE DNIEPER RIVER WOULD SEE CHAINED SLAVES, OBEYING UNQUESTIONED ORDERS TO RUN THE VAST FACTORIES; WHILE IN PITTSBURGH THE "FREE" AMERICAN CITIZEN ARRIVES AT WORK WHEN HE WILL, DOES WHAT HE WANTS TO DO AT WAGES WHICH HE HIMSELF SETS! THIS IS, OF COURSE, SHEER NONSENSE! IN ALL ESSENTIAL PARTICULARS THE RUSSIAN STEEL MILL WORKS IN THE SAME WAY AS THE AMERICAN TO DO THE SAME JOB. SLAVE LABOR CANNOT MAKE STEEL AND LABOR IN NO FACTORY

CAN BE FREE. THE LAW OF GRAVITY WORKS IN BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRY IN BOTH DEPENDS IN THE END ON SCIENCE, DISCIPLINE AND CHARACTER.

IF, THEN, WE WILL LOOK FRANKLY AT WHAT IS CALLED BIG BUSINESS ON THE ONE HAND, AND WHAT IS CALLED SOCIALISM ON THE OTHER, WE WILL THUS SEE THAT INSTEAD OF THEIR BEING ANTAGONISTIC AND CONTRADICTORY SYSTEMS THEY ARE IN MANY RESPECTS THE SAME. BIG BUSINESS IS SOCIALISM -- THAT IS, THE COMPULSORY ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS SO THAT BY PLAN AND LAW THE WORK OF THE WORLD CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, SOCIALISM IS BIG BUSINESS. IT IS USING THE SAME KINDS OF METHODS AND PLANNING FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE SAME THING. TO BE SURE, THE SOCIALISTIC EFFORT DOES NOT ALWAYS SUCCEED IN ITS MAIN OBJECT. NEITHER CASE CONTRADICTS THE REAL AIM OF EACH.

35-8-89

SINCE THE 17th CENTURY THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE HAVE PUT THEIR FAITH AND EFFORT INTO THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. THIS CAPITALISM WAS CERTAINLY NOT IN THE END

INDIVIDUAL EFFORT TO SATISFY INDIVIDUAL WANT. NO. IT SOON WAS SOCIAL EFFORT FOR SOCIAL WANTS. BUT WHERE CAPITALISM TENDED TO FAIL WAS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCT FOR SOCIAL ENDS. SLAVERY AND THE WAGE CONTRACT AND CUSTOM LED TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES AMONG THE FEW PERSONS WHO HAD LEGAL TITLE TO THE PROPERTY PRODUCED AND TO THE LABOR OF THE PARTICIPANTS. THIS LEGAL TITLE MAY HAVE BEEN SECURED THROUGH A SLAVE TRADE, OR THROUGH A CONTRACT BY WHICH THE LABORER GAVE UP HIS RIGHT TO A SHARE IN THE GOODS WHICH HE HAD MADE AND WAS FORCED TO BE SATISFIED WITH WAGES SET BY THE OWNER. CONFLICT NATURALLY AROSE: ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS STRIVING TO GET A LARGER SHARE OF THE ULTIMATE PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR; ON THE PART OF THE CAPITALIST WHO ASSUMED THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRY WAS FIRST HIS WELFARE AND NOT THE GENERAL GOOD.

THERE IS NO CALL TO DENY OR BELITTLE WHAT INDUSTRY IN THE AGE OF CAPITALISM

HAS DONE FOR MANKIND. IT HAS BUILT A NEW AND MARVELLOUS CIVILIZATION WHICH TODAY BELTS THE WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST IN HONESTY AND FOR OUR FUTURE GUIDANCE NEVER FORGET ITS FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS. FIRST OF ALL IT RESTORED HUMAN SLAVERY, JUST AS IT WAS DYING OUT, AND REPLANTED IT RIGHT HERE IN NEW, DEMOCRATIC AMERICA. IT TOOK A CATACLYSM TO REMOVE IT EVEN IN PART AND MUCH OF IT STILL REMAINS. IN INDIA THIS SAME CAPITALISM LED TO THEFT AND DISHONESTY AND THE OVERTHROW OF CIVILIZATION TO AN EXTENT WHICH WE HARDLY REALIZE TODAY AND WHICH FURNISHED THE WEALTH WHICH WAS USED BY THE EMPIRES AS THE FREE CAPITAL WHICH STARTED THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IN EUROPE.

35-8-90

THIS EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM CAME TO BE USED PRIMARILY FOR THE GOOD OF THE PRIVILEGED FEW AND ONLY INCIDENTALLY FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF MANKIND. THE EXCUSE FOR THIS WAS THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD HUMAN DESIRE BE HARNESSED TO EFFORT AND SACRIFICE, AND THAT ONLY A MINORITY OF MANKIND COULD BE CIVILIZED, OR DESERVED TO BE. SCIENCE AND RELIGION LONG COMBINED TO SPREAD THIS PROPAGANDA.

THESE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF INDUSTRY DO NOT FOR A MOMENT TOUCH THE BASIS ON WHICH ALL HUMAN INDUSTRY IS FOUNDED, NAMELY THAT THE HUMAN BEING IS ENTITLED TO ALL THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, ACTION AND EXPRESSION THAT IS COMPATIBLE WITH HIS NEED FOR SURVIVAL. ON THIS ALL NATIONS AND SYSTEMS AGREE. THEY DISAGREE WIDELY AS TO WHAT MEN NEED FOR SURVIVAL; AS TO WHAT MEN SHOULD SURVIVE, AND AS TO WHO AMONG THE MASSES OF THE EARTH CAN REALLY BE CONSIDERED MEN.

IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MOST PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OUGHT TO BE ASSURED BY INDUSTRY OF FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER; OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND SUFFICIENT LEISURE FOR HEALTH. THERE WAS SOME DOUBT IF THIS MINIMUM COULD BE GUARANTEED TO ALL WHITE WORKERS WITHOUT DANGER TO ALL INDUSTRY. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS NO QUESTION AMONG MOST MEN THAT MODERN INDUSTRY COULD NOT GUARANTEE THIS MINIMUM TO THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE EARTH OR EVEN TO NUMBERS OF WHITES OUTSIDE WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. IT WAS CONSIDERED INEVITABLE THAT THESE PEOPLES COULD AND SHOULD BE USED AS COMPULSORY LABORERS FOR THE COMFORT of the white world and the only

THE EXPERIMENT HAS NOT YET FAILED. WE DIFFER IN JUDGING ITS DEGREE OF SUCCESS. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE EXISTS TODAY IN THE WORLD A NUMBER OF STATES WHO ARE TRYING TO CARRYOON INDUSTRY FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE, BY PUTTING ITS PLANNING AND CONDUCT IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE INSTEAD OF IN THE CONTROL OF PRIVATE OWNERS OF CAPITAL. THERE IS STILL STRONG FEELING THAT THESE EXPERIMENTS WILL FAIL. WHEN, HOWEVER, THAT HOPE GOES FURTHER AND ASSERTS THAT THE EFFORTS IN THEMSELVES ARE NOT SINCERE, THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PART OF THE WORLD WHICH HAS FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES DOMINATED MANKIND AND THAT THIS WORLD MUST GO TO UTTER AND BOUNDLESS WAR TO STOP THE EXPERIMENT, -- HERE HONEST AND REASONABLE MEN MUST CALL A HALT. THIS IS GOING BEYOND THE EVIDENCE, AND IT ASKS IMPOSSIBLE SACRIFICE FOR UNATTAINABLE SUCCESS.

35-8-91

SOCIALISM, IN THE SENSE OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT TO PRODUCE, COUPLED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES IN ACCORDANCE WITH SOME RULE OF JUSTICE, IS BOUND TO PREVAIL IN THIS WORLD SOONER OR LATER. THAT IT WILL NECESSARILY COME

IN THE SOVIET MANNER IS NOT AT ALL SURE. IT MAY BE THAT WE IN THE UNITED STATES, IF WE WOULD GIVE AS MUCH TIME TO SOCIAL PLANNING AS WE DO TO THE PLANNING OF WAR, MIGHT DEVISE A METHOD OF COMING TO FULL SOCIALISM WITHOUT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. BUT IN WHATEVER MANNER SOCIALISM COMES, IT WILL SURELY COME. THIS IS INEVITABLE. IT CANNOT BE CRUSHED IN A THIRD OR FOURTH WORLD WAR. IF IT IS, BY THE VERY NATURE OF THE CASE IT WILL BE REBORN AGAIN AND AGAIN UNTIL IT TRIUMPHS OR UNTIL IT IS PROVEN TO BE ABSOLUTELY UNATTAINABLE WITH MODERN HUMANITY.

AND ON THE OTHER HAND, THE METHODS OF BIG BUSINESS BY WHICH A GROUP OF WEALTHY FINANCIERS, OWNERS AND TECHNICIANS CARRY ON INDUSTRY SO AS TO MAKE THEMSELVES RICH AND POWERFUL AND MOST FOLK POOR, IS AGAIN, IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE GOING TO DISAPPEAR OR CIVILIZATION FAILS.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE WORLD, THEN, IS NOT THAT USUALLY DISCUSSED: NAMELY WHETHER TODAY THE NATIONS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN ARE MORE PROSPEROUS THAN WESTERN

EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OR LESS. IT IS THE MORE RATIONAL QUERY. IS THIS EXPERIMENT TOWARD A STATE SOCIALISM A DANGEROUS FAILURE WHICH THREATENS CIVILIZATION? THAT IT INVOLVES COMPULSION NO ONE DENIES. IT INVOLVES STRICT RULES AND DISCIPLINE, BUT IT DOES NOT INVOLVE SLAVERY, STOPPAGE OF INDIVIDUAL OPINION AND OF CREATIVE THOUGHT. THE TESTIMONY AS TO THIS IS ABSOLUTELY UNQUESTIONABLE.

35-8-92

NEVER DEMOCRATIC AND NEVER CAN BE, WITHOUT COMPLETELY CHANGING INTO SOCIALISM. THIS IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT WHEN IN ANY COUNTRY OR REGION DEMOCRATIC CONTROL INCREASES, IMMEDIATELY BIG BUSINESS MOVES IN TO LIMIT THE DEMOCRACY BY ITS VAST POWER OVER EMPLOYMENT AND NEWSPAPERS.

THE ONLY CONTROL WHICH EFFECTIVELY LIMITS THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS AND INTRODUCES A DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY IS THE TRADE UNION. IF THE TRADE UNION IS EFFECTIVE AND DEMOCRATIC IT CAN TREMENDOUSLY LIMIT THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS RUINED BY DISHONESTY AND INEFFICIENCY OR MORE OFTEN THAN THAT, IF IT IS INFILTRATED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS BETRAYING THE WORKERS, THEN IT BECOMES A PART OF THE TYRANNY OF THE CAPITALISTIC METHOD. NATURALLY THE WORKER AS VOTER, TOGETHER WITH THE MASS OF THE POPULATION, CAN CURB THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS IF IT HAS A REAL RIGHT TO VOTE.

UNDER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER EVERY BRANCH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, CIVIL AND MILITARY, IS DOMINATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS. THUS WE KNOW THAT OUR NATIONAL POLICIES MUST PRIMARILY BE WHAT BIG BUSINESS WANTS AND NOT WHAT DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT WANT IF IT DARED KNOW, THINK OR TALK. WE BECOME DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE WHEN OUR PRESS AND NEWS SERVICES ARE CONTROLLED, OUR CIVIL RIGHTS CURTAILED, OUR DEMOCRACY IMPAIRED, OUR TAXES INCREASED. THEN, AND THIS IS MOST FRIGHTENING, BIG BUSINESS TODAY STAYS HEADED FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR, BECAUSE OF THE PROFIT OFFERED BY CHINESE COOLIES AND AFRICAN SERFS, AND NOT" IN ORDER TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND "FREE ENTERPRISE."

35-8-93

Du Bois

JUNE 1954
WEST COAST

(from Natl E)

DEMOCRACY FAILS IN AMERICA

DEMOCRACY IS NOT PERFECT. IT ONLY PROMISES THAT BY CONTINUOUS APPEAL TO THE EXPERIENCE AND COMMONSENSE OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE IN ANY CASE, BUT PARTICULARLY IF THESE PEOPLE BE INCREASINGLY EDUCATED, YOU GET THE CLOSEST APPROACH TO UNIVERSAL WISDOM THAT HUMAN BEINGS CAN HOPE FOR. WHEN YOU DENY THIS PROCESS EVEN WITH A FEW PEOPLE AND IN A LIMITED REGION YOU BEGIN TO RUIN IT FOR THE WHOLE NATION. AND THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT WE HAVE DONE SINCE 1876.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRESENT FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA WAS THE REPUDIATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN THE CASE OF BLACK AMERICAN CITIZENS IN THE SOUTH. AS CHARLES SUMNER AND THADDEUS STEPHENS INSISTED, DEMOCRACY DEMANDED THE BALLOT FOR THE FREEDMEN AFTER EMANCIPATION. TO PREVENT HARM TO THE STATE FROM IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND DISEASE THIS ENFRANCHISEMENT, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY EDUCATION, A MINIMUM OF LAND AND CAPITAL AND A GUARDIAN FREEDMAN'S BUREAU. THIS THE NATION DID NOT SUPPLY. THE CHURCH PROVIDED TEMPORARY AID IN EDUCATION, BUT

35-2-30

15-8-19

INDUSTRY REFUSED TO BE TAXED FOR "FORTY ACRES AND A MULE." BUT MORE THAN THAT THE NATION'S BUSINESS, ALREADY BIG FROM WAR PROFITS AND WISHING TO GROW BIGGER, DID NOT PROPOSE TO PAY FOR THE PROPERTY LOSS IN EMANCIPATED SLAVES; REFUSED TO CONSIDER PAYMENT OF THE SOUTHERN WAR DEBT, AND INSISTED THAT THE HUGE NATIONAL WAR DEBT CONTRACTED IN DEPRECIATED GREENBACKS SHOULD BE PAID IN INFLATED GOLD; AND IN ADDITION DEMANDED A HIGH TARIFF SO AS TO BE ABLE TO SELL THEIR PRODUCTS AT HIGH PRICES.

NORTHERN INDUSTRY GAVE THE VOTE TO THE FREEDMEN SO AS TO FORCE THE WHITE SOUTH TO ASSENT TO THESE CONDITIONS. THE WHITE SOUTH, WHICH WAS PROPOSING TO RETURN THE BLACKS TO VIRTUAL SLAVERY AND ALSO COUNT THE BLACK POPULATION AS BASIS OF ITS POLITICAL POWER, WAS FORCED TO COMPROMISE. IT ASKED THAT THE NEGRO SHOULD BE DISFRANCHISED AND THE PROFIT OF THE SUBSIDIZED BUSINESS GO TO PRIVATE CAPITAL AND NOT TO THE WELFARE OF SOUTHERN WORKERS, BLACK AND WHITE. THAT IS, THAT DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE REPUDIATED IN THE SOUTH AFTER EMANCIPATION AS BEFORE. THE NORTH ASSENTED. AFTER ALL, IT SAID, THIS ONLY APPLIED TO THE SOUTH, AND TO A GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM WHOM

LITTLE COULD BE EXPECTED AND LESS WANTED.

AS A NATION WE CLUNG TO THE IDEA THAT IN THE NORTH DEMOCRACY WOULD SURVIVE AND GROW. BUT AS THE GOOD BOOK SAYS: "BE NOT DECEIVED. GOD IS NOT MOCKED. FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."

OF COURSE WE MODERNS HAVE LONG SINCE CEASED TO BELIEVE THIS, SO FAR AS INDIVIDUALS ARE CONCERNED. WE HAVE SEEN TOO MANY MURDERERS BECOME NOBLE LORDS, AND TOO MANY THIEVES BECOME RESPECTABLE MILLIONAIRES.

BUT SO FAR AS NATIONS ARE CONCERNED WE TRY TO HOLD OUR FAITH. THUS THE UNITED STATES, HAVING STARTED WITH THE IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY AND HAVING ACCOMPLISHED MUCH IN THAT DIRECTION, TODAY REFUSES TO BELIEVE THAT IT HAS LOST MOST OF WHAT IT ONCE HAD. AND YET, CONSIDER THE SITUATION. PASSING OVER 3000 LYNCHINGS, MOB-RULE AND POLITICAL ANARCHY IN THE SOUTH FROM 1876 TO 1910, RECALL THE GREAT DECISIONS WHICH THIS NATION HAS MADE DURING THE 20th CENTURY:

1) TO ENTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. 2) TO HELP OVERTHROW THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IN 1918.

3) TO RESCUE THE NATION FROM DISASTER BY A "NEW DEAL." 4) TO ALLY THE NATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST FASCISM. 5) TO DROP THE ATOM BOMB. 6) TO ASSIST SUFFERING EUROPE BY THE MARSHALL PLAN. 7) TO PREPARE FOR WAR WITH COMMUNISM. 8) TO MAKE WAR IN KOREA. 9) TO REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNIST CHINA. 10) TO DELAY PEACE IN KOREA. 11) TO INCITE REVOLT IN ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. 12) TO INTERVENE IN INDO-CHINA. 13) TO UNITE WHITE EUROPE FOR PROTECTION OF YELLOW ASIA.

MOST AMERICANS DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE THAT ALL BUT TWO OF THESE MOMENTOUS DECISIONS WERE MADE EITHER WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC CONSENT OR IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO ADVERSE DEMOCRATIC DECISIONS. FOR INSTANCE, WE VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY NOT TO GO INTO THE FIRST WORLD WAR. A FEW MONTHS LATER WE ENTERED THAT WAR BECAUSE WE WERE SELLING TO THE ALLIES 10 MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF GOODS A DAY AND UNLESS THEY WON THEY COULD NOT PAY US BACK. WE WERE OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR OF THE OVERTHROW OF CZARISM AND NEVER CONSENTED TO TRY TO PUT DOWN THE REVOLUTION OR TO INVADE RUSSIA. WE SUPPORTED THE SOCIALISTIC MEASURES OF THE NEW DEAL FOR 16 YEARS. WE NEVER GAVE PERMISSION TO

DROP THE ATOM BOMB ON UNARMED CIVILIANS, NOR DID WE WANT TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION. WE WANTED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO RELIEVE DISTRESS AND NOT TO RESTORE THE POWER OF EUROPEAN CAPITAL AND SMASH THE LABOR MOVEMENT. AND WE NEVER DREAMED OF WAR IN KOREA.

WHO IN THIS NATION HAD THE POWER THUS TO OVERRIDE DEMOCRACY? IT WAS WITHOUT DOUBT BIG BUSINESS WHICH, USING THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH STARTED WITH THE HIGH TARIFFS OF THE POST CIVIL WAR PERIOD, CONTINUED WITH THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE FREEDMEN, WHICH MADE THE SOUTH WIELD TEN TIMES ITS NORMAL POLITICAL POWER AND PUT THAT POWER IN THE HANDS OF NORTHERN FINANCE. TO THIS WAS ADDED BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN CITIES WHERE POOR FOREIGNERS WERE HERDED, AND THE ROTTEN BOROUGH VOTE OF SMALL WESTERN STATES. THIS GAVE "MONEY POWER" CONTROL OF ELECTIONS AND MADE POSSIBLE THE GROWTH OF TRUSTS. INDUSTRY GREW SO INTEGRATED AND STRONG THAT TEDDY ROOSEVELT BEGAN A CRUSADE AGAINST MONOPOLY WHICH WILSON CARRIED ON UNTIL WAR DIVERTED HIS THOUGHT AND ENERGY.

BUT NEMESIS INTERVENED IN 1929 WHEN THE GREED OF BIG BUSINESS BROUGHT DISASTER

AND IT HAD TO BEG GOVERNMENT FOR RELIEF. DEMOCRACY, RESTORED TO POWER UNDER FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, GOT A CHANCE TO DICTATE THE DESTINIES OF AMERICA FOR 16 YEARS. ROOSEVELT TRIED TO ATTACK POVERTY BY USING PULIC FUNDS FOR PUBLIC WELFARE. HE TRIED TO REORGANIZE INDUSTRY BY GIVING THE POWER NOT SIMPLY TO OWNERS AND PRODUCERS BUT SHARING IT AMONG OWNERS, WORKERS AND CONSUMERS. PUBLIC OPINION BACKED HIM OVERWHELMINGLY IN THESE MATTERS, IN SPITE OF FRANTIC OPPOSITION FROM BIG BUSINESS.

THEN CAME THE EUROPEAN WAR AGAINST FASCISM. THIS DIVERTED THE NEW DEAL FROM PUBLIC WELFARE TO WAR. THE PUBLIC OPPOSED WAR BUT BELIEVED IN ROOSEVELT WHEN HE PROMISED THAT THE OBJECT OF THIS WAR MUST BE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION AND FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND POVERTY. HE EVEN PLANNED AFTER THE WAR A UNION OF NATIONS FOR PRESERVING WORLD PEACE. THEN HE DIED, AND WITH HIM DIED HIS PLANS.

THERE SUCCEEDED TO THE VAST POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY A MAN WHOM NO AMERICAN DREAMED WOULD OCCUPY THIS POSITION. HE WAS A WELL-MEANING BUT UNEDUCATED MAN, WITH NO BACKGROUND OF EXPERIENCE OR BREADTH OF VIEW. HE SURRENDERED TO BIG BUSINESS

BEFORE HE KNEW IT. HE DROPPED THE ATOM BOMB, UNNECESSARILY KILLING AND WOUNDING A QUARTER MILLION UNARMED PEOPLE. WE BECAME NOT SIMPLY A COUNTRY WHICH WAS NOT DEMOCRATIC, BUT IT BECAME MORE AND MORE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO APPEAL TO THE CONSIDERED JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

UNDER A DETERMINED EFFORT ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE, THIS NATION WAS FORCED BY BIG BUSINESS TO APPLY THE NEW DISCOVERIES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE TOWARD MAKING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES BELIEVE WHAT WAS NOT SO AND DO WHAT NO INTELLIGENT NATION IN ITS RIGHT MIND WOULD DREAM OF DOING. HITLER HAD LAID DOWN THE PATTERN AND AMERICAN BUSINESS HAD APPLAUDED HIM. AFTER RELUCTANTLY BEING COMPELLED TO JOIN WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO OVERTHROW HITLER, BIG BUSINESS, AFTER PEACE, PROCEEDED TO GO FAR BEYOND HITLER IN NATIONAL PROPAGANDA AND FORCE THE NATION AND THE WORLD PRECIPITANTLY TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR.

35-8-233

IN 1948 THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WANTED PEACE AND WANTED TO CONTINUE TO CURB THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS BY PROMOTING THE PUBLIC WELFARE AND REDUCING

45-8-22

PRIVATE PROFIT. BUT AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS WAS NOW FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE AND KNEW IT. MOST OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD WAS SOCIALISTIC AND GROWING MORE SO. THE BEST AREAS OF MAKING PRIVATE PROFIT, LIKE RUSSIA, THE BALKANS, THE COLONIES AND QUASI-COLONIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS WOULD SOON BECOME CLOSED TO EXPLOITATION JUST AS WE WERE PREPARING TO SUCCEED THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ANNEX GERMAN TECHNIQUE. AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS THEREFORE MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE, BY DEPRIVING THE NATION OF ACCESS TO THE TRUTH AND SUPPLYING THEM WITH LIES AND LIARS; BY STOPPING FREE DISCUSSION AND MAKING OUR NATURAL LEADERS OF THOUGHT AFRAID TO SPEAK ON PAIN OF JAIL OR STARVATION.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY WAS KEPT OFF THE BALLOT IN MOST STATES AND OFF THE PLATFORM AND RADIO IN NEARLY ALL THE REST. THROUGH FEAR AND IGNORANCE MOST VOTERS HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN TRUMAN WHO DISHONESTLY PROMISED PEACE AND THE NEW DEAL, AND DEWEY WHO HONESTLY PROMISED NOTHING. TRUMAN AND HIS CONGRESS THEREFORE TOOK OVER THE GOVERNMENT IN 1948 WITH NO DEMOCRATIC MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE.

INSTEAD OF PEACE TRUMAN PLUNGED US INTO WAR. HE ANNOUNCED THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND SET UP 85 MILITARY BASES ALL OVER THE WORLD TO "CONTAIN" COMMUNISM. BY FALSE SCARES HE ALMOST FORCED THROUGH UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE. HE TURNED THE UNITED NATIONS INTO A BRIBED TOOL OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN POLITICAL MACHINES SUBSERVIENT TO BIG BUSINESS DICTATED THE NOMINATIONS OF EISENHOWER AND STEVENSON AND NO AMERICAN HAD A CHANCE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE OR BETWEEN PUBLIC WELFARE AND PRIVATE PROFIT. EISENHOWER DID NOT TRY TO STOP WAR BUT PROMISED MORE WAR BY ATTACK ON CHINA AND PROMOTING REVOLT IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO SIDESTEP AND CONTRADICT HIMSELF SO COMPLETELY THAT THE NATION NOW DOUBTS HIS ABILITY TO THINK LOGICALLY OR TO STAND ON HIS OWN FEET IF HE HAS ANY FEET. AS A RESULT WE STAND ON THE EDGE OF ANOTHER OF THE WELL-KNOWN CAPITALISTIC DEPRESSIONS.

AC 24-32

45-8-23

. Du Bois

July 4, 1954
Camp Unity

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

THERE ARE/AS IT SEEMS TO ME/ FIVE MAJOR MATTERS/ WHICH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/ CAN LOOK UPON/AS BEING THE CONTRIBUTION/ OF THIS NATION/TO MODERN CULTURE. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS/HAVE NOT ALL BEEN COMPLETE/OR FINISHED/ BUT THEY HAVE BEEN/OF GREAT AND MEANINGFUL IMPORTANCE/AND THEY MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

35-9-105

THE FIRST CONTRIBUTION/ WAS THAT OF FREE LAND; THAT IS,/ A NATION WAS CONSTITUTED/IN WHICH FOR THE FIRST 350 YEARS/OF ITS EXISTENCE/AS A COLONY AND NATION/ THERE WAS LAND ENOUGH AVAILABLE FOR ALL PEOPLE TO LIVE ON,/ TO RAISE THEIR FOOD AND TO FURNISH MATERIALS/ FOR THEIR OWN USE/AND FOR TRADE WITH OTHER CITIZENS/ AND WITH OTHER PEOPLES.// THIS UNTIL RECENTLY/ HAS SEEMED SO NATURAL/ TO AMERICANS/ THAT IT IS NOT USUALLY LOOKED UPON/AS A CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION;// YET THINK OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME/AMERICA WAS DISCOVERED.

IN EUROPE/THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND/WAS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL POWER/AND SOCIAL DISTINCTION/AND OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT.// WHEN A GREAT PERSONAGE/ OF THE 16th AND 17th

CENTURIES AND LATER/ PUT AFTER THEIR NAME/THE PREPOSITIONS "DE" OR "VON"/ THIS MEANT THAT THEY OWNED/AND COMPLETELY DOMINATED/A PIECE OF LAND/ WHICH MIGHT VARY/ FROM A HOMESTEAD/TO A NATION;/AND THAT BECAUSE OF THIS OWNERSHIP/ THIS MAN HAD PRESTIGE AND POWER/ ABOVE THAT/OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE.// THUS THE NOBILITY OF ENGLAND,/ FRANCE, ITALY/ AND GERMANY/OWNED THE LAND,/ AND FROM THAT OWNERSHIP/ RAN THEIR CONTROL/ OVER THE WORK OF THE PEASANTS/AND ARTISANS,/ AND THEIR RIGHT TO JOIN THE SOVEREIGN/IN ADMINISTERING THE KINGDOM.// THE TREMENDOUS POWER/ OF THESE FEUDAL LORDS/ MET THE GROWING POWER OF RUNAWAY ARTISANS/CONGREGATING IN CITIES,/ FORMING LABOR GUILDS AND SECURING DIRECT FROM THE SOVEREIGN/ SOME RIGHTS OF THEIR OWN/ TO CONDUCT THEIR WORK/AND OWN THEIR TOOLS, and MATERIALS.

35-9-106

THINK NOW/ WHAT IT MEANT/WHEN TO THE WEST/ THERE WAS DISCOVERED LAND/ IN VAST QUANTITIES,/ AND NOT THE LAND/ WHICH THE DISCOVERERS/WERE SEARCHING FOR,/ BELONGING TO THE RULERS AND MERCHANTS// OF ASIA,/ WHERE THEY COULD GET THE GOODS/ WHICH THEY HAD LONG SOUGHT/ OVER LAND ROUTES.// HERE WAS LAND/ WHICH WAS WILD,/ RICH AND for the most part

35-9-107

unused
~~UNOWNED~~ // SO THAT ANYBODY GOING TO AMERICA / WAS FREE TO BE A LAND HOLDER / WHICH IN THE IMAGINATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS / MEANT FREEDOM TO BE AN ARISTOCRAT // THIS FREE LAND IN AMERICA / WAS SO VAST IN EXTENT / THAT THROUGH THE 15th, 16th / 17th AND 18th CENTURIES / AND WELL PAST THE MIDDLE / OF THE 19th CENTURY / IT WAS ACTUALLY POSSIBLE FOR ALMOST ANYBODY / TO HAVE LAND / WHO WANTED IT // THEY MIGHT HAVE / TO GO LONG DISTANCES TO GET IT. // THEY MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE / THE ROUGH LIFE / OF PIONEERS / TO PUT IT INTO SUCH SHAPE / THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT THEM / AND THEIR FAMILIES. // NEVERTHELESS FOR THREE CENTURIES / AMERICA AND FREE LAND / ~~WAS~~ WERE SYNONYMOUS, / AND THIS / IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS / CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD / AND THE MEANING OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

THE SECOND GIFT / OF THE UNITED STATES / TO THE WORLD / WAS THE CONTACT OF DIVERSE PEOPLES // OF PEOPLES FROM NATIONS / SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES / AND HAVING DIFFERENT CUSTOMS; / OF PEOPLE REPRESENTING DIFFERENT RACES / AND CULTURAL GROUPS // AND PEOPLE REPRESENTING / WIDELY DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES. // BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA / IT WAS UNUSUAL / FOR PEOPLE SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES / AND HAVING DIFFERENT CULTURAL

35-9-108

CUSTOMS / TO MEET EACH OTHER OFTEN / OR IN CONSIDERABLE GROUPS. // SUCH INTERCOURSE WAS EXCEPTIONAL / AND LED TO MUCH COMMENT / AND ADVENTURE. // IT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE / FOR MARCO POLO / TO GO TO CHINA; / FOR PETER THE GREAT / TO COME FROM RUSSIA TO HOLLAND AND ENGLAND // FOR ENGLISHMEN TO VISIT ITALY // BUT IN THE UNITED STATES / WITHOUT PRECONCEIVED PLANS / THERE MET / red INDIANS, / ~~[illegible]~~ FROM ASIA; / BLACK MEN FROM AFRICA / WHITE MEN FROM NORTHERN EUROPE; / LATINS FROM SOUTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE; / brown PEOPLES FROM ASIA / AND FROM THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS.

OR FOR LONG TIMES

THEY MET AT FIRST / ALMOST BY ACCIDENT / AND THEN AS THEY BECAME / MORE OR ~~LESS~~ PERMANENT SETTLERS / THERE FOLLOWED PLANS FOR ADJUSTMENT / OF LIVING TOGETHER. // IN SOME ~~[illegible]~~ CASES / THIS MEANT THAT THESE PEOPLE / MERGED INTO A NEW ~~[illegible]~~ RACE / LIKE THE INDIANS AND SPANIARDS / AND NEGROES OF SOUTH AMERICA. // THE ENGLISH, IRISH AND GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES / AND LATER THE SLAVS AND ITALIANS / IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AMERICA.

THIS BLENDING, / PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL, / WAS NOT COMPLETE. // INDEED IT WAS CONSPICUOUSLY DIFFICULT / AND INCOMPLETE / IN CASES OF RACES / WHERE THERE WAS PLAIN DIFFERENCE

35-9-109

IN COLOR OF SKIN

[redacted] // THE INDIANS WERE TO A LARGE EXTENT NOT INTEGRATED BUT EXTERMINATED. // THE NEGROES, Irish and Slav WERE IMPORTED FOR CONSTITUTING A WORKING CLASS TO DO THE HARD DRUDGERY NECESSARY FOR BUILDING UP A CIVILIZATION. // [redacted] DIFFERENCE OF TREATMENT made slaves of Negroes, serfs of English and [redacted] of A LOW-WAGE WORKING CLASS [redacted] THE ITALIANS AND THE IRISH // ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS STATUS.

SO THAT FINALLY WE HAD IN THE UNITED STATES ONE OF THE MOST VARIED GROUPS WHICH ANY GREAT NATION EVER BROUGHT TOGETHER TO LIVE IN A FAIR DEGREE OF HARMONY AND ASSOCIATION AND to BUILD [redacted] UP A NEW CIVILIZATION. // AND THIS EXPERIMENT WHICH MOST PEOPLES IN THE WORLD BEFORE THIS COUNTRY WAS ORGANIZED WOULD HAVE SAID WAS IMPOSSIBLE, HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT TO A DEGREE IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS ENCOURAGING FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD // DESPITE ALL OF ITS FAILURES AND DISCOURAGING ASPECTS.

THE THIRD GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE WORLD WAS AN ATTEMPT TO REALIZE in practice HERE THE KIND OF DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT WHICH MOVEMENTS LIKE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION HAD LAID DOWN IN THEORY // [redacted] WE SAID IN 1776, "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-

35-9-110

EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS AMONG WHICH ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS," // - WHEN WE SAID THIS MOST OF THOSE WHO SUBSCRIBED TO IT BELIEVED IT AND THEY BELIEVED IT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF persons in THE NATION THUS ESTABLISHED DID NOT HAVE RIGHTS EQUAL TO THE OTHERS. BUT WHAT WE MEANT TO SAY WAS THAT THE MASS OF PEOPLE WHO FORMED THIS NEW NATION [redacted] WERE eventually GOING TO HAVE EQUAL VOICE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

THIS OF COURSE WAS A DIFFICULT PROGRAM. // IT NEVER HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITH ANYTHING LIKE COMPLETENESS, WE ASSERT IT BUT THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TODAY AND PEOPLE OF LEARNING AND INFLUENCE WHO DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT EVER WILL BE REALIZED. // NEVERTHELESS THE LOGIC BEHIND DEMOCRACY IS SO TREMENDOUS AND THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH IT HAS HAD HERE NOW AND THEN IS SO ENCOURAGING THAT WE STILL CLING TO THE NAME AND TRY TO INSIST on BELIEF IN THE IDEAL // BECAUSE ONCE THOROUGHLY ESTABLISHED IN A LARGE NATION IT IS BOUND TO TRANSFORM HUMANITY.

35-9-111

THERE ARE OF COURSE GREAT DIFFICULTIES IN REALIZING THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL EVEN AMONG PEOPLE WHO SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE, HAVE THE SAME CULTURE AND AGREE IN THE SAME GENERAL IDEALS. BUT IF IN ADDITION TO THAT YOU HAVE A COUNTRY LIKE THIS, FORMED OF THE MOST DIVERSE HUMAN ELEMENTS, WITH VAST DIFFERENCES IN CULTURAL ATTAINMENT AND OFTEN IRRECONCILABLE IDEALS, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF DEMOCRACY IS MANIFESTLY IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT GREAT EFFORT.

IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE IN VARIOUS WAYS AND AT DIVERSE TIMES ATTEMPTED THIS DEMOCRATIC IDEAL. THERE GREW UP IN NEW ENGLAND THE TOWN MEETING, WHERE ALL THE MEN IN THE COMMUNITY CAME TOGETHER ONCE A YEAR AND MADE LAWS FOR THE TOWN OR TOWNSHIP, COVERING A GREAT PART OF ITS ACTIVITY. THIS METHOD OF GOVERNMENT WAS MARVELOUSLY SUCCESSFUL, BUT FROM THE BEGINNING IT WAS LIMITED. IT WAS, AS I HAVE SAID, LIMITED TO MEN. WOMEN WERE NOT ONLY NOT ADMITTED BUT THE VERY THOUGHT OF THEIR TAKING PART IN A TOWN MEETING SELDOM EVEN OCCURRED. THEN IN THE EARLIEST DAYS PEOPLE WHO DID NOT HAVE THE SAME RELIGION AS THE MAJORITY OF THE WELL-TO-DO CITIZENS

35-9-112

HAD WERE NOT ADMITTED. IN MASSACHUSETTS ONE HAD TO BE A MEMBER OF THE CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCH. BAPTISTS NOT ONLY HAD NO VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT BUT WERE EVEN DRIVEN OUT OF THE COLONY. CATHOLICS WERE NOT FOR A MOMENT ENDURED IN MOST COLONIES AS ~~RATING-POLITICAL-RIGHT~~ VOTERS, ~~and women were not mentioned.~~

THEN LATER THERE CAME A LINE OF THOUGHT WHICH FOLLOWED THE RISE AND TRIUMPH OF THE NEW CAPITALISM. AND THAT WAS BASED UPON THE THOUGHT THAT ONLY THOSE WHO OWNED PROPERTY COULD HAVE VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT. AND CONSEQUENTLY THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY UP UNTIL ~~1820~~ 1860 OR LATER PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS LIMITED THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THEN THERE CAME A NEW BASIS OF DISFRANCHISEMENT AND THAT WAS RACE, AND RACE BASED ON CLASS. A PART OF THE NEW AMERICAN WORKING CLASS HAD ~~BEEN~~ early REDUCED TO SLAVERY. IN THIS CLASS WERE BLACKS, MULATTOS AND WHITES, BUT THE WHITES, BACKED BY EUROPE FROM EUROPE, RETAINED THE CHANCE TO ESCAPE ~~FROM~~ to SERFDOM. THAT IS, THEY WERE SLAVES FOR A TERM OF YEARS WHILE THE BLACKS, ISOLATED + UNASSISTED, GRADUALLY WERE REDUCED TO LIFE SLAVERY WITH ABSENCE OF ALL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND LARGELY OF ALL PROPERTY ~~RIGHTS~~ RIGHTS.

35-9-113

P IN SOME STATES/ THEY WERE LISTED/AS "REAL ESTATE."// THAT PERSISTED FOR A LONG TIME/ AMIDST CONSIDERABLE ARGUMENT/UNTIL THE STATUS OF THE SLAVES/AND THEIR COMPETITION WITH/free WORKERS/ THREATENED THE FUTURE OF THE WHITES.// ARGUMENT APPARENTLY/WAS NOT ABLE TO SETTLE THIS MATTER/AND THE NATION WENT TO WAR/AT GREAT COST IN GOODS AND SUFFERING.

P AFTER THE CIVIL WAR/(WHICH NEGROES HELPED WIN)/WE MADE AN ASTONISHING/AND NATION-WIDE ATTEMPT/ TO REALIZE DEMOCRACY/ON A SCALE NEVER BEFORE DREAMED OF.// WE GAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE/ TO ALL MALE CITIZENS OF 21/ WITHOUT PROPERTY OR EDUCATIONAL^OR RACE QUALIFICATIONS.// IF THIS HAD BEEN DONE/WITH THE THOUGHTFUL CONSENT/ OF THE NATION/IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PERHAPS/THE GREATEST FORWARD STEP/IN HUMAN GOVERNMENT EVER TAKEN.// BUT IT WAS DONE/BECAUSE AT THAT PARTICULAR TIME/POLITICAL POWER/IN THE HANDS OF FREED SLAVES/ HELPED IN THE ACCUMULATION OF PROPERTY AND POWER/IN THE HANDS OF NORTHERN [redacted] BUSINESS MEN. THE AGREEMENT WAS MADE/IN 1876/NEGROES WERE DISFRANCHISED/& MANY WHITES

WE HAVE NOT YET RECOVERED/FROM THAT BLOW,/ SO THAT THE RULE OF WEALTH/IN THE UNITED STATES/ HAS SUPERSEDED THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL.// (NEVERTHELESS THE IDEAL PERSISTS/ AND WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO SAY/ THAT NO NATION IN THE WORLD/ HAS IN THE PAST/ MADE A GREATER EFFORT/ TOWARD DEMOCRACY/^THAN WE EVEN THOUGH TODAY/DEMOCRACY DOES NOT FUNCTION widely IN THIS NATION. (WOMEN)

35-9-114

THE FOURTH GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES/ TO CIVILIZATION/ IS RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.// THERE IS STILL TODAY/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ AN ASTONISHING AMOUNT OF INTOLERANCE/(BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS//BETWEEN PROTESTANTS AND JEWS/AND ESPECIALLY BETWEEN ~~ALL~~ RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS/AND THOSE WHO DO NOT ACCEPT RELIGIOUS DOGMA/ at all/ BUT THERE AGAIN/ AS COMPARED/WITH THE WORLD OF THE 15th ~~&~~ 16th and 17th/CENTURIES/ AND EVEN OF LATER CENTURIES/ WE HAVE AN AMOUNT/OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE/IN THE UNITED STATES/NEVER BEFORE ACHIEVED IN ANY NATION.// THE BASIC CONSTITUTION/OF THE UNITED STATES/DOES NOT RECOGNIZE RELIGIOUS SECTS/OR EVEN RELIGION ITSELF. //AND THERE HAVE BEEN/LONG AND CONTINUED ATTEMPTS/TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE/FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE AND VOTE/AND PROSPER IN THIS NATION

WITHOUT BEING COMPELLED/TO ACCEPT THE CREED/OF ANY RELIGION.

35-9-115

HERE AGAIN IS A BEGINNING/WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FINALLY/AND COMPLETELY CARRIED OUT./ JUST NOW WE ARE IN THE MIDST/ OF A WAVE OF RELIGIOUS HYSTERIA/ CAUSED BY/THE MISFORTUNE/ LOSSES AND SUFFERINGS OF WAR/AND BY THE FACT/THAT IN OUR PRESENT DILEMMAS/ WE ARE DESPERATELY AFRAID OF DEATH/AND ~~[illegible]~~ OF ANOTHER WAR. NOTWITHSTANDING THAT//MORE PEOPLE/ BELIEVING IN DIFFERENT KINDS/ OF RELIGIOUS DOGMA HAVE LIVED TOGETHER/IN THE UNITED STATES/FOR A LONGER PERIOD/THAN ANYWHERE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD.// WE CAN READILY CLAIM, THEN/ RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE/AS A GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE WORLD.

FINALLY,/THERE COMES IN THE UNITED STATES/A WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND SERVICES/THAN ANYWHERE ELSE ON EARTH/UP TO OUR DAY.// THERE IS NOT EVEN NOW/A SATISFACTORY DISTRIBUTION.// WE STILL HAVE THE SICK/AND THE IGNORANT,/MADE AND KEPT SO/BY THEIR POVERTY./ WE STILL HAVE/A DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/BASED NEITHER ON LOGIC NOR RIGHT.// AT THE SAME TIME/ THERE IS NO DOUBT/BUT THAT THE WORKER/ THE PRODUCER

35-9-116

OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES/HAS COME NEARER/TO RECEIVING A JUST PORTION/OF WHAT HE PRODUCES/THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD.// THERE ARE, OF COURSE, DANGEROUS SIGNS NOW IN THIS SITUATION;/ SIGNS THAT THIS FAVORABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH/WHICH HAS BEEN HERE/IS LESS NOW THAN IN THE PAST/AND IS NOT GOING TO CONTINUE;// AND SIGNS THAT ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD/THERE IS BEING ATTEMPTED/A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES/THAN WE HAVE BEEN ABLE/TO ACHIEVE HERE.// IT MUST BE REMEMBERED/THAT HIGH WAGE/IN THE UNITED STATES/WAS ONCE DUE/TO MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION/OF NATIONAL GOODS AND SERVICES.// BUT AS OUR INCOME INCREASED ENORMOUSLY/AND MADE OUR NATION THE RICHEST IN THE WORLD,/ THE PROPORTION OF THIS INCOME/WHICH WENT TO THE WORKER DECREASED, AND THE SHARE/OF CAPITAL AND MONOPOLY/INCREASED BEYOND ALL REASON.// SO THAT WHILE OUR WAGES/CONTINUE HIGH/THEY GROW CONTINUALLY LOWER/AS COMPARED WITH PROFITS.// CERTAINLY THE WAGES AND WELL-BEING/OF THE WORKING CLASS/IN THE UNITED STATES/HAS SET A SCALE FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE/IN THE WORLD.// AND IF A BETTER SCALE IS REACHED,/ WHICH WE BELIEVE QUITE POSSIBLE,/IT WILL BE BECAUSE,/ USING OUR EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA/AS A

STANDARD. // OTHER PEOPLES HAVE GONE TO HIGHER CONCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

35-9-117

HERE WE HAVE, THEN, THE FIVE GIFTS OF AMERICA TO THE WORLD: FREE LAND, THE MEETING OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES, THE ATTEMPT AT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THE REALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND A BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. // WE MUST LOOK UPON

HOWEVER

35-9-118

THESE THINGS NOT AS DEFINITE CONTRIBUTIONS, COMPLETE AND finished, BUT RATHER as EXPRESSIONS OF [redacted] IDEALS, PARTLY ACCOMPLISHED, PARTLY PERVERTED, BUT STILL PROMISING FOR THE FUTURE GREATER AND BRIGHTER CIVILIZATION.

THERE MAY REMAIN IN YOUR MINDS SOME QUESTION AS TO THE VALIDITY OF WHAT I HAVE SAID. // CERTAINLY IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT IN THE UNITED STATES FREE LAND OR LAND EASILY PURCHASED FOR REASONABLE SUMS HAS DISAPPEARED. // IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE REMAIN DEEP AND DANGEROUS ENMITIES AND DISCRIMINATIONS AMONG DIFFERENT RACES, NATIONALITIES AND CLASSES OF OUR PEOPLE. // IT CAN BE ASSERTED THAT THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS THE GREATEST ENEMY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD AND THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AS SHOWN BY THE PROFITS OF GREAT CORPORATIONS, THE HOUSING SCANDALS GAMBLING AND THE THEFTS OF A RECENT GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY DO NOT INDICATE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

THIS BRINGS US TO REMEMBER THAT AMONG HUMAN BEINGS A PUSH TOWARD JUSTICE AND RIGHT IS SELDOM DEFINITIVE AND FINAL // WE FIND A STRONG TREND WITH GREAT IMPULSE AT ONE TIME AND THEN RETROGRESSION AT ANOTHER // SO THAT IF A NATION HAS MADE A GIFT

35-9-119

TO CIVILIZATION AT ONE TIME, UNLESS IT PERSISTS AND STRENGTHENS THAT IMPULSE THE WHOLE TREND MAY DISAPPEAR, MAY EVEN CONTRADICT ITS ORIGINAL EFFORT.

THIS HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE UNITED STATES. // WE HAVE BEEN IN THE MODERN WORLD THE GREATEST REPOSITORY OF FREE LAND FOR THE MASS OF PEOPLE IN MODERN HISTORY. THIS, HOWEVER, IS NO LONGER TRUE AND THE TIME HAS COME WHEN AGAIN WE MUST MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SETTLE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA ON AVAILABLE LAND, AND BREAK UP LAND MONOPOLY IN CITIES, MINES and OIL WELLS

WE HAVE DONE MORE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE OF DIVERSE RACE AND CULTURE TO LIVE TOGETHER THAN ANY OTHER NATION. BUT WE HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH, AND THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN CONDUCT WHICH REMAIN EVEN IN AMERICA ARE DANGEROUS.

BUT ESPECIALLY IN THE MATTERS OF DEMOCRACY AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH WE HAVE NOT ONLY CEASED TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD MAKING THESE GIFTS GREATER AND MORE EFFECTIVE, // WE HAVE ACTUALLY BEGUN TO RETREAT. // THERE IS LESS EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT NOW IN THE UNITED STATES THAN THERE WAS A CENTURY AGO. // AND THE MOST THREATENING TREND IS THE MOVEMENT TOWARD FASCIST DICTATORSHIP INSTEAD OF TOWARD THE RULE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

35-9-120

EVEN STRONGER WORDS CAN BE STATED CONCERNING OUR DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. // DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA IS ON THE WHOLE THE BEST PAID LABOR IN THE WORLD, // NEVERTHELESS, THE PAYMENT OF THIS LABOR HAS INCREASINGLY RESTED UPON THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHER LABOR IN THE COLONIAL LANDS, AND TODAY THIS IS INCREASINGLY (and not on better distribution here) THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF PROSPERITY.

IT IS THIS TREND WHICH HAS BROUGHT TWO WORLD WARS, ALMOST A THIRD, AND ONLY AN INSISTENT PUBLIC OPINION KEPT US FROM A FOURTH. // WE HAVE OVERTHROWN THE EFFORT OF GUIANA GUATEMALA TO RE-ORGANIZE [illegible] GOVERNMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEASANTS, AND WE ARE THREATENING NATIONS IN AMERICA ~~AND THE~~ CARIBBEAN AND TRYING TO MAKE ALLIANCES TO THREATEN [illegible] ASIA.

HERE, THEN, LIES THE CONTRADICTION OF OUR SITUATION. WE HAVE HELPED THE WORLD FORWARD. WE HAVE NOT MADE EFFECTIVE AND DEFINITIVE MANY OF THESE LINES OF PROGRESS, AND IN SOME WE HAVE TRIED TO UNDO WHAT ONCE WE DID WELL. // HERE THEN LIES THE CHIEF PROBLEM OF OUR DAY, AND OF TOMORROW.

July 4, 1954
Camp Unity

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

THERE ARE AS IT SEEMS TO ME FIVE MAJOR MATTERS WHICH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CAN LOOK UPON AS BEING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS NATION TO MODERN CULTURE. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE NOT ALL BEEN COMPLETE OR FINISHED, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN OF GREAT AND MEANINGFUL IMPORTANCE AND THEY MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

THE FIRST CONTRIBUTION WAS THAT OF FREE LAND; THAT IS, A NATION WAS CONSTITUTED IN WHICH FOR THE FIRST 350 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE AS A COLONY AND NATION THERE WAS LAND ENOUGH AVAILABLE FOR ALL PEOPLE TO LIVE ON, TO RAISE THEIR FOOD AND TO FURNISH MATERIALS FOR THEIR OWN USE AND FOR TRADE WITH OTHER CITIZENS AND WITH OTHER PEOPLES. THIS UNTIL RECENTLY HAS SEEMED SO NATURAL TO AMERICANS THAT IT IS NOT USUALLY LOOKED UPON AS A CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION; YET THINK OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME AMERICA WAS DISCOVERED.

IN EUROPE THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND WAS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL DISTINCTION AND OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT. WHEN A GREAT PERSONAGE OF THE 16th AND 17th

45-9-46

CENTURIES AND LATER PUT AFTER THEIR NAME THE PREPOSITIONS "DE" OR "VON" THIS MEANT THAT THEY OWNED AND COMPLETELY DOMINATED A PIECE OF LAND, WHICH MIGHT VARY FROM A HOMESTEAD TO A NATION; AND THAT BECAUSE OF THIS OWNERSHIP THIS MAN HAD PRESTIGE AND POWER ABOVE THAT OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. THUS THE NOBILITY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, ITALY AND GERMANY OWNED THE LAND, AND FROM THAT OWNERSHIP RAN THEIR CONTROL OVER THE WORK OF THE PEASANTS AND ARTISANS, AND THEIR RIGHT TO JOIN THE SOVEREIGN IN ADMINISTERING THE KINGDOM. THE TREMENDOUS POWER OF THESE FEUDAL LORDS MET THE GROWING POWER OF RUNAWAY ARTISANS CONGREGATING IN CITIES, FORMING LABOR GUILDS AND SECURING DIRECT FROM THE SOVEREIGN SOME RIGHT OF THEIR OWN TO CONDUCT THEIR WORK AND OWN THEIR TOOLS, and materials.

THINK NOW WHAT IT MEANT WHEN TO THE WEST THERE WAS DISCOVERED LAND IN VAST QUANTITIES, AND NOT THE LAND WHICH THE DISCOVERERS WERE SEARCHING FOR, BELONGING TO THE RULERS AND MERCHANTS OF ASIA, WHERE THEY COULD GET THE GOODS WHICH THEY HAD LONG SOUGHT OVER LAND ROUTES. HERE WAS LAND WHICH WAS WILD, RICH AND [redacted] for the most part

used
[redacted], SO THAT [redacted]BODY GOING TO AMERICA WAS FREE TO BE A LAND HOLDER, WHICH IN THE IMAGINATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS MEANT FREEDOM TO BE AN ARISTOCRAT. THIS FREE LAND IN AMERICA WAS SO VAST IN EXTENT THAT THROUGH THE 15th, 16th, 17th AND 18th CENTURIES AND WELL PAST THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY IT WAS ACTUALLY POSSIBLE FOR ALMOST ANYBODY TO HAVE LAND WHO WANTED IT. THEY MIGHT HAVE TO GO LONG DISTANCES TO GET IT. THEY MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE THE ROUGH LIFE OF PIONEERS TO PUT IT INTO SUCH SHAPE THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT THEM AND THEIR FAMILIES. NEVERTHELESS FOR THREE CENTURIES AMERICA AND FREE LAND were [redacted] SYNONYMOUS, AND THIS IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD AND THE MEANING OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

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44-6-47

CUSTOMS TO MEET EACH OTHER OFTEN OR IN CONSIDERABLE GROUPS. SUCH INTERCOURSE WAS EXCEPTIONAL AND LED TO MUCH COMMENT AND ADVENTURE. IT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE FOR MARCO POLO TO GO TO CHINA; FOR PETER THE GREAT TO COME FROM RUSSIA TO HOLLAND AND ENGLAND; FOR ENGLISHMEN TO VISIT ITALY. BUT IN THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT PRECONCEIVED PLANS THERE MET Red INDIANS, [redacted] FROM ASIA; BLACK MEN FROM AFRICA; WHITE MEN FROM NORTHERN EUROPE; LATINS FROM SOUTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE; Brown PEOPLES FROM ASIA AND FROM THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS.

THEY MET AT FIRST ALMOST BY ACCIDENT, AND THEN AS THEY BECAME MORE OR [redacted] PERMANENT SETTLERS THERE FOLLOWED PLANS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF LIVING TOGETHER. IN SOME [redacted] CASES THIS MEANT THAT THESE PEOPLE MERGED INTO [redacted] NEW [redacted] RACES, LIKE THE INDIANS AND SPANIARDS AND NEGROES OF SOUTH AMERICA; THE ENGLISH, IRISH AND GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND LATER THE SLAVS AND ITALIANS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AMERICA.

THIS BLENDING, PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL, WAS NOT COMPLETE. INDEED IT WAS CONSPICUOUSLY DIFFICULT AND INCOMPLETE IN CASES OF RACES WHERE THERE WAS PLAIN DIFFERENCE

in color of skin. THE INDIANS WERE TO A LARGE EXTENT NOT INTEGRATED BUT EXTERMINATED. THE NEGROES, Irish & Slav WERE IMPORTED FOR CONSTITUTING A WORKING CLASS TO DO THE HARD DRUDGERY NECESSARY FOR BUILDING UP A CIVILIZATION. [redacted] DIFFERENCE of TREATMENT [redacted] A LOW-WAGE WORKING CLASS, [redacted] THE ITALIANS AND THE IRISH, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS STATUS. slaves of Negroes, serfs of English and

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THIS OF COURSE WAS A DIFFICULT PROGRAM. IT NEVER HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITH ANYTHING LIKE COMPLETENESS. THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TODAY AND PEOPLE OF LEARNING AND INFLUENCE WHO DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT EVER WILL BE REALIZED. NEVERTHELESS THE LOGIC BEHIND DEMOCRACY IS SO TREMENDOUS AND THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH IT HAS HAD HERE NOW AND THEN IS SO ENCOURAGING THAT WE STILL CLING TO THE NAME AND TRY TO in SIST ON BELIEF IN THE IDEAL; BECAUSE ONCE THOROUGHLY ESTABLISHED IN A LARGE NATION IT IS BOUND TO TRANSFORM HUMANITY.

8-4-45

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64-9-49

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THEN LATER THERE CAME A LINE OF THOUGHT WHICH FOLLOWED THE RISE AND TRIUMPH OF THE NEW CAPITALISM, AND THAT WAS BASED UPON THE THOUGHT THAT ONLY THOSE WHO OWNED PROPERTY COULD HAVE VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND CONSEQUENTLY THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY UP UNTIL 1820 OR LATER PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS LIMITED THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THEN THERE CAME A NEW BASIS OF DISFRANCHISEMENT AND THAT WAS RACE, AND RACE BASED ON CLASS. A PART OF THE NEW AMERICAN WORKING CLASS HAD early BEEN REDUCED TO SLAVERY. IN THIS CLASS WERE BLACKS, MULATTOS AND WHITES. BUT THE WHITES, BACKED BY EUROPE, RETAINED THE CHANCE TO ESCAPE [redacted] to SERFDOM. THAT IS, THEY WERE SLAVES FOR A TERM OF YEARS WHILE THE BLACKS (isolated and unassisted) GRADUALLY WERE REDUCED TO LIFE SLAVERY, WITH ABSENCE OF ALL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND LARGELY OF ALL PROPERTY [redacted] rights.

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45-9-50

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THE FOURTH GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CIVILIZATION IS RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE. THERE IS STILL TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES AN ASTONISHING AMOUNT OF INTOLERANCE BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS, BETWEEN PROTESTANTS AND JEWS AND ESPECIALLY BETWEEN ALL RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS AND THOSE WHO DO NOT ACCEPT RELIGIOUS DOGMA AT ALL. BUT THERE AGAIN AS COMPARED WITH THE WORLD OF THE 15th AND 16th AND 17th CENTURIES AND EVEN OF LATER CENTURIES, WE HAVE AN AMOUNT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN THE UNITED STATES NEVER BEFORE ACHIEVED IN ANY NATION. THE BASIC CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT RECOGNIZE RELIGICUS SECTS OR EVEN RELIGION ITSELF. AND THERE HAVE BEEN LONG AND CONTINUED ATTEMPTS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE AND VOTE AND PROSPER IN THIS NATION

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HERE AGAIN IS A BEGINNING WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FINALLY AND COMPLETELY CARRIED OUT. JUST NOW WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A WAVE OF RELIGIOUS HYSTERIA CAUSED BY THE MISFORTUNE, LOSSES AND SUFFERINGS OF WAR AND BY THE FACT THAT IN OUR PRESENT DILEMMAS WE ARE DESPERATELY AFRAID OF DEATH, poverty AND [redacted] OF ANOTHER WAR. NOTWITHSTANDING THAT, MORE PEOPLE BELIEVEING IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF RELIGIOUS DOGMA HAVE LIVED TOGETHER IN THE UNITED STATES FOR A LONGER PERIOD THAN ANYWHERE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD. WE CAN READILY CLAIM, THEN, RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AS A GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE WORLD.

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45-9-51

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STANDARD, OTHER PEOPLES HAVE GONE TO HIGHER CONCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

HERE WE HAVE, THEN, THE FIVE GIFTS OF AMERICA TO THE WORLD: FREE LAND, THE MEETING OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES, THE ATTEMPT AT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THE REALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND A BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. WE MUST LOOK UPON

45-9-52

THESE THINGS NOT AS DEFINITE CONTRIBUTIONS, COMPLETE AND finished, BUT RATHER as EXPRESSIONS OF IDEALS, PARTLY ACCOMPLISHED, PARTLY PERVERTED, BUT STILL PROMISING FOR THE FUTURE GREATER AND BRIGHTER CIVILIZATION.

THERE MAY REMAIN IN YOUR MINDS SOME QUESTION AS TO THE VALIDITY OF WHAT I HAVE SAID. CERTAINLY IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT IN THE UNITED STATES FREE LAND OR LAND EASILY PURCHASED FOR REASONABLE SUMS HAS DISAPPEARED. IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE REMAIN DEEP AND DANGEROUS ENMITIES AND DISCRIMINATIONS AMONG DIFFERENT RACES, NATIONALITIES AND CLASSES OF OUR PEOPLE. IT CAN BE ASSERTED THAT THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS THE GREATEST ENEMY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD, AND THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AS SHOWN BY THE PROFITS OF GREAT CORPORATIONS, THE HOUSING SCANDALS AND THE THEFTS OF A RECENT GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY DO NOT INDICATE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

THIS BRINGS US TO REMEMBER THAT AMONG HUMAN BEINGS A PUSH TOWARD JUSTICE AND RIGHT IS SELDOM DEFINITE AND FINAL. WE FIND A STRONG TREND WITH GREAT IMPULSE AT ONE TIME AND THEN RETROGRESSION AT ANOTHER. SO THAT IF A NATION HAS MADE A GIFT

TO CIVILIZATION AT ONE TIME, UNLESS IT PERSISTS AND STRENGTHENS THAT IMPULSE THE WHOLE TREND MAY DISAPPEAR, MAY EVEN CONTRADICT ITS ORIGINAL EFFORT.

45-9-53

THIS HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE BEEN IN THE MODERN WORLD THE GREATEST REPOSITORY OF FREE LAND FOR THE MASS OF PEOPLE IN MODERN HISTORY. THIS, HOWEVER, IS NO LONGER TRUE AND THE TIME HAS COME WHEN AGAIN WE MUST MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SETTLE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA ON AVAILABLE LAND.

WE HAVE DONE MORE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE OF DIVERSE RACE AND CULTURE TO LIVE TOGETHER THAN ANY OTHER NATION. BUT WE HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH, AND THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN CONDUCT WHICH REMAIN EVEN IN AMERICA ARE DANGEROUS.

BUT ESPECIALLY IN THE MATTERS OF DEMOCRACY AND DISTTRIBUTION OF WEALTH WE HAVE NOT ONLY CEASED TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD MAKING these GIFTS GREATER AND MORE EFFECTIVE, WE HAVE ACTUALLY BEGUN TO RETREAT. THERE IS LESS EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT now IN THE UNITED STATES THAN THERE WAS A CENTURY AGO, AND THE MOST THREATENING TREND IS THE MOVEMENT TOWARD FASCIST DICTATORSHIP INSTEAD OF TOWARD THE RULE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

EVEN STRONGER WORDS CAN BE STATED CONCERNING OUR DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA IS ON THE WHOLE THE BEST PAID LABOR IN THE WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, THE PAYMENT OF THIS LABOR HAS INCREASINGLY RESTED UPON THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHER LABOR IN THE COLONIAL LANDS (and not on better distribution here) AND TODAY THIS IS INCREASINGLY THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF PROSPERITY.

IT IS THIS TREND WHICH HAS BROUGHT TWO WORLD WARS, ALMOST A THIRD, AND ONLY AN INSISTENT PUBLIC OPINION KEPT US FROM A FOURTH. WE HAVE OVERTHROWN THE EFFORT OF GUATEMALA TO RE-ORGANIZE HER GOVERNMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEASANTS, AND WE ARE THREATENING NATIONS IN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AND TRYING TO MAKE ALLIANCES TO THREATEN [redacted] ASIA.

HERE, THEN, LIES THE CONTRADICTION OF OUR SITUATION. WE HAVE HELPED THE WORLD FORWARD. WE HAVE NOT MADE EFFECTIVE AND DEFINITIVE MANY OF THESE LINES OF PROGRESS, AND IN SOME WE HAVE TRIED TO UNDO WHAT ONCE WE DID WELL. HERE THEN LIES THE CHIEF PROBLEM OF OUR DAY and of tomorrow.

45-9-54

Du Bois

July 4, 1954
Camp Unity

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

THERE ARE AS IT SEEMS TO ME FIVE MAJOR MATTERS WHICH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CAN LOOK UPON AS BEING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS NATION TO MODERN CULTURE. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE NOT ALL BEEN COMPLETE OR FINISHED, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN OF GREAT AND MEANINGFUL IMPORTANCE AND THEY MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

THE FIRST CONTRIBUTION WAS THAT OF FREE LAND; THAT IS, A NATION WAS CONSTITUTED IN WHICH FOR THE FIRST 350 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE AS A COLONY AND NATION THERE WAS LAND ENOUGH AVAILABLE FOR ALL PEOPLE TO LIVE ON, TO RAISE THEIR FOOD AND TO FURNISH MATERIALS FOR THEIR OWN USE AND FOR TRADE WITH OTHER CITIZENS AND WITH OTHER PEOPLES. THIS UNTIL RECENTLY HAS SEEMED SO NATURAL TO AMERICANS THAT IT IS NOT USUALLY LOOKED UPON AS A CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION; YET THINK OF THE WORLD AT THE TIME AMERICA WAS DISCOVERED.

IN EUROPE THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND WAS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL DISTINCTION AND OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT. WHEN A GREAT PERSONAGE OF THE 16th AND 17th

CENTURIES AND LATER PUT AFTER THEIR NAME THE PREPOSITIONS "DE" OR "VON" THIS MEANT THAT THEY OWNED AND COMPLETELY DOMINATED A PIECE OF LAND, WHICH MIGHT VARY FROM A HOMESTEAD TO A NATION; AND THAT BECAUSE OF THIS OWNERSHIP THIS MAN HAD PRESTIGE AND POWER ABOVE THAT OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. THUS THE NOBILITY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, ITALY AND GERMANY OWNED THE LAND, AND FROM THAT OWNERSHIP RAN THEIR CONTROL OVER THE WORK OF THE PEASANTS AND ARTISANS, AND THEIR RIGHT TO JOIN THE SOVEREIGN IN ADMINISTERING THE KINGDOM. THE TREMENDOUS POWER OF THESE FEUDAL LORDS MET THE GROWING POWER OF RUNAWAY ARTISANS CONGREGATING IN CITIES, FORMING LABOR GUILDS AND SECURING DIRECT FROM THE SOVEREIGN SOME RIGHT OF THEIR OWN TO CONDUCT THEIR WORK AND OWN THEIR TOOLS, and materials.

THINK NOW WHAT IT MEANT WHEN TO THE WEST THERE WAS DISCOVERED LAND IN VAST QUANTITIES, AND NOT THE LAND WHICH THE DISCOVERERS WERE SEARCHING FOR, BELONGING TO THE RULERS AND MERCHANTS OF ASIA, WHERE THEY COULD GET THE GOODS WHICH THEY HAD LONG SOUGHT OVER LAND ROUTES. HERE WAS LAND WHICH WAS WILD, RICH AND [redacted] for the most part

unused a

[redacted], SO THAT ANYBODY GOING TO AMERICA WAS FREE TO BE A LAND HOLDER, WHICH IN THE IMAGINATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS MEANT FREEDOM TO BE AN ARISTOCRAT. THIS FREE LAND IN AMERICA WAS SO VAST IN EXTENT THAT THROUGH THE 15th, 16th, 17th AND 18th CENTURIES AND WELL PAST THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY IT WAS ACTUALLY POSSIBLE FOR ALMOST ANYBODY TO HAVE LAND WHO WANTED IT. THEY MIGHT HAVE TO GO LONG DISTANCES TO GET IT. THEY MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE THE ROUGH LIFE OF PIONEERS TO PUT IT INTO SUCH SHAPE THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT THEM AND THEIR FAMILIES. NEVERTHELESS FOR THREE CENTURIES AMERICA AND FREE LAND were SYNONYMOUS, AND THIS IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD AND THE MEANING OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

THE SECOND GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE WORLD WAS THE CONTACT OF DIVERSE PEOPLES, OF PEOPLES FROM NATIONS SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES AND HAVING DIFFERENT CUSTOMS; OF PEOPLE REPRESENTING DIFFERENT RACES AND CULTURAL GROUPS; AND PEOPLE REPRESENTING WIDELY DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES. BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA IT WAS UNUSUAL FOR PEOPLE SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES AND HAVING DIFFERENT CULTURAL

CUSTOMS TO MEET EACH OTHER OFTEN OR IN CONSIDERABLE GROUPS. SUCH INTERCOURSE WAS EXCEPTIONAL AND LED TO MUCH COMMENT AND ADVENTURE. IT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE FOR MARCO POLO TO GO TO CHINA; FOR PETER THE GREAT TO COME FROM RUSSIA TO HOLLAND AND ENGLAND; FOR ENGLISHMEN TO VISIT ITALY. BUT IN THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT PRECONCEIVED PLANS THERE MET Red INDIANS, [redacted] FROM ASIA; BLACK MEN FROM AFRICA; WHITE MEN FROM NORTHERN EUROPE; LATINS FROM SOUTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE; brown PEOPLES FROM ASIA AND FROM THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS.

THEY MET AT FIRST ALMOST BY ACCIDENT, AND THEN AS THEY BECAME MORE OR LESS PERMANENT SETTLERS THERE FOLLOWED PLANS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF LIVING TOGETHER. IN some CASES THIS MEANT THAT THESE PEOPLE MERGED INTO A NEW [redacted] RACE, LIKE THE INDIANS AND SPANIARDS AND NEGROES OF SOUTH AMERICA; THE ENGLISH, IRISH AND GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND LATER THE SLAVS AND ITALIANS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AMERICA.

THIS BLENDING, PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL, WAS NOT COMPLETE. INDEED IT WAS CONSPICUOUSLY DIFFICULT AND INCOMPLETE IN CASES OF RACES WHERE THERE WAS PLAIN DIFFERENCE

color of skin.
IN [redacted]. THE INDIANS WERE TO A LARGE EXTENT NOT INTEGRATED BUT EX-
Irish + Slav
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(slaves of Negroes, serfs of English and of
THE TREATMENT [redacted] MADE [redacted] A LOW-WAGE WORKING CLASS [redacted] THE ITALIANS AND THE
IRISH, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS STATUS.

SO THAT FINALLY WE HAD IN THE UNITED STATES ONE OF THE MOST VARIED GROUPS WHICH ANY GREAT NATION EVER BROUGHT TOGETHER TO LIVE IN A FAIR DEGREE OF HARMONY AND ASSOCIATION AND to BUILD [redacted] UP A NEW CIVILIZATION. AND THIS EXPERIMENT WHICH MOST PEOPLES IN THE WORLD BEFORE THIS COUNTRY WAS ORGANIZED WOULD HAVE SAID WAS IMPOSSIBLE, HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT TO A DEGREE IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH IS ENCOURAGING FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD, DESPITE ALL OF ITS FAILURES AND DISCOURAGING ASPECTS.

THE THIRD GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE WORLD WAS AN ATTEMPT TO REALIZE in practice HERE THE KIND OF DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT WHICH MOVEMENTS LIKE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION HAD LAID DOWN IN THEORY. [redacted] WE SAID IN 1776, "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-

EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS AMONG WHICH ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS," — WHEN WE SAID THIS MOST OF THOSE WHO SUBSCRIBED TO IT BELIEVED IT AND THEY BELIEVED IT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT A
(persons in
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THIS OF COURSE WAS A DIFFICULT PROGRAM. IT NEVER HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITH ANYTHING LIKE COMPLETENESS. THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TODAY AND PEOPLE OF LEARNING AND INFLUENCE WHO DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT EVER WILL BE REALIZED. NEVERTHELESS THE LOGIC BEHIND DEMOCRACY IS SO TREMENDOUS AND THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH IT HAS HAD HERE NOW AND THEN IS SO ENCOURAGING THAT WE STILL CLING TO THE NAME AND TRY TO INSIST ON BELIEF IN THE IDEAL, BECAUSE ONCE THOROUGHLY ESTABLISHED IN A LARGE NATION IT IS BOUND TO TRANSFORM HUMANITY.

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STANDARD, OTHER PEOPLES HAVE GONE TO HIGHER CONCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

HERE WE HAVE, THEN, THE FIVE GIFTS OF AMERICA TO THE WORLD: FREE LAND, THE MEETING OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES, THE ATTEMPT AT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THE REALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND A BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. WE MUST LOOK UPON

THESE THINGS NOT AS DEFINITE CONTRIBUTIONS, COMPLETE AND ENDED, BUT RATHER EXPRESSIONS OF GREAT IDEALS, PARTLY ACCOMPLISHED, PARTLY PERVERTED, BUT STILL PROMISING FOR THE FUTURE GREATER AND BRIGHTER CIVILIZATION.

THERE MAY REMAIN IN YOUR MINDS SOME QUESTION AS TO THE VALIDITY OF WHAT I HAVE SAID. CERTAINLY IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT IN THE UNITED STATES FREE LAND OR LAND EASILY PURCHASED FOR REASONABLE SUMS HAS DISAPPEARED. IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE REMAIN DEEP AND DANGEROUS ENMITIES AND DISCRIMINATIONS AMONG DIFFERENT RACES, NATIONALITIES AND CLASSES OF OUR PEOPLE. IT CAN BE ASSERTED THAT THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS THE GREATEST ENEMY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD, AND THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AS SHOWN BY THE PROFITS OF GREAT CORPORATIONS, THE HOUSING SCANDALS AND THE THEFTS OF A RECENT GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY DO NOT INDICATE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

THIS BRINGS US TO REMEMBER THAT AMONG HUMAN BEINGS A PUSH TOWARD JUSTICE AND RIGHT IS SELDOM DEFINITIVE AND FINAL. WE FIND A STRONG TREND WITH GREAT IMPULSE AT ONE TIME AND THEN RETROGRESSION AT ANOTHER, SO THAT IF A NATION HAS MADE A GIFT

TO CIVILIZATION AT ONE TIME, UNLESS IT PERSISTS AND STRENGTHENS THAT IMPULSE THE WHOLE TREND MAY DISAPPEAR, MAY EVEN CONTRADICT ITS ORIGINAL EFFORT.

THIS HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE BEEN IN THE MODERN WORLD THE GREATEST REPOSITORY OF FREE LAND FOR THE MASS OF PEOPLE IN MODERN HISTORY. THIS, HOWEVER, IS NO LONGER TRUE AND THE TIME HAS COME WHEN AGAIN WE MUST MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SETTLE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA ON AVAILABLE LAND.

WE HAVE DONE MORE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE OF DIVERSE RACE AND CULTURE TO LIVE TOGETHER THAN ANY OTHER NATION. BUT WE HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH, AND THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN CONDUCT WHICH REMAIN EVEN IN AMERICA ARE DANGEROUS.

BUT ESPECIALLY IN THE MATTERS OF DEMOCRACY AND DISTTRIBUTION OF WEALTH WE HAVE NOT ONLY CEASED TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD MAKING THIS GIFT GREATER AND MORE EFFECTIVE, WE HAVE ACTUALLY BEGUN TO RETREAT. THERE IS LESS EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES THAN THERE WAS A CENTURY AGO, AND THE MOST THREATENING TREND IS THE MOVEMENT TOWARD FASCIST DICTATORSHIP INSTEAD OF TOWARD THE RULE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

EVEN STRONGER WORDS CAN BE STATED CONCERNING OUR DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA IS ON THE WHOLE THE BEST PAID LABOR IN THE WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, THE PAYMENT OF THIS LABOR HAS INCREASINGLY RESTED UPON THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHER LABOR IN THE COLONIAL LANDS; AND TODAY THIS IS INCREASINGLY THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF PROSPERITY.

IT IS THIS TREND WHICH HAS BROUGHT TWO WORLD WARS, ALMOST A THIRD, AND ONLY AN INSISTENT PUBLIC OPINION KEPT US FROM A FOURTH. WE HAVE OVERTHROWN THE EFFORT OF GUATEMALA TO RE-ORGANIZE HER GOVERNMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEASANTS, AND WE ARE THREATENING NATIONS IN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AND TRYING TO MAKE ALLIANCES TO THREATEN OTHER NATIONS IN ASIA.

HERE, THEN, LIES THE CONTRADICTION OF OUR SITUATION. WE HAVE HELPED THE WORLD FORWARD. WE HAVE NOT MADE EFFECTIVE AND DEFINITIVE MANY OF THESE LINES OF PROGRESS, AND IN SOME WE HAVE TRIED TO UNDO WHAT ONCE WE DID WELL. HERE THEN LIES THE CHIEF PROBLEM OF OUR DAY.

Du Bois 45-9-63 August 12, 1954

VITO MARCANTONIO, 1902 - 1954

WE HAVE LOST A FRIEND // IN THIS NATION / AND IN OUR AGE / FEW MEN COUNTED / SO MANY HUMAN BEINGS / AS FRIENDS / AS VITO MARCANTONIO. // THIS WAS NOT BECAUSE / HE WAS ACQUAINTED WITH SO MANY PERSONS / OR KNEW THEIR NAMES // IT WENT FAR DEEPER / THAN THIS. THAT THIS WAS A MAN / WHO KNEW YOUR HURTS / AND YOUR SORROWS / AND SUFFERED THEM WITH YOU; WHO SAID, "DON'T WORRY!" / / SAID IT / AND THEN WENT OUT / AND WORKED TIRELESSLY / NIGHT AND DAY / SO THAT IN TRUTH / YOU WOULD HAVE NO NEED TO WORRY // AND DID THIS / NOT FOR PAY BUT FOR JOY OF DOING / AND BELIEF IN HIMSELF / AND IN YOU.

HE WAS THUS / A POLITICIAN / IN THE FINEST SENSE / OF THAT MUTILATED WORD // A MAN WHO KNEW MEN; / KNEW THEM / BY THE THOUSANDS / AND THEN GUIDED THEM / TO WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS THE HIGH AND DECENT / END OF LIVING // IN A DAY WHEN / AS NEVER BEFORE / SINCE THE ADMINISTRATION OF BUCHANAN // THE CAPITAL OF THIS NATION / HAS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM / LACKED BOTH BRAINS AND COURAGE / AND HAS BLUNDERED / AND CONTINUED TO BLUNDER / IN A CRUELLY SUFFERING WORLD // MARCANTONIO FOR SIXTEEN YEARS / SERVED IN CONGRESS / AS THE BEST

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PARLIAMENTARIAN, / ONE OF THE CLEAREST THINKERS / AND THE MOST COURAGEOUS VOTER / IN EITHER HOUSE // HIGH ON HIS EPITAPH / WILL EVER STAND / HIS LONE VOTE / AGAINST THE CRIME OF OUR ENTERTNG / THE WAR IN KOREA // FOR THIS SERVICE / HE WAS REMOVED FROM CONGRESS / BY USE OF ONE / OF THE DIRTIEST POLITICAL TRICKS / OF THIS STATE / AND THIS ERA.

THIS GAVE HIM NO PAUSE. // UNHORSED BUT NEVER AFRAID / HE CARRIED ON HIS CRUSADE / COMMISERATING A MISLED PEOPLE: /

NOT THAT THEY STARVE / BUT STARVE SO DREAMLESSLY,
NOT THAT THEY SOW / BUT THAT THEY SELDOM REAP,
NOT THAT THEY SERVE / BUT HAVE NO GODS TO SERVE,
NOT THAT THEY DIE / BUT THAT THEY DIE / LIKE SHEEP.

IN THIS DAY OF SHAMEFUL HESITATION / MARCANTONIO TOOK A FIRM STAND / WHEN MOST MEN / DARED NOT WHISPER // HE WAS NOT A CAPITALIST / HE WAS NOT A COMMUNIST / BUT HE MAINTAINED / THAT AMERICANS HAD A RIGHT / TO BELIEVE / WHATEVER SEEMS RIGHT TO THEM /

THAT THIS/WAS THE MEANING OF AMERICAN FREEDOM;/THAT FOR THIS FREEDOM/EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION HAD FOUGHT A THOUSAND YEARS.// THAT BELIEF IN COMMUNISM/WAS NO MORE A CRIME/THAN BELIEF IN CATHOLICISM;//IN NEITHER MAY A MAN BE PUNISHED/FOR HIS BELIEF./THAT NO MAN SHOULD BE PUNISHED/FOR HIS FAITH/BUT ONLY FOR HIS ACTS;/AND THAT THE PUNISHMENT OF MEN/NOT FOR WHAT THEY DO/BUT FOR WHAT THEY THINK/IS AN ATTACK/UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS/OF AMERICA CITIZENS.

MARCANTONIO STOOD BESIDE/THE CIVILIZED NATIONS/OF THE WORLD TODAY//WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE/ HOLLAND, BELGIUM/ SCANDINAVIA, ITALY,/INDONESIA AND INDIA/IN DECLARING THAT THE SOVIET UNION/AND CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC/HAVE A RIGHT/TO LIVE AND WORK/UNDER ANY GOVERNMENT/THEY CHOOSE/AND THAT THE UNITED STATES/HAD NO RIGHT TO FORCE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD/TO THINK/AS THIS NATION ~~DOES~~ THINKS.// NOT BY MIGHT NOR BY POWER BUT BY THE SPIRIT/OF PEACE AND FREEDOM/WILL RIGHT AND JUSTICE/PREVAIL IN THIS WORLD. WE HAVE A RIGHT./WE HAVE A DUTY/TO SHOW THE WORLD/THE EXCELLENCE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS/ AND THE WAY/TO CONQUER POVERTY,/IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/AMONG THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND;//

BUT TO TRY THIS/BY PERSISTENT LYING AND SUPPRESSING THE TRUTH,//TO ATTEMPT IT/NOT BY REASON/BUT BY ATOM BOMBS,/IS THE METHOD/WHICH COULD HAVE HANGED/GEORGE WASHINGTON/ AND DID/CRUCIFY JESUS CHRIST.

IT WAS HERE/THAT MARCANTONIO TOOK HIS STAND/AND REFUSED TO BE A RED-BAITER/ OR A WARMONGER.// HE BELIEVED IN SOCIALISM/AS EXEMPLIFIED/BY THE NEW DEAL.//HIS WIDE AND PERSONAL/KNOWLEDGE OF MEN/ OF THEIR DESIRES/AND NEEDS/AND DISAPPOINTMENTS, GAVE HIM KNOWLEDGE/FAR ABOVE THAT OF LESSER MEN.// HE BELIEVED/IN SOCIAL CONTROL/OF THE PREDATORY WEALTH/WHICH RIDES ROUGH-SHOD/OVER THE POOR.// INDEED, /BEFORE THIS ~~ERA~~ ERA OF NATIONAL COWARDICE/THERE WERE NOT MANY MEN OF BRAINS, EDUCATION AND COURAGE/ IN THIS LAND/OR IN THE WORLD/WHO DID NOT BELIEVE IN SOCIALISM WITH HIM.// THEY DIFFERED/AS TO HOW SOCIALISM/WAS TO BE ACHIEVED.//BUT OF ITS ULTIMATE TRIUMPH/THEY WERE CERTAIN./ MANY DID NOT/AND SOME DO NOT/ACCEPT THE PATH OF COMMUNISM/TO SOCIALISM./BUT THEY RESPECT ITS GREAT AIMS/AND ADMIRE ITS TREMENDOUS PROGRESS.

THIS WAS LONG/THE GUIDING THOUGHT/OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD/AND THE DECLARATION/ OF MANY/ OF ITS GREATEST MEN.// IT IS A TRIUMPH/ OF REAL AMERICANISM/THAT LEADERSHIP IN THIS DIRECTION/CAME CONTINUALLY/NOT FROM PROFESSIONAL AMERICANS//BUT FROM THOSE / OFT REGARDED/AS OUTSIDERS.//FROM THOSE OF ITALIAN/ AND JEWISH DESCENT./ FROM NEGROES AND IRISH./ FROM SLAVS AND SCANDINAVIANS./ AMERICA WAS NOT BUILT/SOLELY OR EVEN IN GREATER PART/ON BRITISH ARISTOCRACY/BUT MORE OFTEN/ FROM "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW"/WHO TOOK THE WORDS/OF DREAMERS AND THEORISTS/AND TRIED TO MAKE FREEDOM/AND DEMOCRACY/WORK/IN THIS GREAT NEW EXPERIMENT/OF THE WEST.

THE STRIKING CHARACTERISTIC OF MARCANTONIO WAS HIS PATRIOTISM/FOR THIS AMERICA/TO WHICH HIS FATHERS/CAME AS POOR IMMIGRANTS.// HE BELIEVED IN AMERICA WHEN AMERICA/NO LONGER BELIEVED IN ITSELF.// HE TALKED AMERICA./ DEFENDED AMERICA / AND SUFFERED FOR AMERICA.// HE WAS A GREAT AMERICAN.// BUT HE WAS ALSO A GREAT MAN / AND THIS NATION/COULD OFFER HIM NOTHING/THAT EVER COULD MAKE HIM FORGET/HIS ESSENTIAL MANHOOD.

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WHAT IS TRUE OF IMMIGRANT ITALY/IS ALSO TRUE OF AFRICA IN AMERICA./ WHICH FOR THE LAST CENTURY/HAS DEFENDED DEMOCRACY/ IN THE UNITED STATES/AS NO OTHER PORTION OF THE NATION/HAS DONE.//IT HAS BEEN IRELAND/WHICH MORE THAN ENGLAND HAS DEFENDED FREEDOM/OF RELIGIOUS FAITH/IN THE NATION./ IT HAS BEEN THE JEWS WHOSE DEFENSE OF FAITH/HAS BEEN JOINED TO THE RIGHT/AND NECESSITY OF POPULAR EDUCATION,/ AND GIVEN THIS NATION/FAITH IN TRAINED MINDS.// FROM WHAT WE SO OFTEN CALL/"FOREIGN" SOURCES./ AND FROM GROUPS WHICH TODAY/WE PERSECUTE AND DESPISE/HAS COME THE MAJOR PART/OF NATIVE AMERICAN CIVILIZATION// AND THIS/MARCANTONIO PROVED/IN HIS LIFE AND WORK.//

WE/WHO/IN THIS DARK DAY/FEEL DESERTED AND ALONE;//WHO HAVE LOST THE FRIEND / WHO SO LONG AND SO NOBLY/LED US/ CAN IN THIS ~~DAY~~ TIME OF GRIEF/CRY WITH ANDERSON'S SLAVE:

BUT LIFT ME,/AND HOLD ME FREE,/O PIERCING CLARION
CLAMOR OF CHALLENGE/FROM THE ABYSS THAT LIES
ABOUT US/AND BEYOND,/UNKNOWN.// BRINE COLD,

STINGING AND PURE. // CLEANSE MY DIM MIND / OF CLINGING
WEBS OF DOUBT // LEND ME A BREATH / FROM THE GULFS /
TO FAN / THESE ASH-FILMED EMBERS // OUT OF THE DRIFT
OF FORCES / INCOMMUNICABLE / AND WILD /
THAT BESIEGE OUR LIVES. // BLOW THROUGH THESE INERT CELLS /
NEW COURAGE / FROM THE OUTER RIM / OF STARS.

WE PLEAD FOR MEN / ABLE AND WILLING / TO STAND ALONE / AGAINST THE GREAT WRONG MAJORITY. //
THEY ARE SELDOM FOUND / FOR THE PRICE SET ON THEIR HEADS / IS HIGH; // THE CROWDING RUSH
TO THE CURRENT BANDWAGON / IS ALWAYS WELL-NIGH OVERWHELMING. / THINK OF AMERICA TODAY. /
WHAT DO WE REALLY WANT? / WHAT IS THE END OF OUR LIVES? // WEALTH! / WE WANT TO BE RICH! /
INDEPENDENTLY RICH, / ABOVE ALL TAXES AND DUTIES! // WITH SUCH IDEALS DINNED INTO OUR
EARS, / POURED ON OUR YOUTH / AND SPREAD THROUGH OUR LITERATURE / AND DRAMA, / WHAT LEADER-
SHIP CAN WE EXPECT, / WHAT IDEALS CAN WE CONTINUE TO HOLD HIGH? // WHAT IS POETRY AND
HONESTLY IF MAY BE — BUT RICH //

SONG ↓
PICTURE? // WHAT ARE EMOTION, / HAPPINESS AND PAIN? // WHAT IS TRUTH?

THIS IS THE FACT: / AND THEN UPLIFT COMES // A VITO MARCANTONIO. // HE COMES OUT
OF THE DEPTHS / OF OUR CITY / WHERE OPPORTUNITY IS LEAST / AND INSPIRATION LOW, // WHERE
CRIME FLOURISHES, / WHERE SLUMS PREDOMINATE / AND POLICEMEN / WITH CLUB AND ~~PISTOL~~ GUN / ARE
SENT TO REFORM / AND UPLIFT MANKIND. // FROM SUCH SURROUNDINGS / COMES A MARCANTONIO, / AND
FOR THIS / WE SING / AND SOUND THE LOUD TIMBREL. // FOR ~~AS~~ SO LONG AS SUCH MIRACLES OCCUR /
NO GREAT CAUSE CAN BE LOST. /

WE WILL THEREFORE REMEMBER / THIS IS NO ~~TIME~~ HOUR FOR TEARS. // NOT ONCE BUT A
THOUSAND TIMES / IN THIS WORLD-OLD STRUGGLE / FOR THE TRIUMPH OF RIGHT / HAS THE BATTLE
BEEN LOST / AND THE LEADER FALLEN. // BUT AGAIN AND EVER AGAIN / STAGGERING TO THEIR FEET, /
MEN HAVE LIFTED HANDS / ON HIGH TO CRY: /

 45-9-71

BRAVELY DRAIN, THEN FLING AWAY

BREAK THE CUP OF SORROW!

COURAGE! HE WHO LOST THE DAY

MAY HAVE WON THE MORROW.

45-9-72 Oct. 1954

GERMANY

by W.E.B. Du Bois

THERE ARE FEW PLACES ON EARTH FOR WHICH I HAVE GREATER AFFECTION THAN FOR WHAT IS NOW CALLED EAST GERMANY. I SAW IT FIRST IN MY YOUNG MANHOOD. I WAS 24 AND HAD COME ABROAD ON A SCHOLARSHIP TO STUDY. I MADE THAT UNFORGETTABLE JOURNEY UP THE RHINE FROM ROTTERDAM TO KOELN AND THEN WENT EAST TO THE OLD DUCHY OF SACHS-WEIMAR-EISENACH. IN EISENACH I SPENT THE SUMMER WITH A GERMAN FAMILY. THERE WAS THE OBERPHARRER HERR DR. MARBACH, HIS WIFE, THE TWO DAUGHTERS, DORA AND ILSE, AND GUESTS FROM SOUTH GERMANY, FRANCE AND ENGLAND. IT WAS AN IDEAL GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE, WITH A TYPICAL GERMAN TEACHER AND HIS HOUSEWIFE AT THE HEAD.

WE VISITED THE WARTBURG OF LUTHER ALMOST DAILY. WE WALKED IN THE FORESTS AND TALKED AND SANG. WE SAW THE WEIMAR OF GOETHE AND SCHILLER. AND AFTERWARD I MADE THE HARZ-REISE AND SAW LUEBECK AND THE HAENSA CITIES. I WENT TO LEIPZIG AND DRESDEN, AND FINALLY STUDIED IN BERLIN.

-2- 45-9-73

I WAS IN THIS GERMANY (during) THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE 19th CENTURY. I SAW, ON FOOT AND BY TRAIN, MOST OF THE DIFFERENT REGIONS. BY BIRTH AND BLOOD I WAS THEN AS PERHAPS NOW PREJUDICED AGAINST this MY NATIVE LAND AND THEREFORE THOUGHT THE CULTURE OF GERMANY AT THAT TIME BETTER IN MANY WAYS THAN THAT OF AMERICA. AND THAT NOT BECAUSE OF DESERT AND ABILITY BUT BECAUSE OF THE WAY IN WHICH HUMAN LIFE WAS ORGANIZED AND THE VALUES WHICH WERE SET UPON CERTAIN ACTS AND THOUGHTS. THE YOUNG PEOPLE WERE WELL-BRED WITH CARE ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS; WITH OBEDIENCE IN FAMILY LIFE; WITH ORDER AND HARD WORK. IT WAS A SINGULAR EXPERIENCE FOR ME TO HEAR GERMANS IN 1892 SING THE NATIONAL HYMN. THEY EXPRESSED A LOVE OF THE FATHERLAND WHICH I AS A NEGRO HAD NEVER FELT FOR AMERICA. AND OF COURSE, WHAT HAD IMPRESSED ME PARTICULARLY MORE PERHAPS THAN WAS ALTOGETHER JUST WAS THE ABSENCE OF A COLOR LINE AND OF THE DEEP SORT OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS WHICH EXISTED IN THE UNITED STATES. SHADES OF THIS, OF COURSE, WERE THERE IN THE JEWISH QUESTION BUT THAT WAS TREATED AT THAT TIME WITH REASON. THERE WAS NO DREAM OF VIOLENCE OR FEAR FOR THE

FUTURE.

THERE WAS A RESPECT FOR LAW IN THAT AMERICA, WHICH WAS THEN LYNCHING A NEGRO EACH WEEK. I DID NOT KNOW /// THERE WAS A RESPECT FOR CONVENTION FOR THE MANNERS WHICH GENTLEMEN OUGHT TO HAVE. // THERE WAS A DISTINCT UPPER CLASS OF PEOPLE WHO SHOWED SUPERIORITY NOT BY THEIR WEALTH, NOT ENTIRELY BY THEIR LEARNING BUT BY THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FINER THINGS IN LIFE // OF MUSIC OF DRAMA. ~~THERE WAS~~ JOY OF BEING TOGETHER OF ENTERTAINMENT // WHICH WAS CHEAP AND WHICH WAS PAID FOR PERSONALLY BY EACH OF THE PERSONS WHO TOOK PART. // WHATEVER I KNOW OF GOOD MANNERS AND HIGHER CULTURE, I LEARNED FIRST IN GERMANY.

I STAYED THERE TWO YEARS AND THEN CAME BACK TO WORK FOR A STRETCH OF THIRTY-FOUR YEARS IN AMERICA // THIS COVERED THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THE FINANCIAL CRASH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DEPRESSION. // THEN I SAW GERMANY AGAIN in 1936 // IT WAS TRAGEDY. // IN EISENACH AND BENEATH THE WARTBURG I COULD FIND NEITHER TRACE NOR MEMORY OF THE MARBACH FAMILY. // THE STREETS OF BERLIN WERE CROWDED WITH THE POOR, THE DISCOURAGED

AND WITH YOUNG PROSTITUTES. // CIVILIZATION HAD LITERALLY BEEN TURNED UPSIDE DOWN AND DEATH HAD COME IN TERRIBLE GUISE.

I WENT AWAY AND CAME BACK AGAIN TEN YEARS LATER, IN 1946 JUST ON THE THRESHHOLD OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. // AND THERE I FOUND A COUNTRY STRUGGLING DESPERATELY TO FIND A WAY BACK. // A WAY THAT HAD BEEN CLOGGED AND HINDERED BY EVERY DEVICE WHICH MODERN CULTURE KNOWS HOW TO APPLY (to) THE DISPOSSESSED. // A PUBLIC DEBT WHICH NO COUNTRY COULD EVER PAY. // A RISE IN PRICES WHICH WAS REVOLUTIONARY // PROPERTY HAD BEEN DESTROYED AND DISPLACED // INCOME HAD BEEN LOST AND TRANSFERRED. /// SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES HAD BEEN IMPOVERISHED. // MANNERS HAD BEEN DEBASED [redacted]. AND HERE WAS A NATION LOOKING DESPERATELY ANYWHERE AND EVERYWHERE FOR RESCUE AND RESTORATION, FOR HOPE AND FAITH IN SOMETHING.

IT HAS BEEN ASKED REPEATEDLY WHERE THE BLAME LAY FOR THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS, AND WITH SINGULAR UNANIMITY IN THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND ENGLAND

THE BLAME HAS BEEN PLACED UPON GERMANY // THIS IS UNFAIR AND UNTRUE. // THERE WAS AN ERA WHEN GERMANY, IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE, FOUGHT FOR A CHANCE TO BE HERSELF AND TO LIVE // AND HAD TO FIGHT AGAINST LOUIS XIV AND NAPOLEON AGAINST THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND "TO FRANCE THE LAND, TO ENGLAND THE SEA, TO GERMANY THE EMPIRE OF THE AIR." // AND THAT WAS NOT AS RIDICULOUS AS SOME FOLK THOUGHT. // HERE IN CENTRAL EUROPE WAS BUILT UP SCIENCE AND LOGIC, MUSIC AND THE ARTS, DRAMA AND LITERATURE // AT THE HANDS OF A PEOPLE SINGULARLY ABLE TO DEVELOP THESE THINGS.

WHILE THE UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THIS GERMANY OF THE 19th CENTURY WAS BEING SUCCESSFULLY REBUILT, THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD CHANGED // SO THAT THE PEOPLES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE AND EVENTUALLY OF ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES TRIED TO ORGANIZE THEIR INDUSTRY ON THE BASIS OF COLONIES IN AFRICA AND ASIA // FOR A LONG TIME GERMANY TRIED TO BUILD A NATION WITHOUT FOREIGN COLONIES // BUT IF GERMANY WISHED RECOGNITION AS A GREAT NATION EQUAL TO FRANCE AND BRITAIN SHE MUST HAVE COLONIES TO EXPLOIT // THE FIRST WORLD WAR WAS HER BID FOR COLONIES // IT FAILED AND LED TO A

SECOND WORLD WAR TO MAKE RUSSIA A COLONIAL NATION UNDER THE WESTERN POWERS // THIS, TOO FAILED.

WHEN WE DISTRIBUTE BLAME FOR THIS IT MUST BE PLACED PRIMARILY UPON THOSE WHO STARTED AND DEVELOPED THE COLONIAL SYSTEM // AND THAT WAS NOT GERMANY // GERMANY HAD OTHER IDEALS AT THE TIME WHEN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM STARTED. // IT IS A QUESTION AS TO HOW FAR GERMANY COULD HAVE KEPT OUT OF THIS COLONIAL COMPETITION AND LIVED!

AT ANY RATE, // TODAY THE WESTERN WORLD IS STILL FIRMLY SET ON USING THE LABOR OF ASIA AND AFRICA // OF SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS TO SUPPORT THEM IN COMFORT, POWER AND LUXURY // AND THIS OBJECT IS BEGINNING TO FAIL // AND IN THE END IS BOUND TO FAIL. /// THERE IS, THEREFORE, BUT ONE OBJECT TOWARD WHICH GERMANY TODAY CAN SET HER FACE AND TOWARD WHICH EASTERN GERMANY IS TRYING TO PROGRESS // AND THAT IS UNITY OF ALL THE GERMANYS IN ONE NATION, WITH ONE LANGUAGE, ONE CULTURE AND ONE LITERATURE /// AND SECONDLY, TO OBTAIN THIS THROUGH PEACE AND NOT BY WAR OR PREPARATION FOR WAR // AND THIRDLY, TO PROVIDE WORK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE, NOT

FOR THE WEALTH AND POWER OF THE FEW BUT FOR THE COMFORT AND CULTURE OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. A GREAT COUNTRY IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE WHOSE AIM IS THIS, IS BOUND TO BECOME IN THE 21st CENTURY AS IT WAS IN THE 19th A LEADER OF NATIONS.

ON THE OTHER HAND IF A NEW GERMANY LIKE WESTERN GERMANY TODAY IS GOING TO FOLLOW IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND TRY TO SUBDUE THE WORLD SO THAT THE STARVED THE IGNORANT AND THE SICK MAJORITY OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE GOING TO SPEND THEIR LIVES WORKING FOR A FEW LEADING COUNTRIES, THEN THERE IS NO HOPE. THERE IS NO SALVATION.

BUT WE HAVE A RIGHT TODAY TO HAVE RENEWED FAITH IN THE EMERGENCE OF EASTERN GERMANY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP AND WITH THE COMPANIONSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND INDIA, INTO A NEW WORLD WHICH SHALL DEVELOP WITHOUT WAR AND EXPLOITATION AND WITH PEACE AND RESPECT FOR HUMANITY. IT IS THE CURSE OF OUR DAY THAT SO MANY HONEST HUMAN BEINGS HAVE ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BE PERSUADED THAT SALVATION FOR CIVILIZATION LIES IN WAR AND IN ENDLESS PREPARATION FOR WAR.

GERMAN CIVILIZATION HAS CENTERED IN WHAT IS TODAY CALLED EAST GERMANY EITHER BY BIRTH OF ITS CHIEF EXPONENTS THERE OR BY THIS PART OF GERMANY BEING THE SCENE OF THEIR EDUCATION AND CHIEF ACTIVITIES. WITNESS LUTHER GOETHE AND SCHILLER HEINE, BACH AND WAGNER AND MENDELSSOHN AND MOST OF THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES.

THE DECISION OF THE RECENT NINE POWER CONFERENCE IN LONDON IS GRAVE WHILE SCIENCE AND ART HAVE BY LONG TRADITION FOUND THEIR HOME IN THE GERMANY STRETCHING FROM BRAUNSCHWEIG TO BERLIN AND FROM THURINGIA AND SACHSEN TO MECHLINBURG IT IS IN WEST GERMANY THAT AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION ON THE RHINE IN THE RUHR AND SAAR HAS BEEN BUILT AND INTEGRATED WITH THE BEST TRAINED ARTISANS IN THE WORLD. THIS WEST GERMAN INDUSTRY IS NOW TO BE ERECTED INTO A SOVEREIGN STATE UNDER THE MILITARY DOMINATION OF THE SAME CLIQUE WHICH DROVE GERMANY INTO THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THIS MILITARIZED IN-DUSTRIAL STATE IS RECOGNIZED AS THE OFFICIAL GERMAN EMPIRE BY WEST EUROPE AND AMERICA AND WILL FIGHT THE BATTLES OF BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

IN THE LAST HALF OF THIS CENTURY/AND OVER SO MUCH/OF THE 21st CENTURY/AS STILL CHOOSES WAR INSTEAD OF PEACE.

IF THIS WORLD CONFERENCE/OR IF THE UNITED NATIONS/WOULD RECOGNIZE EAST GERMANY AS AN INTEGRAL PART/OF THE NEW GERMAN REICH/WITH FULL RIGHT OF SELF-EXPRESSION/ THERE WOULD ARISE A REORGANIZED NATION/WHICH WOULD STAND FOR PEACE,/PLANNED INDUSTRY AND THE DOMINATION/OF THE NEEDS OF THE WORKERS/OVER THE INTERESTS OF THE CAPITALISTS/ AND EXPLOITERS// SUCH A GERMANY COULD BE TRUSTED/TO FIGHT OUT/IN ITS OWN BORDERS/A FUTURE GERMAN NATION/AND A FUTURE WORLD CULTURE.

IT WOULD SEEM/THAT IN LOOKING BACK/UPON THE PAST// NOT ONLY THE LONG PAST/ BUT THE RECENT PAST/WITHIN THE MEMORY/OF PRESENT LIVING HUMAN BEINGS/ WE COULD SEE THAT OF THE EVIL/FACING THE WORLD// NONE IS WORSE THAN WAR/// WHATEVER MAY BE SAID/OF THE PAST/AND OF THE EFFICACY/AND NECESSITY OF WAR/ IN THAT PAST,// IT CERTAINLY CAN BE SAID TODAY/THAT THERE IS NOTHING/THAT WAR CAN GAIN FOR MANKIND.

OUR PROBLEM// AND THE PROBLEM OF EVERY PEOPLE// IS HOW BY HARD WORK/AND GOOD WILL// WE CAN PLAN THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.// THE USE OF FORCE/IN THIS PLANNING/HAS BEEN PROVEN/TO BE ABSOLUTELY INEFFECTIVE.// THE SITUATION OF THE VICTORS/IN PRESENT WORLD

WARS/IS JUST AS BAD/IF NOT WORSE/THAN THE SITUATION OF THE VICTIMS.// WE WILL EITHER CHOOSE PEACE/OR CHOOSE DESTRUCTION.

UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES// THERE CAN BE NO GREATER/AND MORE EFFECTIVE TOOL/ FOR THE RESTORATION OF DECENCY/AND CULTURE/AMONG MANKIND// THAN THE UNITY AND COOPERATION// OF OLD AND WELL-ESTABLISHED GROUPS.// AND OF SUCH GROUPS/THERE IS NONE IN HISTORY/ WHICH HAS ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH/AND WHICH COULD PROMISE SO MUCH MORE// THAN THAT OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.// IT IS MAINLY/THEN/A QUESTION/AS TO WHETHER THE WORLD/WHICH CALLS ITSELF CIVILIZED/IS GOING TO ALLOW THE PEOPLES OF GERMANY/TO UNITE AND IN THEIR OWN WAY/AND ACCORDING TO/THEIR OWN THOUGHT AND DESIRE/ TO BUILD A NEW GERMANY/AND A NEW EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.// THIS MEANS FAITH IN PEOPLE/ FAITH IN UNSELFISH IDEALS// WE HAVE GOT/ TO DREAM WITH SCHILLER:

 45-9-82

WILLST DU DEINE MACHT /VERKÜNDEN,
WÄHLE SIE /DIE FREI VON SÜNDEN,
STEH'N /IN DEINAM EW'GEN HAUS!
DEINE GEISTER/ SENDE AUS!

Oct. 1954

35-9-12

PAUL ROBESON

by W.E.B. Du Bois

IN THE SPRING OF 1949, IN PARIS AND AT PERHAPS THE GREATEST PEACE MEETING THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN, PAUL ROBESON, HAVING FLOWN FROM PRAGUE, MOUNTED THE ROSTUM UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF JOLIOT-CURIE AND SAID A WORD TO THE LISTENING THOUSANDS. I WAS SITTING IN THAT AUDIENCE. HE SAID: "MY PEOPLE WILL NEVER FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION." THE THUNDER OF APPLAUSE LITERALLY SHOOK THE RAFTERS OF THAT VAST AND LOFTY HALL. THE WORDS WERE HEARD BY OTHER THOUSANDS GATHERED FROM THE EAST AT PRAGUE; THEY WERE HEARD AROUND THE WORLD AND ARE STILL ECHOING IN THE EARS OF MEN.

BECAUSE OF THIS PAUL ROBESON HAS BEEN CRUCIFIED FOR FIVE YEARS; HIS PASSPORT DENIED; HIS CHARACTER MALIGNED AND HIS LIVELIHOOD HALF TAKEN AWAY. HISTORICALLY, UP TO THIS MOMENT HIS DECLARATION HAS, HOWEVER, PROVEN TRUE. MANY MEN AND POWERFUL FORCES BOTH HERE AND OVERSEAS HAVE STRIVEN TO MAKE THEM FALSE AND TO FORCE THIS NATION AND ITS FIFTEEN million NEGRO CITIZENS INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR. TOO MANY TIMES IN THE LAST

35-9-13

FIVE YEARS WE HAVE BEEN SO NEAR THE BRINK OF SUCH A WAR THAT IT SEEMED THAT NOTHING COULD KEEP THE PEACE. EVEN TODAY A LITTLE INCIDENT, THE OVER-CONFIDENCE OF AN ADMIRAL, OR THE BRAVADO OF SOME FLYER COULD LAND US IN UNIVERSAL WAR. YET THE FACT REMAINS THAT ROBESON'S WORD IS STILL TRUE. HIS PEOPLE ARE NOT AT WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS NOT A MERE ACCIDENT.

IF DECENT MEN HAVE THEIR WAY, THIS STATEMENT WILL ALWAYS REMAIN TRUE. MOREOVER, A DECLARATION LIKE THIS IS THE ONLY DECLARATION OF PEACE WHICH THE WORLD WILL EVER FIND EFFECTIVE. IF WE ARE TO STOP WAR, CITIZENS MUST REFUSE TO FIGHT. SO LONG AS MEN ARE WILLING TO MAKE WAR AT THE COMMAND OF LEADERS WHO ARE NOT FIT TO LEAD, AT THE THREAT OF PERSONAL HARM OR BECAUSE OF PREVALENT PUBLIC OPINION, NO MATTER WHETHER THE CAUSE IS JUST OR CRIMINAL, SO LONG WAR WILL CONTINUE AND CIVILIZATION WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. WHEN THE DAY DAWNS THAT MEN DECLARE: NO MORE PLANNED AND ORGANIZED MURDER NO MATTER WHAT THE CAUSE OR EXCUSE, THEN, AND NOT TILL THEN, IS PEACE POSSIBLE.

HONOR THEN, TO THEM WHO DARE PAY THE PRICE OF BRINGING THE DAWN OF THAT GREAT DAY! HONOR TO ROBESON AND TO HOWARD FAST WHOSE ABSENCE TONIGHT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE.

HONOR

35-9-14

LET US FRANKLY ADMIT/THAT IF THIS IS TRUE/THERE COMES A TIME FOR GRIM DECISION/ WHEN THE LAW OF A LAND,/ THE LOVE OF A BIRTHPLACE/ THE CALL OF COMFORT AND INFLUENCE,/ FIND THEMSELVES IN DEAD OPPOSITION/TO RIGHT AND JUSTICE/AND COMMONSENSE.// IN THE PAST/ BEFORE WE LIVED,/ IN THE FOREIGN LANDS WE NEVER SAW/ AMONG MEN WE NEVER KNEW,/ IT HAS BEEN EASY FOR US/TO DECLARE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE,/ WHAT SAID,/ WHAT SUFFURED.// BUT HERE,/ NOW/ AND IN OUR OWN CASE/HOW MANY OF US/ARE WILLING TO STAND FOR RIGHT/AGAINST PUBLIC OPINION;//MUCH LESS AGAINST WEALTH/AND FRONT PAGE PUBLICITY?// HOW MANY DARE TODAY/ TO TRANSLATE INTO ACTION/THE BRAVE WORDS/WE MOUTHED WHEN THEY COST NOTHING?// WHO DARE CRY:

I AM THE URGE,
  THE SPUR AND THRONG;
MOON OF THE TIDES THAT SURGE
  INTO SONG.

35-9-15

CALL ME FRIEND OR FOE,
  LITTLE CARE I!
I GO WITH ALL WHO GO
  SINGING TO DIE.

CALL ME FRIEND OR FOE. . .
  TAKING TO GIVE,
I GO WITH ALL WHO GO
  DYING TO LIVE.

Peebles Hall
Sept 49 - 1st Sunday

Thanks Card
War

1926
Grad Class
England
Korea Woman
Network

D Wood

35-9-16 Du Bois

NATIONAL GUARDIAN DINNER
NOVEMBER 30, 1954

THERE ARE TIMES / WHEN WE SEE A GREAT BUILDING / FALLING IN RUIN. // LOOKING AT CRUMBLING FOUNDATIONS, / WE REMEMBER WITH BITTER TEARS / WHAT THIS BUILDING COST / IN TOIL AND DREAM. // AND HOW HEAVY WILL BE / THE TASK OF RESTORATION. // TRUE AS THIS IS / FOR BRICK AND STEEL AND STONE / IT IS MUCH MORE TRUE / OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS / BUILT OVER LONGER STRETCHES OF TIME / AT GREATER COST OF EFFORT AND STRAIN / IN THE LIFE STRUGGLE OF MEN // THIS IS WHAT MAY BE SEEN TODAY / BY THOSE WHO HAVE EYES AND EARS / TO HEAR THE CRACK OF DOOM.

LET ME ILLUSTRATE: / IN THE 15th CENTURY / MANY ENGLISHMEN WERE PUNISHED / NOT FOR WHAT THEY DID / BUT FOR CRIMES / OF WHICH OTHERS WERE ACCUSED // IT TOOK THREE CENTURIES / FOR ENGLISH LAW / TO DECLARE SUCH TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE / ILLEGAL: / YET TODAY / IN THE 20th CENTURY / IN AMERICA / WE HAVE TRIED TO RESTORE / THIS KIND OF PUNISHMENT.

IN THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGE / A MAN MIGHT DO A DEED / WHICH WAS PERFECTLY LEGAL. PARLIAMENT, TEN YEARS LATER / MIGHT DECLARE THIS DEED ILLEGAL / AND PUNISH THE MAN / FOR

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WHAT HE DID LEGALLY A DECADE EARLIER // AFTER CENTURIES OF DENUNCIATION / THIS INJUSTICE / WAS SWEPT / FROM THE LAWS OF CIVILIZED LANDS // YET HERE / THERE ARE MEN IN JAIL / TONIGHT FOR DOING LEGALLY ~~LAST YEAR~~ YEARS AGO / WHAT IS ILLEGAL TODAY.

THERE IS ONE WORD / SO EVIL IN ITS CONNOTATIONS / THAT WE SELDOM BREATHE IT // AND THAT IS THE INQUISITION: / A BRUTAL SYSTEM OF THOUGHT CONTROL / WHICH USED EVERY METHOD / OF MAKING MEN / LIE AND SLANDER / IN ORDER TO ESCAPE SHAMEFUL DEATH / OR RUIN FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR KIN // THE MEMORY OF TORQUEMADA / HAS BECOME ANATHEMA / IN THE EARS OF DECENT MEN // YET TODAY / THE METHODS OF THE INQUISITION / ARE BEING REVIVED IN AMERICA / EVEN WITH PHYSICAL TORTURE / AND MURDER OF HELPLESS PRISONERS.

ONCE IT WAS CUSTOMARY / TO TRY ACCUSED VICTIMS / REPEATEDLY FOR THE SAME OFFENSE // AND AN INDECENT GOVERNMENT / MIGHT CONTINUE TO PROSECUTE A MAN / ALREADY ACQUITTED / UNTIL FOR LACK OF FUNDS / AND WITH AROUSED PUBLIC HATRED / HE AT LAST WAS PUNISHED / FOR OFFENSES / OF WHICH HE HAD MANY TIMES / BEEN DECLARED NOT GUILTY. // TODAY WE ARE DISGRACING / AND CONVICTING MEN / AFTER TWO, FOUR AND NINE PUBLIC INQUIRIES AND TRIALS / AND EVEN BRANDING

35-9-18

THE SILENT DEAD.

IT WAS ONCE THE LAW/THAT IF A MAN COULD NOT BE PROVEN/TO HAVE COMMITTED A CRIME/HE COULD NOT BE PUNISHED FOR IT.// TODAY NO CRIMINAL ACT/NEED BE PROVEN/IF A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR/CAN PROVE THAT A MAN "CONSPIRED"/TO DO WHAT HE NEVER DID DO./ AND THIS "CONSPIRACY"/MAY BE CONSIDERED PROVEN/BY WHAT ONE MAN SAYS/THAT ANOTHER MAN THOUGHT.// ON SUCH CHARGE/THE ROSENBERGS WERE MURDERED/AND SOBELL IS IN PRISON.

AFTER CENTURIES/IT WAS ESTABLISHED/THAT A MAN WAS REGARDED INNOCENT/UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY.//BUT TODAY A MAN IS OFTEN HELD GUILTY/UNTIL PROVEN INNOCENT/ EVEN WHEN SUCH NEGATIVE PROOF/IS IMPOSSIBLE.

TODAY, OUTSIDE AND BEYOND THE LAW/ THE GOVERNMENT/SUBSIDIZES THE BOOKS IT LIKES/AND BLACKLISTS THE AUTHORS/IT DOES NOT LIKE.// PERMITS ONLY THOSE IT FAVORS/TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY/ AND ONLY THOSE WHO ACCEPT ITS POLICIES/TO ENTER.// IT KIDNAPS AND TRANSPORTS ITS OWN CITIZENS.//IT IS NEGLECTING PUBLIC EDUCATION;/ YET SUBSIDIZING HIGHER TRAINING/FOR WAR AND DESTRUCTION.//AND DELIBERATELY/MAKING IT DIFFICULT/FOR THINKERS/ WHO DO NOT FOLLOW/ITS LINE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION/TO MAKE A LIVING.

35-9-19

THERE IS/[redacted] THEFT AND CHEATING,/ BUT THE GOVERNMENT PROSECUTES/FEW OF THE GUILTY,/ AND THE PUNISHMENT IS LIGHT.// FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND OPINION,/ FREE SPEECH AND EXPRESSION/ARE LIMITED BY SECRET POLICE/OPERATING ON A FANTASTIC SCALE/WITH PRYING, SPYING,/TAMPERING WITH THE MAIL/AND USE OF PROFESSIONAL/HIRED LIARS.// BY OPEN SUPPRESSION/AND SLANTING OF NEWS AND SOURCES,/ THE PUBLIC IS PERSUADED/THAT THIS NATION IS IN PRESENT DANGER/ FROM MOSCOW AND PEKING.// WHEN IN TRUTH/THE PRESENT DANGER/IS RIGHT HERE IN WASHINGTON/AND NEW YORK.

WE/WHO OPENLY AND REPEATEDLY CRITICIZE/THIS SITUATION/ARE NOT TRAITORS.// NO MAN/WHO SHRINKS FROM CRITICIZING HIMSELF/ HIS FAMILY OR HIS COUNTRY/HAS FAITH, LOVE OR PATRIOTISM.// NOT THE SILENT/NOR THE ~~FLATTERERS~~ SMUG/TODAY ARE TRUE AMERICANS.//BUT THOSE WHO CRY ALOUD/AND SPARE NOT.// BECAUSE THEY ~~BELIEVE~~ (HAVE FAITH) IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY/-- IN FREEDOM/TO BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM/ IN DEMOCRACY/WHICH INCLUDES CHINA.

ANY REAL CHANGE/IN THIS FANTASTIC SITUATION/ IN THE OPINION OF THREE OUT OF FIVE VOTERS,/ CANNOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT/BY DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.// FOR THIS REASON/IN 1954

35-9-20

ONLY 40% OF THE VOTERS/WENT TO THE POLLS/AND THE ELECTION RETURNS READ/like/A TALE TOLD BY AN IDIOT.

THERE IS/BUT ONE THING LEFT/AND THAT IS THE PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPER//THE PERIODICAL/WHICH CALMLY, CLEARLY AND POINTEDLY/TELLS THE TRUTH./EVEN IF WITH MONOTONOUS REPETITION/FROM WEEK TO WEEK/FROM YEAR TO YEAR/FROM DECADE TO CENTURY//WHICH DOCUMENTS AND INSISTS/EMPHASIZES AND STATES/THE CURRENT STORY/OF INJUSTICE AND WRONG/GRAFT AND THEFT/WAR WASTE AND INQUISITION/LIES AND PRISON.

SIX YEARS THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN HAS SURVIVED.//THIS IS ITS BIRTHDAY DINNER.// YOU ARE INVITED HERE/TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT/IT LIVES ANOTHER YEAR.//NEVER HAS THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN/BEEN NEEDED MORE./AND THERE/are/SIX/OF YOUR FELLOW CITIZENS PRESENT/WHO WILL RECITE THE REASONS/WHY THIS ORGAN IS NEEDED.//AND TELL YOU HOW YOU CAN HELP.

FIRST MAY I INTRODUCE/A MAN WHO MIGHT EASILY HAVE ESCAPED/THE CRITICISM POURED ON HIM/FOR HIS ADVOCACY/OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION/AND HIS DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS.// BUT HE HAS PREFERRED/TO TALK AND FIGHT/RATHER THAN SIT/IN PEACE

35-9-21

AND SPINELESS SILENCE.// CORLISS LAMONT. 5 min

THE UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA/IS ONE OF THE TOO FEW UNIONS/WHOSE AIM/IS BROAD SOCIAL UPLIFT/FOR THE WORKERS/AND NOT MERE INCOME FOR A FAVORED FEW.// THE PRESIDENT OF THAT UNION, ALBERT FITZGERALD. 5 min

IT IS TO THE DISTINCT ADVANTAGE/OF NEW YORK/THAT THE SPIRITUAL SMOG OF HOLLYWOOD/HAS LATELY BECOME SO LETHAL/THAT MANY ARTISTS/HAVE FOUND EVEN OUR WRETCHED ATMOSPHERE/BETTER THAN NOTHING.//NEXT MONTH A BOOK CALLED "THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR" WILL APPEAR/TO FURNISH SUCH AN EXAMPLE.// THE AUTHOR, RING LARDNER, JR. 7 min

THE SPEAKER SCHEDULED NEXT/IS NOT HERE.//HE NEVER WILL BE HERE AGAIN.// VITO MARCANTONIO/HAD PROMISED/TO TALK TO US TONIGHT.// BUT BY A CRUELTY OF FATE/WHICH NONE CAN EXPLAIN,/WE HAVE LOST THE INSPIRATION/OF THAT VIVID PERSONALITY./WHEN IT

35-9-22

WAS SO DESPERATELY NEEDED // BUT MARC'S MEMORY / HIS FINE MEMORY / REMAINS AND IS WITH US / HERE AND NOW. LET US ALL STAND FOR A MOMENT / IN SILENCE.

WHEN IN 1951 / THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT / THOUGHT THAT ITS SAFETY / LAY IN HAVING ME IN JAIL, / ABBOTT SIMON BROUGHT IN / TO DEFEND ME AND MY FRIENDS / A YOUNG WOMAN ATTORNEY, // WHO, I CONFESS, / DID NOT AT THE TIME / STRIKE ME / AS THE TYPE OF HARD-BOILED LAWYER / FOR WHICH THE SITUATION CALLED // HOW WRONG I WAS / IS PROVEN BY THE FACT / THAT I AM NOT TONIGHT SPEAKING FROM BEHIND BARS // IT WAS THIS ATTORNEY / WHO STOOD BESIDE EMANUEL BLOCH / TO DEFEND / TO THE BITTER END / THE ROSENBERGS // AND CEDRIC BELFRAGE IS FORTUNATE ALSO / TO HAVE THE SERVICES / OF GLORIA AGRIN.

[Talk - Candles - Kosher - Collection - 45 min]

MY WIFE, SHIRLEY GRAHAM, / ONCE SUGGESTED TO ME / FOR MY PRIVATE CONSIDERATION / AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION, / HER INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND / A PERSON / WHO PREFERRED OUR OFTEN STIFLING ATMOSPHERE / TO THE AIR OF ENGLAND / WHICH WHILE FAR FROM PERFECT / YET ~~STILL~~

35-9-23

CONTAINS BREATHE
~~CERTAIN~~ CERTAIN STRONG ~~THREADS~~ OF FREEDOM. / I ASSURED HER / THAT ONE ENGLISH CHARACTERISTIC / BEQUEATHED TO NEW ENGLAND / WAS A STRONG DISTASTE / TO HAVING DECISIONS / THRUST DOWN ONES ~~THEIR~~ THROAT / WITH FALSE PRETENSE // AND WHEN A MAN HAS LOYALLY SERVED / A NATION IN TIME OF NEED / HE HAS A RIGHT TO COMPLAIN / OF LACK OF HONOR / EVEN IN A LAND NOT HIS OWN // THIS IS WHAT / THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN AND HIS FRIENDS / ARE DOING. -- CEDRIC BELFRAGE.

Du Bois

35-9-1

December 7, 1954

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF VITO MARCANTONIO

A MAN'S PHILOSOPHY IS SHOWN BY HIS DEEDS. VITO MARCANTONIO SHOWED HIS PHILOSOPHY BY THE STAND WHICH HE TOOK ON SEVEN GREAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS: HE OPPOSED THE KOREAN WAR, STANDING ALONE IN CONGRESS. HE OPPOSED THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE OF CURBING COMMUNISM AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE OF DRIVING IT BACK. HE WAS IN FAVOR OF WORLD PEACE BY CO-EXISTENCE WITH ALL PEOPLES. HE WAS A GREAT CHAMPION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, OF THE RIGHT TO SPEAK, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ONE'S THOUGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO THINK. HE BELIEVED IN DRASTIC READJUSTMENT OF THE TAX BURDEN WHICH WE ARE BEARING. HE BELIEVED IN A DEMOCRACY WHICH INCLUDED NEGROES AND THE FOREIGN-BORN. AND HE BELIEVED THAT ANY ACCUSED PERSON OUGHT TO HAVE THE RIGHT OF LEGAL DEFENSE.

THESE ATTITUDES WHICH HE TOOK AND FOR WHICH HE STOOD AND FOUGHT HAVE BEEN AMPLY PROVEN TO BE RIGHT BY THE RESULTS WHICH WE SEE BEFORE US TODAY. THE KOREAN WAR WAS ABSOLUTELY UNNECESSARY AND FUTILE AND HAS LED TO NOTHING BY WAY OF RESULT

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WHICH CAN FOR A MOMENT EXCUSE IT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE LOST 30,000 DEAD AND HAD 100,000 WOUNDED, MAIMED, CRIPPLED AND DRIVEN INSANE FROM AMONG OUR FINEST YOUNG MEN. EUROPEAN NATIONS HAVE LOST 5,000 DEAD AND 10,000 WOUNDED. KOREA, NORTH AND SOUTH, HAS BEEN DEVASTATED AND ~~RUINED~~ Smashed TO A DEGREE THAT CAN SCARCELY BE IMAGINED, LOSING TWO MILLION DEAD AND A MILLION WOUNDED, AND FACTORIES, BRIDGES, FARMS AND HOMES IN FILTHY, DISEASE-BREEDING RUIN. AND WITH ALL THIS, NOTHING HAS BEEN SETTLED, NOTHING HAS BEEN HELPED, NO HUMAN PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND THE PRESTIGE OF OUR TROOPS, [redacted] RUNNING 400 Miles TO ESCAPE DEATH, HAS BEEN ~~RUINED~~ HURT ALMOST BEYOND REPAIR.

MARCANTONIO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WAS AN ATTITUDE OF COMMON SENSE. THERE IS NO USE OF OUR THINKING THAT WE AMERICANS HAVE THE POWER OR DUTY EITHER WITH MONEY OR MILITARY MIGHT TO MAKE THE WORLD THINK AS WE DO. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO CALL ALL COMMUNISTS MURDERERS AND PLOTTERS. WE HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE DOING MUCH THAT IS WRONG. JUST AS THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO BELIEVE

THAT WE ARE DOING WRONG.// BUT FOR A MAN LIKE TRUMAN/TO STAND UP AND DECLARE/THAT OUR NATIONAL POLICY/IS/~~TO~~ by force/ TO KEEP COMMUNISM FROM SPREADING/ IS LIKE THE KING CANUTE ORDERING BACK/THE TIDES OF THE WORLD OCEAN.// THE ONLY THING THAT WILL STOP COMMUNISM/ IS SOMETHING BETTER THAN COMMUNISM./ OR PROOF TO COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES/THAT COMMUNISM IS SO BAD/THAT THEY MUST REJECT IT// "WHO WOULD BE FREE THEMSELVES MUST STRIKE THE BLOW."//IT CANNOT BE POUNDED OUT/OF PEOPLE'S HEADS BY OTHERS,/AND WE HAVE NOT THE POWER TO APPLY/EVEN IF IT COULD BE DONE, OR ought to.

THE DOCTRINE/WHICH EISENHOWER FIRST ANNOUNCED/WAS EVEN MORE ~~IDIOTIC~~ unreasonable.// WE HAVE NO MIGHT/EVEN WITH SPIES AND ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMBS/THAT IS GOING TO ALLOW US/ TO INVADE GREAT COUNTRIES/LIKE RUSSIA, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA,/NOT TO MENTION CHINA/ AND TO COMPEL THESE PEOPLE/ TO OVERTHROW THEIR GOVERNMENTS// WE HAVE TRIED TO DO THIS/BY SPIES AND SABOTAGE,/ BY DISEASE GERMS AND TRAITORS// WE HAVE SPENT FOR THESE ENDS/MILLIONS OF THE MONEY/FURNISHED BY POOR AMERICAN CITIZENS/WHO CANNOT AFFORD IT.//AND WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED LESS THAN NOTHING.// AS IT IS/ DESPITE THE KOREAN

WAR,/ DESPITE THE TRUMAN AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINES,/ THERE ARE TWICE AS MANY COMMUNISTS/ IN THE WORLD TODAY/AS THERE WERE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

THEREFORE,/ SAID MARCANTONIO,/AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS STILL SAY IT,/ OUR ONLY PATH IS PEACE./ OUR ONLY PLATFORM/IS THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL,/THE GREATEST DOCUMENT OF OUR CENTURY,/WHICH 500 MILLION PERSONS SIGNED:

"WE DEMAND/THE ABSOLUTE BANNING/OF THE ATOMIC WEAPON//AN ARM OF TERROR/ AND OF MASS EXTERMINATION OF POPULATIONS// WE DEMAND THE ESTABLISHMENT/OF STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL/TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS BAN// WE CONSIDER THAT THE FIRST GOVERNMENT/ HENCEFORTH TO USE THE ATOMIC WEAPON/AGAINST ANY COUNTRY WHATSOEVER/ WILL BE COMMITTING/A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY/AND SHOULD BE TREATED/AS A WAR CRIMINAL. WE CALL/ ON ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL/THROUGHOUT THE WORLD/TO SIGN THIS APPEAL."

MARC SAID/ LET US SIT DOWN TOGETHER,/ PUTTING ASIDE WAR,/COSTLY ARMAMENT AND BOMBS,/ INTERFERING NOT AT ALL/WITH FOREIGN LANDS/AND THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS,/ AND EXPECTING NO INTERFERENCE FROM ~~THEIRS~~ THEM/ REMEMBERING/THAT NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION/NOR CHINA

EVER ATTACKED US/SAVE WHEN WE ATTACKED THEM.// AND THEN SEE/IF IN THE MIDST OF [redacted] PEACE WE CANNOT CARRY OUT/SUCH PLANS AND IDEAS/AS TO MAKE IT CLEAR/THAT THIS COUNTRY CAN SHOW THE WORLD/THE BEST WAY TO SOCIAL UPLIFT/AND DECENT LIFE.// OR, IF WE CANNOT DO THIS/AND IF DESPITE OUR EXAMPLE/AND OUR TEACHING/ COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HELP MANKIND/ MORE THAN WE CAN,/ THEN IT IS ONLY COMMON SENSE/FOR US TO RECOGNIZE/AND BOW TO THAT RESULT.

ANOTHER THING/THAT CALLED UP MARCANTONIO'S FIGHTING OPPOSITION/WAS THE UNJUST INCIDENCE OF TAXATION:// THE FACT THAT STENOGRAPHERS AND LABORERS/PAY TODAY A MUCH LARGER PROPORTION/OF THEIR INCOME IN TAXATION/THAN MILLIONAIRES AND BIG BUSINESS LEADERS.// EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS;/ EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT THE REASON/THAT WE HAVE LITTLE OR NO MONEY FOR SCHOOLS/ FOR CLEANING UP/ONE OF THE DIRTIEST CITIES/IN THE WORLD; SMALL FUNDS/FOR ADEQUATE AND WELL-TRAINED POLICE/ MERE PITTANCES TO RELIEVE SUFFERING/ AND LESS FOR HOSPITALS/AND SOCIAL MEDICINE,// ALL THESE THINGS AND A HUNDRED OTHERS/ LACK FUNDS/NOT BECAUSE WE LACK TREMENDOUS WEALTH/BUT BECAUSE THOSE WHO OWN/AND CONTROL IT/PAY LITTLE ~~OR NO~~ OF IT IN TAXATION.// IF OUR PRESENT TAX RATE/IS RAISED/IT WILL BE RAISED

~~FOR~~ from THOSE WHO CANNOT AFFORD IT/AND STILL KEPT LOW/FOR THOSE WHO/IF WISE/COULD AFFORD NOTHING ELSE.

THE GREAT AND FLAMBOYANT OFFICE BUILDINGS/WHICH ARE SOARING DAILY/IN THIS CITY/PAY NOTHING LIKE/THE RATE OF TAXATION/WHICH YOUR HOME PAYS.// A MAN ~~OR A COMPANY~~/ MAY PUT SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS/IN DESTROYING HOMES AND SMALL SHOPS/AND PUT UP TWENTY AND THIRTY-STORY OFFICE BUILDINGS/WITH TREMENDOUS RENTALS/AND CHROMIUN TRIMMINGS.// AND YET THEIR IMPROVEMENTS WILL NOT AFFECT HIS INCOME/NEARLY AS MUCH/AS A NEW WINDOWPANE/WILL AFFECT YOURS.// IF HE IS OR THINKS HE IS/OVER-TAXED,/ THE BEST LEGAL ABILITY/IN THE WORLD/IS AT HIS DISPOSAL// NOT ONLY AT THE BAR/BUT ON THE BENCH. IF YOU ARE OVER-TAXED,/ IT WILL TAKE MORE TIME/THAN YOU CAN AFFORD/TO FIND OUT WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT/AND AFTER THAT/ALL YOU WILL LEARN IS/THAT NOTHING CAN BE DONE/BY WAY OF LOWERING YOUR TAX BURDEN/IN ANY REASONABLE TIME.// IT WAS FOR THIS REASON/THAT MARCANTONIO CONTINUALLY ASKED/FOR HIGHER ASSESSMENTS ON OFFICE BUILDINGS/ AND MILLIONAIRES,/AND LOWER TAXES ON WORKERS AND THEIR HOMES.

IT IS A PROVEN FACT/THAT TODAY MOST PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES/DO NOT REALLY BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY./ THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE WILL/OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE/ CAN RULE THIS CITY/OR THIS COUNTRY.// IN THE LAST ELECTION/ONLY 40% OF THOSE WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE/TOOK THE TROUBLE TO GO TO THE POLLS.// IT SEEMED TO THEM A GOOD DEAL MORE IMPORTANT/TO WORK ON THEIR FARMS,/ TO STICK TO THEIR JOBS,/ TO WASH DISHES AND TAKE CARE OF THEIR CHILDREN/ THAN TO TRY TO STOP THE PRESIDENT/ FROM PLAYING GOLF LONG ENOUGH/TO MAKE MCCARTHY mind his manners.

SECRETARY WILSON'S DOGS/GAVE Mrs. REASON FOR THIS ATTITUDE// THE RESULTS OF THE LAST ELECTION/SHOW NOTHING BY WAY OF THOUGHT/ LOGIC OR SOCIAL UPLIFT.// TIME AFTER TIME/IN THE PAST WE HAVE TRIED/TO REFORM OUR GOVERNMENT.// WE HAVE TRIED TO GET/EVEN THE CHANCE/TO VOTE ON GREAT MATTERS/OF PUBLIC POLICY/LIKE PEACE AND WAR// AND WE HAVE BEEN SO OFTEN FRUSTRATED AND DOUBLED-CROSSED/IN SUCH CASES/THAT WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN DEMOCRACY.

BUT IF WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN DEMOCRACY/FOR AVERAGE NATIVE WHITE AMERICANS,/

WE HAVE NEVER FOUND FAITH FOR MANY OF OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS/NOT SO FORTUNATE.// THERE ARE STILL/MILLIONS OF NEGROES/WHO ARE AS MUCH DISFRANCHISED TODAY/ AS THEY WERE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT/DECLARED THEY HAD A RIGHT TO VOTE/ IN [redacted] PRIMARIES AND TO ATTEND MIXED SCHOOLS// THE NUMBER OF WOMEN/WHO NEVER VOTE IS ENORMOUS// THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN/WHO THINK IT WISE/TO KEEP OUT OF POLITICS/IS GROWING EVERY DAY. IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS/THAT MARCANTONIO DEFENDED DEMOCRACY./ HE TRIED TO BUILD UP/ IN HIS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT/A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVED THEY HAD PERSONAL INTEREST/IN ELECTIONS/AND IN THE KIND OF REPRESENTATIVE/WHOM THEY SENT TO CONGRESS; THAT THIS REPRESENTATIVE/SHOULD BE MORE INTERESTED/IN THE FOOD AND HOUSING OF THE PEOPLE AROUND HIM/THAN IN THE POLITICS OF IRAN OR TIMBUCTOO// THIS WAS PERHAPS MARCANTONIO'S/GREATEST AND MOST CONTINUOUS FIGHT/ AND IT WAS HERE/THAT HE WAS STOPPED BY THE DIRTY TRICK/OF POURING INTO HIS DISTRICT/A COUNTER-GROUP OF EXPLOITERS/AND IDLE RICH.

THE SEVENTH AND FINAL FIGHT OF VITO MARCANTONIO WAS TO DEFEND THE ACCUSED. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN THE WORLD AND PLACES WHERE MEN ACCUSED OF CRIME WERE PUNISHED WITHOUT TRIAL. BUT THERE CAME AN AGE WHEN THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIME OR LAWLESSNESS EVEN IF THEIR GUILT WAS ALMOST CERTAIN, BENEFITED BY A CODE OF LAW AND ACTION WHICH SAID THAT THERE WAS NO HUMAN BEING SO LOW AND SO GUILTY THAT HE SHOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO STAND UP IN COURT AND HAVE HIS CAUSE PLEADED FOR HIM. BECAUSE WE KNEW ONLY TOO WELL HOW OFTEN AMONG HUMAN BEINGS "TO UNDERSTAND ALL IS TO FORGIVE ALL," AND THEREFORE IT WAS ONCE THE BOAST OF AMERICA THAT THERE WAS NO LAWYER SO GREAT AND SO RICH THAT HE WAS NOT WILLING AT LEAST AT TIMES TO DEFEND THE LOWLIEST OF THE ACCUSED.

YET WHEN I WAS THE VICTIM OF A RIDICULOUS AND UTTERLY UNTRUE ACCUSATION IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO GET A SINGLE LEADING LAWYER IN THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE MY CASE. THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION REFUSED. WHEN I WROTE TO THE DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL FOR ADVICE I DID NOT EVEN GET AN ANSWER. IT WAS MARCANTONIO WHO FINALLY STOOD FORWARD AND TOOK ~~HIS~~ MY CASE, AND WON IT, NOT FOR MONEY BUT BECAUSE HE THOUGHT IT WAS THE DECENT THING TO DO.

BUT MINE WAS PERHAPS THE LEAST OF THE CASES WHERE THE INNOCENT HAVE BEEN MALIGNED AND IMPRISONED AND JUDICIALLY MURDERED. IT IS TODAY INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO GET LAWYERS TO DEFEND JUST CASES IF THEY ARE UNPOPULAR. IF A PERSON IS POOR AND FRIENDLESS HE WILL OFTEN BUT ADD TO THE INCREASING POPULATION OF OUR JAILS, UNTIL TODAY IT IS NOT LONGER PROOF OF CRIME OR OF MISDEMEANOR OR EVEN OF CARELESSNESS FOR A MAN TO BE IN JAIL FOR LIFE. I THINK THAT THE HIGHEST TRIBUTE WHICH THE FUTURE WORLD WILL RENDER MARCANTONIO WILL BE FOR HIS READINESS AND EVEN EAGERNESS TO DEFEND THE POOR, THE UNFORTUNATE AND EVEN THE GUILTY, BELIEVING THAT FOR A LAWYER SUCH WORK WAS HIS VERY HIGHEST DUTY.

HERE THEN ARE THE SEVEN GREAT CRUSADES WHICH THIS MAN MADE IN THE COURSE OF HIS SHORT LIFE: TO PREVENT THE NEEDLESS AND SENSELESS WAR IN KOREA; TO STOP TRYING TO CONQUER COMMUNISM BY FORCE; TO LIVE WITH RUSSIA AND CHINA AS DECENT SYMPATHETIC NEIGHBORS; TO PROTECT OUR RIGHT TO SPEAK AND THINK; TO BUILD UP A REAL DEMOCRACY FOR NEGROES AND FOREIGN-BORN AS WELL AS NATIVE WHITE AMERICANS; AND TO DEFEND THE ACCUSED.

35-9-11

HIS FIGHT FOR THESE THINGS BROUGHT VITO MARCANTONIO DISAPPOINTMENT A-PLENTY; BROUGHT FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR; OVERWORKED HIM TO A DEGREE THAT KILLED HIM A QUARTER OF A CENTURY BEFORE HIS TIME. AND YET IN ALL THIS THERE WAS ONE RESULT OF ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN AMERICA THERE WERE NONE WHO BELIEVED IN AMERICA MORE THAN MARCANTONIO. WHO STUDIED ITS HISTORY, KNEW ITS GREAT MEN, AND PRAISED ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS MORE THAN HE, AND HE NEVER FOR A MOMENT DOUBTED BUT THAT THE EFFORT TO REALIZE DEMOCRACY BEGUN BY FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON IN 1776 AND FORWARDED BY DOUGLASS AND LINCOLN IN 1863 AND PUT FURTHER FORWARD BY DEBS AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT EVEN IN OUR DAY OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND LOSS WOULD SOME DAY TRIUMPH HERE IN AMERICA DESPITE COWARDICE, IGNORANCE AND GRAFT.

THE LAST CHRISTMAS CARD WHICH MARCANTONIO AND HIS WIFE SENT OUT TO THEIR FRIENDS QUOTED THOMAS JEFFERSON: "I HAVE SWORN UPON THE ALTAR OF GOD ETERNAL HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM OF TYRANNY OVER THE MIND OF MAN."

Du Bois December 7, 1954

Marc Memorial Manhattan Center

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF VITO MARCANTONIO

A MAN'S PHILOSOPHY IS SHOWN BY HIS DEEDS. VITO MARCANTONIO SHOWED HIS PHILOSOPHY BY THE STAND WHICH HE TOOK ON SEVEN GREAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS: HE OPPOSED THE KOREAN WAR, STANDING ALONE IN CONGRESS. HE OPPOSED THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE OF CURBING COMMUNISM AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE OF DRIVING IT BACK. HE WAS IN FAVOR OF WORLD PEACE BY CO-EXISTENCE WITH ALL PEOPLES. HE WAS A GREAT CHAMPION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, OF THE RIGHT TO SPEAK, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ONE'S THOUGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO THINK. HE BELIEVED IN DRASTIC READJUSTMENT OF THE TAX BURDEN WHICH WE ARE BEARING. HE BELIEVED IN A DEMOCRACY WHICH INCLUDED NEGROES AND THE FOREIGN-BORN. AND HE BELIEVED THAT ANY ACCUSED PERSON OUGHT TO HAVE THE RIGHT OF LEGAL DEFENSE.

100-7-13

THESE ATTITUDES WHICH HE TOOK AND FOR WHICH HE STOOD AND FOUGHT HAVE BEEN AMPLY PROVEN TO BE RIGHT BY THE RESULTS WHICH WE SEE BEFORE US TODAY. THE KOREAN WAR WAS ABSOLUTELY UNNECESSARY AND FUTILE AND HAS LED TO NOTHING BY WAY OF RESULT

100-6-54

WHICH CAN FOR A MOMENT EXCUSE IT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE LOST 30,000 DEAD AND HAD 100,000 WOUNDED, MAIMED, CRIPPLED AND DRIVEN INSANE FROM AMONG OUR FINEST YOUNG MEN. EUROPEAN NATIONS HAVE LOST 5,000 DEAD AND 10,000 WOUNDED. KOREA, NORTH AND SOUTH, HAS BEEN DEVASTATED AND RUINED TO A DEGREE THAT CAN SCARCELY BE IMAGINED, LOSING TWO MILLION DEAD AND A MILLION WOUNDED, AND FACTORIES, BRIDGES, FARMS AND HOMES IN FILTHY, DISEASE-BREEDING RUIN. AND WITH ALL THIS, NOTHING HAS BEEN SETTLED, NOTHING HAS BEEN HELPED, NO HUMAN PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND THE PRESTIGE OF OUR TROOPS, [redacted] RUNNING 400 MILES, TO ESCAPE DEATH, HAS BEEN hurt ALMOST BEYOND REPAIR.

MARCANTONIO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WAS AN ATTITUDE OF COMMON SENSE. THERE IS NO USE OF OUR THINKING THAT WE AMERICANS HAVE THE POWER OR DUTY EITHER WITH MONEY OR MILITARY MIGHT, TO MAKE THE WORLD THINK AS WE DO. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO CALL ALL COMMUNISTS MURDERERS AND PLOTTERS. WE HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE DOING MUCH THAT IS WRONG, JUST AS THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO BELIEVE

THAT WE ARE DOING WRONG. BUT FOR A MAN LIKE TRUMAN TO STAND UP AND DECLARE THAT OUR NATIONAL POLICY IS, BY force, TO KEEP COMMUNISM FROM SPREADING, IS LIKE THE KING CANUTE ORDERING BACK THE TIDES OF THE WORLD OCEAN. THE ONLY THING THAT WILL STOP COMMUNISM IS SOMETHING BETTER THAN COMMUNISM, OR PROOF TO COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES THAT COMMUNISM IS SO BAD THAT THEY MUST REJECT IT. "WHO WOULD BE FREE THEMSELVES MUST STRIKE THE BLOW." IT CANNOT BE POUNDED OUT OF PEOPLE'S HEADS BY OTHERS, AND WE HAVE NOT THE POWER TO APPLY EVEN IF IT COULD BE DONE, or ought to. unreasonable.

35-9-14

THE DOCTRINE WHICH EISENHOWER FIRST ANNOUNCED WAS EVEN MORE [illegible]. WE HAVE NO MIGHT EVEN WITH SPIES AND ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMBS THAT IS GOING TO ALLOW US TO INVADE GREAT COUNTRIES LIKE RUSSIA, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NOT TO MENTION CHINA, AND TO COMPEL THESE PEOPLE TO OVERTHROW THEIR GOVERNMENTS. WE HAVE TRIED TO DO THIS BY SPIES AND SABOTAGE, BY DISEASE GERMS AND TRAITORS. WE HAVE SPENT FOR THESE ENDS MILLIONS OF THE MONEY FURNISHED BY POOR AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO CANNOT AFFORD IT, AND WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED LESS THAN NOTHING. AS IT IS, DESPITE THE KOREAN

WAR, DESPITE THE TRUMAN AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINES, THERE ARE TWICE AS MANY COMMUNISTS IN THE WORLD TODAY AS THERE WERE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

THEREFORE, SAID MARCANTONIO AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS STILL SAY IT, OUR ONLY PATH IS PEACE. OUR ONLY PLATFORM IS THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL, THE GREATEST DOCUMENT OF OUR CENTURY, WHICH 500 MILLION PERSONS SIGNED:

"WE DEMAND THE ABSOLUTE BANNING OF THE ATOMIC WEAPON, AN ARM OF TERROR AND OF MASS EXTERMINATION OF POPULATIONS. WE DEMAND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS BAN. WE CONSIDER THAT THE FIRST GOVERNMENT HENCEFORTH TO USE THE ATOMIC WEAPON AGAINST ANY COUNTRY WHATSOEVER WILL BE COMMITTING A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY AND SHOULD BE TREATED AS A WAR CRIMINAL. WE CALL ON ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO SIGN THIS APPEAL."

Marc said.

LET US SIT DOWN TOGETHER, PUTTING ASIDE WAR, COSTLY ARMAMENT AND BOMBS, INTERFERING NOT AT ALL WITH FOREIGN LANDS AND THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND EXPECTING NO INTERFERENCE FROM THEM; REMEMBERING THAT NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION NOR CHINA

EVER ATTACKED US SAVE WHEN WE ATTACKED THEM; AND THEN SEE IF IN THE MIDST OF [redacted] PEACE WE CANNOT CARRY OUT SUCH PLANS AND IDEAS AS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THIS COUNTRY CAN SHOW THE WORLD THE BEST WAY TO SOCIAL UPLIFT AND DECENT LIFE. OR, IF WE CANNOT DO THIS AND IF DESPITE OUR EXAMPLE AND OUR TEACHING, COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HELP MANKIND MORE THAN WE CAN, THEN IT IS ONLY COMMON SENSE FOR US TO RECOGNIZE AND BOW TO THAT RESULT.

ANOTHER THING THAT CALLED UP MARCANTONIO'S FIGHTING OPPOSITION WAS THE UNJUST INCIDENCE OF TAXATION; THE FACT THAT STENOGRAPHERS AND LABORERS PAY TODAY A MUCH LARGER PROPORTION OF THEIR INCOME IN TAXATION THAN MILLIONAIRES AND BIG BUSINESS LEADERS. EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS; EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT THE REASON THAT WE HAVE LITTLE OR NO MONEY FOR SCHOOLS, FOR CLEANING UP ONE OF THE DIRTIEST CITIES IN THE WORLD; SMALL FUNDS FOR ADEQUATE AND WELL-TRAINED POLICE, MERE PITTANCES TO RELIEVE SUFFERING AND LESS FOR HOSPITALS AND SOCIAL MEDICINE, -- ALL THESE THINGS AND A HUNDRED OTHERS LACK FUNDS NOT BECAUSE WE LACK TREMENDOUS WEALTH BUT BECAUSE THOSE WHO OWN AND CONTROL IT PAY LITTLE [redacted] TAXATION. IF OUR PRESENT TAX RATE IS RAISED IT WILL BE RAISED

from THOSE WHO CANNOT AFFORD IT AND STILL KEPT LOW FOR THOSE WHO IF WISE COULD AFFORD NOTHING ELSE.

THE GREAT AND FLAMBOYANT OFFICE BUILDINGS WHICH ARE SOARING DAILY IN THIS CITY PAY NOTHING LIKE THE RATE OF TAXATION WHICH YOUR HOME PAYS. A MAN [redacted] MAY PUT SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS IN DESTROYING HOMES AND SMALL SHOPS AND PUT UP TWENTY AND THIRTY-STORY OFFICE BUILDINGS WITH TREMENDOUS RENTALS AND CHROMIUM TRIMMINGS, AND YET THESE IMPROVEMENTS WILL NOT AFFECT HIS INCOME NEARLY AS MUCH AS A NEW WINDOWPANE WILL AFFECT YOURS [redacted] IF HE IS OR THINKS HE IS OVER-TAXED, THE BEST LEGAL ABILITY IN THE WORLD IS AT HIS DISPOSAL, NOT ONLY AT THE BAR BUT ON THE BENCH. IF YOU ARE OVER-TAXED [redacted] IT WILL TAKE MORE TIME THAN YOU CAN AFFORD TO FIND OUT WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT AND AFTER THAT ALL YOU WILL LEARN IS THAT NOTHING CAN BE DONE BY WAY OF LOWERING YOUR TAX BURDEN IN ANY REASONABLE TIME. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT MARCANTONIO CONTINUALLY ASKED FOR HIGHER ASSESSMENTS ON OFFICE BUILDINGS AND MILLIONAIRES, AND LOWER TAXES ON WORKERS AND THEIR HOMES.

IT IS A PROVEN FACT THAT TODAY MOST PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES DO NOT REALLY BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE WILL OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE CAN RULE THIS CITY OR THIS COUNTRY. IN THE LAST ELECTION ONLY 40% OF THOSE WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE TOOK THE TROUBLE TO GO TO THE POLLS. IT SEEMED TO THEM A GOOD DEAL MORE IMPORTANT TO WORK ON THEIR FARMS, TO STICK TO THEIR JOBS, TO WASH DISHES AND TAKE CARE OF THEIR CHILDREN, THAN TO TRY TO STOP THE PRESIDENT FROM PLAYING GOLF LONG ENOUGH TO MAKE MCCARTHY MIND HIS MANNERS. ——— SECRETARY WILSON'S DOGS GAVE MORE REASON FOR THIS ATTITUDE. THE RESULTS OF THE LAST ELECTION SHOW NOTHING BY WAY OF THOUGHT, LOGIC OR SOCIAL UPLIFT. TIME AFTER TIME IN THE PAST WE HAVE TRIED TO REFORM OUR GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE TRIED TO GET EVEN THE CHANCE TO VOTE ON GREAT MATTERS OF PUBLIC POLICY LIKE PEACE AND WAR, AND WE HAVE BEEN SO often FRUSTRATED AND DOUBLED-CROSSED IN SUCH CASES THAT WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN DEMOCRACY.

BUT IF WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN DEMOCRACY FOR AVERAGE NATIVE WHITE AMERICANS,

WE HAVE NEVER FOUND FAITH FOR MANY OF OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS NOT SO FORTUNATE. THERE ARE STILL MILLIONS OF NEGROES WHO ARE AS MUCH DISFRANCHISED TODAY AS THEY WERE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT DECLARED THEY HAD A RIGHT TO VOTE IN PRIMARIES AND to ATTEND MIXED SCHOOLS. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO NEVER VOTE IS ENORMOUS. THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN WHO THINK IT WISE TO KEEP OUT OF POLITICS IS GROWING EVERY DAY. IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS THAT MARCANTONIO DEFENDED DEMOCRACY. HE TRIED TO BUILD UP IN HIS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVED THEY HAD PERSONAL INTEREST IN ELECTIONS AND IN THE KIND OF REPRESENTATIVE WHOM THEY SENT TO CONGRESS; THAT THIS REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD BE MORE INTERESTED IN THE FOOD AND HOUSING OF THE PEOPLE AROUND HIM THAN IN THE oil OF IRAN OR (the politics) TIMBUCTOO. THIS WAS PERHAPS MARCANTONIO'S GREATEST AND MOST CONTINUOUS FIGHT, AND IT WAS HERE THAT HE WAS STOPPED BY THE DIRTY TRICK OF POURING INTO HIS DISTRICT A COUNTER-GROUP OF EXPLOITERS AND IDLE RICH.

THE SEVENTH AND FINAL FIGHT OF VITO MARCANTONIO WAS TO DEFEND THE ACCUSED. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN THE WORLD AND PLACES WHERE MEN ACCUSED OF CRIME WERE PUNISHED WITHOUT TRIAL; BUT THERE CAME AN AGE WHEN THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIME OR LAWLESSNESS EVEN IF THEIR GUILT WAS ALMOST CERTAIN, BENEFITED BY A CODE OF LAW AND ACTION WHICH SAID THAT THERE WAS NO HUMAN BEING SO LOW AND SO GUILTY THAT HE SHOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO STAND UP IN COURT AND HAVE HIS CAUSE PLEADED FOR HIM; BECAUSE WE KNEW ONLY TOO WELL HOW OFTEN AMONG HUMAN BEINGS "TO UNDERSTAND ALL IS TO FORGIVE ALL," AND THEREFORE IT WAS (ONCE) THE BOAST OF AMERICA THAT THERE WAS NO LAWYER SO GREAT AND SO RICH THAT HE WAS NOT WILLING AT LEAST AT TIMES TO DEFEND THE LOWLIEST OF THE ACCUSED.

55-9-47

YET WHEN I WAS THE VICTIM OF A RIDICULOUS AND UTTERLY UNTRUE ACCUSATION IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO GET A SINGLE LEADING LAWYER IN THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE MY CASE. THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION REFUSED. WHEN I WROTE TO THE DEAN OF THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL FOR ADVICE I DID NOT EVEN GET AN ANSWER. IT WAS MARCANTONIO WHO FINALLY STOOD FORWARD AND TOOK MY CASE, (and won it) NOT FOR MONEY BUT BECAUSE HE THOUGHT IT WAS THE DECENT THING TO DO.

55-9-47

BUT MINE WAS PERHAPS THE LEAST OF THE CASES WHERE THE INNOCENT HAVE BEEN MALIGNED AND IMPRISONED AND JUDICIALLY MURDERED. IT IS TODAY INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO GET LAWYERS TO DEFEND JUST CASES IF THEY ARE UNPOPULAR. IF A PERSON IS POOR AND FRIENDLESS HE WILL OFTEN BUT ADD TO THE INCREASING POPULATION OF OUR JAILS, UNTIL TODAY IT IS NOT LONGER PROOF OF CRIME OR OF MISDEMEANOR OR EVEN OF CARELESSNESS FOR A MAN TO BE IN JAIL FOR LIFE. I THINK THAT THE HIGHEST TRIBUTE WHICH THE FUTURE WORLD WILL RENDER MARCANTONIO WILL BE FOR HIS READINESS AND EVEN EAGERNESS TO DEFEND THE POOR, THE UNFORTUNATE AND EVEN THE GUILTY; BELIEVING THAT FOR A LAWYER SUCH WORK WAS HIS VERY HIGHEST DUTY.

HERE THEN ARE THE SEVEN GREAT CRUSADES (into) WHICH (the philosophy of) THIS MAN LED IN THE COURSE OF HIS SHORT LIFE; TO PREVENT THE NEEDLESS AND SENSELESS WAR IN KOREA; TO STOP TRYING TO CONQUER COMMUNISM BY FORCE; TO LIVE WITH RUSSIA AND CHINA AS DECENT SYMPATHETIC NEIGHBORS; TO PROTECT OUR RIGHT TO SPEAK AND THINK; TO BUILD UP A REAL DEMOCRACY FOR NEGROES AND FOREIGN-BORN AS WELL AS NATIVE WHITE AMERICANS; AND TO DEFEND THE ACCUSED.

HIS FIGHT FOR THESE THINGS BROUGHT VITO MARCANTONIO DISAPPOINTMENT A-PLENTY; BROUGHT FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR; OVERWORKED HIM TO A DEGREE THAT KILLED HIM A QUARTER OF A CENTURY BEFORE HIS TIME; AND YET IN ALL THIS THERE WAS ONE RESULT: OF ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN AMERICA THERE WERE NONE WHO BELIEVED IN AMERICA MORE THAN MARCANTONIO; WHO STUDIED ITS HISTORY, KNEW ITS GREAT MEN, AND PRAISED ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS MORE THAN HE; AND HE NEVER FOR A MOMENT DOUBTED BUT THAT THE EFFORT TO REALIZE DEMOCRACY BEGUN BY FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON IN 1776 AND FORWARDED BY DOUGLASS AND LINCOLN IN 1863, AND PUT FORWARD FURTHER BY DEBS, AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT EVEN IN OUR DAY OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND LOSS, WOULD SOME DAY TRIUMPH HERE IN AMERICA DESPITE COWARDICE, IGNORANCE AND GRAFT.

35-9-12

THE LAST CHRISTMAS CARD WHICH MARCANTONIO AND HIS WIFE SENT OUT TO THEIR FRIENDS QUOTED THOMAS JEFFERSON: "I HAVE SWORN UPON THE ALTAR OF GOD, ETERNAL HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM OF TYRANNY OVER THE MIND OF MAN."

NEITHER THE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN PARTY AS SUCH ARE GIVING TO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES THE SUPPORT WHICH IT NEEDS. THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN CITY AND STATE GOVERNMENT ARE VOTING REPEATEDLY AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE CHILDREN OF THIS NATION IN THEIR FURNISHING OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES FOR EDUCATION, IN THEIR PAYMENT FOR A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF TEACHERS, IN THEIR SELECTION OF PEOPLE WHO ARE GOING TO FORWARD THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. THIS INVOLVES CAREFUL TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE, ACQUAINTANCESHIP WITH PAST EXPERIMENT, AND SO FORTH. ONLY BY THE MOST CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF THE ACTIONS OF YOUR INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTATIVES CAN YOU POSSIBLY RESTORE THE UNITED STATES TO THAT PLACE IN EDUCATION WHICH IS GOING TO PREVENT US FROM BECOMING A STUPID AND CRIME-RIDDEN NATION.

NOTHING ILLUSTRATES BETTER OUR REFUSAL TO TAKE SERIOUSLY OUR SOCIAL DUTIES THAN OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIAL MEDICINE. A GROUP OF HIGHLY EDUCATED AND WELL-TRAINED PHYSICIANS HAVE UNITED TO OPPOSE SOCIAL MEDICINE IN THE UNITED STATES. OR, IN OTHER WORDS, TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT AND COSTLY FOR PEOPLE TO GET WELL AND KEEP WELL THAN IT OUGHT TO BE. IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE THEY HAVE DELIBERATELY DECEIVED THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO THE RESULTS OF SOCIAL MEDICINE IN THE BRITISH ISLES. THEY HAVE SPREAD THROUGH ADVERTISEMENTS ALL SORTS OF ARGUMENTS AGAINST INCREASE OF HOSPITALS, FREE MEDICAL SERVICES, PREVENTATIVE MEDICINE AND COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO PAY THE EXPENSE OF MEDICAL ATTENTION. THIS IS AN ATTACK UPON THE DECENCY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THOSE PEOPLE OUGHT INTELLIGENTLY AND CAREFULLY TO VOTE FOR BETTER AND WIDER AND CHEAPER MEDICAL SERVICE.

I NEED HARDLY GO FURTHER INTO THE WHOLE MATTER OF FLOOD CONTROL AND OF THE PRODUCTION OF POWER TO BE USED FOR ALL; INTO THE QUESTION OF PARKS AND RECREATION; INTO THE PREVENTION OF INCENTIVES TO CRIME AND DELINQUENCY WHICH OUR COMIC BOOKS ENCOURAGE. ALL THESE THINGS CALL FIRST FOR INTELLIGENCE AND STUDY AND NEXT FOR CAREFUL VOTING IN ELECTIONS AND FOR REFUSAL TO BE STAMPEDED INTO VOTING FOR A PARTY BECAUSE OF ITS NAME OR OF ITS PAST. AND THE CORRESPONDING WILLINGNESS TO VOTE FOR A THIRD PARTY AT ANY TIME AND IN ANY PLACE WHEN THE TWO OLD PARTIES ARE NOT DOING WHAT THEY PROMISED TO DO.

I SINCERELY TRUST THAT IN THE COMING ELECTIONS THE POLITICIANS OF CALIFORNIA WILL AT LEAST BE IMPRESSED WITH THE VAST GROUNDSWELL TOWARD A REFORM IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT TO BE TURNED AWAY FROM THEIR DUTY BY FEAR; BY MISREPRESENTATION OF AGRESSION FROM ABROAD; OR BY THE ENDLESS EFFORTS OF OUR PERVERTED PRESS TO MAKE US DO WHAT IS NOT FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THIS NATION.

35-8-1609

45-8-61

Feb 1955 Lapidus Civic Club
B Phelps 48-11-63

Du Bois

GIFT OF BLACK FOLK

A NATION CONSISTS OF ITS PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND OF THEIR PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS. THE PEOPLES' THOUGHTS, FEELINGS AND ACTIONS CONSTITUTE THE NATION'S CULTURE. THIS TOTAL OF CULTURE IS MADE UP OF CONTRIBUTIONS, SOME OF IT BY INDIVIDUAL ACTION, SOME BY THE ACTION OF GROUPS, SOME BY PHYSICAL NATURE. THE UNITED STATES ESPECIALLY IS COMPOSED OF AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF DIFFERING GROUPS, EACH WITH DIFFERING BACKGROUNDS, DIFFERING HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES, DIFFERING LANGUAGES, WITH ALL THAT LANGUAGE CONTRIBUTES TO THOUGHT, AND PARTICULARLY DIFFERENCES WHICH arise FROM CLOSE AND INTIMATE CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER. WE ARE ASKING TONIGHT WHAT CONTRIBUTIONS AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE MADE TO THE CULTURE OF THIS LAND.

FIRST, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BE PRECISE AS TO WHO AMERICAN NEGROES ARE. THEY ARE NOT OF THE SAME PHYSICAL DESCENT, NOR DO THEY SHARE THE SAME ANCIENT PAST. THEY DO SHARE

48-11-64

TODAY LARGELY THE SAME GROUP LIFE, HAVE ON THE WHOLE THE SAME EXPERIENCES AND THE SAME REACTIONS TO THEM. THE 15 MILLION PERSONS CLASSED AS NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY ARE DESCENDANTS OF THE AFRICAN SLAVES TRANSPORTED FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. THEY ARE ALSO DESCENDANTS OF ENGLISH, DUTCH AND FRENCH SETTLERS AND OF INDIAN ABORIGINES. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR DIFFERENCES OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS. BUT MORE POTENT THAN PHYSICAL DESCENT ARE SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.

THE NEGRO GIFTS TO AMERICA MAY BE CLASSED PRIMARILY AS PHYSICAL LABOR, THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND CREATIVE ART. ALL THESE GIFTS WERE CONTRIBUTED NOW BY INDIVIDUALS, BUT MORE EFFECTIVELY BY GROUP ACTION.

CONSIDER THE MATTER OF LABOR. WE DO NOT USUALLY CLASS THIS AS A GIFT, BUT RATHER AS AN EVIL. OUR CIVILIZATION DESPISES LABOR, PAYS IT THE LOWEST WAGES AND ERECTS

NO MONUMENTS TO ITS MEMORY. // YET OF COURSE CIVILIZATION RESTS ABSOLUTELY ON PHYSICAL WORK AS ITS FOUNDATION. // THIS IS TRUE IN ALL LANDS AND AT ALL TIMES, BUT IT WAS PECULIARLY TRUE OF AMERICA // HERE IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE 15th CENTURY WAS DISCOVERED A LAND // WHICH NEEDED FOR ITS IMMEDIATE USE TO EUROPE A LARGE AND STRONG LABOR FORCE. // SUCH FORCE COULD NOT BE HAD FROM EUROPE FOR EUROPE NEEDED ITS OWN LABORERS. // THE AMERICAN INDIANS WERE FEW IN NUMBER AND DID NOT WANT TO WORK FOR EUROPEANS. THEIR TRIBAL ORGANIZATION ENABLED THEM TO RESIST COMPULSION.

NEGRO WORKERS COULD BE HAD BECAUSE THREE OPPOSING STREAMS WERE MEETING IN AFRICA: // THE STATE BUILDERS ON THE NORTH MOVING EAST; THE ARTISTS AND TRADERS ON THE COAST REPELLING INVASION FROM THE NORTH AND FROM THE EAST; AND THE HERDSMEN AND WARRIORS MOVING SOUTH TO ESCAPE THESE TWO OPPOSING FORCES. // AND OFF THE COAST THE EUROPEAN MERCHANTS WOULD BUY THE SLAVES CAPTURED IN THE WARS BETWEEN THESE OPPOSING FORCES. THE AMERICAN DEMAND FOR SLAVES MADE ~~THESE~~ SLAVES THE OBJECT INSTEAD OF THE INCIDENT OF WARS

4) AND THUS UNABLE TO ~~[illegible]~~ // FIFTEEN MILLION ~~OF THEM~~ NEGROES WERE LANDED IN AMERICA 48-11-66 AFTER LEAVING TEN OR MORE MILLION DEAD AT SEA AND PERHAPS ANOTHER 25 MILLION DEAD IN SELF-DEFENSE ON AFRICAN SOIL. // WEST AFRICAN CULTURE WAS PARTIALLY RUINED BY THIS, BUT AMERICAN CULTURE RECEIVED A GIFT OF LABOR WHICH WAS INDISPENSABLE FOR ITS QUICK DEVELOPMENT.

CONFINING OURSELVES TO THE UNITED STATES, BLACK FOLK MADE UP HALF OF THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE AT THE BIRTH OF THE NATION AND FROM A THIRD TO A FOURTH UNTIL EMANCIPATION. // IN ~~THE WEST INDIES AND~~ THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES THEY FORM ED FROM 2/3 TO THE TOTAL GROUP OF LABORERS.

THIS LABOR FELLED THE FORESTS AND CLEARED THE LAND // AND FURNISHED THE WORLD COTTON, SUGAR, TOBACCO, IN ADDITION TO RICE, INDIGO AND A DOZEN OTHER NEEDED MATERIALS // THESE CROPS TRANSFORMED THE WORLD AND ITS ECONOMY // BEFORE AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT EUROPE HAD NO CHEAP SWEETENING. HONEY BELONGED TO THE LANDOWNER, AND SUGAR WAS SOLD IN VIALS BY APOTHECARIES. // THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES // WORE RAGS AND PATCHES BECAUSE WOOL AND LINEN WERE SCARCE AND DEAR // COTTON WAS THE WORLD'S FIRST CHEAP CLOTHING. ENGLAND USED

13,000 BALES IN 1781 AND FOUR MILLION BALES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR. 20,000 POUNDS OF TOBACCO WERE RAISED IN THIS NATION IN 1619 AND 800,000,000 POUNDS IN 1900.

THIS MEANT THAT A VAST AND INCREASING NUMBER OF BLACK WORKERS, FLANKED AS TIME WENT ON BY YELLOW MEN AND WHITE, WORKED TO CLOTHE AND FEED AND MAKE COMFORTABLE THE MASS OF MAN. THIS TOIL HAD TO BE FOR THE MOST PART SYSTEMATIC AND DONE BY MORE OR LESS TRAINED LABOR. IT WAS NOT ALL THE LOWEST TYPE OF WORK. ON THE SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS, TOO, ALL THE SKILLED LABOR WAS FOR A LONG TIME DONE BY NEGROES: THE ORDERING OF LABOR GANGS; THE REPAIR OF THE TOOLS: THE BUILDING OF HOMES AND HUTS. BEFORE THIS MUCH OF THE LABOR OF DISCOVERY OF AMERICA WAS DONE BY NEGROES. THE PILOT ON ONE OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS WAS ALONZO, THE NEGRO. THE MAN WHO LED THE GROUP WHICH DISCOVERED THE SOUTHWESTERN REGION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS THE NEGRO, ESTEVANICO; NUFLO DE OLANA, A NEGRO WAS WITH BALBOA WHEN HE

African tribal Confederation were independent

DISCOVERED THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND AFTERWARD THIRTY NEGROES HELPED BALBOA DIRECT THE WORK OF ~~OVER~~ 500 INDIANS IN TRANSPORTING THE MATERIAL FOR HIS SHIPS ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS TO THE SEA.

CORTES CARRIED NEGROES AND INDIANS WITH HIM FROM CUBA TO MEXICO AND ONE OF THESE NEGROES WAS THE FIRST TO SOW AND REAP GRAIN IN MEXICO. THERE WERE TWO NEGROES WITH VELAS IN 1520 AND 200 BLACK SLAVES WITH ALVARADO ON HIS DESPERATE EXPEDITION TO QUITO. ALMAGRO AND VALDIVIA IN 1525 WERE SAVED FROM DEATH BY NEGROES.

AS EARLY AS 1528 THERE WERE ABOUT 10,000 NEGROES IN THE NEW WORLD. WE HEAR OF ONE ~~SENT AS AN AGENT OF THE SPANISH TO BURN A NATIVE VILLAGE IN~~ HONDURAS. IN 1539 THEY ACCOMPANIED DE SOTO AND ONE OF THEM STAYED AMONG THE INDIANS IN ALABAMA AND BECAME THE FIRST SETTLER FROM THE OLD WORLD. ~~IN 1555 IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE A FREE NEGRO OWNS LAND IN THE TOWN~~ MENDENDEZ

HAD A COMPANY OF TRAINED NEGRO ARTISANS AND AGRICULTURALISTS WHEN HE FOUNDED ST. AUGUSTINE IN 1565 AND IN 1570 NEGROES FOUNDED THE TOWN OF SANTIAGO DEL PRINCIPE.

USUALLY THIS STORY OF NEGRO TOIL IS DISCOUNTED IN MEN'S MINDS BECAUSE THEY ASSUME THAT COMPULSORY LABOR IS OF NO CREDIT AND THAT NEGRO SLAVES MADE NO EFFORT TO RESIST SLAVERY AND TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM. THIS ASSUMPTION IS THE RESULT OF THE LONG EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA IN THIS NATION DURING THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY FROM 1820 TO 1863. THE SLAVE HOLDERS INSISTED THAT THE SLAVES WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR SLAVERY. AS A MATTER OF FACT, NEGRO SLAVES IN AMERICA REVOLTED FROM THE DAYS OF COLUMBUS UNTIL THEY MARCHED AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY WHICH CAPTURED RICHMOND, THE CAPITAL OF THE CONFEDERACY. SOMETIMES THEIR EFFORTS WERE FUTILE; SOMETIMES THEY CHANGED THE COURSE OF HISTORY. For instance:

(8)

48-11-70

IN 1741 AN INSURRECTION OF SLAVES WAS PLANNED IN NEW YORK CITY, FOR WHICH THIRTEEN SLAVES WERE BURNED, EIGHTEEN HANGED AND EIGHTY TRANSPORTED. IN 1754 AND 1755 SLAVES BURNED AND POISONED CERTAIN MASTERS IN CHARLESTON, S.C.

ON THE NIGHT OF AUBUST 23, 1791 THE GREAT HAITIAN REBELLION TOOK PLACE. IT HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY A SMALL REBELLION OF THE FREE MULATTOES WHO WERE BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE REFUSAL OF THE PLANTERS TO ASSENT TO WHAT THE FREE NEGROES THOUGHT WERE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. WHEN 450,000 SLAVES JOINED THEM, THEY BEGAN A MURDEROUS CIVIL WAR SELDOM PARALLELED IN HISTORY. FRENCH, ENGLISH AND SPANIARDS WERE ~~PARTICIPATED~~ BEATEN. TOUSSAINT, THE FIRST GREAT BLACK LEADER, WAS DECEIVED, IMPRISONED AND DIED PERHAPS BY POISONING. 25,000 FRENCH SOLDIERS WERE SENT OVER BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO SUBDUE THE NEGROES AND BEGIN THE EXTENSION OF HIS AMERICAN EMPIRE THROUGH THE WEST INDIES AND UP THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

9) UNDER CHRISTOPHE & DESSALINES 48-11-71

DESPITE ALL THIS, THE NEGROES, WERE TRIUMPHANT / ESTABLISHED AN INDEPENDENT STATE, / MADE NAPOLEON GIVE UP HIS DREAM / OF AMERICAN EMPIRE / AND SELL LOUISIANA FOR A SONG.

THUS, / ALL OF INDIAN TERRITORY, / ALL OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA / AND IOWA AND WYOMING / AND MONTANA AND THE DAKOTAS, / AND MOST OF COLORADO AND MINNESOTA, / AND ALL OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON STATES / CAME TO US AS THE INDIRECT WORK OF ~~A DESPISED~~ HAITIAN NEGROES. ~~PRAISE IF YOU WILL, THE WORK OF ROBERT LIVINGSTON OR A JEFFERSON, BUT TODAY~~ LET US NOT FORGET OUR DEBT TO TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE WHO WAS INDIRECTLY THE MEANS OF AMERICA'S EXPANSION BY THE ~~LOUISIANA PURCHASE OF 1803.~~

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION / IMMEDIATELY HAD ITS EFFECT / UPON BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. // ~~WE HAVE READ HOW~~ HAITIAN VOLUNTEERS / HELPED IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, / and ~~THEY~~ RETURNED TO FIGHT / FOR THEIR OWN FREEDOM.

48-11-72 10

AFTERWARD WHEN BOLIVAR, / THE FOUNDER OF FIVE FREE REPUBLICS / IN SOUTH AMERICA, UNDERTOOK HIS GREAT REBELLION IN / 1811 / HE AT FIRST FAILED. // HE TOOK REFUGE IN / JAMAICA / AND IMPLORED THE HELP OF ENGLAND / BUT WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. // LATER IN DESPAIR / HE VISITED HAITI. / THE BLACK REPUBLIC WAS ITSELF / AT THAT TIME / IN A PRECARIOUS POSITION / AND HAD TO ACT WITH GREAT CAUTION. // NEVERTHELESS PRESIDENT PETION / FURNISHED BOLIVAR, / SOLDIERS, / ARMS AND MONEY. // BOLIVAR EMBARKED SECRETLY / AND AGAIN SOUGHT TO FREE SOUTH AMERICA. // AGAIN / HE FAILED AND A SECOND TIME / RETURNED TO HAITI // MONEY AND REINFORCEMENTS / WERE A SECOND TIME FURNISHED HIM // AND WITH THE HELP OF THESE, HE ACHIEVED / THE LIBERATION OF MEXICO / AND CENTRAL AMERICA / & eventually of all South America

THUS BLACK HAITI / NOT ONLY FREED ITSELF / BUT HELPED TO KINDLE LIBERTY ALL THROUGH AMERICA. // REFUGEES FROM HAITI / AND SAN DOMINGO / POURED INTO THE UNITED STATES / BOTH COLORED AND WHITE // AND HAD GREAT INFLUENCE / ~~IN MARYLAND AND LOUISIANA. // MOREOVER THE NEWS / OF THE BLACK REVOLT / FILTERED THROUGH / TO THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES.~~ // ~~HERE THE CHAINS OF SLAVERY~~ IT LED TO THE First laws / clothing the importation of Slaves.

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IN THE UNITED STATES/THE EFFORTS OF THE SLAVES/TO FREE THEMSELVES/STAND IN THE SAME ~~CATEGORY~~ CLASS/AS THE LABOR UNIONS AMONG WHITES.//THE NEGROES' EFFORTS FALL INTO TWO CATEGORIES://FIRST,/A SERIES OF REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO THE CIVIL WAR,/AND SECONDLY AND MORE IMPORTANT,/THE ORGANIZED RUNNING AWAY OF SLAVES/FROM THE SOUTH TO THE MOUNTAINS, SWAMPS,/THE NORTHERN STATES AND CANADA.

IT WAS BECAUSE/SUCH A STREAM OF FUGITIVES/THUS GOT AWAY FROM SLAVERY/THAT THE REVOLTS WERE NOT ~~EVEN~~ MORE FREQUENT/THAN THEY WERE;/BUT THERE WAS A SERIES OF SLAVE REVOLTS,/YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE LAWS OF ALL STATES/WHICH WERE FIERCE AND FREQUENT.//YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE NEWSPAPERS,/ALTHOUGH THE SLAVE STATES NATURALLY TRIED TO MINIMIZE/THE NUMBER AND EFFECT OF THE REVOLTS.//BUT THERE IS A RECORD OF AT LEAST 25 REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO 1850.//SOME OF THEM MERIT SPECIAL ATTENTION:

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AGITATION AMONG NEGROES, AND AGITATION AMONG WHITE FRIENDS IN EUROPE, WAS RAPIDLY FREEING THE NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES AND BEGINNING THEIR INCORPORATION INTO THE BODY POLITIC -- A PROCESS NOT YET FINISHED BUT WHICH MEANS POSSIBLY THE EVENTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE BLACK AND MULATTO REPUBLIC IN THE ISLES OF THE CARIBBEAN.

IT MAY BE SAID/THAT IN MOST OF THESE CASES/THE ATTEMPTS OF THE NEGRO TO REBEL/WERE ABORTIVE,/AND THIS IS TRUE.//YET IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT IN A FEW CASES/THEY HAD HORRIBLE SUCCESS;/IN OTHERS NOTHING BUT ACCIDENT/OR THE ACTIONS OF FAVORITE SLAVES/SAVED SIMILAR CATASTROPHE,//AND MORE AND MORE THE WHITE SOUTH/HAD THE FEELING THAT IT WAS SITTING UPON A VOLCANO AND THAT NOTHING/BUT THE STERNEST SORT OF REPRESSION/WOULD KEEP THE NEGRO "IN HIS PLACE."// THE APPEAL OF THE NEGRO TO FORCE/INVITED REACTION AND RETALIATION/NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH/~~AS WE HAVE NOTED~~/BUT ALSO IN THE NORTH. HERE THE ~~COMMON~~ WHITE WORKINGMAN/AND PARTICULARLY THE NEW ENGLISH/SCOTCH

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AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS ENTIRELY MISCONCEIVED THE WRITHING OF THE BLACK MAN. THESE WHITE LABORERS, THEMSELVES SO NEAR SLAVERY, DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK SLAVE AS PART OF THEIR OWN STRUGGLE; RATHER THEY FELT THE STING OF ECONOMIC RIVALRY AND UNDERBIDDING FOR HOME AND JOB. THEY EASILY ABSORBED HATRED AND CONTEMPT FOR NEGROES AS THEIR FIRST AMERICAN LESSON AND WERE FLATTERED BY THE WHITE CAPITALISTS, SLAVE OWNERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WITH SLAVERY INTO LYNCHING AND CLUBBING THEIR DARK FELLOW-VICTIMS BACK INTO THE PIT WHENCE THEY SOUGHT TO CRAWL. IT WAS A SCENE FOR ANGEL'S TEARS.

MOBS OF WHITE WORKERS AGAINST NEGROES OCCURRED IN CINCINNATI IN 1826, 1836, 1841. IN OTHER PARTS OF OHIO THERE WERE SIMILAR MOBS. IN PHILADELPHIA NEGROES WERE ATTACKED IN 1820, 1830, 1834 AND AGAIN IN 1838 AND 1842. PITTSBURGH HAD A RIOT IN 1839, AND NEW YORK RIOTS IN 1843 AND 1863.

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THERE WAS ANOTHER ANTI-NEGRO RIOT AND IN 1842, WHEN THE BLACKS ATTEMPTED TO CELEBRATE ~~ABOLITION IN THE WEST INDIES.~~ PITTSBURG HAD A RIOT IN 1839 AND NEW YORK in 1843 AND 1863.

THIS MATTER OF FUGITIVE SLAVES BECAME SO SERIOUS THAT IT WAS A MAIN DEMAND OF THE SOUTHERNERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AND THEY FORCED THROUGH NATIONAL LEGISLATION THAT VIRTUALLY LEGALIZED KIDNAPPING WITHOUT TRIAL AMONG NORTHERN FREE NEGROES.

THE ENSUING CIVIL WAR WAS BEGUN ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ALL PROMINENT NORTHERNERS NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO LIMIT IT TO THE SOUTH WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD PROTECT IT WITH ALL ITS POWERS. IT WAS THE NEGRO WHO FORCED THE NATION TO CHANGE THIS DECISION AND MAKE THE CIVIL WAR A WAR FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. THIS WAS DONE FIRST BY IMPLEMENTING THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. THE FIRST ABOLITIONISTS WERE WHITE FOLK WORKING FOR NEGROES. BUT THEY WERE

HANDICAPPED BY THE ARGUMENT THAT NEGROES DID NOT WANT TO BE FREE AND COULD NOT LIVE AS FREE CIVILIZED PEOPLE. THEN FREE NEGROES JOINED THE MOVEMENT TO SAY THAT THEY WANTED FREEDOM AND COULD USE IT. WHEN A MAN LIKE FREDERICK DOUGLASS FACED AN AUDIENCE, THERE COULD REMAIN NO DOUBT BUT THAT HE WAS A MAN, AS MILTON WROTE:

"THE NOBLEST SLAVE THAT EVER GOD SET FREE."

NEGROES BECAME THE MAIN FORCE IN THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. DURING THE WAR NEGROES INSISTED ON FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND IN THE SOUTH DESERTED THE PLANTATIONS BY THE THOUSANDS. THIS EVENTUALLY FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER BECAUSE BLACK SLAVES CEASED INCREASINGLY TO RAISE FOOD FOR THE SOUTHERN ARMIES AND 200,000 OF THEM ENTERED THE NORTHERN ARMIES WHILE TWO MILLION MORE STOOD READY TO FIGHT.

AFTER THE WAR, FROM 1864 UNTIL TODAY THE AMERICAN NEGRO GROUP IS THE ONE BODY WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS

NATION. THEY STRUGGLED WITH VOICE AND PEN; IN THE COURTS AND ON THE PLATFORM. AND IF WOMEN, THE FOREIGN-BORN AND THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE TODAY, THEY OWE IT IN LARGE PART TO THE CEASELESS STRUGGLE OF BLACK FOLK.

WITH FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE HELPED AMERICAN INDUSTRY. THEIR LABOR WAS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN THE 18th CENTURY; BUT IN THE 19th THEIR INVENTIONS IN SUGAR MAKING, MAKING OF SHOES, OILING OF MACHINERY AND PERFECTION OF TELEPHONES HAVE BECOME A PART OF OUR ECONOMY; NOT TO SPEAK OF THEIR LABOR IN SEMI-SKILLED WORK AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROFESSIONS.

BUT TO MOST PEOPLE THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO IS IN THE FIELD OF CREATIVE ART - THE FOLKSONG, THE DANCE, AND NEGRO LITERATURE. ~~OF THE FOLKSONG I HAVE SAID:~~

~~XLXTXLXZXTXZXAXZYXZXAXZXXXRXZXZ~~

"LITTLE OF BEAUTY HAS AMERICA GIVEN THE WORLD SAVE THE RUDE GRANDEUR GOD HIMSELF STAMPED ON HER BOSOM; THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN THIS NEW WORLD HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF IN VIGOR AND INGENUITY RATHER THAN IN BEAUTY. AND SO BY FATEFUL CHANCE THE NEGRO FOLK-SONG -- THE RHYTHMIC CRY OF THE SLAVE -- STANDS TODAY NOT SIMPLY AS THE SOLE AMERICAN MUSIC, BUT AS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL EXPRESSION OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE BORN THIS SIDE THE SEAS. IT HAS BEEN NEGLECTED, IT HAS BEEN, AND IS, HALF DESPISED, AND ABOVE ALL IT HAS BEEN PERSISTENTLY MISTAKEN AND MISUNDERSTOOD; BUT NOTWITHSTANDING, IT STILL REMAINS AS THE SINGULAR SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF THE NATION AND THE GREATEST GIFT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE."

THE OLDER MUSIC HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IN JAZZ AND RAGTIME AND BY MASTERS LIKE BURLEIGH, ROSAMOND JOHNSON AND DETT, AND THE BLUES THERE HAVE BEEN GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL NEGRO VOICES, AND ON THE STAGE MEN LIKE ALDRIDGE AND GILPIN. THE DANCE OF NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA EXHIBITS

THE EFFECT WHICH THE NEGRO HERE AND IN AFRICA HAD ON THIS FORM OF HUMAN EXPRESSION.

FURTHER, THERE IS PROSE AND POETRY. AND NOT SIMPLY THE LITERATURE WRITTEN BY NEGROES BUT THAT INSPIRED BY THEM. TAKE THE NEGRO THEME OUT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE AND IT WOULD BE POOR INDEED. FROM THE SLAVE SHIP TO THE PLANTATION; FROM POLITICAL ARGUMENT TO SOCIAL RELATIONS; FROM CURRENT POLITICS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE BLACK MAN COMES NEARER THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE SUBJECT TO BEING THE CENTRAL THREAD OF OUR EXPRESSION.

TO THIS COMES THE WRITING OF NEGROES THEMSELVES; THE POETRY OF PHILLIS WHEATLY IN THE EARLY 18th CENTURY; THE ALMANACS OF BANNEKER, THE LITERARY GROUP OF NEW ORLEANS; DAVID WALKER'S APPEAL; DOUGLASS' AUTOBIOGRAPHY; BRAITHWAITE'S ANTHOLOGIES; THE POETRY OF JOHNSON, CULLEN AND HUGHES, AND THE NOVELS OF CHESNUTT. (Negro show)

HERE IS A SKETCH OF THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH THE NEGRO SLAVE AND HIS DESCENDANTS HELPED TO MAKE THIS AMERICA OF OURS.

LOOKING BACK ON WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO TO PREVENT CHANGE IN RELIGION, EDUCATION, POLITICAL POWER AND PROPERTY, WE REALIZE THAT ALMOST ALWAYS WE HAVE BEGUN BY REFUSING TO LET PERSONS HAVE THEIR OWN OPINIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS OR DISCUSS THEM OR TO ADOPT CHANGE BY LEGAL PROCESS. WE HAVE CONTINUALLY RESORTED TO FORCE TO MAINTAIN THE EXISTING SITUATION. WAR AGAINST IDEAS WHICH WERE REALLY GREAT AND GOOD HAS USUALLY FAILED WHEN MEN LEARNED THE FACTS. War against bad ideas proved unnecessary ~~AND THEN THE NECESSARY CHANGE WAS SLOWLY ADOPTED~~.

WE MUST THEREFORE CONCLUDE THAT OUR FIRST DUTY WHEN WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH PROPOSED CHANGE WHICH WILL GREATLY ALTER PRESENT ~~CONDITIONS~~ Ownership of Property IS TO BE SURE OF THE FACTS BEFORE WE ACT OR VOTE OR COME TO FINAL CONCLUSION. WE MUST DO THIS EVEN IF IT IS CLEAR THAT PROPOSED CHANGE WILL DECREASE OUR PERSONAL COMFORT AND PUT ADDITIONAL BURDENS ON US. WE DO NOT STAND ALONE IN THIS WORLD. WE ARE BUT ONE OF A MULTITUDE, AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE MASS OF MEN IS THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF HUMAN ACTION.

ON THE OTHER HAND, CHANGE IS NOT NECESSARILY BENEFICIAL JUST BECAUSE IT IS CHANGE; AND PERFECT COMFORT AND OPPORTUNITY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR EVERYBODY IN ANY

FORSEEABLE DAY. WITH ALL THESE QUALIFICATIONS, OUR FIRST DUTY IS NOT TO KILL BUT TO KNOW, NOT TO STOP PEOPLE FROM THINKING AND EXPRESSING THEMSELVES BUT TO ENCOURAGE THOUGHT, TALKING AND WRITING. THE ONLY ALLOWABLE LIMITATION IS TO HAVE SUCH INFORMATION AND EDUCATION AS WILL LET OPINION BE BASED ON FACTS AND NOT ON IGNORANCE, HATE AND SPIRITUAL LAZINESS.

OUR DANGER TODAY IS THAT WE ARE SEEKING TO FACE COMMUNISM NOT WITH CAREFUL STUDY OR EXHAUSTIVE REVELATION OF FACTS, BUT WITH DOGMATIC ASSERTIONS THAT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE COMMUNISM ARE SCOUNDRELS CONSPIRING TO HARM MANKIND, AND THEN WE PROCEED TO STOP THOUGHT, FRIGHTEN THINKERS, THREATEN HONEST SCIENTISTS WITH STARVATION, AND TO PUT PERSONS WHO PUBLICLY ADVOCATE COMMUNISM IN JAIL OR KILL THEM. TO PREVENT THIS INSANITY AND CRIME, WE DO NOT NEED TO AGREE WITH COMMUNISM, BUT WE DO NEED TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR FAITH.

NO MATTER IF WE DESTROYED THE SOVIET UNION AND MURDERED 600,000,000 CHINESE IN THEIR BEDS, THE SAME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT INCOME AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, WORK

AND WAGE, WOULD REMAIN.// IN THIS WORLD/THERE MUST BE NEW THOUGHTS;/ THERE MUST BE CHANGES/IN THE CONDUCT OF LIFE AND WORK/AND GOVERNMENT.// WHEN CHANGE IS PROPOSED IT SHOULD BE LISTENED TO./ IT SHOULD BE EXAMINED.// PERSONS WHO SHARE IN RULING THE STATE/SHOULD HAVE ENOUGH EDUCATION/TO EXAMINE NEW IDEAS,/ TO KNOW WHAT IDEAS TO REJECT AS TRIVIAL OR WRONG/ AND WHAT ARE WORTH CONSIDERATION.// THEY SHOUID BE HONEST ENOUGH/TO HEAR BOTH SIDES/AND TO INSIST ON THE TRUTH/HAVING A CHANCE FOR EXPRESSION IN NEWSPAPER,/ PERIODICAL AND ON THE PLATFORM,/ IN BOOKS AND IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

IF COMMUNISM IS WRONG IN THEORY OR PRACTICE,/ EDUCATED AND HONEST PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW IT/AND KNOW THE REASONS FOR THEIR DECISIONS.//TO REJECT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WAS WRONG,/ DESPITE THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT IT HAD// TO OPPOSE SLAVERY WAS RIGHT, DESPITE THE CIVIL WAR.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT,/ TODAY A MAJORITY OF MANKIND/ BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM.

THIS CANNOT BE LAUGHED OFF/NOR SHOT TO DEATH.// WE HAVE NO RIGHT/TO ASSUME THAT MOST MEN ARE WICKLOT STUPID/AND WE ALONE INTELLIGENT AND RIGHTEOUS./ IF MANKIND IS DECEIVED AND ENSLAVED IN BODY AND MIND$/OUR DUTY IS TO PROVE THAT/BY TRUTH AND REASON/AND NOT BY ATOMS BOMBS.

EVERY SCHOOL SHOULD STUDY COMMUNISM/AND DO IT FAIRLY./ IT IS AN INDEFENSIBLE TRICK/TO LET A DOCTRINE BE EXPLAINED/BY THOSE WHO DISBELIEVE IT/AND HATE IT/AND ARE PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN ITS FAILURE.// IT IS DANGEROUS/TO DEPEND ON THE TESTIMONY/OF CONFESSED AND PAID LIARS.

FACED THEN AS YOU ARE/BY THIS PROBLEM,/ YOU SHOULD ATTEMPT/TO KNOW THE FACTS,// FRANKLY REALIZING THE DIFFICULTY/OF KNOWING THE TRUTH.//IN MOST CASES WE ACCEPT WITHOUT QUESTION/THE CONCLUSIONS OF OTHERS/IN WHOM WE HAVE FAITH/AND DO NOT TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH FOR OURSELVES.// THIS IS NATURAL,/AND CONSIDERING THE MASS OF KNOWLEDGE,/ EXCUSABLE IN ~~most~~ many CASES.// BUT WHEN A PROBLEM FRONTS THE WORLD,/ LIKE THAT OF WORK AND WAGE,/ PROPERTY AND INCOME,/ COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE,/THEN UNLESS EACH

RESPONSIBLE VOTER AND CITIZEN/ASCERTAINS TRUTH FOR HIMSELF,/THE STATE AND CIVILIZATION ARE DOOMED.

THEREFORE/WHAT I CAME HERE TODAY TO SAY/IS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE YOUR OWN HONEST OPINIONS/AND FOLLOW THEM.// AS TO WHAT THOSE OPINIONS ARE/I AM NOT NOW INTERESTED. I SIMPLY SAY WHEN A NEW IDEA/STRIKES YOU FLAT IN THE FACE,/DON'T THROW A FIT/AND START YELLING/THAT ALL MEN ARE LIARS.// IT IS TRUE THAT AN IDEA/MAY BE BOTH NEW AND BAD. ALSO IT IS TRUE TODAY/THAT AN AMAZING NUMBER OF LIARS/ARE LOOSE.// BUT A GENTLEMAN AND A SCHOLAR (AND THE BREED IS NOT YET QUITE EXTINCT) IS NOT SATISFIED WITH SNAP JUDGMENTS/BUT TAKES TIME TO EXAMINE FACTS/AND INSISTS ON HIS RIGHT TO EXAMINE THEM.// HE IS CAREFUL TO HEAR/BOTH SIDES OF A DISPUTE,/DECIDES DELIBERATELY/AND THEN STANDS BY HIS GUNS.// HE IS NOT CONVINCED/THAT THE WORLD IS GOING TO THE DEVIL/UNLESS HE SOLVES TODAY/PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONTRIVING/FOR CENTURIES./ HE TAKES HIS STAND/WITH A MAN/WHOM THE WORLD [illegible] HATED,/EXILED AND HURT.// IN SAYING A WORD/WHICH IS OFTEN QUOTED AND MISQUOTED,/AND ATTRIBUTED TO OTHERS.// FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET/DE VOLTAIRE/SAID/IN 1764,

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE YEARS AGO,/IN A LETTER/TO MADAME DU DEFFAND:

"I DISAPPROVE OF WHAT YOU SAY,/ BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH/YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT!"

Feb 11 1955 Bklyn Comm Chest (Lafayette)

Du Bois

GIFT OF BLACK FOLK

A NATION CONSISTS OF ITS PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND OF THEIR PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS. THE PEOPLES' THOUGHTS, FEELINGS AND ACTIONS CONSTITUTE THE NATION'S CULTURE. THIS TOTAL OF CULTURE IS MADE UP OF CONTRIBUTIONS; SOME OF IT BY INDIVIDUAL ACTION: SOME BY THE ACTION OF GROUPS, SOME BY PHYSICAL NATURE. THE UNITED STATES ESPECIALLY IS COMPOSED OF AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF DIFFERING GROUPS, EACH WITH DIFFERING BACKGROUNDS, DIFFERING HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES, DIFFERING LANGUAGES, WITH ALL THAT LANGUAGE CONTRIBUTES TO THOUGHT AND PARTICULARLY DIFFERENCES WHICH ARISE FROM CLOSE AND INTIMATE CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER. WE ARE ASKING TONIGHT WHAT CONTRIBUTIONS AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE MADE TO THE CULTURE OF THIS LAND.

FIRST, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BE PRECISE AS TO WHO AMERICAN NEGROES ARE: THEY ARE NOT OF THE SAME PHYSICAL DESCENT NOR DO THEY SHARE THE SAME ancient PAST. THEY DO SHARE

LARGELY today THE SAME GROUP LIFE, HAVE ON THE WHOLE THE SAME EXPERIENCES AND THE SAME REACTIONS TO THEM. THE 15 MILLION PERSONS CLASSED AS NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY ARE DESCENDANTS OF THE AFRICAN SLAVES TRANSPORTED FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. THEY ARE ALSO DESCENDANTS OF ENGLISH, DUTCH AND FRENCH SETTLERS AND OF INDIAN ABORIGINES. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR DIFFERENCES OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS. BUT MORE POTENT THAN PHYSICAL DESCENT ARE SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.

THE NEGRO GIFTS TO AMERICA MAY BE CLASSED PRIMARILY AS PHYSICAL LABOR, THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY: AND THE CREATIVE ART. ALL THESE GIFTS WERE CONTRIBUTED NOW BY INDIVIDUALS, BUT MORE EFFECTIVELY BY GROUP ACTION.

CONSIDER THE MATTER OF LABOR. WE DO NOT USUALLY CLASS THIS AS A GIFT, BUT RATHER AS AN EVIL. OUR CIVILIZATION DESPISES LABOR, PAYS IT THE LOWEST WAGES AND ERECTS

NO MONUMENTS TO ITS MEMORY. YET OF COURSE CIVILIZATION RESTS ABSOLUTELY ON PHYSICAL WORK AS ITS FOUNDATION. THIS IS TRUE IN ALL LANDS AND AT ALL TIMES, BUT IT WAS PECULIARLY TRUE OF AMERICA. HERE IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE 15th CENTURY WAS DISCOVERED A LAND WHICH NEEDED FOR ITS IMMEDIATE USE TO EUROPE A LARGE AND STRONG LABOR FORCE. SUCH FORCE COULD NOT BE HAD FROM EUROPE FOR EUROPE NEEDED ITS OWN LABORERS. THE AMERICAN INDIANS WERE FEW IN NUMBER AND DID NOT WANT TO WORK FOR EUROPEANS. THEIR TRIBAL ORGANIZATION ENABLED THEM TO RESIST COMPULSION.

NEGRO WORKERS COULD BE HAD BECAUSE THREE OPPOSING STREAMS WERE MEETING IN AFRICA: THE STATE BUILDERS ON THE NORTH MOVING EAST; THE ARTISTS AND TRADERS ON THE COAST REPELLING INVASION FROM THE NORTH AND FROM THE EAST; AND THE HERDSMEN AND WARRIORS MOVING SOUTH TO ESCAPE THESE TWO OPPOSING FORCES. AND OFF THE COAST THE EUROPEAN MERCHANTS WOULD BUY THE SLAVES CAPTURED IN THE WARS BETWEEN THESE OPPOSING FORCES.

The American demand for slaves made slaves the object instead of the incident of wars.

15 Million Negroes were sold in America after leaving 10 or more million dead at sea + perhaps another 25 million killed in self defense on Africa soil. West African culture was PARTIALLY RUINED BY THIS, BUT AMERICAN CULTURE RECEIVED A GIFT OF LABOR WHICH WAS INDISPENSABLE FOR ITS QUICK DEVELOPMENT.

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CONFINING OURSELVES TO THE UNITED STATES, BLACK FOLK MADE UP HALF OF THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE AT THE BIRTH OF THE NATION AND FROM A THIRD TO A FOURTH UNTIL EMANCIPATION. IN [redacted] THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES THEY FORM FROM 2/3 TO THE TOTAL GROUP OF LABORERS.

28-11-7

THIS LABOR FELLED THE FORESTS AND CLEARED THE LAND AND FURNISHED THE WORLD COTTON, SUGAR, TOBACCO, IN ADDITION TO RICE, INDIGO AND A DOZEN OTHER NEEDED MATERIALS. THESE CROPS TRANSFORMED THE WORLD AND ITS ECONOMY. BEFORE AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT EUROPE HAD NO CHEAP SWEETENING. HONEY BELONGED TO THE LANDOWNER, AND SUGAR WAS SOLD IN VIALS BY APOTHECARIES. THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES WORE RAGS AND PATCHES BECAUSE WOOL AND LINEN WERE SCARCE AND DEAR. COTTON WAS THE WORLD'S FIRST CHEAP CLOTHING. ENGLAND USED

13,000 BALES IN 1781 AND FOUR MILLION BALES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR. 20,000 POUNDS OF TOBACCO WERE RAISED IN THIS NATION IN 1619 AND 800,000,000 POUNDS IN 1900.

THIS MEANT THAT A VAST AND INCREASING NUMBER OF BLACK WORKERS, FLANKED AS TIME WENT ON BY YELLOW MEN AND WHITE, WORKED TO CLOTHE AND FEED AND MAKE COMFORTABLE THE MASS OF MAN. THIS TOIL HAD TO BE FOR THE MOST PART SYSTEMATIC AND DONE BY MORE OR LESS TRAINED LABOR. IT WAS NOT ALL THE LOWEST TYPE OF WORK. ON THE SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS, too, ALL THE SKILLED LABOR WAS FOR A LONG TIME DONE BY NEGROES: THE ORDERING OF LABOR GANGS; THE REPAIR OF THE TOOLS: THE BUILDING OF HOMES AND HUTS. BEFORE THIS MUCH OF THE LABOR OF DISCOVERY OF AMERICA WAS DONE BY NEGROES. THE PILOT ON ONE OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS WAS ALONZO, THE NEGRO. THE MAN WHO LED THE GROUP WHICH DISCOVERED THE SOUTHWESTERN REGION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS THE NEGRO, ESTEVANICO; NUÑEO DE OLANA, A NEGRO, WAS WITH BALBOA WHEN HE

DISCOVERED THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND AFTERWARD THIRTY NEGROES HELPED BALBOA DIRECT THE WORK OF ~~OVER~~ 500 INDIANS IN TRANSPORTING THE MATERIAL FOR HIS SHIPS ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS TO THE SEA.

CORTES CARRIED NEGROES AND INDIANS WITH HIM FROM CUBA TO MEXICO AND ONE OF THESE NEGROES WAS THE FIRST TO SOW AND REAP GRAIN IN MEXICO. THERE WERE TWO NEGROES WITH VELAS IN 1520 AND 200 BLACK SLAVES WITH ALVARADO ON HIS DESPERATE EXPEDITION TO QUITO. ALMAGRO AND VALDIVIA IN 1525 WERE SAVED FROM DEATH BY NEGROES.

AS EARLY AS 1528 THERE WERE ABOUT 10,000 NEGROES IN THE NEW WORLD. WE HEAR OF ONE SENT AS AN AGENT OF THE SPANISH TO BURN A NATIVE VILLAGE IN HONDURAS. IN 1539 THEY ACCOMPANIED DE SOTO AND ONE OF THEM STAYED AMONG THE INDIANS IN ALABAMA AND BECAME THE FIRST SETTLER FROM THE OLD WORLD. IN 1555 IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE A FREE NEGRO OWNS LAND IN THE TOWN. MENENDEZ

HAD A COMPANY OF TRAINED NEGRO ARTISANS AND AGRICULTURALISTS WHEN HE FOUNDED ST. AUGUSTINE IN 1565 AND IN 1570 NEGROES FOUNDED THE TOWN OF SANTIAGO DEL PRINCIPE.

USUALLY THIS STORY OF NEGRO TOIL IS DISCOUNTED IN MEN'S MINDS BECAUSE THEY ASSUME THAT COMPULSORY LABOR IS OF NO CREDIT AND THAT NEGRO SLAVES MADE NO EFFORT TO RESIST SLAVERY AND TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM. THIS ASSUMPTION IS THE RESULT OF THE LONG EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA IN THIS NATION DURING THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY FROM 1820 TO 1863. THE SLAVE HOLDERS INSISTED THAT THE SLAVES WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR SLAVERY. AS A MATTER OF FACT, NEGRO SLAVES IN AMERICA REVOLTED FROM THE DAYS OF COLUMBUS UNTIL THEY MARCHED AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY WHICH CAPTURED RICHMOND, THE CAPITAL OF THE CONFEDERACY. SOMETIMES THEIR EFFORTS WERE FUTILE; SOMETIMES THEY CHANGED THE COURSE OF HISTORY. For instance:

Hav page returned

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Cont'd on pg 11

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omit -8- omit

TWENTY NEGROES FROM DIEGO COLUMBUS' MILL FLED AND KILLED SEVERAL SPANIARDS. THEY JOINED WITH OTHER REBELLIOUS NEGROES ON NEIGHBORING PLANTATIONS. IN 1523 MANY NEGRO SLAVES "FLED TO THE ZAPOTECA AND WALKED REBELLIOUSLY THROUGH THE COUNTRY." IN 1527 THERE WAS AN UPRISING OF INDIANS AND NEGROES IN FLORIDA. IN 1532 THE WOLOFS AND OTHER REBELLIOUS NEGROES CAUSED INSURRECTION AMONG THE CARIB INDIANS. THESE WOLOFS WERE DECLARED TO BE "HAUGHTY, DISOBEDIENT, REBELLIOUS AND INCORRIGIBLE." IN 1548 THERE WAS A REBELLION IN HONDURAS AND THE VICEROY MENDOZA IN MEXICO WRITES OF AN UPRISING AMONG THE SLAVES AND INDIANS IN 1537. ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CASES OF RESISTANCE WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEFENSE OF PALMARES IN BRAZIL WHERE 40 DETERMINED NEGROES IN 1560 ESTABLISHED A CITY STATE WHICH LIVED FOR NEARLY A HALF CENTURY GROWING TO A POPULATION OF 20,000 AND ONLY OVERTHROWN WHEN 7,000 SOLDIERS WITH ARTILLERY WERE SENT AGAINST IT. THE CHIEFS

COMMITTED SUICIDE RATHER THAN SURRENDER.

EARLY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND FROM THAT TIME DOWN UNTIL THE 19th CENTURY THE BLACK REBELS WHOM THE SPANISH CALLED "CIMARRONES" AND WHOM WE KNOW AS "MAROONS" WERE INFESTING THE MOUNTAINS AND FORESTS OF THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA. GAGE SAYS BETWEEN 1520 AND 1530: "WHAT THE SPANIARDS FEAR MOST UNTIL THEY GET OUT OF THESE MOUNTAINS ARE TWO OR THREE HUNDRED NEGROES, CIMARRONES, WHO FOR THE BAD TREATMENT THEY RECEIVED HAVE FLED FROM MASTERS IN ORDER TO RESORT TO THESE WOODS; THERE THEY LIVE WITH THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN AND INCREASE IN NUMBERS EVERY YEAR, SO THAT THE ENTIRE FORCE OF GUATEMALA (CITY) AND ITS ENVIRONMENTS IS NOT CAPABLE TO SUBDUE THEM." GAGE HIMSELF WAS CAPTURED BY A MULATTO CORSAIR WHO WAS SWEEPING THE SEAS IN HIS OWN SHIP.

35-11-10

IN THE UNITED STATES INSURRECTION AND ATTEMPTS AT INSURRECTION AMONG THE SLAVES EXTENDED FROM COLONIAL TIMES DOWN TO THE CIVIL WAR. FOR THE MOST PART THEY WERE UNSUCCESSFUL. IN MANY CASES THE CONSPIRACIES WERE INSIGNIFICANT IN THEMSELVES BUT EXAGGERATED BY FEAR OF THE OWNERS. AND YET A RECORD OF THE ATTEMPTS AT REVOLT LARGE AND SMALL IS STRIKING.

IN VIRGINIA THERE WAS A CONSPIRACY IN 1710 IN SURREY COUNTY. IN 1712 THE CITY OF NEW YORK WAS THREATENED WITH BURNING BY SLAVES. IN 1720 WHITES WERE ATTACKED IN THE HOMES AND ON THE STREETS IN CHARLESTON, S.C. IN 1730 BOTH IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA, SLAVES WERE ARMED TO KILL THE WHITE PEOPLE AND THEY PLANNED TO BURN THE CITY OF BOSTON IN 1723. IN 1730 THERE WAS AN INSURRECTION IN WILLIAMSBURG, VA., AND FIVE COUNTIES FURNISHED ARMED MEN. IN 1730 AND 1731 HOMES WERE BURNED BY SLAVES IN MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND AND IN 1731 and 1732 THREE SHIPS CREWS WERE MURDERED BY SLAVES. IN 1729 THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA REPORTED THAT IN AN EXPEDITION SENT AGAINST THE INDIANS, 15 NEGROES HAD "PERFORMED PRODIGIES OF VALOR." BUT THE VERY NEXT YEAR THE INDIANS, LED BY A DESPERATE NEGRO NAMED SAMBA WERE TRYING TO EXTERMINATE THE WHITES.

IN 1741 AN INSURRECTION OF SLAVES WAS PLANNED IN NEW YORK CITY, FOR WHICH THIRTEEN SLAVES WERE BURNED, EIGHTEEN HANGED AND EIGHTY TRANSPORTED. IN 1754 AND 1755 SLAVES BURNED AND POISONED CERTAIN MASTERS IN CHARLESTON, S.C.

ON THE NIGHT OF AUBUST 23, 1791, THE GREAT HAITIAN REBELLION TOOK PLACE. IT HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY A SMALL REBELLION OF THE free MULATTOES WHO WERE BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE REFUSAL OF THE PLANTERS TO ASSENT TO WHAT THE FREE NEGROES THOUGHT WERE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. WHEN 450,000 SLAVES JOINED THEM, THEY BEGAN A MURDEROUS CIVIL WAR SELDOM PARALLELED IN HISTORY. FRENCH, ENGLISH AND SPANIARDS were beaten. TOUSSAINT, THE FIRST GREAT BLACK LEADER, WAS DECEIVED, IMPRISONED AND DIED PERHAPS BY POISONING. 25,000 FRENCH SOLDIERS WERE SENT OVER BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO SUBDUE THE NEGROES AND BEGIN THE EXTENSION OF HIS AMERICAN EMPIRE THROUGH THE WEST INDIES AND UP THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

38-11-11

DESPITE ALL THIS, (under Christophe & Dessalines) THE NEGROES WERE TRIUMPHANT, ESTABLISHED AN INDEPENDENT STATE, MADE NAPOLEON GIVE UP HIS DREAM OF AMERICAN EMPIRE AND SELL LOUISIANA FOR A SONG.

THUS, ALL OF INDIAN TERRITORY, ALL OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA AND IOWA AND WYOMING AND MONTANA AND THE DAKOTAS, AND MOST OF COLORADO AND MINNESOTA, AND ALL OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON STATES, CAME TO US AS THE INDIRECT WORK OF A Haitian NEGRO. PRAISE IF YOU WILL, THE WORK OF ROBERT LIVINGSTON OR A JEFFERSON, BUT TODAY LET US NOT FORGET OUR DEBT TO TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE WHO WAS INDIRECTLY THE MEANS OF AMERICA'S EXPANSION BY THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE OF 1803.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION IMMEDIATELY HAD ITS EFFECT UPON BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. HAITIAN VOLUNTEERS HELPED IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, and RETURNED TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN FREEDOM.

AFTERWARD WHEN BOLIVAR, THE FOUNDER OF FIVE FREE REPUBLICS IN SOUTH AMERICA, UNDERTOOK HIS GREAT REBELLION IN 1811 HE AT FIRST FAILED. HE TOOK REFUGE IN JAMAICA AND IMPLORED THE HELP OF ENGLAND BUT WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. LATER IN DESPAIR HE VISITED HAITI. THE BLACK REPUBLIC WAS ITSELF AT THAT TIME IN A PRECARIOUS POSITION AND HAD TO ACT WITH GREAT CAUTION. NEVERTHELESS PRESIDENT PETION FURNISHED BOLIVAR, SOLDIERS, ARMS AND MONEY. BOLIVAR EMBARKED SECRETLY AND AGAIN SOUGHT TO FREE SOUTH AMERICA. AGAIN HE FAILED AND A SECOND TIME RETURNED TO HAITI. MONEY AND REINFORCEMENTS WERE A SECOND TIME FURNISHED HIM AND WITH THE HELP OF THESE he ACHIEVED THE LIBERATION OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA, & eventually of all South America.

THUS BLACK HAITI NOT ONLY FREED ITSELF BUT HELPED TO KINDLE LIBERTY ALL THROUGH AMERICA. REFUGEES FROM HAITI AND SAN DOMINGO POURED INTO THE UNITED STATES BOTH COLORED AND WHITE AND HAD GREAT INFLUENCE. ~~IN MARYLAND AND LOUISIANA. MOREOVER THE NEWS OF THE BLACK REVOLT FILTERED THROUGH TO THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES, HERE THE CHAINS OF SLAVERY~~ It led to the first laws stopping the importation of slaves.

28-11-12

WERE STRONGER AND THE NUMBER OF WHITES MUCH LARGER. AS I HAVE SAID, "A LONG, AWFUL PROCESS OF SELECTION CHOSE OUT THE LISTLESS, IGNORANT, SLY AND HUMBLE AND SENT TO HEAVEN THE PROUD, THE VENGEFUL AND THE DARING. THE OLD AFRICAN WARRIOR SPIRIT DIED AWAY OF VIOLENCE AND A BROKEN HEART."

NEVERTHELESS A SERIES OF ATTEMPTED REBELLIONS TOOK PLACE WHICH CAN BE TRACED TO THE INFLUENCE OF HAITI. IN 1800 CAME THE PROSSER CONSPIRACY INVIRGINIA WHICH PLANNED A FORCE OF 11,000 NEGROES TO MARCH IN THREE COLUMNS IN THE CITY AND SEIZE THE ARSENAL. A TERRIFIC STORM THWARTED THESE MEN AND 36 WERE EXECUTED FOR THE ATTEMPT. IN 1791 NEGROES OF LOUISIANA SOUGHT TO IMITATE TOUSSAINT LEADING TO THE EXECUTION OF 23 SLAVES. OTHER SMALLER ATTEMPTS WERE MADE IN SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1816 AND IN GEORGIA IN 1819. IN 1822 CAME THE CELEBRATED ATTEMPT OF DENMARK VESEY, AN EDUCATED FREEDMAN WHO THROUGH HIS TRADE AS CARPENTER ACCUMULATED CONSIDERABLE WEALTH. HE SPOKE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AND WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE HAITIAN

38-11-12

IN THE UNITED STATES THE EFFORTS OF THE SLAVES TO FREE THEMSELVES STAND IN THE SAME ~~CATEGORY~~ class AS THE LABOR UNIONS AMONG WHITES. THE NEGROES' EFFORTS FALL INTO TWO CATEGORIES: FIRST, A SERIES OF REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO THE CIVIL WAR, AND SECONDLY AND MORE IMPORTANT, THE ORGANIZED RUNNING AWAY OF SLAVES FROM THE SOUTH TO THE MOUNTAINS, and SWAMPS, THE NORTHERN STATES AND CANADA.

IT WAS BECAUSE SUCH A STREAM OF FUGITIVES THUS GOT AWAY FROM SLAVERY THAT THE REVOLTS WERE NOT [redacted] MORE FREQUENT THAN THEY WERE; BUT THERE WAS A SERIES OF SLAVE REVOLTS,- YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE LAWS OF ALL STATES ** WHICH WERE FIERCE AND FREQUENT. YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE NEWSPAPERS, ALTHOUGH THE SLAVE STATES NATURALLY TRIED TO MINIMIZE THE NUMBER AND EFFECT OF THE REVOLTS. BUT THERE IS A RECORD OF AT LEAST 25 REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO 1850. SOME OF THEM MERIT SPECIAL ATTENTION:

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REVOLUTION, THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SCHEME AND THE AGITATION ATTENDING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. HE OPENLY DISCUSSED SLAVERY AND RIDICULED THE SLAVES FOR THEIR COWARDICE AND SUBMISSION. HE WORKED THROUGH THE CHURCH AND PLANNED THE TOTAL ANNIHILATION OF THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF CHARLESTON. THOUSANDS OF SLAVES WERE ENROLLED, BUT ONE BETRAYED HIM AND THIS LED TO THE ARREST OF 137 BLACKS OF WHOM 35 WERE HANGED AND 37 BANISHED.

LESS THAN TEN YEARS ELAPSED BEFORE ANOTHER INSURRECTION WAS PLANNED AND PARTIALLY CARRIED THROUGH. ITS LEADER WAS NAT TURNER, A SLAVE BORN IN VIRGINIA IN 1800. HE WAS PRECOCIOUS AND CONSIDERED AS "MARKED" BY THE NEGROES. HE HAD EXPERIMENTED IN MAKING PAPER, GUN POWDER AND POTTERY; NEVER SWORE, NEVER DRANK AND NEVER STOLE. FOR THE MOST PART HE WAS A SORT OF RELIGIOUS DEVOTEE, FASTING AND PRAYING AND READING THE BIBLE. ONCE HE RAN AWAY BUT WAS COMMANDED BY SPIRIT VOICES TO RETURN. BY 1825 HE WAS CONSCIOUS OF A GREAT MISSION, AND ON MAY 12, 1831, " A GREAT VOICE SAID

 omit

UNTO HIM THAT THE SERPENT WAS LOOSED, THAT CHRIST HAD LAID DOWN THE YOKE."

HE BELIEVED THAT HE, NAT TURNER, WAS TO LEAD THE MOVEMENT AND THAT "THE FIRST SHOULD BE LAST AND THE LAST FIRST." AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN IN FEBRUARY, 1831 WAS A FURTHER SIGN TO HIM. HE WORKED QUICKLY. GATHERING SIX FRIENDS TOGETHER AUGUST 21, THEY MADE THEIR PLANS AND THEN STARTED THE INSURRECTION BY KILLING NAT'S MASTER AND THE FAMILY. ABOUT 40 NEGROES GATHERED IN ALL AND THEY KILLED 61 WHITE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY WERE HEADED TOWARD TOWN WHEN FINALLY THE WHITES BEGAN TO ARM IN OPPOSITION. IT WAS NOT, HOWEVER, UNTIL TWO MONTHS LATER, OCTOBER 30, THAT TURNER HIMSELF WAS CAPTURED. HE WAS TRIED NOVEMBER 5 AND SENTENCED TO BE HANGED. WHEN ASKED IF HE BELIEVED IN THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF HIS MISSION HE REPLIED, "WAS NOT CHRIST CRUCIFIED?" HE MADE NO CONFESSION.

IN 1839 AND 1841 TWO CASES OF MUTINY OF SLAVES ON THE HIGH SEAS CAUSED MUCH COMMOTION IN AMERICA. IN 1839 A SCHOONER, THE AMISTAD,

38-11-14

STARTED FROM HAVANA FOR ANOTHER WEST INDIAN PORT WITH 53 SLAVES. LED BY A BLACK MAN, CINQUE, THE SLAVES ROSE, KILLED THE CAPTAIN AND SOME OF THE CREW, ALLOWED THE REST OF THE CREW TO ESCAPE AND PUT THE TWO OWNERS IN IRONS. THE NEGROES THEN TRIED TO ESCAPE TO AFRICA, BUT AFTER ABOUT TWO MONTHS THEY LANDED IN CONNECTICUT AND A CELEBRATED LAW CASE AROSE OVER THE DISPOSITION OF THE BLACK MUTINEERS WHICH WENT TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDED THEM AND WON HIS CASE. EVENTUALLY MONEY WAS RAISED AND THE NEGROES RETURNED TO AFRICA.

WHILE THIS CASE WAS IN THE COURT THE BRIG CREOLE IN 1841 SAILED FROM RICHMOND TO NEW ORLEANS WITH 130 SLAVES. 19 OF THE SLAVES MUTINIED AND LED BY MADISON WASHINGTON TOOK COMMAND OF THE VESSEL AND SAILED TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. DANIEL WEBSTER DEMANDED THE RETURN OF THE SLAVES BUT THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES REFUSED.

38-11-15

DURING THESE YEARS REBELLION AND [illegible]

AGITATION AMONG NEGROES, AND AGITATION AMONG WHITE FRIENDS IN EUROPE, WAS RAPIDLY FREEING THE NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES AND BEGINNING THEIR INCORPORATION INTO THE BODY POLITIC -- A PROCESS NOT YET FINISHED BUT WHICH MEANS POSSIBLY THE EVENTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE BLACK AND MULATTO REPUBLIC IN THE ISLES OF THE CARIBBEAN.

IT MAY BE SAID THAT IN MOST OF THESE CASES THE ATTEMPTS OF THE NEGRO TO REBEL WERE ABORTIVE, AND THIS IS TRUE. YET IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT IN A FEW CASES THEY HAD HORRIBLE SUCCESS; IN OTHERS NOTHING BUT ACCIDENT OR THE ACTIONS OF FAVORITE SLAVES SAVED SIMILAR CATASTROPHE, AND MORE AND MORE THE WHITE SOUTH HAD THE FEELING THAT IT WAS SITTING UPON A VOLCANO AND THAT NOTHING BUT THE STERNEST SORT OF REPRESSION WOULD KEEP THE NEGRO "IN HIS PLACE." THE APPEAL OF THE NEGRO TO FORCE INVITED REACTION AND RETALIATION NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH, [illegible], BUT ALSO IN THE NORTH. HERE THE [illegible] WHITE WORKINGMAN AND PARTICULARLY THE NEW ENGLISH, SCOTCH

AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS ENTIRELY MISCONCEIVED THE WRITHING OF THE BLACK MAN. THESE WHITE LABORERS, THEMSELVES SO NEAR SLAVERY, DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK SLAVE AS PART OF THEIR OWN STRUGGLE; RATHER THEY FELT THE STING OF ECONOMIC RIVALRY AND UNDERBIDDING FOR HOME AND JOB; THEY EASILY ABSORBED HATRED AND CONTEMPT FOR NEGROES AS THEIR FIRST AMERICAN LESSON AND WERE FLATTERED BY THE WHITE CAPITALISTS, SLAVE OWNERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WITH SLAVERY INTO LYNCHING AND CLUBBING THEIR DARK FELLOW-VICTIMS BACK INTO THE PIT WHENCE THEY SOUGHT TO CRAWL. IT WAS A SCENE FOR ANGEL'S TEARS.

MOBS OF WHITE WORKERS AGAINST NEGROES OCCURRED IN CINCINNATI IN 1826, 1836, a 1841. IN OTHER PARTS OF OHIO THERE WERE SIMILAR MOBS. IN PHILADELPHIA NEGROES WERE ATTACKED IN 1820, 1830, 1834 AND AGAIN IN 1838 AND 1842. PITTSBURGH HAD A RIOT IN 1839, AND NEW YORK riots IN 1843 AND 1863.

~~1834, MAKING THEIR CHURCHES AND PROPERTY BURNED AND RUINED. IN 1838~~

38-11-16

THERE WAS ANOTHER ANTI-NEGRO RIOT AND IN 1842, WHEN THE BLACKS ATTEMPTED TO CELEBRATE ABOLITION IN THE WEST INDIES. PITTSBURG HAD A RIOT IN 1839 AND NEW YORK in 1843 AND 1863.

THIS MATTER OF FUGITIVE SLAVES BECAME SO SERIOUS THAT IT WAS A MAIN DEMAND OF THE SOUTHERNERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AND THEY FORCED THROUGH NATIONAL LEGISLATION THAT VIRTUALLY LEGALIZED KIDNAPPING WITHOUT TRIAL AMONG NORTHERN FREE NEGROES.

THE ENSUING CIVIL WAR WAS BEGUN ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ALL PROMINENT NORTHERNERS NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO LIMIT IT TO THE SOUTH WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD PROTECT IT WITH ALL ITS POWERS. IT WAS THE NEGRO WHO FORCED THE NATION TO CHANGE THIS DECISION AND MAKE THE CIVIL WAR A WAR FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. THIS WAS DONE FIRST BY IMPLEMENTING THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. THE FIRST ABOLITIONISTS WERE WHITE FOLK WORKING FOR NEGROES. BUT THEY WERE

HANDICAPPED BY THE ARGUMENT THAT NEGROES DID NOT WANT TO BE FREE AND COULD NOT LIVE AS FREE CIVILIZED PEOPLE. THEN FREE NEGROES JOINED THE MOVE - MENT TO SAY THAT THEY WANTED FREEDOM AND COULD USE IT. WHEN A MAN LIKE FREDERICK DOUGLASS FACED AN AUDIENCE, THERE COULD REMAIN NO DOUBT BUT THAT HE WAS A MAN. AS MILTON WROTE:

"THE NOBLEST SLAVE THAT EVER GOD SET FREE."

NEGROES BECAME THE MAIN FORCE IN THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. DURING THE WAR NEGROES INSISTED ON FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND IN THE SOUTH DESERTED THE PLANTATIONS BY THE THOUSANDS. THIS EVENTUALLY FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER BECAUSE BLACK SLAVES CEASED INCREASINGLY TO RAISE FOOD FOR THE SOUTHERN ARMIES, AND 200,000 OF THEM ENTERED THE NORTHERN ARMIES WHILE TWO MILLION MORE STOOD READY TO FIGHT.

AFTER THE WAR, FROM 1864 UNTIL TODAY THE AMERICAN NEGRO GROUP IS THE ONE BODY WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS

NATION. THEY STRUGGLED WITH VOICE AND PEN; IN THE COURTS AND ON THE PLATFORM. AND IF WOMEN, THE FOREIGN-BORN AND THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE TODAY, THEY OWE IT, TO THE CEASELESS STRUGGLE OF BLACK FOLK.

WITH FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE HELPED AMERICAN INDUSTRY. THEIR LABOR WAS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN THE 18th CENTURY; BUT IN THE 19th THEIR INVENTIONS IN SUGAR MAKING, MAKING OF SHOES, OILING OF MACHINERY AND PERFECTION OF TELEPHONES HAVE BECOME A PART OF OUR ECONOMY; NOT TO SPEAK OF THEIR LABOR IN SEMI-SKILLED WORK AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROFESSIONS.

BUT TO MOST PEOPLE THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO IS IN THE FIELD OF CREATIVE ART -- THE FOLKSONG, THE DANCE, AND NEGRO LITERATURE.

"LITTLE OF BEAUTY HAS AMERICA GIVEN THE WORLD SAVE THE RUDE GRANDEUR GOD HIMSELF STAMPED ON HER BOSOM;,THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN THIS NEW WORLD HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF IN VIGOR AND INGENUITY RATHER THAN IN BEAUTY. AND SO BY FATEFUL CHANCE THE NEGRO FOLK-SONG -- THE RHYTHMIC CRY OF THE SLAVE -- STANDS TODAY NOT SIMPLY AS THE SOLE AMERICAN MUSIC, BUT AS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL EXPRESSION OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE BORN THIS SIDE THE SEAS. IT HAS BEEN NEGLECTED, IT HAS BEEN, AND IS, HALF DESPISED, AND ABOVE ALL IT HAS BEEN PERSISTENTLY MISTAKEN AND MISUNDERSTOOD; BUT NOTWITHSTANDING, IT STILL REMAINS AS THE SINGULAR SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF THE NATION AND THE GREATEST GIFT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE."

THE OLDER MUSIC HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IN JAZZ AND RAGTIME, AND BY MASTERS LIKE BURLEIGH, ROSAMOND JOHNSON AND DETT, AND THE BLUES THERE HAVE BEEN GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL NEGRO VOICES, AND ON THE STAGE MEN LIKE ALDRIDGE AND GILPIN. THE DANCE OF NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA EXHIBITS

THE EFFECT WHICH THE NEGRO HERE AND IN AFRICA HAD ON THIS FORM OF HUMAN EXPRESSION.

FURTHER, THERE IS PROSE AND POETRY. AND NOT SIMPLY THE LITERATURE WRITTEN BY NEGROES BUT THAT INSPIRED BY THEM. TAKE THE NEGRO THEME OUT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE AND IT WOULD BE POOR INDEED. FROM THE SLAVE SHIP TO THE PLANTATION; FROM POLITICAL ARGUMENT TO SOCIAL RELATIONS; FROM CURRENT POLITICS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE BLACK MAN COMES NEARER THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE SUBJECT TO BEING THE CENTRAL THREAD OF OUR EXPRESSION.

TO THIS COMES THE WRITING OF NEGROES THEMSELVES; THE POETRY OF PHILLIS WHEATLY IN THE EARLY 18th CENTURY; THE ALMANACS OF BANNEKER, THE DAVID WALKER'S APPEAL; DOUGLASS' AUTOBIOGRAPHY; BRAITHWAITE'S ANTHOLOGIES; THE POETRY OF JOHNSON, CULLEN AND HUGHES, AND THE NOVELS OF CHESNUTT. LITERARY GROUP OF NEW ORLEANS; (Negro spiritual)

HERE IS A SKETCH OF THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH THE NEGRO SLAVES AND HIS DESCENDANTS HELPED TO MAKE THIS AMERICA OF OURS.

Feb 1955 Bklyn Civic Club Du Bois

GIFT OF BLACK FOLK

A NATION CONSISTS OF ITS PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND OF THEIR PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS. THE PEOPLE'S THOUGHTS, FEELINGS AND ACTIONS CONSTITUTE THE NATION'S CULTURE. THIS TOTAL OF CULTURE IS MADE UP OF CONTRIBUTIONS; SOME OF IT BY INDIVIDUAL ACTION; SOME BY THE ACTION OF GROUPS, SOME BY PHYSICAL NATURE. THE UNITED STATES ESPECIALLY IS COMPOSED OF AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF DIFFERING GROUPS, EACH WITH DIFFERING BACKGROUNDS, DIFFERING HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES, DIFFERING LANGUAGE, WITH ALL THAT LANGUAGE CONTRIBUTES TO THOUGHT AND PARTICULARLY DIFFERENCES WHICH ARISE FROM CLOSE AND INTIMATE CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER. WE ARE ASKING TONIGHT WHAT CONTRIBUTIONS AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE MADE TO THE CULTURE OF THIS LAND.

FIRST, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BE PRECISE AS TO WHO AMERICAN NEGROES ARE: THEY ARE NOT OF THE SAME PHYSICAL DESCENT NOR DO THEY SHARE THE SAME ancient PAST. THEY DO SHARE

101-11-817

-2-

LARGELY today THE SAME GROUP LIFE, HAVE ON THE WHOLE THE SAME EXPERIENCES AND THE SAME REACTIONS TO THEM. THE 15 MILLION PERSONS CLASSED AS NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY ARE DESCENDANTS OF THE AFRICAN SLAVES TRANSPORTED FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. THEY ARE ALSO DESCENDANTS OF ENGLISH, DUTCH AND FRENCH SETTLERS AND OF INDIAN ABORIGINES. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR DIFFERENCES OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS. BUT MORE POTENT THAN PHYSICAL DESCENT ARE SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES.

THE NEGRO GIFTS TO AMERICA MAY BE CLASSED PRIMARILY AS PHYSICAL LABOR, THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM; THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY; AND THE CREATIVE ART. ALL THESE GIFTS WERE CONTRIBUTED NOW BY INDIVIDUALS, BUT MORE EFFECTIVELY BY GROUP ACTION.

CONSIDER THE MATTER OF LABOR. WE DO NOT USUALLY CLASS THIS AS A GIFT, BUT RATHER AS AN EVIL. OUR CIVILIZATION DESPISES LABOR, PAYS IT THE LOWEST WAGES AND EXECTS

NO MONUMENTS TO ITS MEMORY. YET OF COURSE CIVILIZATION RESTS ABSOLUTELY ON PHYSICAL WORK AS ITS FOUNDATION. THIS IS TRUE IN ALL LANDS AND AT ALL TIMES, BUT IT WAS PECULIARLY TRUE OF AMERICA. HERE IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE 15th CENTURY WAS DISCOVERED A LAND WHICH NEEDED FOR ITS IMMEDIATE USE TO EUROPE A LARGE AND STRONG LABOR FORCE. SUCH FORCE COULD NOT BE HAD FROM EUROPE FOR EUROPE NEEDED ITS OWN LABORERS. THE AMERICAN INDIANS WERE FEW IN NUMBER AND DID NOT WANT TO WORK FOR EUROPEANS. THEIR TRIBAL ORGANIZATION ENABLED THEM TO RESIST COMPULSION.

NEGRO WORKERS COULD BE HAD BECAUSE THREE OPPOSING STREAMS WERE MEETING IN AFRICA: THE STATE BUILDERS ON THE NORTH MOVING EAST; THE ARTISTS AND TRADERS ON THE COAST REPELLING INVASION FROM THE NORTH AND FROM THE EAST; AND THE HERDSMEN AND WARRIORS MOVING SOUTH TO ESCAPE THESE TWO OPPOSING FORCES. AND OFF THE COAST THE EUROPEAN MERCHANTS WOULD BUY THE SLAVES CAPTURED IN THE WARS BETWEEN THESE OPPOSING FORCES.

the American demand for slaves made slaves the object instead of the incident of wars. 15 Million Negroes were landed in America after leaving 10 or more million dead at sea + perhaps another 25 million dead in self defense on African soil. West African culture was

4/ PARTIALLY RUINED BY THIS, BUT AMERICAN CULTURE RECEIVED A GIFT OF LABOR WHICH WAS INDISPENSABLE FOR ITS QUICK DEVELOPMENT.

CONFINING OURSELVES TO THE UNITED STATES, BLACK FOLK MADE UP HALF OF THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE AT THE BIRTH OF THE NATION AND FROM A THIRD TO A FOURTH UNTIL EMANCIPATION. IN [redacted] THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES THEY FORM FROM 2/3 TO THE TOTAL GROUP OF LABORERS.

THIS LABOR FELLED THE FORESTS AND CLEARED THE LAND AND FURNISHED THE WORLD COTTON, SUGAR, TOBACCO, IN ADDITION TO RICE, INDIGO AND A DOZEN OTHER NEEDED MATERIALS. THESE CROPS TRANSFORMED THE WORLD AND ITS ECONOMY. BEFORE AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT EUROPE HAD NO CHEAP SWEETENING. HONEY BELONGED TO THE LANDOWNER, AND SUGAR WAS SOLD IN VIALS BY APOTHECARIES. THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES WORE RAGS AND PATCHES BECAUSE WOOL AND LINEN WERE SCARCE AND DEAR. COTTON WAS THE WORLD'S FIRST CHEAP CLOTHING. ENGLAND USED

13,000 BALES IN 1781 AND FOUR MILLION BALES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR. 20,000 POUNDS OF TOBACCO WERE RAISED IN THIS NATION IN 1619 AND 800,000,000 POUNDS IN 1900.

THIS MEANT THAT A VAST AND INCREASING NUMBER OF BLACK WORKERS, FLANKED AS TIME WENT ON BY YELLOW MEN AND WHITE, WORKED TO CLOTHE AND FEED AND MAKE COMFORTABLE THE MASS OF MAN. THIS TOIL HAD TO BE FOR THE MOST PART SYSTEMATIC AND DONE BY MORE OR LESS TRAINED LABOR. IT WAS NOT ALL THE LOWEST TYPE OF WORK. ON THE SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS ALL THE SKILLED LABOR WAS FOR A LONG TIME DONE BY NEGROES: THE ORDERING OF LABOR GANGS; THE REPAIR OF THE TOOLS: THE BUILDING OF HOMES AND HUTS. BEFORE THIS MUCH OF THE LABOR OF DISCOVERY OF AMERICA WAS DONE BY NEGROES. THE PILOT ON ONE OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS WAS ALONZO, THE NEGRO. THE MAN WHO LED THE GROUP WHICH DISCOVERED THE SOUTHWESTERN REGION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS THE NEGRO, ESTEVANICO; NUFEO DE OLANA, A NEGRO, WAS WITH BALBOA WHEN HE

DISCOVERED THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND AFTERWARD THIRTY NEGROES HELPED BALBOA DIRECT THE WORK OF 500 INDIANS IN TRANSPORTING THE MATERIAL FOR HIS SHIPS ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS TO THE SEA.

CORTES CARRIED NEGROES AND INDIANS WITH HIM FROM CUBA TO MEXICO AND ONE OF THESE NEGROES WAS THE FIRST TO SOW AND REAP GRAIN IN MEXICO. THERE WERE TWO NEGROES WITH VELAS IN 1520 AND 200 BLACK SLAVES WITH ALVARADO ON HIS DESPERATE EXPEDITION TO QUITO. ALMAGRO AND VALDIVIA IN 1525 WERE SAVED FROM DEATH BY NEGROES.

AS EARLY AS 1528 THERE WERE ABOUT 10,000 NEGROES IN THE NEW WORLD. WE HEAR OF ONE SENT AS AN AGENT OF THE SPANISH TO BURN A NATIVE VILLAGE IN HONDURAS. IN 1539 THEY ACCOMPANIED DE SOTO AND ONE OF THEM STAYED AMONG THE INDIANS IN ALABAMA AND BECAME THE FIRST SETTLER FROM THE OLD WORLD. IN 1555 IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE A FREE NEGRO OWNS LAND IN THE TOWN. MENDENEZ

48-11-163

HAD A COMPANY OF TRAINED NEGRO ARTISANS AND AGRICULTURALISTS WHEN HE FOUNDED ST. AUGUSTINE IN 1565 AND IN 1570 NEGROES FOUNDED THE TOWN OF SANTIAGO DEL PRINCIPE.

USUALLY THIS STORY OF NEGRO TOIL IS DISCOUNTED IN MEN'S MINDS BECAUSE THEY ASSUME THAT COMPULSORY LABOR IS OF NO CREDIT AND THAT NEGRO SLAVES MADE NO EFFORT TO RESIST SLAVERY AND TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM. THIS ASSUMPTION IS THE RESULT OF THE LONG EFFORT AT PROPAGANDA IN THIS NATION DURING THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY FROM 1820 TO 1863. THE SLAVE HOLDERS INSISTED THAT THE SLAVES WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR SLAVERY. AS A MATTER OF FACT, NEGRO SLAVES IN AMERICA REVOLTED FROM THE DAYS OF COLUMBUS UNTIL THEY MARCHED AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY WHICH CAPTURED RICHMOND, THE CAPITAL OF THE CONFEDERACY. SOMETIMES THEIR EFFORTS WERE FUTILE; SOMETIMES THEY CHANGED THE COURSE OF HISTORY. For instance;

cont'd on pag 11

418-11-104

omit -8-

TWENTY NEGROES FROM DIEGO COLUMBUS' MILL FLED AND KILLED SEVERAL SPANIARDS. THEY JOINED WITH OTHER REBELLIOUS NEGROES ON NEIGHBORING PLANTATIONS. IN 1523 MANY NEGRO SLAVES "FLED TO THE ZAPOTECA AND WALKED REBELLIOUSLY THROUGH THE COUNTRY." IN 1527 THERE WAS AN UPRISING OF INDIANS AND NEGROES IN FLORIDA. IN 1532 THE WOLOFS AND OTHER REBELLIOUS NEGROES CAUSED INSURRECTION AMONG THE CARIB INDIANS. THESE WOLOFS WERE DECLARED TO BE "HAUGHTY, DISOBEDIENT, REBELLIOUS AND INCORRIGIBLE." IN 1548 THERE WAS A REBELLION IN HONDURAS AND THE VICEROY MENDOZA IN MEXICO WRITES OF AN UPRISING AMONG THE SLAVES AND INDIANS IN 1537. ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CASES OF RESISTANCE WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEFENSE OF PALMARES IN BRAZIL WHERE 40 DETERMINED NEGROES IN 1560 ESTABLISHED A CITY STATE WHICH LIVED FOR NEARLY A HALF CENTURY GROWING TO A POPULATION OF 20,000 AND ONLY OVERTHROWN WHEN 7,000 SOLDIERS WITH ARTILLERY WERE SENT AGAINST IT. THE CHIEFS

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4-8-11-105

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IN 1741 AN INSURRECTION OF SLAVES WAS PLANNED IN NEW YORK CITY, FOR WHICH THIRTEEN SLAVES WERE BURNED, EIGHTEEN HANGED AND EIGHTY TRANSPORTED. IN 1754 AND 1755 SLAVES BURNED AND POISONED CERTAIN MASTERS IN CHARLESTON, S.C.

ON THE NIGHT OF AUBUST 23, 1791, THE GREAT HAITIAN REBELLION TOOK PLACE. IT HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY A SMALL REBELLION OF THE free MULATTOES WHO WERE BITTERLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE REFUSAL OF THE PLANTERS TO ASSENT TO WHAT THE FREE NEGROES THOUGHT WERE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. WHEN 450,000 SLAVES JOINED THEM, THEY BEGAN A MURDEROUS CIVIL WAR SELDOM PARALLELED IN HISTORY. FRENCH, ENGLISH AND SPANIARDS ~~DEFEATED~~ were beaten. TOUSSAINT, THE FIRST GREAT BLACK LEADER, WAS DECEIVED, IMPRISONED AND DIED PERHAPS BY POISONING. 25,000 FRENCH SOLDIERS WERE SENT OVER BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO SUBDUE THE NEGROES AND BEGIN THE EXTENSION OF HIS AMERICAN EMPIRE THROUGH THE WEST INDIES AND UP THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

148-11-106

(under Christophe + Dessalines)

DESPITE ALL THIS, THE NEGROES WERE TRIUMPHANT, ESTABLISHED AN INDEPENDENT STATE, MADE NAPOLEON GIVE UP HIS DREAM OF AMERICAN EMPIRE AND SELL LOUISIANA FOR A SONG.

THUS, ALL OF INDIAN TERRITORY, ALL OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA AND IOWA AND WYOMING AND MONTANA AND THE DAKOTAS, AND MOST OF COLORADO AND MINNESOTA, AND ALL OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON STATES, CAME TO US AS THE INDIRECT WORK OF A ~~BLACK~~ Haitian NEGRO. PRAISE IF YOU WILL, THE WORK OF ROBERT LIVINGSTON OR A JEFFERSON, BUT TODAY LET US NOT FORGET OUR DEBT TO TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE WHO WAS INDIRECTLY THE MEANS OF AMERICA'S EXPANSION BY THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE OF 1803.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION IMMEDIATELY HAD ITS EFFECT UPON BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. ~~WE HAVE READ HOW~~ HAITIAN VOLUNTEERS HELPED IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, and ~~THEY~~ RETURNED TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN FREEDOM.

AFTERWARD WHEN BOLIVAR, THE FOUNDER OF FIVE FREE REPUBLICS IN SOUTH AMERICA, UNDERTOOK HIS GREAT REBELLION IN 1811 HE AT FIRST FAILED. HE TOOK REFUGE IN JAMAICA AND IMPLORED THE HELP OF ENGLAND BUT WAS UNSUCCESSFUL. LATER IN DESPAIR HE VISITED HAITI. THE BLACK REPUBLIC WAS ITSELF AT THAT TIME IN A PRECARIOUS POSITION AND HAD TO ACT WITH GREAT CAUTION. NEVERTHELESS PRESIDENT PETION FURNISHED BOLIVAR, SOLDIERS, ARMS AND MONEY. BOLIVAR EMBARKED SECRETLY AND AGAIN SOUGHT TO FREE SOUTH AMERICA. AGAIN HE FAILED AND A SECOND TIME RETURNED TO HAITI. MONEY AND REINFORCEMENTS WERE A SECOND TIME FURNISHED HIM AND WITH THE HELP OF THESE he ACHIEVED THE LIBERATION OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA, + eventually of all South America.

THUS BLACK HAITI NOT ONLY FREED ITSELF BUT HELPED TO KINDLE LIBERTY ALL THROUGH AMERICA. REFUGEES FROM HAITI AND SAN DOMINGO POURED INTO THE UNITED STATES BOTH COLORED AND WHITE AND HAD GREAT INFLUENCE. ~~IN MARYLAND AND LOUISIANA. MOREOVER THE NEWS OF THE BLACK REVOLT FILTERED THROUGH TO THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES. HERE THE CHAINS OF SLAVERY~~ It led to the first laws stopping the importation of slaves.

46-11-107 B

WERE STRONGER AND THE NUMBER OF WHITES MUCH LARGER. AS I HAVE SAID, "A LONG, AWFUL PROCESS OF SELECTION CHOSE OUT THE LISTLESS, IGNORANT, SLY AND HUMBLE AND SENT TO HEAVEN THE PROUD, THE VENGEFUL AND THE DARING. THE OLD AFRICAN WARRIOR SPIRIT DIED AWAY OF VIOLENCE AND A BROKEN HEART."

NEVERTHELESS A SERIES OF ATTEMPTED REBELLIONS TOOK PLACE WHICH CAN BE TRACED TO THE INFLUENCE OF HAITI. IN 1800 CAME THE PROSSER CONSPIRACY INVIRGINIA WHICH PLANNED A FORCE OF 11,000 NEGROES TO MARCH IN THREE COLUMNS IN THE CITY AND SEIZE THE ARSENAL. A TERRIFIC STORM THWARTED THESE MEN AND 36 WERE EXECUTED FOR THE ATTEMPT. IN 1791 NEGROES OF LOUISIANA SOUGHT TO IMITATE TOUSSAINT LEADING TO THE EXECUTION OF 23 SLAVES. OTHER SMALLER ATTEMPTS WERE MADE IN SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1816 AND IN GEORGIA IN 1819. IN 1822 CAME THE CELEBRATED ATTEMPT OF DENMARK VESEY, AN EDUCATED FREEDMAN WHO THROUGH HIS TRADE AS CARPENTER ACCUMULATED CONSIDERABLE WEALTH. HE SPOKE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AND WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE HAITIAN

IN THE UNITED STATES THE EFFORTS OF THE SLAVES TO FREE THEMSELVES STAND IN THE SAME class AS THE LABOR UNIONS AMONG WHITES. THE NEGROES' EFFORTS FALL INTO TWO CATEGORIES: FIRST, A SERIES OF REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO THE CIVIL WAR, AND SECONDLY AND MORE IMPORTANT, THE ORGANIZED RUNNING AWAY OF SLAVES FROM THE SOUTH TO THE MOUNTAINS, SWAMPS, THE NORTHERN STATES AND CANADA.

IT WAS BECAUSE SUCH A STREAM OF FUGITIVES THUS GOT AWAY FROM SLAVERY THAT THE REVOLTS WERE NOT MORE FREQUENT THAN THEY WERE; BUT THERE WAS A SERIES OF SLAVE REVOLTS,- YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE LAWS OF ALL STATES WHICH WERE FIERCE AND FREQUENT. YOU CAN TRACE THEM IN THE NEWSPAPERS, ALTHOUGH THE SLAVE STATES NATURALLY TRIED TO MINIMIZE THE NUMBER AND EFFECT OF THE REVOLTS. BUT THERE IS A RECORD OF AT LEAST 25 REVOLTS FROM 1800 TO 1850. SOME OF THEM MERIT SPECIAL ATTENTION:

48-11-1074

omit

REVOLUTION, THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SCHEME AND THE AGITATION ATTENDING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. HE OPENLY DISCUSSED SLAVERY AND RIDICULED THE SLAVES FOR THEIR COWARDICE AND SUBMISSION. HE WORKED THROUGH THE CHURCH AND PLANNED THE TOTAL ANNIHILATION OF THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF CHARLESTON. THOUSANDS OF SLAVES WERE ENROLLED, BUT ONE BETRAYED HIM AND THIS LED TO THE ARREST OF 137 BLACKS OF WHOM 35 WERE HANGED AND 37 BANISHED.

LESS THAN TEN YEARS ELAPSED BEFORE ANOTHER INSURRECTION WAS PLANNED AND PARTIALLY CARRIED THROUGH. ITS LEADER WAS NAT TURNER, A SLAVE BORN IN VIRGINIA IN 1800. HE WAS PRECOCIOUS AND CONSIDERED AS "MARKED" BY THE NEGROES. HE HAD EXPERIMENTED IN MAKING PAPER, GUN POWDER AND POTTERY NEVER SWORE, NEVER DRANK AND NEVER STOLE. FOR THE MOST PART HE WAS A SORT OF RELIGIOUS DEVOTEE, FASTING AND PRAYING AND READING THE BIBLE. ONCE HE RAN AWAY BUT WAS COMMANDED BY SPIRIT VOICES TO RETURN. BY 1825 HE WAS CONSCIOUS OF A GREAT MISSION, AND ON MAY 12, 1831, " A GREAT VOICE SAID

48-11-108

omit

UNTO HIM THAT THE SERPENT WAS LOOSED, THAT CHRIST HAD LAID DOWN THE YOKE."

HE BELIEVED THAT HE, NAT TURNER, WAS TO LEAD THE MOVEMENT AND THAT "THE FIRST SHOULD BE LAST AND THE LAST FIRST." AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN IN FEBRUARY, 1831 WAS A FURTHER SIGN TO HIM. HE WORKED QUICKLY. GATHERING SIX FRIENDS TOGETHER AUGUST 21, THEY MADE THEIR PLANS AND THEN STARTED THE INSURRECTION BY KILLING NAT'S MASTER AND THE FAMILY. ABOUT 40 NEGROES GATHERED IN ALL AND THEY KILLED 61 WHITE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY WERE HEADED TOWARD TOWN WHEN FINALLY THE WHITES BEGAN TO ARM IN OPPOSITION. IT WAS NOT, HOWEVER, UNTIL TWO MONTHS LATER, OCTOBER 30, THAT TURNER HIMSELF WAS CAPTURED. HE WAS TRIED NOVEMBER 5 AND SENTENCED TO BE HANGED. WHEN ASKED IF HE BELIEVED IN THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF HIS MISSION HE REPLIED, "WAS NOT CHRIST CRUCIFIED?" HE MADE NO CONFESSION.

IN 1839 AND 1841 TWO CASES OF MUTINY OF SLAVES ON THE HIGH SEAS CAUSED MUCH COMMOTION IN AMERICA. IN 1839 A SCHOONER, THE AMISTAD,

 Omit

STARTED FROM HAVANA FOR ANOTHER WEST INDIAN PORT WITH 53 SLAVES. LED BY A BLACK MAN, CINQUE, THE SLAVES ROSE, KILLED THE CAPTAIN AND SOME OF THE CREW, ALLOWED THE REST OF THE CREW TO ESCAPE AND PUT THE TWO OWNERS IN IRONS. THE NEGROES THEN TRIED TO ESCAPE TO AFRICA, BUT AFTER ABOUT TWO MONTHS THEY LANDED IN CONNECTICUT AND A CELEBRATED LAW CASE AROSE OVER THE DISPOSITION OF THE BLACK MUTINEERS WHICH WENT TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDED THEM AND WON HIS CASE. EVENTUALLY MONEY WAS RAISED AND THE NEGROES RETURNED TO AFRICA.

WHILE THIS CASE WAS IN THE COURT THE BRIG CREOLE IN 1841 SAILED FROM RICHMOND TO NEW ORLEANS WITH 130 SLAVES. 19 OF THE SLAVES MUTINIED AND LED BY MADISON WASHINGTON TOOK COMMAND OF THE VESSEL AND SAILED TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. DANIEL WEBSTER DEMANDED THE RETURN OF THE SLAVES BUT THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES REFUSED.

DURING THESE YEARS REBELLION AND [redacted]

48-11-109

AGITATION AMONG NEGROES, AND AGITATION AMONG WHITE FRIENDS IN EUROPE, WAS RAPIDLY FREEING THE NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES AND BEGINNING THEIR INCORPORATION INTO THE BODY POLITIC -- A PROCESS NOT YET FINISHED BUT WHICH MEANS POSSIBLY THE EVENTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE BLACK AND MULATTO REPUBLIC IN THE ISLES OF THE CARIBBEAN.

IT MAY BE SAID THAT IN MOST OF THESE CASES THE ATTEMPTS OF THE NEGRO TO REBEL WERE ABORTIVE, AND THIS IS TRUE. YET IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT IN A FEW CASES THEY HAD HORRIBLE SUCCESS; IN OTHERS NOTHING BUT ACCIDENT OR THE ACTIONS OF FAVORITE SLAVES SAVED SIMILAR CATASTROPHE, AND MORE AND MORE THE WHITE SOUTH HAD THE FEELING THAT IT WAS SITTING UPON A VOLCANO AND THAT NOTHING BUT THE STERNEST SORT OF REPRESSION WOULD KEEP THE NEGRO "IN HIS PLACE." THE APPEAL OF THE NEGRO TO FORCE INVITED REACTION AND RETALIATION NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH, [redacted], BUT ALSO IN THE NORTH. HERE THE [redacted] WHITE WORKINGMAN AND PARTICULARLY THE NEW ENGLISH, SCOTCH

AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS ENTIRELY MISCONCEIVED THE WRITHING OF THE BLACK MAN. THESE WHITE LABORERS, THEMSELVES SO NEAR SLAVERY, DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK SLAVE AS PART OF THEIR OWN STRUGGLE; RATHER THEY FELT THE STING OF ECONOMIC RIVALRY AND UNDERBIDDING FOR HOME AND JOB; THEY EASILY ABSORBED HATRED AND CONTEMPT FOR NEGROES AS THEIR FIRST AMERICAN LESSON AND WERE FLATTERED BY THE WHITE CAPITALISTS, SLAVE OWNERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WITH SLAVERY INTO LYNCHING AND CLUBBING THEIR DARK FELLOW-VICTIMS BACK INTO THE PIT WHENCE THEY SOUGHT TO CRAWL. IT WAS A SCENE FOR ANGEL'S TEARS.

MOBS OF WHITE WORKERS AGAINST NEGROES OCCURRED IN CINCINNATI IN 1826, 1836, 1841. IN OTHER PARTS OF OHIO THERE WERE SIMILAR MOBS. IN PHILADELPHIA NEGROES WERE ATTACKED IN 1820, 1830, 1834 AND AGAIN IN 1838 AND 1842. PITTSBURGH HAD A RIOT IN 1839, AND NEW YORK riots IN 1843 AND 1863.

48-11-110

THERE WAS ANOTHER ANTI-NEGRO RIOT AND IN 1842, WHEN THE BLACKS ATTEMPTED TO CELEBRATE ABOLITION IN THE WEST INDIES. PITTSBURG HAD A RIOT IN 1839 AND NEW YORK in 1843 AND 1863.

THIS MATTER OF FUGITIVE SLAVES BECAME SO SERIOUS THAT IT WAS A MAIN DEMAND OF THE SOUTHERNERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AND THEY FORCED THROUGH NATIONAL LEGISLATION THAT VIRTUALLY LEGALIZED KIDNAPPING WITHOUT TRIAL AMONG NORTHERN FREE NEGROES.

THE ENSUING CIVIL WAS BEGUN ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ALL PROMINENT NORTHERNERS NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO LIMIT IT TO THE SOUTH WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD PROTECT IT WITH ALL ITS POWERS. IT WAS THE NEGRO WHO FORCED THE NATION TO CHANGE THIS DECISION AND MAKE THE CIVIL WAR A WAR FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. THIS WAS DONE FIRST BY IMPLEMENTING THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. THE FIRST ABOLITIONISTS WERE WHITE FOLK WORKING FOR NEGROES. BUT THEY WERE

HANDICAPPED BY THE ARGUMENT THAT NEGROES DID NOT WANT TO BE FREE AND COULD NOT LIVE AS FREE CIVILIZED PEOPLE. THEN FREE NEGROES JOINED THE MOVEMENT TO SAY THAT THEY WANTED FREEDOM AND COULD USE IT. WHEN A MAN LIKE FREDERICK DOUGLASS FACED AN AUDIENCE, THERE COULD REMAIN NO DOUBT BUT THAT HE WAS A MAN. AS MILTON WROTE:

"THE NOBLEST SLAVE THAT EVER GOD SET FREE."

NEGROES BECAME THE MAIN FORCE IN THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. DURING THE WAR NEGROES INSISTED ON FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND IN THE SOUTH DESERTED THE PLANTATIONS BY THE THOUSANDS. THIS EVENTUALLY FORCED THE SOUTH TO SURRENDER BECAUSE BLACK SLAVES CEASED INCREASINGLY TO RAISE FOOD FOR THE SOUTHERN ARMIES, AND 200,000 OF THEM ENTERED THE NORTHERN ARMIES WHILE TWO MILLION MORE STOOD READY TO FIGHT.

AFTER THE WAR, FROM 1864 UNTIL TODAY THE AMERICAN NEGRO GROUP IS THE ONE BODY WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS

NATION. THEY STRUGGLED WITH VOICE AND PEN; IN THE COURTS AND ON THE PLATFORM. AND IF WOMEN, THE FOREIGN-BORN AND THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE TODAY, THEY OWE IT TO THE CEASELESS STRUGGLE OF BLACK FOLK.

WITH FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE HELPED AMERICAN INDUSTRY. THEIR LABOR WAS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN THE 18th CENTURY; BUT IN THE 19th THEIR INVENTIONS IN SUGAR MAKING, MAKING OF SHOES, OILING OF MACHINERY AND PERFECTION OF TELEPHONES HAVE BECOME [redacted] A PART OF OUR ECONOMY; NOT TO SPEAK OF THEIR LABOR IN SEMI-SKILLED WORK AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROFESSIONS.

BUT TO MOST PEOPLE THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO IS IN THE FIELD OF CREATIVE ART -- THE FOLKSONG, THE DANCE, AND NEGRO LITERATURE. [redacted]

"LITTLE OF BEAUTY HAS AMERICA GIVEN THE WORLD SAVE THE RUDE GRANDEUR GOD HIMSELF STAMPED ON HER BOSOM;,THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN THIS NEW WORLD HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF IN VIGOR AND INGENUITY RATHER THAN IN BEAUTY. AND SO BY FATEFUL CHANCE THE NEGRO FOLK-SONG -- THE RHYTHMIC CRY OF THE SLAVE -- STANDS TODAY NOT SIMPLY AS THE SOLE AMERICAN MUSIC, BUT AS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL EXPRESSION OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE BORN THIS SIDE THE SEAS. IT HAS BEEN NEGLECTED, IT HAS BEEN, AND IS, HALF DESPISED, AND ABOVE ALL IT HAS BEEN PERSISTENTLY MISTAKEN AND MISUNDERSTOOD; BUT NOTWITHSTANDING, IT STILL REMAINS AS THE SINGULAR SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF THE NATION AND THE GREATEST GIFT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE."

48-11-112

THE OLDER MUSIC HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IN JAZZ AND RAGTIME AND BY MASTERS LIKE BURLEIGH, ROSAMOND JOHNSON AND DETT, AND THE BLUES THERE HAVE BEEN GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL NEGRO VOICES, AND ON THE STAGE MEN LIKE ALDRIDGE AND GILPIN. THE DANCE OF NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA EXHIBITS

THE EFFECT WHICH THE NEGRO HERE AND IN AFRICA HAD ON THIS FORM OF HUMAN EXPRESSION.

FURTHER, THERE IS PROSE AND POETRY. AND NOT SIMPLY THE LITERATURE WRITTEN BY NEGROES BUT THAT INSPIRED BY THEM. TAKE THE NEGRO THEME OUT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE AND IT WOULD BE POOR INDEED. FROM THE SLAVE SHIP TO THE PLANTATION; FROM POLITICAL ARGUMENT TO SOCIAL RELATIONS; FROM CURRENT POLITICS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE BLACK MAN COMES NEARER THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE SUBJECT TO BEING THE CENTRAL THREAD OF OUR EXPRESSION.

TO THIS COMES THE WRITING OF NEGROES THEMSELVES; THE POETRY OF PHILLIS WHEATLY IN THE EARLY 18th CENTURY; THE ALMANACS OF BANNEKER, THE DAVID WALKER'S APPEAL; DOUGLASS' AUTOBIOGLITERARY GROUP OF NEW ORLEANS;
RAPHY; BRAITHWAITE'S ANTHOLOGIES; THE POETRY OF JOHNSON, CULLEN AND HUGHES, AND THE NOVELS OF CHESNUTT. (Negro Spiritual)

HERE IS A SKETCH OF THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH THE NEGRO SLAVES AND HIS DESCENDANTS HELPED TO MAKE THIS AMERICA OF OURS.

p.9 omitted in speech as given

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WERE STRONGER AND THE NUMBER OF WHITES MUCH LARGER. AS I HAVE SAID, "A LONG, AWFUL PROCESS OF SELECTION CHOSE OUT THE LISTLESS, IGNORANT, SLY AND HUMBLE AND SENT TO HEAVEN THE PROUD, THE VENGEFUL AND THE DARING. THE OLD AFRICAN WARRIOR SPIRIT DIED AWAY OF VIOLENCE AND A BROKEN HEART."

NEVERTHELESS A SERIES OF ATTEMPTED REBELLIONS TOOK PLACE WHICH CAN BE TRACED TO THE INFLUENCE OF HAITI. IN 1800 CAME THE PROSSER CONSPIRACY INVIRGINIA WHICH PLANNED A FORCE OF 11,000 NEGROES TO MARCH IN THREE COLUMNS IN THE CITY AND SEIZE THE ARSENAL. A TERRIFIC STORM THWARTED THESE MEN AND 36 WERE EXECUTED FOR THE ATTEMPT. IN 1791 NEGROES OF LOUISIANA SOUGHT TO IMITATE TOUSSAINT LEADING TO THE EXECUTION OF 23 SLAVES. OTHER SMALLER ATTEMPTS WERE MADE IN SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1816 AND IN GEORGIA IN 1819. IN 1822 CAME THE CELEBRATED ATTEMPT OF DENMARK VESEY, AN EDUCATED FREEDMAN WHO THROUGH HIS TRADE AS CARPENTER ACCUMULATED CONSIDERABLE WEALTH. HE SPOKE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AND WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE HAITIAN

REVOLUTION, THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SCHEME AND THE AGITATION ATTENDING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. HE OPENLY DISCUSSED SLAVERY AND RIDICULED THE SLAVES FOR THEIR COWARDICE AND SUBMISSION. HE WORKED THROUGH THE CHURCH AND PLANNED THE TOTAL ANNIHILATION OF THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF CHARLESTON. THOUSANDS OF SLAVES WERE ENROLLED, BUT ONE BETRAYED HIM AND THIS LED TO THE ARREST OF 137 BLACKS OF WHOM 35 WERE HANGED AND 37 BANISHED.

LESS THAN TEN YEARS ELAPSED BEFORE ANOTHER INSURRECTION WAS PLANNED AND PARTIALLY CARRIED THROUGH. ITS LEADER WAS NAT TURNER, A SLAVE BORN IN VIRGINIA IN 1800. HE WAS PRECOCIOUS AND CONSIDERED AS "MARKED" BY THE NEGROES. HE HAD EXPERIMENTED IN MAKING PAPER, GUN POWDER AND POTTERY; NEVER SWORE, NEVER DRANK AND NEVER STOLE. FOR THE MOST PART HE WAS A SORT OF RELIGIOUS DEVOTEE, FASTING AND PRAYING AND READING THE BIBLE. ONCE HE RAN AWAY BUT WAS COMMANDED BY SPIRIT VOICES TO RETURN. BY 1825 HE WAS CONSCIOUS OF A GREAT MISSION, AND ON MAY 12, 1831, " A GREAT VOICE SAID

UNTO HIM THAT THE SERPENT WAS LOOSED, THAT CHRIST HAD LAID DOWN THE YOKE."

HE BELIEVED THAT HE, NAT TURNER, WAS TO LEAD THE MOVEMENT AND THAT "THE FIRST SHOULD BE LAST AND THE LAST FIRST." AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN IN FEBRUARY, 1831 WAS A FURTHER SIGN TO HIM. HE WORKED QUICKLY, GATHERING SIX FRIENDS TOGETHER AUGUST 21, THEY MADE THEIR PLANS AND THEN STARTED THE INSURRECTION BY KILLING NAT'S MASTER AND THE FAMILY. ABOUT 40 NEGROES GATHERED IN ALL AND THEY KILLED 61 WHITE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY WERE HEADED TOWARD TOWN WHEN FINALLY THE WHITES BEGAN TO ARM IN OPPOSITION. IT WAS NOT, HOWEVER, UNTIL TWO MONTHS LATER, OCTOBER 30, THAT TURNER HIMSELF WAS CAPTURED. HE WAS TRIED NOVEMBER 5 AND SENTENCED TO BE HANGED. WHEN ASKED IF HE BELIEVED IN THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF HIS MISSION HE REPLIED, "WAS NOT CHRIST CRUCIFIED?" HE MADE NO CONFESSION.

IN 1839 AND 1841 TWO CASES OF MUTINY OF SLAVES ON THE HIGH SEAS CAUSED MUCH COMMOTION IN AMERICA. IN 1839 A SCHOONER, THE AMISTAD,

STARTED FROM HAVANA FOR ANOTHER WEST INDIAN PORT WITH 53 SLAVES. LED BY A BLACK MAN, CINQUE, THE SLAVES ROSE, KILLED THE CAPTAIN AND SOME OF THE CREW, ALLOWED THE REST OF THE CREW TO ESCAPE AND PUT THE TWO OWNERS IN IRONS. THE NEGROES THEN TRIED TO ESCAPE TO AFRICA, BUT AFTER ABOUT TWO MONTHS THEY LANDED IN CONNECTICUT AND A CELEBRATED LAW CASE AROSE OVER THE DISPOSITION OF THE BLACK MUTINEERS WHICH WENT TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDED THEM AND WON HIS CASE. EVENTUALLY MONEY WAS RAISED AND THE NEGROES RETURNED TO AFRICA.

WHILE THIS CASE WAS IN THE COURT THE BRIG CREOLE IN 1841 SAILED FROM RICHMOND TO NEW ORLEANS WITH 130 SLAVES. 19 OF THE SLAVES MUTINIED AND LED BY MADISON WASHINGTON TOOK COMMAND OF THE VESSEL AND SAILED TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. DANIEL WEBSTER DEMANDED THE RETURN OF THE SLAVES BUT THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES REFUSED.

DURING THESE YEARS REBELLION AND [illegible]

FREEDOM OF OPINION

Elizabeth Irwin High School, New York
February 14, 1955

Du Bois 48-11-39 Feb. 1955

FREEDOM OF OPINION

I HAVE A STORY WHICH I HAVE TOLD SO MANY TIMES THAT I FEEL A BIT EMBARRASSED WHEN I FIND MYSELF, AS I OFTEN DO, ABOUT TO TELL IT AGAIN. YET IT HAS SERVED MY PURPOSE SO FREQUENTLY THAT I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM REPEATING IT.

IN THE LITTLE TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN THERE OCCURRED each SPRING WHAT WAS CALLED THE TOWN MEETING. THIS ASSEMBLY WAS A GATHERING OF ALL THE GROWN MEN OF THE TOWN TO CONSIDER MAINTENANCE OF ROADS AND BRIDGES, THE UPKEEP OF THE SCHOOLS, THE SUPPORT OF THE POOR AND SUCH MATTERS. THE SELECTMEN WHO RAN THE TOWN AND THE ASSESSORS WHO LAID THE TAXES WERE ELECTED AT THIS MEETING AND MONEY FOR THESE PURPOSES APPROPRIATED FOR THE COMING YEAR.

AS A BOY OF TWELVE OR THIRTEEN, I GOT INTO THE HABIT OF ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS -HOW, I DO NOT KNOW. I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT ANY OTHER

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BOYS AMONG MY COMPANIONS WENT. BUT FOR SEVERAL YEARS I WAS ON HAND TO SEE AND HEAR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN FUNCTION. ON THE FIRST OCCASION THAT I ATTENDED THERE ENTERED THE HALL ONE OF THE DIRTIEST MEN I HAD EVER SEEN. HE WAS OLD AND FAT, HIS CLOTHES WERE SOILED AND GREASY AND HE WAS UNKEMPT AND UNSHAVEN. HIS HAT WAS SINGULARLY DISREPUTABLE. HE CAME IN AND TOOK HIS SEAT. NO ONE PAID HIM ANY PARTICULAR ATTENTION BUT ALL KNEW, AS I SOON LEARNED, THAT THIS WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE, A HERMIT FROM THE NEIGHBORING MOUNTAINS. WHEN THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS CAME UP THIS MAN AROSE AND SPOKE. HE TALKED LOUD AND VIGOROUSLY AND LONG. HE TALKED ABOUT THE HIGH SCHOOL.

NOW THE HIGH SCHOOL WAS A MATTER VERY CLOSE TO ME. I WAS A STUDENT THERE. IT STOOD ON THE SAME SCHOOLGROUNDS WHERE I HAD GONE TO SCHOOL SINCE I WAS SIX YEARS OLD AND WHERE I WAS TO CONTINUE UNTIL I WAS GRADUATED. THE

BUILDING/FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL/OCCUPIED ONE HALF/OF THE CAMPUS/AND ON THE OTHER HALF/WAS A BUILDING/IN WHICH THE GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS/WERE HOUSED.// THE HIGH SCHOOL AT THE TIME/WAS A comparatively RECENT ADDITION/AND WAS SMALL,/ WITH ONE TEACHER/AND PERHAPS 25 STUDENTS.// BUT THIS SCHOOL WAS/TO MY MIND/ A VERY, VERY FINE INSTITUTION/AND WE who were in it ALL AGREED/THAT IT NEEDED MORE MONEY THAN THE STINGY OLD TOWN/WAS GIVING IT.

IMAGINE THEN, MY DISGUST/WHEN THIS UNPLEASANT-LOOKING OLD MAN/ LAUNCHED/INTO A BITTER TIRADE/AGAINST THE HIGH SCHOOL/AND THE MONEY SPENT ON IT.// HE SAID/IT WAS A SHAME/FOR THE TOWN TO WASTE MONEY/ON SUCH AN INSTITUTION;// THAT THE TOWN HAD NO RIGHT/TO TAX HIM/FOR TEACHING USELESS LATIN AND GREEK/TO BOYS/WHO OUGHT TO BE AT WORK;// HE DECLARED/THAT IF CITIZENS WANTED/TO PREPARE THEIR CHILDREN/FOR COLLEGE/THEY SHOULD PAY THE COST/OUT OF THEIR OWN POCKETS/AND NOT OUT OF HIS;// AND SO FORTH AND SO ON FOR AN HOUR OR MORE!

I WAS FURIOUS.// I LOOKED ABOUT/TO SEE WHY SOMEBODY/DID NOT SHUT HIM/ UP/AND THROW HIM OUT.// BUT NO ONE DID./ EVERYONE SAT QUIETLY AND SOLEMNLY/ AND LISTENED.// THERE WAS MR. WHITING,/ WHITE-HAIRED AND PROPER;// MR. LANGDON, A SELECTMAN,/ PORTLY AND WELL-DRESSED;/ THERE WAS MR. CULVER -- IN FACT,/ THERE WAS EVERYBODY,/ AND NOBODY STIRRED.// FINALLY,/ WHEN THE SPEAKER HAD FINISHED/AND SAT DOWN,/ AFTER A LONG PAUSE/WHICH MADE ME SHIVER,/WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT/TO ANSWER THE SPEAKER,/ SOMEONE MOVED THE USUAL APPROPRIATION/ FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL/AND THE MOTION PASSED.// THE TOWN MEETING/THEN MOVED TO OTHER MATTERS.

I WAS PLEASED BUT NOT SATISFIED./ THE HIGH SCHOOL HAD ITS USUAL FUNDS/ BUT IT NEEDED MORE -- ANOTHER TEACHER,/ A LABORATORY, MORE ROOM.// WITHOUT THIS SENSELESS ATTACK/IT MIGHT HAVE GOTTEN/SOME OF THESE NEEDED THINGS./ WHY THEN WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE ALLOWED TO SPEAK?// I THOUGHT THE INCIDENT OVER/AND THE NEXT YEAR,/ EXACTLY THE SAME THING HAPPENED.// THE SAME MAN,

POSSIBLY A SHADE DIRTIER./ MADE THE SAME SPEECH /WITH THE SAME RESULT.// AS YEARS PASSED AND BEFORE I WAS GRADUATED/ THE HIGH SCHOOL /GOT ANOTHER TEACHER /AND SOME OTHER IMPROVEMENTS,/ AND DURING THIS TIME/ I GOT A LESSON /IN FREEDOM OF OPINION /AND FREE EXPRESSION OF ONE'S IDEAS/ WHICH I HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN.// THAT IS WHY I HAVE CHOSEN "FREEDOM OF OPINION" /AS MY SUBJECT TODAY.

I GREW TO MANHOOD AND AGE/ KNOWING THAT THIS /IS NOT A FREE WORLD /AND NEVER CAN BE./ // ALL OF US MUST OBEY/ THE LAWS OF NATURE/ GRAVITY, MOTION,/ COHESION;// IN INDUSTRY, RULES FOR MAKING CLOTH,/ WELDING STEEL /AND BUILDING DAMS.// WE ARE NOT FREE./ WE ARE BOUND /BY INEXORABLE, UNYIELDING NATURE.// EVEN IN HUMAN ACTION/ WE ARE LIMITED BY REGULARITIES /OF INBORN PSYCHOLOGY,/ BY LONG-STANDING RULES OF BEHAVIOR,/ BY DEEP-SEATED CUSTOM, BY STATUTE LAW /AND ETHICAL "MUSTS".

BUT THERE IS ONE FIELD /WHERE THE CONSENSUS OF MANKIND/ IS, THAT THERE /WE CAN AND MUST BE FREE,/ AND THAT IS/ IN OUR OWN THOUGHTS.// WE HAVE A RIGHT TO DEMAND /WHAT BEARTOWN BEEBE DEMANDED /AND THAT WAS/ HIS OWN OPINION// AND THE RIGHT AT SUITABLE TIMES AND PLACES /TO EXPRESS THAT OPINION.// HE HAD NO RIGHT TO COMPEL ME OR THE TOWN MEETING

TO AGREE WITH HIM,/ AND SO TOO,/ WE HAD NO RIGHT /TO MAKE HIM /KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT.

THIS IS THE VERY ESSENCE /OF THAT DEMOCRACY/ OF WHICH WE BOAST /AND TOWARD WHICH WE TRY TO MOVE /AND FROM WHICH WE ARE SO OFTEN BARRED.// IN A DEMOCRACY/ EVERYBODY DOES NOT HAVE HIS WAY;/ THAT IS PHYSICALLY AND SOCIALLY IMPOSSIBLE.// BUT IN A TRUE DEMOCRACY/ EVERYBODY/ HAS A RIGHT TO HIS OPINION/ AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE DONE/ AND THE RIGHT TO MAKE THAT OPINION KNOWN TO ALL.// OTHERWISE /THE WORLD MAY REMAIN IGNORANT /OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH IT NEEDS /FOR INTELLIGENT ACTION..

HOWEVER, INSTEAD OF THIS /BEING THE RULE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS,/ IT HAS BECOME, IN TOO MANY CASES /AND TOO OFTEN/ EVEN IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD,/ FOR NATIONS TO START ACTION /NOT BY LISTENING TO FREE OPINION,/ BUT ON THE CONTRARY, BY STOPPING MEN FROM THINKING /OR TALKING /OR WRITING.// THE REASON FOR SUCH ACTION IS USUALLY FEAR./ FEAR OF FALSE PROPHETS /AND DANGEROUS DOCTRINES.// THERE IS REASON FOR FEAR /BECAUSE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN /ARE POWERFUL THINGS,/ PERHAPS THE MOST POWERFUL /IN THE UNIVERSE.// THIS HAS BEEN DISPUTED,/ BUT THE CONSIDERED ASSUMPTION /OF SCIENCE TODAY /IS THAT CHANGE

IN HUMAN ACTION/CAN BE INITIATED BY THOUGHT;/THAT HUMANITY PROGRESSES/BY REASONED THOUGHT AND THAT WITHOUT FREEDOM OF THOUGHT/THERE WILL BE NO PROGRESS/OR EVEN RETROGRESSION.// HERE LIES THE DIFFERENCE/BETWEEN ANIMALS AND MEN.

THE ONLY METHOD THEN,/ OF INSURING THAT THOUGHT/WILL NOT MISLEAD MANKIND/IS NOT TO PREVENT THINKING;/ BUT TO ENSURE THAT OPINION BE HONEST/AND THAT IT BE BASED/ON KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH.//AND IT IS RIGHT HERE,/ IN THE EFFORT TO INSURE HONESTY AND TRUTH,/ THAT SINGULARLY ENOUGH/THE WORLD HAS CONTINUALLY/GONE ASTRAY/AND ALONG THE SAME PATHS.// WE HAVE TRIED TO STOP THINKING/AND STOP MEN FROM ACTING/ACCORDING TO THEIR REASONED THOUGHT.//IF, OF COURSE,/A MAN'S OPINION/IS BASED ON WHAT IS UNTRUE;/IF WHAT YOU SAY/IS NOT WHAT YOU REALLY THINK,/ SUCH OPINION MAY SERIOUSLY MISLEAD.//BUT THE WAY TO AVOID THIS/IS NOT BY STOPPING THOUGHT./ NO./ IT IS BY EDUCATING THINKERS/AND BY PERSUADING YOUTH/TO BELIEVE THAT HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY/AND THAT SPYING,/LYING AND TATTLING/IS INDECENT FOR STUDENTS,/ GROWN-UPS OR GOVERNMENTS.// A MAN MAY SAY/NOT WHAT HE THINKS/BUT WHAT HIS EMPLOYER/WANTS HIM TO THINK. OR A MAN MAY HAVE AN HONEST OPINION/BUT ONE BASED/NOT ON WHAT HE KNOWS/OR HAS TRIED TO FIND OUT.// WITHOUT KNOWING/OR TRYING TO LEARN,/ CITIZENS SOMETIMES SPEAK,/ ADVISE AND VOTE/ON GREAT AND VITAL ISSUES/AND THUS HELP WRONG TO TRIUMPH.// IF, THEN, FREE OPINION/IS TO HELP

HAVE EDUCATION AND USE IT/AND THEY MUST PREFER/TRUTH TO FALSEHOOD.

THERE HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST/FOUR GREAT LINES OF THOUGHT/WHICH HAVE CALLED ~~called~~ FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE;//IN ALL THESE/THE WORLD HAS STRUGGLED/IN BLOOD AND DESTRUCTION/ RATHER THAN PERMIT/EVEN DISCUSSION OF CHANGE,/ MUCH LESS EXPERIMENT/ALONG THESE LINES. IN THE MAIN/THESE CHANGES HAVE TO DO WITH/RELIGION,/ EDUCATION,/ GOVERNMENT/AND PROPERTY.

AS A YOUNG MAN/I ONCE SPENT A SUMMER/IN THE SHADOW OF THE WARTBURG CASTLE/ IN THE CENTER OF GERMANY,/ WHERE MARTIN LUTHER/TRANSLATED THE BIBLE//AND HERE STARTED THAT WAR/WHICH FOR THIRTY YEARS/DEVASTATED GERMANY.//I BECAME AWARE/HOW INDEED FOR 400 YEARS/MEN IN EUROPE/HAD MURDERED AND DESTROYED EACH OTHER/IN ORDER TO PREVENT/ DIFFERENCE OF OPINION/AS TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD.//THE WASTE, HATRED, LYING, MURDER,/ CRUELTY AND BARBARISM/DURING THE RISE OF PROTESTANTISM/IS TODAY ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE.// YET IN THE END,/ NEITHER PROTESTANTISM WAS PREVENTED/NOR CATHOLICISM DESTROYED.// AND THIS, MIND YOU,/ IS ONLY A SMALL SEGMENT/OF THE WARS OF RELIGION/IN EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH.//THEIR OBJECT WAS/TO PREVENT THOUGHT/OR ACTION/WHICH WOULD STOP MEN FROM

UNBELIEVABLE

DOING RIGHT. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS THEY MADE MEN DO WRONG.

OR TURN TO THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION. FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS, THE ACCUMULATED KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH, GATHERED BY EXPERIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WAS KEPT AS THE MONOPOLY OF A SMALL CLASS OF PERSONS AND FORMED NOT SIMPLY THE BEGINNING OF SCIENCE BUT THE BASIS OF THEIR OWN COMFORT AND OF THEIR POWER OVER OTHERS. IN EGYPT, GREECE, CHINA, ROME AND THE MIDDLE AGES, EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE TO KEEP KNOWLEDGE FROM THE MASS OF PEOPLE. FROM 5000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST TO THE FALL OF ROME GOVERNMENTS SPENT MORE TIME AND EFFORT IN STOPPING THE MASS OF PEOPLE FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE WORLD THAN IN SPREADING THE TRUTH.

AS LATE AS THE 18th CENTURY WHEN PROPOSALS CAME TO TEACH THE MASSES TO READ AND WRITE, THE REACTION WAS FURIOUS. THE ENGLISH SQUIRE SAID, "I WANT MY TENANTS TO PLOW, NOT TO READ." THE FRENCH SEIGNEUR SAID, "THESE PEASANTS ARE TOO DUMB TO LEARN; AS WELL TRY TO TEACH MY PIGS." WHEN IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY WOMEN WANTED TO BE ADMITTED TO COLLEGE MANY HONEST GENTLEMEN THOUGHT THIS THE MOST INDECENT PROPOSAL EVER MADE. POPULAR EDUCATION WAS OPPOSED BY MOBS, ARSON, JAILS AND MURDER. THE

OPPOSITION HAS NOT ENTIRELY DISAPPEARED EVEN TODAY. YET WITHOUT AN INCREASINGLY LARGE NUMBER OF EDUCATED CITIZENS SUSTAINED SOCIAL PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THOUGHT AND BELIEF RESTING ON A SOUND FOUNDATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPRESSED CLEARLY AND HONESTLY MUST IN THE LONG RUN ESTABLISH THAT GROUNDWORK OF LAW AND CUSTOM ON WHICH THE SUCCESSFUL STATE RESTS. THIS IS NOT EASY. OPINIONS VARY. THE SAME MEN AT DIFFERENT TIMES DIFFER IN CONCLUSION AND DIFFERENT MEN DIFFER EVEN MORE. THE AREA OF DISAGREEMENT CAN, HOWEVER, BE NARROWED BY EDUCATION, BY SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY, BY READING WHAT OTHERS HAVE THOUGHT, BY LISTENING TO PERSONS WHO KNOW. IN THIS WAY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON MOST MATTERS CAN BE ENORMOUSLY NARROWED. THIS IS THE BASIC REASON FOR POPULAR EDUCATION; FOR HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING IN THE CASE OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF STUDENTS. FOR COLLEGE TRAINING FOR THE GIFTED AND THE WILLING.

AMONG PEOPLE LIKE THE SCANDINAVIANS WHERE FOR A CENTURY EVERYBODY COULD READ AND WRITE, WHERE THERE ARE MANY HIGH SCHOOLS AND FINE COLLEGES, IN SUCH LANDS WE CAN EXPECT LESS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON WHAT IS BEST FOR THE STATE THAN IN LANDS OF

IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND POVERTY/LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST// BUT THAT IS NOT ALL:/IN CIVILIZED NATIONS/THERE MUST BE STANDARDS OF HONOR AND COURAGE,/ OF PATIENCE AND HUMAN SYMPATHY.

WE HAVE SEEN HOW IN RELIGION AND EDUCATION/ MEN HAVE TRIED TO STOP THOUGHT/AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION/BY FORCE/AND HOW THEY HAVE HINDERED PROGRESS/BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP IT.// PERHAPS THE QUESTION/OF WHOSE WILL/SHOULD GOVERN THE STATE/HAS CAUSED AS MUCH OR MORE EFFORT/TO STOP THINKING AND TALKING/AS RELIGION OR EDUCATION.// IN EARLIEST TIMES/THE WORD OF THE FATHER/WAS LAW./BUT NATURALLY/IT WAS NOT ALWAYS WISDOM.// THEN CAME THE CHOSEN HEAD/OF THE STATE./ BUT WHO SHOULD DO THE CHOOSING?// THERE WAS EFFORT TO CONFINE/THE RIGHT OF CHOICE/TO A PRIVILEGED ARISTOCRACY.// AFTER THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF STRIFE/THIS CULMINATED IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION/WHICH SOUGHT TO STOP THE CUSTOM/OF CONFINING RULE/TO THOSE OF HIGH BIRTH.// THE MIDDLE CLASS GAINED THE RIGHT TO VOTE./ BUT WHEN IN THE 19th CENTURY/MEN TRIED TO INTRODUCE/UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE,/ THE OLD ATTEMPT/TO STOP BELIEF/IN THIS TYPE OF GOVERNMENT/ OR TO LET MEN TALK/OR PUBLISH BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT/ SHOOK THE WORLD.// FOR YEARS/ NO ONE/WHO BELIEVED/IN LETTING THE MASSES

VOTE/WAS CONSIDERED RESPECTABLE,/ OR QUITE SANE.

AN EVEN GREATER LESSON/IN FREEDOM OF THOUGHT/IS SHOWN IN THE PROBLEM/OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.// THIS HAS ARISEN,/ ESPECIALLY IN THE MODERN WORLD/ BECAUSE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD/THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP/OF PROPERTY/WAS NOT FULLY DEVELOPED.// MOST OF THE THINGS/NOW OWNED PRIVATELY/AND FORMING THE MASS OF PRIVATE WEALTH/WERE NEITHER OWNED NOR OWNABLE./ 500 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.// SO THAT PROPERTY/WAS A MATTER OF GOVERNMENT,/ FAMILY AND CUSTOM/RATHER THAN OF PRIVATE RIGHTS.// BUT IN THE 18th/AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES/ THERE CAME THREE OCCURRENCES/WHICH CHANGED THE CONCEPT/OF PRIVATE PROPERTY/IN THE MODERN WORLD.// ONE WAS THE LOOT OF INDIA,/ WHICH BROUGHT IMMENSE EXCHANGEABLE WEALTH/TO EUROPE./ SECOND,/ AMERICAN SLAVERY,/ WHICH FURNISHED THE WORLD/WITH MATERIALS IN WIDE DEMAND.// SUGAR, COTTON AND TOBACCO.// AND THIRD, SCIENCE, WHICH/INSPIRED BY THIS DEMAND/FURNISHED POWER, MACHINES AND TECHNIQUES/FOR TURNING RAW MATERIALS/INTO CONSUMER GOODS.// MERCHANTS DEMANDED FREEDOM FOR COMMERCIAL ADVENTURE/AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE GOODS/ IMPORTED AND MANUFACTURED.

THEREAFTER FREEDOM/CAME TO BE THOUGHT OF/AS THE RIGHT TO FIND AND SEIZE

NEW SORTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY/ AND, WHILE FREEDOM FOR OPINION WAS NOT DENIED,/ IT WAS OFTEN FORGOTTEN.// ALSO, A NEW RELATIONSHIP AROSE/ BETWEEN OWNERS OF GOODS AND MONEY/ AND THE WORKERS/ WHO MADE AND TRANSFORMED THESE GOODS.// IN PRIMITIVE TIMES/ LABORERS WORKED TOGETHER/ AND DIVIDED THE RESULT.// IN ANCIENT TIMES THE CHIEF OWNED THE LABORER AND HIS WORK/ AND GAVE HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT BEST.// IN MODERN TIMES THE INDUSTRIALIST/ OWNS MACHINES, FOOD,/ CLOTHES, LAND/ AND RAW MATERIALS.// AND BY BARGAIN/ EXCHANGES THESE FOR THE RESULTS OF LABOR.// SINCE IN MOST CASES/ THE LABORER HIMSELF/ CANNOT USE THE RESULTS OF HIS WORK/ THE EMPLOYER CAN DRIVE A HARD BARGAIN.

THE VALUE OF MANUFACTURED GOODS/ AFTER THE NAPOLEONIC WARS/ INCREASED ENORMOUSLY/ BUT THE DIVISION OF THIS VALUE/ BETWEEN OWNERS AND LABORERS/ LED TO MUCH POVERTY. PHILANTHROPISTS BEGAN TO INSIST/ THAT WEALTH OUGHT TO BE MORE EQUITABLY DIVIDED,/ THAT BLACK SLAVES BE FREED/ AND THE HEATHEN CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

EUROPEAN LABORERS/ FORMED UNIONS/ AND TRIED TO INCREASE WAGES BY STRIKES./ EMPLOYERS PUT STRIKERS IN JAIL./ SO GREAT WAS THE UNREST/ THAT MOST THINKING MEN/ AND

REFORMERS/ BEGAN TO ADVOCATE/ OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MACHINES/ AND RAW MATERIALS/ BY THE GOVERNMENT/ INSTEAD OF BY PRIVATE OWNERS.

ALMOST EVERYBODY/ FAMILIAR WITH THE FACTORY SYSTEM/ ADMITTED THAT CHANGE WAS NECESSARY/ AND AS A GREAT BRITISH STATESMAN ONCE SAID,/ "WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW." BUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY/ KARL MARX TRIED TO SHOW/ THAT COMPLETE SOCIALISM COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED/ UNLESS WORKERS/ FORMING THE MAJORITY OF MEN AND VOTERS/ TOOK CONTROL OF THE STATE.// THIS BROUGHT VIOLENT DISSENT/ FROM THE OWNERS AND MANAGERS OF BUSINESS.

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY/ THIS ATTEMPT OF WORKERS AND THINKERS/ TO TAKE OVER THE STATE/ LED TO EFFORTS AT REVOLUTION/ IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY,/ AUSTRIA AND ITALY.// THIS SPREAD SOCIALISM,/ BUT DID NOT DO AWAY WITH/ PRIVATE CONTROL OF MOST WEALTH/ USED IN INDUSTRY.// OPPRESSION OF WORKERS INCREASED/ AND MANY DISAPPOINTED WORKERS AND LIBERALS/ MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES.

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BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH/IN THE UNITED STATES,/WHILE WIDER SOCIAL CONTROL OF WEALTH/TOGETHER WITH FREE LAND/WAS INCREASING.//AND THIS WAS CALLED "LAND OF LIBERTY."// ON THE OTHER HAND/A NEW CONCEPT OF PRIVATE WEALTH/WAS ALSO GROWING.//AND THAT WAS PRIVATE WONERSHIP/OF HUMAN BEINGS.// THIS WAS REBIRTH/OF PRIMITIVE SLAVERY/LONG SINCE REPUDIATED IN THEORY BY CIVILIZED LANDS/ BUT REESTABLISHED IN AMERICA/BY THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.// AT THE VERY TIME/WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS CRYING,/"ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL,"/ IF HE HAD GLANCED OUT THE WINDOWS/OF INDEPENDENCE HALL,/ EVERY FIFTH PERSON HE SAW PASS/WOULD HAVE BEEN A SLAVE/OWNED BY A WHITE MAN,/AND A SLAVE WHO,/AS THE SUPREME COURT LATER DECIDED/ HAD "NO RIGHTS/WHICH A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT!"

MANY AMERICANS/DID NOT LIKE THIS/AND SAID SO.// THEY BELIEVED THAT IN TIME/SLAVES WOULD BECOME FREE CITIZENS.// BUT THE DEMAND FOR COTTON/WAS GROWING,/AND SLAVES RAISED COTTON.// ABOLITION OF HUMAN SLAVERY/WOULD REDUCE THE INCOME/OF MANY PERSONS,/ GIVE THEM FEWER LUXURIES/AND LESS PRETENTIOUS HOMES.// MORE AND MORE THE SOUTH,/AND MANY IN THE NORTH/RESENTED DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY BY ANYONE,/ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TIME.

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IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY/A YOUNG PRINTER OF BOSTON/DECIDED THAT SLAVERY WAS WRONG/AND SAID SO.// HE ESTABLISHED A SMALL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER/TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION.// HE WAS PUT IN JAIL WHEN IN BALTIMORE/ AND THE STATE OF GEORGIA/OFFERED $5000 FOR HIS DELIVERY IN THAT STATE.// HE ATTENDED A MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL/IN BOSTON/AND STRONGLY ATTACKED SLAVERY.// A NUMBER OF RESPECTABLE CITIZENS,/ INCLUDING GRADUATES OF HARVARD COLLEGE,/ FORMED A MOB,/ TIED ROPES AROUND HIS BODY/AND DRAGGED WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON/THROUGH THE MUD AND DIRT OF THE STREETS.// GARRISON STAGGERED TO HIS FEET/ AND LIMPED HOME.// HE REPEATED/WHAT HE HAD SAID BEFORE:/ "I AM IN EARNEST; -- I WILL NOT EQUIVOCATE /- I WILL NOT EXCUSE /- I WILL NOT RETREAT A SINGLE INCH /- AND I WILL BE HEARD."

FROM 1820 TO 1860/ IT WAS DANGEROUS TO LIFE/OR EVEN ILLEGAL/TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY/IN MOST PARTS OF THIS NATION.// SUCH OPINIONS WERE HELD INDECENT. VERY FEW CHRISTIAN CHURCHES/ ALLOWED SLAVERY TO BE DISCUSSED/IN THEIR PULPITS.// THE MOST PROMINENT RABBI/IN THIS CITY PREACHED A WIDELY CIRCULATED SERMON/ PROVING FROM

HEBREW SCRIPTURE/ THAT GOD MADE NEGROES "THE MEANEST OF SLAVES."// CONGRESSMEN FOUGHT OVER SLAVERY/ IN THE CAPITOL/ WITH CLUBS AND KNIVES.// JOHN BROWN WHO BELIEVED SLAVERY SO EVIL/ THAT HE MURDERED TO STOP IT/ WAS HANGED.// BUT HIS SOUL WENT MARCHING ON.

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THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION/ IS A HISTORY OF WAR/ AS A METHOD OF MAKING MEN THINK AND ACT/ IN CERTAIN WAYS.// WAR HAS/ thus LONG BEEN CONSIDERED/ AS A MEANS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.// BUT AS TIME PASSES/ THE PROGRESS/ WHICH WAR HAS ACCOMPLISHED/ OR WITH PRESENT WEAPONS/ CAN ACCOMPLISH,/ IS SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED/ BY ALL INTELLIGENT MEN.// ONLY YESTERDAY OUR BEST KNOWN GENERAL,/ DOUGLASS MACARTHUR,/ DECLARED THAT TODAY/ NO WAR CAN ADVANCE, AND IT MAY DESTROY HUMAN KIND.// THE GREATEST QUESTION BEFORE MANKIND TODAY/ IS WHAT WE SHOULD DO ABOUT COMMUNISM/ AND WHETHER THE ATTEMPT TO STOP ITS GROWTH/ OR ITS PRESENT EXISTENCE/ BY WORLD WAR/ IS WISE OR POSSIBLE.

Du Bois Elizabeth Irwin HS Feb. 1955

FREEDOM OF OPINION

I HAVE A STORY WHICH I HAVE TOLD SO MANY TIMES THAT I FEEL A BIT EMBARRASSED WHEN I FIND MYSELF, AS I OFTEN DO, ABOUT TO TELL IT AGAIN. YET IT HAS SERVED MY PURPOSE SO FREQUENTLY THAT I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM REPEATING IT.

IN THE LITTLE TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN THERE OCCURRED each SPRING WHAT WAS CALLED THE TOWN MEETING. THIS ASSEMBLY WAS A GATHERING OF ALL THE GROWN MEN OF THE TOWN TO CONSIDER MAINTENANCE OF ROADS AND BRIDGES, THE UPKEEP OF THE SCHOOLS, THE SUPPORT OF THE POOR AND SUCH MATTERS. THE SELECTMEN WHO RAN THE TOWN AND THE ASSESSORS WHO LAID THE TAXES WERE ELECTED AT THIS MEETING AND MONEY FOR THESE PURPOSES APPROPRIATED FOR THE COMING YEAR.

AS A BOY OF TWELVE OR THIRTEEN, I GOT INTO THE HABIT OF ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS --HOW, I DO NOT KNOW. I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT ANY OTHER

48-11-88

BOYS AMONG MY COMPANIONS WENT. BUT FOR SEVERAL YEARS I WAS ON HAND TO SEE AND HEAR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN FUNCTION. ON THE FIRST OCCASION THAT I ATTENDED THERE ENTERED THE HALL ONE OF THE DIRTIEST MEN I HAD EVER SEEN. HE WAS OLD AND FAT, HIS CLOTHES WERE SOILED AND GREASY AND HE WAS UNKEMPT AND UNSHAVEN. HIS HAT WAS SINGULARLY DISREPUTABLE. HE CAME IN AND TOOK HIS SEAT. NO ONE PAID HIM ANY PARTICULAR ATTENTION BUT ALL KNEW, AS I SOON LEARNED, THAT THIS WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE, A HERMIT FROM THE NEIGHBORING MOUNTAINS. WHEN THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS CAME UP THIS MAN AROSE AND SPOKE. HE TALKED LOUD AND VIGOROUSLY AND LONG. HE TALKED ABOUT THE HIGH SCHOOL.

NOW THE HIGH SCHOOL WAS A MATTER VERY CLOSE TO ME. I WAS A STUDENT THERE. IT STOOD ON THE SAME SCHOOLGROUNDS WHERE I HAD GONE TO SCHOOL SINCE I WAS SIX YEARS OLD AND WHERE I WAS TO CONTINUE UNTIL I WAS GRADUATED. THE

BUILDING FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OCCUPIED ONE HALF OF THE CAMPUS AND ON THE OTHER HALF WAS A BUILDING IN WHICH THE GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS WERE HOUSED. THE HIGH SCHOOL AT THE TIME WAS A (comparatively) RECENT ADDITION AND WAS SMALL, WITH ONE TEACHER AND PERHAPS 25 STUDENTS. BUT THIS SCHOOL WAS TO MY MIND A VERY, VERY FINE INSTITUTION AND WE (who were in it) ALL AGREED THAT IT NEEDED MORE MONEY THAN THE STINGY OLD TOWN WAS GIVING IT.

IMAGINE THEN, MY DISGUST WHEN THIS UNPLEASANT-LOOKING OLD MAN LAUNCHED INTO A BITTER TIRADE AGAINST THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE MONEY SPENT ON IT. HE SAID IT WAS A SHAME FOR THE TOWN TO WASTE MONEY ON SUCH AN INSTITUTION; THAT THE TOWN HAD NO RIGHT TO TAX HIM FOR TEACHING USELESS LATIN AND GREEK TO BOYS WHO OUGHT TO BE AT WORK; HE DECLARED THAT IF CITIZENS WANTED TO PREPARE THEIR CHILDREN FOR COLLEGE THEY SHOULD PAY THE COST OUT OF THEIR OWN POCKETS AND NOT OUT OF HIS; AND SO FORTH AND SO ON FOR AN HOUR OR MORE!

48-11-89

I WAS FURIOUS. I LOOKED ABOUT TO SEE WHY SOMEBODY DID NOT SHUT HIM UP AND THROW HIM OUT. BUT NO ONE DID. EVERYONE SAT QUIETLY AND SOLEMNLY AND LISTENED. THERE WAS MR. WHITING, WHITE-HAIRED AND PROPER; MR. LANGDON, A SELECTMAN, PORTLY AND WELL-DRESSED; THERE WAS MR. CULVER -- IN FACT, THERE WAS EVERYBODY, AND NOBODY STIRRED. FINALLY, WHEN THE SPEAKER HAD FINISHED AND SAT DOWN, AFTER A LONG PAUSE WHICH MADE ME SHIVER, WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT TO ANSWER THE SPEAKER, SOMEONE MOVED THE USUAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE MOTION PASSED. THE TOWN MEETING THEN MOVED TO OTHER MATTERS.

I WAS PLEASED BUT NOT SATISFIED. THE HIGH SCHOOL HAD ITS USUAL FUNDS BUT IT NEEDED MORE -- ANOTHER TEACHER, A LABORATORY, MORE ROOM. WITHOUT THIS SENSELESS ATTACK IT MIGHT HAVE GOTTEN SOME OF THESE NEEDED THINGS. WHY THEN WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE ALLOWED TO SPEAK? I THOUGHT THE INCIDENT OVER AND THE NEXT YEAR, EXACTLY THE SAME THING HAPPENED. THE SAME MAN,

POSSIBLY A SHADE DIRTIER, MADE THE SAME SPEECH WITH THE SAME RESULT. AS YEARS PASSED AND BEFORE I WAS GRADUATED, THE HIGH SCHOOL GOT ANOTHER TEACHER AND SOME OTHER IMPROVEMENTS, AND DURING THIS TIME I GOT A LESSON IN FREEDOM OF OPINION AND FREE EXPRESSION OF ONE'S IDEAS, WHICH I HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN. THAT IS WHY I HAVE CHOSEN "FREEDOM OF OPINION" AS MY SUBJECT TODAY.

I GREW TO MANHOOD AND AGE KNOWING THAT THIS IS NOT A FREE WORLD AND NEVER CAN BE. ALL OF US MUST OBEY THE LAWS OF NATURE; GRAVITY, MOTION, COHESION; IN INDUSTRY, RULES FOR MAKING CLOTH, WELDING STEEL AND BUILDING DAMS. WE ARE NOT FREE. WE ARE BOUND BY INEXORABLE, UNYIELDING NATURE. EVEN IN HUMAN ACTION WE ARE LIMITED BY REGULARITIES OF INBORN PSYCHOLOGY, BY LONG-STANDING RULES OF BEHAVIOR, BY DEEP-SEATED CUSTOM, BY STATUTE LAW AND ETHICAL "MUSTS".

BUT THERE IS ONE FIELD WHERE THE CONSENSUS OF MANKIND IS, THAT THERE WE CAN AND MUST BE FREE, AND THAT IS IN OUR OWN THOUGHTS. WE HAVE A RIGHT TO DEMAND WHAT BEARTOWN BEEBE DEMANDED AND THAT WAS HIS OWN OPINION AND THE RIGHT AT SUITABLE TIMES AND PLACES TO EXPRESS THAT OPINION. HE HAD NO RIGHT TO COMPEL ME OR THE TOWN MEETING

TO AGREE WITH HIM; AND SO TOO, WE HAD NO RIGHT TO MAKE HIM KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT.

THIS IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF THAT DEMOCRACY OF WHICH WE BOAST AND TOWARD WHICH WE TRY TO MOVE AND FROM WHICH WE ARE SO OFTEN BARRED. IN A DEMOCRACY EVERYBODY DOES NOT HAVE HIS WAY; THAT IS PHYSICALLY AND SOCIALLY IMPOSSIBLE. BUT IN A TRUE DEMOCRACY EVERYBODY HAS A RIGHT TO HIS OPINION AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE DONE AND THE RIGHT TO MAKE THAT OPINION KNOWN TO ALL. OTHERWISE THE WORLD MAY REMAIN IGNORANT OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH IT NEEDS FOR INTELLIGENT ACTION..

HOWEVER, INSTEAD OF THIS BEING THE RULE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, IT HAS BECOME, IN TOO MANY CASES AND TOO OFTEN EVEN IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD, FOR NATIONS TO START ACTION NOT BY LISTENING TO FREELY EXPRESSED OPINION BUT ON THE CONTRARY, BY STOPPING MEN FROM THINKING OR TALKING OR WRITING. THE REASON FOR SUCH ACTION IS USUALLY FEAR. FEAR OF FALSE PROPHETS AND DANGEROUS DOCTRINES. THERE IS REASON FOR FEAR BECAUSE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN ARE POWERFUL THINGS, PERHAPS THE MOST POWERFUL IN THE UNIVERSE. THIS HAS BEEN DISPUTED, BUT THE CONSIDERED ASSUMPTION OF SCIENCE TODAY IS THAT CHANGE

418-11-90

IN HUMAN ACTION CAN BE INITIATED BY THOUGHT; THAT HUMANITY PROGRESSES BY REASONED THOUGHT AND THAT WITHOUT FREEDOM OF THOUGHT THERE WILL BE NO PROGRESS OR EVEN RETROGRESSION. HERE LIES THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANIMALS AND MEN.

THE ONLY METHOD THEN, OF INSURING THAT THOUGHT WILL NOT MISLEAD MANKIND IS NOT TO PREVENT THINKING, BUT TO ENSURE THAT OPINION BE HONEST, AND THAT IT BE BASED ON KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH. AND IT IS RIGHT HERE, IN THE EFFORT TO INSURE HONESTY AND TRUTH, THAT SINGULARLY ENOUGH THE WORLD HAS CONTINUALLY GONE ASTRAY AND ALONG THE SAME PATHS. WE HAVE TRIED TO STOP THINKING AND STOP MEN FROM ACTING ACCORDING TO THEIR REASONED THOUGHT. IF, OF COURSE A MAN'S OPINION IS BASED ON WHAT IS UNTRUE; IF WHAT YOU SAY IS NOT WHAT YOU REALLY THINK, SUCH OPINION MAY SERIOUSLY MISLEAD. BUT THE WAY TO AVOID THIS IS NOT BY STOPPING THOUGHT. NO. IT IS BY EDUCATING THINKERS AND BY PERSUADING YOUTH TO BELIEVE THAT HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY AND THAT SPYING, LYING AND TATTLING IS INDECENT FOR STUDENTS, GROWN-UPS OR GOVERNMENTS. A MAN MAY SAY NOT WHAT HE THINKS BUT WHAT HIS EMPLOYER WANTS HIM TO THINK. OR A MAN MAY HAVE AN HONEST OPINION BUT ONE BASED NOT ON WHAT HE KNOWS OR HAS TRIED TO FIND OUT. WITHOUT KNOWING OR TRYING TO LEARN, CITIZENS SOMETIMES SPEAK, ADVISE AND VOTE ON GREAT AND VITAL ISSUES AND THUS HELP WRONG TO TRIUMPH. IF, THEN, FREE OPINION IS TO HELP DEMOCRACY CITIZENS MUST

HAVE EDUCATION AND USE IT AND THEY MUST PREFER TRUTH TO FALSEHOOD.

THERE HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST FOUR GREAT LINES OF THOUGHT WHICH HAVE CALLED FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE; IN ALL THESE THE WORLD HAS STRUGGLED IN BLOOD AND DESTRUCTION RATHER THAN PERMIT EVEN DISCUSSION OF CHANGE, MUCH LESS EXPERIMENT ALONG THESE LINES. IN THE MAIN THESE CHANGES HAVE TO DO WITH RELIGION, EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT AND PROPERTY.

AS A YOUNG MAN I ONCE SPENT A SUMMER IN THE SHADOW OF THE WARTBURG CASTLE IN THE CENTER OF GERMANY, WHERE MARTIN LUTHER TRANSLATED THE BIBLE AND HERE STARTED THAT WAR WHICH FOR THIRTY YEARS DEVASTATED GERMANY. I BECAME AWARE HOW INDEED FOR 400 YEARS MEN IN EUROPE HAD MURDERED AND DESTROYED EACH OTHER IN ORDER TO PREVENT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD. THE WASTE, HATRED, LYING, MURDER, CRUELTY AND BARBARISM DURING THE RISE OF PROTESTANTISM IS TODAY ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. YET IN THE END, NEITHER PROTESTANTISM WAS PREVENTED NOR CATHOLICISM DESTROYED. AND THIS, MIND YOU, IS ONLY A SMALL SEGMENT OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH. THEIR OBJECT WAS TO PREVENT THOUGHT OR ACTION WHICH WOULD STOP MEN FROM

16-11-817

DOING RIGHT. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS THEY MADE MEN DO unbelievable WRONG.

OR TURN TO THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION. FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS, THE ACCUMULATED KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH, GATHERED BY EXPERIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, WAS KEPT AS THE MONOPOLY OF A SMALL CLASS OF PERSONS AND FORMED THE BASIS OF THEIR OWN COMFORT AND OF THEIR POWER OVER OTHERS. IN EGYPT, GREECE, CHINA, ROME AND THE MIDDLE AGES, EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE TO KEEP KNOWLEDGE FROM THE MASS OF PEOPLE. FROM 5000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST TO THE FALL OF ROME GOVERNMENTS SPENT MORE TIME AND EFFORT IN STOPPING THE MASS OF PEOPLE FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE WORLD THAN IN SPREADING THE TRUTH.

AS LATE AS THE 18th CENTURY WHEN PROPOSALS CAME TO TEACH THE MASSES TO READ AND WRITE, THE REACTION WAS FURIOUS. THE ENGLISH SQUIRE SAID, "I WANT MY TENANTS TO PLOW, NOT TO READ." THE FRENCH SEIGNEUR SAID, "THESE peasant ARE TOO DUMB TO LEARN; AS WELL TRY TO TEACH MY PIGS." WHEN IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY WOMEN WANTED TO BE ADMITTED TO COLLEGE MANY HONEST GENTLEMEN THOUGHT THIS THE MOST INDECENT PROPOSAL EVER MADE. POPULAR EDUCATION WAS OPPOSED BY MOBS, ARSON, JAILS AND MURDER. THE

OPPOSITION HAS NOT ENTIRELY DISAPPEARED EVEN TODAY. YET WITHOUT AN INCREASINGLY LARGE NUMBER OF EDUCATED CITIZENS SUSTAINED SOCIAL PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THOUGHT AND BELIEF RESTING ON A SOUND FOUNDATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPRESSED CLEARLY AND HONESTLY, MUST IN THE LONG RUN ESTABLISH that GROUNDWORK OF LAW AND CUSTOM ON WHICH successful THE STATE RESTS. THIS IS NOT EASY. OPINIONS VARY. THE SAME MEN AT DIFFERENT TIMES DIFFER IN CONCLUSION; AND DIFFERENT MEN DIFFER EVEN MORE. THE AREA OF DISAGREEMENT CAN, HOWEVER, BE NARROWED BY EDUCATION, BY SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY, BY READING WHAT OTHERS HAVE THOUGHT, BY LISTENING TO PERSONS WHO KNOW. IN THIS WAY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON MOST MATTERS CAN BE ENORMOUSLY NARROWED. THIS IS THE BASIC REASON FOR POPULAR EDUCATION; FOR HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING IN THE CASE OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF STUDENTS; FOR COLLEGE TRAINING FOR THE GIFTED AND THE WILLING.

AMONG PEOPLE LIKE THE SCANDINAVIANS WHERE FOR A CENTURY EVERYBODY COULD READ AND WRITE; WHERE THERE ARE MANY HIGH SCHOOLS AND FINE COLLEGES; IN SUCH LANDS WE CAN EXPECT LESS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON WHAT IS BEST FOR THE STATE THAN IN LANDS OF

418-11-52

IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND POVERTY LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT THAT IS NOT ALL: IN CIVILIZED NATIONS THERE MUST BE STANDARDS OF honor AND COURAGE, OF PATIENCE AND HUMAN SYMPATHY.

WE HAVE SEEN HOW RELIGION AND EDUCATION men HAVE TRIED TO STOP THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION BY FORCE AND HOW THEY HAVE HINDERED PROGRESS BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP IT. PERHAPS THE QUESTION OF WHOSE WILL SHOULD GOVERN THE STATE HAS CAUSED AS MUCH OR MORE EFFORT TO STOP THINKING AND TALKING AS RELIGION OR EDUCATION. IN EARLIEST TIMES THE WORD OF THE FATHER WAS LAW, BUT NATURALLY IT WAS NOT ALWAYS WISDOM. THEN CAME THE CHOSEN HEAD OF THE STATE, BUT WHO SHOULD DO THE CHOOSING? THERE WAS EFFORT TO CONFINE THE RIGHT OF CHOICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ARISTOCRACY. AFTER THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF STRIFE THIS culminated IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION WHICH sought TO STOP THE CUSTOM OF CONFINING RULE TO THOSE OF HIGH BIRTH. THE MIDDLE CLASS GAINED THE RIGHT TO VOTE, BUT WHEN IN THE 19th CENTURY MEN TRIED TO INTRODUCE UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, THE OLD ATTEMPT TO STOP BELIEF IN THIS TYPE OF GOVERNMENT OR TO LET MEN TALK OR PUBLISH BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT, SHOOK THE WORLD. FOR YEARS NO ONE WHO BELIEVED IN LETTING THE MASSES

VOTE WAS CONSIDERED RESPECTABLE, OR QUITE SANE.

AN EVEN GREATER LESSON IN FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IS SHOWN IN THE PROBLEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THIS HAS ARISEN, ESPECIALLY IN THE MODERN WORLD, BECAUSE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY WAS NOT FULLY DEVELOPED. MOST OF THE THINGS NOW OWNED PRIVATELY AND FORMING THE MASS OF PRIVATE WEALTH WERE NEITHER OWNED NOR OWNABLE, 500 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, SO THAT PROPERTY WAS A MATTER OF GOVERNMENT, FAMILY AND CUSTOM RATHER THAN OF PRIVATE RIGHTS. BUT IN THE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES THERE CAME THREE OCCURRENCES WHICH CHANGED THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE MODERN WORLD. ONE WAS THE LOOT OF INDIA, WHICH BROUGHT IMMENSE EXCHANGEABLE WEALTH TO EUROPE. SECOND, AMERICAN SLAVERY, WHICH FURNISHED THE WORLD WITH MATERIALS IN WIDE DEMAND: SUGAR, COTTON AND TOBACCO. AND THIRD, SCIENCE, WHICH INSPIRED BY THIS DEMAND FURNISHED POWER, MACHINES AND TECHNIQUES FOR TURNING RAW MATERIALS INTO CONSUMER GOODS. MERCHANTS DEMANDED FREEDOM FOR COMMERCIAL ADVENTURE AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE GOODS IMPORTED AND MANUFACTURED. THEREAFTER FREEDOM CAME TO BE THOUGHT OF AS THE RIGHT TO FIND AND SEIZE

48-11-93

NEW SORTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND, WHILE FREEDOM FOR OPINION WAS NOT DENIED, IT WAS OFTEN FORGOTTEN. ALSO, A NEW RELATIONSHIP AROSE BETWEEN OWNERS OF GOODS AND MONEY AND THE WORKERS WHO MADE AND TRANSFORMED THESE GOODS. IN PRIMITIVE TIMES LABORERS WORKED TOGETHER AND DIVIDED THE RESULT. IN ANCIENT TIMES THE CHIEF OWNED THE LABORER AND HIS WORK AND GAVE HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT BEST. IN MODERN TIMES THE INDUSTRIALIST OWNS MACHINES, FOOD, CLOTHES, LAND AND RAW MATERIALS, AND BY BARGAIN, EXCHANGES THESE FOR THE RESULTS OF LABOR. SINCE IN MOST CASES THE LABORER HIMSELF CANNOT USE THE RESULTS OF HIS WORK THE EMPLOYER CAN DRIVE A HARD BARGAIN.

THE VALUE OF MANUFACTURED GOODS AFTER THE NAPOLEONIC wars INCREASED ENORMOUSLY BUT THE DIVISION OF THIS VALUE BETWEEN OWNERS AND LABORERS LED TO MUCH POVERTY. PHILANTHROPISTS BEGAN TO INSIST THAT WEALTH OUGHT TO BE MORE EQUITABLY DIVIDED, THAT BLACK SLAVES BE FREED AND THE HEATHEN CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

EUROPEAN LABORERS FORMED UNIONS AND TRIED TO INCREASE WAGES BY STRIKES. EMPLOYERS PUT STRIKERS IN JAIL. SO GREAT WAS THE UNREST THAT MOST THINKING MEN AND

48-11-94

REFORMERS BEGAN TO ADVOCATE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MACHINES AND RAW MATERIALS BY THE GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF BY PRIVATE OWNERS.

ALMOST EVERYBODY FAMILIAR WITH THE FACTORY SYSTEM ADMITTED THAT CHANGE WAS NECESSARY AND AS A GREAT BRITISH STATESMAN ONCE SAID: "WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW." BUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY, KARL MARX TRIED TO SHOW THAT COMPLETE SOCIALISM COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS WORKERS FORMING THE MAJORITY OF MEN AND VOTERS TOOK CONTROL OF THE STATE. THIS BROUGHT VIOLENT DISSENT FROM THE OWNERS AND MANAGERS OF BUSINESS.

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY THIS ATTEMPT OF WORKERS AND THINKERS TO TAKE OVER THE STATE LED TO EFFORTS AT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND ITALY. THIS SPREAD SOCIALISM, BUT DID NOT DO AWAY WITH PRIVATE CONTROL OF MOST WEALTH USED IN INDUSTRY. OPPRESSION OF WORKERS INCREASED AND MANY DISAPPOINTED WORKERS AND LIBERALS MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES.

48-11-95

BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH IN THE UNITED STATES, WHILE WIDER SOCIAL CONTROL OF WEALTH TOGETHER WITH FREE LAND WAS INCREASING, AND THIS WAS CALLED "LAND OF LIBERTY," ON THE OTHER HAND A NEW CONCEPT OF PRIVATE WEALTH WAS ALSO GROWING, AND THAT WAS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF HUMAN BEINGS. THIS WAS REBIRTH OF PRIMITIVE SLAVERY LONG SINCE REPUDIATED IN THEORY BY CIVILIZED LANDS, BUT REESTABLISHED IN AMERICA BY THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS CRYING, "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL," IF HE HAD GLANCED OUT THE WINDOWS OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, EVERY FIFTH PERSON HE SAW PASS WOULD HAVE BEEN A SLAVE OWNED BY A WHITE MAN, AND A SLAVE WHO, AS THE SUPREME COURT later DECIDED, HAD "NO RIGHTS WHICH A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT!"

MANY AMERICANS DID NOT LIKE THIS AND SAID SO. THEY BELIEVED THAT IN TIME SLAVES WOULD BECOME FREE CITIZENS. BUT THE DEMAND FOR COTTON WAS GROWING, AND SLAVES RAISED COTTON. ABOLITION OF HUMAN SLAVERY WOULD REDUCE THE INCOME OF MANY PERSONS, GIVE THEM FEWER LUXURIES AND LESS PRETENTIOUS HOMES. MORE AND MORE THE SOUTH, AND MANY IN THE NORTH RESENTED DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY BY ANYONE, ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TIME.

IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY A YOUNG PRINTER OF BOSTON DECIDED THAT SLAVERY WAS WRONG AND SAID SO. HE ESTABLISHED A SMALL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION. HE WAS PUT IN JAIL WHEN IN BALTIMORE, AND THE STATE OF GEORGIA OFFERED $5000 FOR HIS DELIVERY IN THAT STATE. HE ATTENDED A MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL IN BOSTON AND STRONGLY ATTACKED SLAVERY. A NUMBER OF RESPECTABLE CITIZENS, INCLUDING GRADUATES OF HARVARD COLLEGE, FORMED A MOB, TIED ROPES AROUND HIS BODY AND DRAGGED WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON THROUGH THE MUD AND DIRT OF THE STREETS. GARRISON STAGGERED TO HIS FEET AND LIMPED HOME. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID BEFORE: "I AM IN EARNEST; -- I WILL NOT EQUIVOCATE -- I WILL NOT EXCUSE -- I WILL NOT RETREAT A SINGLE INCH -- AND I WILL BE HEARD."

FROM 1820 TO 1860 IT WAS DANGEROUS TO LIFE OR EVEN ILLEGAL TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MOST PARTS OF THIS NATION. SUCH OPINIONS WERE HELD INDECENT. VERY FEW CHRISTIAN CHURCHES ALLOWED SLAVERY TO BE DISCUSSED IN THEIR PULPITS. THE MOST PROMINENT RABBI IN THIS CITY PREACHED A WIDELY CIRCULATED SERMON, PROVING FROM

40-11-96

HEBREW SCRIPTURE THAT GOD MADE NEGROES "THE MEANEST OF SLAVES." CONGRESSMEN FOUGHT OVER SLAVERY IN THE CAPITOL, WITH CLUBS AND KNIVES. JOHN BROWN WHO BELIEVED SLAVERY SO EVIL THAT HE MURDERED TO STOP IT, WAS HANGED, BUT HIS SOUL WENT MARCHING ON.

THEN, AFTER 50 YEARS OF QUARRELING, THE NATION WENT TO FIGHTING, AND FROM 1861 TO 1864 KILLED AND WOUNDED 500,000 YOUNG MEN AND DESTROYED VAST SUMS OF WEALTH. EVEN THEN THEY COULD NOT END THIS WAR EXCEPT by FREEING AND ARMING THE VERY SLAVES OVER WHICH THEY HAD BEEN FIGHTING. AND WHEN THE WAR WAS OVER THE QUESTION AS TO HOW FREE NEGROES WOULD BE WAS NOT SETTLED, AND IS NOT SETTLED YET.

WHENEVER A POET OR A SCIENTIST OR A REFORMER SUGGESTS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, THE RESULT HISTORICALLY HAS BEEN ATTEMPTS TO STOP HIM FROM THINKING, PREVENT HIM FROM TALKING, OR HINDER HIS BOOKS FROM BEING PUBLISHED OR TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO EARN A LIVING. WHY IS THIS? USUALLY IT IS BECAUSE THOSE SATISFIED AND COMFORTABLE UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS ARE UNWILLING TO HAVE CHANGE, EVEN IF CHANGE MIGHT

HELP THOUSANDS OF OTHERS!

THE GREATEST QUESTION BEFORE THE WORLD TODAY IS COMMUNISM. IT AROSE WHEN IN 1917, AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO SET UP A COMPLETELY SOCIALIST STATE AFTER THE PATTERN OF KARL MARX. SIXTEEN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, ATTEMPTED TO STOP THIS EFFORT BY ARMED FORCE. THEY FAILED AFTER TEN YEARS OF WAR. TODAY THEY ARE PREPARING TO RENEW THAT WAR AND ARE SPENDING MORE MONEY ON THAT OBJECT THAN ON EDUCATION, HEALTH, ART AND LITERATURE COMBINED.

THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IS A HISTORY OF WAR AS A METHOD OF MAKING MEN THINK AND ACT IN CERTAIN WAYS. WAR HAS thus LONG BEEN CONSIDERED AS A MEANS OF HUMAN PROGRESS. BUT AS TIME PASSES, THE PROGRESS WHICH WAR HAS ACCOMPLISHED OR WITH PRESENT WEAPONS CAN ACCOMPLISH, IS SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED BY ALL INTELLIGENT MEN. ONLY YESTERDAY OUR BEST KNOWN GENERAL, DOUGLASS MACARTHUR, DECLARED THAT TODAY NO WAR CAN ADVANCE, AND IT MAY DESTROY HUMAN KIND. THE GREATEST QUESTION BEFORE MANKIND TODAY IS WHAT WE SHOULD DO ABOUT COMMUNISM, AND WHETHER THE ATTEMPT TO STOP ITS GROWTH OR ITS PRESENT EXISTENCE BY WORLD WAR IS WISE OR POSSIBLE.

18A

Looking back on what we have tried to do to prevent change in Religion, EDUCATION, POLITICAL POWER AND PROPERTY, WE REALIZE THAT ALMOST ALWAYS WE HAVE BEGUN BY REFUSING TO LET PERSONS HAVE THEIR OWN OPINIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS OR DISCUSS THEM OR TO ADOPT CHANGE BY LEGAL PROCESS. WE HAVE CONTINUALLY RESORTED TO FORCE TO MAINTAIN THE EXISTING SITUATION. WAR AGAINST IDEAS WHICH WERE REALLY GREAT AND GOOD HAS USUALLY FAILED WHEN MEN LEARNED THE FACTS. WAR AGAINST BAD IDEAS PROVED UNNECESSARY.

WE MUST THEREFORE CONCLUDE THAT OUR FIRST DUTY WHEN WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH PROPOSED CHANGE WHICH WILL GREATLY ALTER PRESENT OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY IS TO BE SURE OF THE FACTS BEFORE WE ACT OR VOTE OR COME TO FINAL CONCLUSION. WE MUST DO THIS EVEN IF IT IS CLEAR THAT PROPOSED CHANGE WILL DECREASE OUR PERSONAL COMFORT AND PUT ADDI* TIONAL BURDENS ON US. WE DO NOT STAND ALONE IN THIS WORLD. WE ARE BUT ONE OF A MULTITUDE, AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE MASS OF MEN IS THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF HUMAN ACTION.

ON THE OTHER HAND, CHANGE IS NOT NECESSARILY BENEFICIAL JUST BECUASE IT IS CHANGE, AND PERFECT COMFORT AND OPPORTUNITY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR EVERYBODY IN ANY

FORSEEABLE DAY. WITH ALL THESE QUALIFICATIONS, OUR FIRST DUTY IS NOT TO KILL BUT TO KNOW; NOT TO STOP PEOPLE FROM THINKING AND EXPRESSING THEMSELVES BUT TO ENCOURAGE THOUGHT, TALKING AND WRITING. THE ONLY ALLOWABLE LIMITATION IS TO HAVE SUCH INFORMATION AND EDUCATION AS WILL LET OPINION BE BASED ON FACTS AND NOT ON IGNORANCE, HATE AND SPIRITUAL LAZINESS.

OUR DANGER TODAY IS THAT WE ARE SEEKING TO FACE COMMUNISM NOT WITH CAREFUL STUDY OR EXHAUSTIVE REVELATION OF FACTS, BUT WITH DOGMATIC ASSERTIONS THAT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE COMMUNISM ARE SCOUNDRELS CONSPIRING TO HARM MANKIND, AND THEN WE PROCEED TO STOP THOUGHT, FRIGHTEN THINKERS, THREATEN HONEST SCIENTISTS WITH STARVATION, AND TO PUT PERSONS WHO PUBLICLY ADVOCATE COMMUNISM IN JAIL OR KILL THEM. TO PREVENT THIS INSANITY AND CRIME, WE DO NOT NEED TO AGREE WITH COMMUNISM, BUT WE DO NEED TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR FAITH.

NO MATTER IF WE DESTROYED THE SOVIET UNION AND MURDERED 600,000,000 CHINESE IN THEIR BEDS, THE SAME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT INCOME AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, WORK

98-11-84

AND WAGE, WOULD REMAIN. IN THIS WORLD THERE MUST BE NEW THOUGHTS; THERE MUST BE CHANGES IN THE CONDUCT OF LIFE AND WORK AND GOVERNMENT. WHEN CHANGE IS PROPOSED IT SHOULD BE LISTENED TO, IT SHOULD BE EXAMINED. PERSONS WHO SHARE IN RULING THE STATE SHOULD HAVE ENOUGH EDUCATION TO EXAMINE NEW IDEAS; TO KNOW WHAT IDEAS TO REJECT AS TRIVIAL OR WRONG, AND WHAT ARE WORTH CONSIDERATION. THEY SHOUID BE HONEST ENOUGH TO HEAR BOTH SIDES AND TO INSIST ON THE TRUTH HAVING A CHANCE FOR EXPRESSION IN NEWSPAPER, PERIODICAL AND ON THE PLATFORM; IN BOOKS AND IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

IF COMMUNISM IS WRONG IN THEORY OR PRACTICE, EDUCATED AND HONEST PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW IT AND KNOW THE REASONS FOR THEIR DECISIONS. TO REJECT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WAS WRONG, DESPITE THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT IT HAD. TO OPPOSE SLAVERY WAS RIGHT, DESPITE THE CIVIL WAR.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, TODAY A MAJORITY OF MANKIND BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM.

THIS CANNOT BE LAUGHED OFF NOR SHOT TO DEATH. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO ASSUME THAT MOST MEN ARE naked STUPID AND WE ALONE INTELLIGENT AND RIGHTEOUS. IF MANKIND IS DECEIVED AND ENSLAVED IN BODY AND MINDS OUR DUTY IS TO PROVE THAT BY TRUTH AND REASON AND NOT BY ATOM BOMBS.

EVERY SCHOOL SHOULD STUDY COMMUNISM AND DO IT FAIRLY. IT IS AN INDEFENSIBLE TRICK TO LET A DOCTRINE BE EXPLAINED BY THOSE WHO DISBELIEVE IT AND HATE IT AND ARE PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN ITS FAILURE. IT IS DANGEROUS TO DEPEND ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONFESSED AND PAID LIARS.

FACED THEN AS YOU ARE BY THIS PROBLEM, YOU SHOULD ATTEMPT TO KNOW THE FACTS, FRANKLY REALIZING THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING THE TRUTH. IN MOST CASES WE ACCEPT WITHOUT QUESTION THE CONCLUSIONS OF OTHERS IN WHOM WE HAVE FAITH AND DO NOT TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH FOR OURSELVES. THIS IS NATURAL, AND CONSIDERING THE MASS OF KNOWLEDGE, EXCUSABLE IN many CASES. BUT WHEN A PROBLEM FRONTS THE WORLD, LIKE THAT OF WORK AND WAGE, PROPERTY AND INCOME, COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE, THEN UNLESS EACH

66-11-817

RESPONSIBLE VOTER AND CITIZEN ASCERTAINS TRUTH FOR HIMSELF, THE STATE AND CIVILIZATION ARE DOOMED.

THEREFORE WHAT I CAME HERE TODAY TO SAY IS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE YOUR OWN HONEST OPINIONS AND FOLLOW THEM. AS TO WHAT THOSE OPINIONS ARE I AM NOT NOW INTERESTED. I SIMPLY SAY WHEN A NEW IDEA STRIKES YOU FLAT IN THE FACE, DON'T THROW A FIT AND START YELLING THAT ALL MEN ARE LIARS. IT IS TRUE THAT AN IDEA MAY BE BOTH NEW AND BAD. ALSO IT IS TRUE TODAY THAT AN AMAZING NUMBER OF LIARS ARE LOOSE. BUT A GENTLEMAN AND A SCHOLAR (AND THE BREED IS NOT YET QUITE EXTINCT) IS NOT SATISFIED WITH SNAP JUDGMENTS BUT TAKES TIME TO EXAMINE FACTS AND INSISTS ON HIS RIGHT TO EXAMINE THEM. HE IS CAREFUL TO HEAR BOTH SIDES OF A DISPUTE, DECIDES DELIBERATELY AND THEN STANDS BY HIS GUNS. HE IS NOT CONVINCED THAT THE WORLD IS GOING TO THE DEVIL UNLESS HE SOLVES TODAY PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONTRIVING FOR CENTURIES. HE TAKES HIS STAND WITH A MAN WHOM THE WORLD HATED, EXILED AND HURT, IN SAYING A WORD WHICH IS OFTEN QUOTED AND MISQUOTED, AND ATTRIBUTED TO OTHERS. FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE SAID IN 1764,

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE YEARS AGO, IN A LETTER TO MADAME DU DEFFAND:

"I DISAPPROVE OF WHAT YOU SAY, BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT."

48-11-100

Du Bois
Elizabeth Irwin

Feb. 14 1955

FREEDOM OF OPINION

I HAVE A STORY WHICH I HAVE TOLD SO MANY TIMES THAT I FEEL A BIT EMBARRASSED WHEN I FIND MYSELF, AS I OFTEN DO, ABOUT TO TELL IT AGAIN. YET IT HAS SERVED MY PURPOSE SO FREQUENTLY THAT I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM REPEATING IT.

IN THE LITTLE TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN THERE OCCURRED EACH SPRING WHAT WAS CALLED THE TOWN MEETING. THIS ASSEMBLY WAS A GATHERING OF ALL THE GROWN MEN OF THE TOWN TO CONSIDER MAINTENANCE OF ROADS AND BRIDGES, THE UPKEEP OF THE SCHOOLS, THE SUPPORT OF THE POOR AND SUCH MATTERS. THE SELECTMEN WHO RAN THE TOWN AND THE ASSESSORS WHO LAID THE TAXES WERE ELECTED AT THIS MEETING AND MONEY FOR THESE PURPOSES APPROPRIATED FOR THE COMING YEAR.

AS A BOY OF TWELVE OR THIRTEEN, I GOT INTO THE HABIT OF ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS --HOW, I DO NOT KNOW. I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT ANY OTHER

88-11-21

BOYS AMONG MY COMPANIONS WENT. BUT FOR SEVERAL YEARS I WAS ON HAND TO SEE AND HEAR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWN FUNCTION. ON THE FIRST OCCASION THAT I ATTENDED THERE ENTERED THE HALL ONE OF THE DIRTIEST MEN I HAD EVER SEEN. HE WAS OLD AND FAT, HIS CLOTHES WERE SOILED AND GREASY AND HE WAS UNKEMPT AND UNSHAVEN. HIS HAT WAS SINGULARLY DISREPUTABLE. HE CAME IN AND TOOK HIS SEAT. NO ONE PAID HIM ANY PARTICULAR ATTENTION BUT ALL KNEW, AS I SOON LEARNED, THAT THIS WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE, A HERMIT FROM THE NEIGHBORING MOUNTAINS. WHEN THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS CAME UP THIS MAN AROSE AND SPOKE. HE TALKED LOUD AND VIGOROUSLY AND LONG. HE TALKED ABOUT THE HIGH SCHOOL.

NOW THE HIGH SCHOOL WAS A MATTER VERY CLOSE TO ME. I WAS A STUDENT THERE. IT STOOD ON THE SAME SCHOOLGROUNDS WHERE I HAD GONE TO SCHOOL SINCE I WAS SIX YEARS OLD AND WHERE I WAS TO CONTINUE UNTIL I WAS GRADUATED. THE

BUILDING FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OCCUPIED ONE HALF OF THE CAMPUS AND ON THE OTHER HALF WAS A BUILDING IN WHICH THE GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS WERE HOUSED. THE HIGH SCHOOL AT THE TIME WAS A (comparatively) RECENT ADDITION AND WAS SMALL, WITH ONE TEACHER AND PERHAPS 25 STUDENTS. BUT THIS SCHOOL WAS TO MY MIND (who were in it) A VERY, VERY FINE INSTITUTION AND WE ALL AGREED THAT IT NEEDED MORE MONEY THAN THE STINGY OLD TOWN WAS GIVING IT.

IMAGINE THEN, MY DISGUST WHEN THIS UNPLEASANT-LOOKING OLD MAN LAUNCHED INTO A BITTER TIRADE AGAINST THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE MONEY SPENT ON IT. HE SAID IT WAS A SHAME FOR [redacted]TOWN TO WASTE MONEY ON SUCH AN INSTITUTION; THAT THE TOWN HAD NO RIGHT TO TAX HIM FOR TEACHING USELESS LATIN AND GREEK TO BOYS WHO OUGHT TO BE AT WORK; HE DECLARED THAT IF CITIZENS [redacted]D TO PREPARE THEIR CHILDREN FOR COLLEGE THEY SHOULD PAY THE COST OUT OF THEIR OWN POCKETS AND NOT OUT OF HIS; AND SO FORTH AND SO ON FOR AN HOUR OR MORE!

I WAS FURIOUS. I LOOKED ABOUT TO SEE WHY SOMEBODY DID NOT SHUT HIM UP AND THROW HIM OUT. BUT NO ONE DID. EVERYONE SAT QUIETLY AND SOLEMNLY AND LISTENED. THERE WAS MR. WHITING, WHITE-HAIRED AND PROPER; MR. LANGDON, A SELECTMAN, PORTLY AND WELL-DRESSED; THERE WAS MR. CULVER -- IN FACT, THERE WAS EVERYBODY, AND NOBODY STIRRED. FINALLY, WHEN THE SPEAKER HAD FINISHED AND SAT DOWN, AFTER A LONG PAUSE WHICH MADE ME SHIVER, WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT TO ANSWER THE SPEAKER, SOMEONE MOVED THE USUAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE MOTION PASSED. THE TOWN MEETING THEN MOVED TO OTHER MATTERS.

38-11-22

I WAS PLEASED BUT NOT SATISFIED. THE HIGH SCHOOL HAD ITS USUAL FUNDS BUT IT NEEDED MORE -- ANOTHER TEACHER, A LABORATORY, MORE ROOM. WITHOUT THIS SENSELESS ATTACK IT MIGHT HAVE GOTTEN SOME OF THESE NEEDED THINGS. WHY THEN WAS BEARTOWN BEEBE ALLOWED TO SPEAK? I THOUGHT THE INCIDENT OVER AND THE NEXT YEAR, EXACTLY THE SAME THING HAPPENED. THE SAME MAN,

POSSIBLY A SHADE DIRTIER, MADE THE SAME SPEECH WITH THE SAME RESULT. AS YEARS PASSED AND BEFORE I WAS GRADUATED, THE HIGH SCHOOL GOT ANOTHER TEACHER AND SOME OTHER IMPROVEMENTS, AND DURING THIS TIME I GOT A LESSON IN FREEDOM OF OPINION AND FREE EXPRESSION OF ONE'S IDEAS, WHICH I HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN. THAT IS WHY I HAVE CHOSEN "FREEDOM OF OPINION" AS MY SUBJECT TODAY.

I GREW TO MANHOOD AND AGE KNOWING THAT THIS IS NOT A FREE WORLD AND NEVER CAN BE. ALL OF US MUST OBEY school bells, THE LAWS OF NATURE: GRAVITY, MOTION, COHESION; IN INDUSTRY, RULES FOR MAKING CLOTH, WELDING STEEL AND BUILDING DAMS. WE ARE NOT FREE. WE ARE BOUND BY INEXORABLE, UNYIELDING NATURE. EVEN IN HUMAN ACTION WE ARE LIMITED BY REGULARITIES OF INBORN PSYCHOLOGY, BY LONG-STANDING RULES OF BEHAVIOR, BY DEEP-SEATED CUSTOM; BY STATUTE LAW AND ETHICAL "MUSTS".

BUT THERE IS ONE FIELD WHERE THE CONSENSUS OF wise MANKIND IS, THAT THERE WE CAN AND MUST BE FREE, AND THAT IS IN OUR OWN THOUGHTS. WE HAVE A RIGHT TO DEMAND WHAT BEARTOWN BEEBE DEMANDED AND THAT WAS HIS OWN OPINION AND THE RIGHT AT SUITABLE TIMES AND PLACES TO EXPRESS THAT OPINION. HE HAD NO RIGHT TO COMPEL ME OR THE TOWN MEETING

38-11-23

TO AGREE WITH HIM; AND SO TOO, WE HAD NO RIGHT TO MAKE HIM KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT.

THIS IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF THAT DEMOCRACY OF WHICH WE BOAST AND TOWARD WHICH WE TRY TO MOVE AND FROM WHICH WE ARE SO OFTEN BARRED. IN A DEMOCRACY EVERYBODY DOES NOT HAVE HIS WAY; THAT IS PHYSICALLY AND SOCIALLY IMPOSSIBLE. BUT IN A TRUE DEMOCRACY EVERYBODY HAS A RIGHT TO HIS OPINION AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE DONE AND THE RIGHT TO MAKE THAT OPINION KNOWN TO ALL. OTHERWISE THE WORLD MAY REMAIN IGNORANT OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH IT NEEDS FOR INTELLIGENT ACTION..

HOWEVER, INSTEAD OF THIS BEING THE RULE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, IT HAS BECOME customary IN TOO MANY CASES AND TOO OFTEN EVEN IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD, FOR NATIONS TO START ACTION NOT BY LISTENING TO freely expressed OPINION, BUT ON THE CONTRARY, BY STOPPING MEN FROM THINKING OR TALKING OR WRITING. THE REASON FOR SUCH ACTION IS USUALLY FEAR. FEAR OF FALSE PROPHETS AND DANGEROUS DOCTRINES. THERE IS REASON FOR FEAR BECAUSE THE THOUGHTS OF MEN ARE POWERFUL THINGS, PERHAPS THE MOST POWERFUL IN THE UNIVERSE. THIS HAS BEEN DISPUTED, BUT THE CONSIDERED ASSUMPTION OF SCIENCE TODAY IS THAT CHANGE

IN HUMAN ACTION CAN BE INITIATED BY THOUGHT; THAT HUMANITY PROGRESSES BY REASONED THOUGHT AND THAT WITHOUT FREEDOM OF THOUGHT THERE WILL BE NO PROGRESS OR EVEN RETROGRESSION. HERE LIES THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANIMALS AND MEN.

THE ONLY METHOD THEN, OF INSURING THAT THOUGHT WILL NOT MISLEAD MANKIND IS NOT TO PREVENT THINKING, BUT TO ENSURE THAT OPINION BE HONEST, AND THAT IT BE BASED ON KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH. AND IT IS RIGHT HERE, IN THE EFFORT TO INSURE HONESTY AND TRUTH, THAT SINGULARLY ENOUGH THE WORLD HAS CONTINUALLY GONE ASTRAY AND ALONG THE SAME PATHS. WE HAVE TRIED TO STOP THINKING AND STOP MEN FROM ACTING ACCORDING TO THEIR REASONED THOUGHT. IF, OF COURSE A MAN'S OPINION IS BASED ON WHAT IS UNTRUE; IF WHAT YOU SAY IS NOT WHAT YOU REALLY THINK, SUCH OPINION MAY SERIOUSLY MISLEAD. BUT THE WAY TO AVOID THIS IS NOT BY STOPPING THOUGHT. NO. IT IS BY EDUCATING THINKERS AND BY PERSUADING YOUTH TO BELIEVE THAT HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY AND THAT SPYING, LYING AND TATTLING IS INDECENT FOR STUDENTS, GROWN-UPS OR GOVERNMENTS. A MAN MAY SAY NOT WHAT HE THINKS BUT WHAT HIS EMPLOYER WANTS HIM TO THINK. OR A MAN MAY HAVE AN HONEST OPINION BUT ONE BASED NOT ON WHAT HE KNOWS OR HAS TRIED TO FIND OUT. WITHOUT KNOWING OR TRYING TO LEARN, CITIZENS SOMETIMES SPEAK, ADVISE AND VOTE ON GREAT AND VITAL ISSUES AND THUS HELP WRONG TO TRIUMPH. IF, THEN, FREE OPINION IS TO HELP DEMOCRACY CITIZENS MUST

38-11-24

HAVE EDUCATION AND USE IT AND THEY MUST PREFER TRUTH TO FALSEHOOD.

THERE HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST FOUR GREAT LINES OF THOUGHT WHICH HAVE CALLED FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE; IN ALL THESE THE WORLD HAS STRUGGLED IN BLOOD AND DESTRUCTION RATHER THAN PERMIT EVEN DISCUSSION OF CHANGE, MUCH LESS EXPERIMENT ALONG THESE LINES. IN THE MAIN THESE CHANGES HAVE TO DO WITH RELIGION, EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT AND PROPERTY.

AS A YOUNG MAN I ONCE SPENT A SUMMER IN THE SHADOW OF THE WARTBURG CASTLE IN THE CENTER OF GERMANY, WHERE MARTIN LUTHER TRANSLATED THE BIBLE, AND HERE STARTED THAT WAR WHICH FOR THIRTY YEARS DEVASTATED GERMANY. I BECAME AWARE HOW INDEED FOR 400 YEARS MEN IN EUROPE HAD MURDERED AND DESTROYED EACH OTHER IN ORDER TO PREVENT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD. THE WASTE, HATRED, LYING, MURDER, CRUELTY AND BARBARISM DURING THE RISE OF PROTESTANTISM IS TODAY ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. YET IN THE END, NEITHER PROTESTANTISM WAS PREVENTED NOR CATHOLICISM DESTROYED. AND THIS, MIND YOU, IS ONLY A SMALL SEGMENT OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH. THEIR OBJECT WAS TO PREVENT THOUGHT OR ACTION WHICH WOULD STOP MEN FROM

DOING RIGHT. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS THEY MADE MEN DO unbelievable WRONG.

OR TURN TO THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION. FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS, THE ACCUMULATED KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH, GATHERED BY EXPERIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, WAS KEPT AS THE MONOPOLY OF A SMALL CLASS OF PERSONS AND FORMED not simply the beginning of Science but THE BASIS OF THEIR OWN COMFORT AND OF THEIR POWER OVER OTHERS. IN EGYPT, GREECE, CHINA, ROME AND THE MIDDLE AGES, EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE TO KEEP KNOWLEDGE FROM THE MASS OF PEOPLE. FROM 5000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST TO THE FALL OF ROME GOVERNMENTS SPENT MORE TIME AND EFFORT IN STOPPING THE MASS OF PEOPLE FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE WORLD THAN IN SPREADING THE TRUTH.

38-11-25

AS LATE AS THE 18th CENTURY WHEN PROPOSALS CAME TO TEACH THE MASSES TO READ AND WRITE, THE REACTION WAS FURIOUS. THE ENGLISH SQUIRE SAID, "I WANT MY TENANTS TO PLOW, NOT TO READ." THE FRENCH SEIGNEUR SAID, "THESE peasants ARE TOO DUMB TO LEARN; AS WELL TRY TO TEACH MY PIGS." WHEN IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY WOMEN WANTED TO BE ADMITTED TO COLLEGE MANY HONEST GENTLEMEN THOUGHT THIS THE MOST INDECENT PROPOSAL EVER MADE. POPULAR EDUCATION WAS OPPOSED BY MOBS, ARSON, JAILS AND MURDER. THE

OPPOSITION HAS NOT ENTIRELY DISAPPEARED EVEN TODAY. YET WITHOUT AN INCREASINGLY LARGE NUMBER OF EDUCATED CITIZENS SUSTAINED SOCIAL PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THOUGHT AND BELIEF RESTING ON A SOUND FOUNDATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPRESSED CLEARLY AND HONESTLY, MUST IN THE LONG RUN ESTABLISH that GROUNDWORK OF LAW AND CUSTOM ON WHICH THE successful STATE RESTS. THIS IS NOT EASY. OPINIONS VARY. THE SAME MEN AT DIFFERENT TIMES DIFFER IN CONCLUSION; AND DIFFERENT MEN DIFFER EVEN MORE. THE AREA OF DISAGREEMENT CAN, HOWEVER, BE NARROWED BY EDUCATION, BY SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY, BY READING WHAT OTHERS HAVE THOUGHT, BY LISTENING TO PERSONS WHO KNOW. IN THIS WAY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON MOST MATTERS CAN BE ENORMOUSLY NARROWED. THIS IS THE BASIC REASON FOR POPULAR EDUCATION; FOR HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING IN THE CASE OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF STUDENTS; FOR COLLEGE TRAINING FOR THE GIFTED AND THE WILLING.

AMONG PEOPLE LIKE THE SCANDINAVIANS WHERE FOR A CENTURY EVERYBODY COULD READ AND WRITE; WHERE THERE ARE MANY HIGH SCHOOLS AND FINE COLLEGES; IN SUCH LANDS WE CAN EXPECT LESS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON WHAT IS BEST FOR THE STATE THAN IN LANDS OF

IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND POVERTY LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT THAT IS NOT ALL: IN CIVILIZED NATIONS THERE MUST BE STANDARDS OF honor AND COURAGE, OF PATIENCE AND HUMAN SYMPATHY.

WE HAVE SEEN HOW (in) RELIGION AND EDUCATION (men) HAVE TRIED TO STOP THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION BY FORCE AND HOW THEY HAVE HINDERED PROGRESS BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO STOP IT. PERHAPS THE QUESTION OF WHOSE WILL SHOULD GOVERN THE STATE HAS CAUSED AS MUCH OR MORE EFFORT TO STOP THINKING AND TALKING AS RELIGION OR EDUCATION. IN EARLIEST TIMES THE WORD OF THE FATHER WAS LAW, BUT NATURALLY IT WAS NOT ALWAYS WISDOM. THEN CAME THE CHOSEN HEAD OF THE STATE, BUT WHO SHOULD DO THE CHOOSING? THERE WAS EFFORT TO CONFINE THE RIGHT OF CHOICE TO a PRIVILEGED ARISTOCRACY. AFTER THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF STRIFE THIS culminated IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION WHICH sought TO STOP THE CUSTOM OF CONFINING RULE TO THOSE OF HIGH BIRTH. THE MIDDLE CLASS GAINED THE RIGHT TO VOTE, BUT WHEN IN THE 19th CENTURY MEN TRIED TO INTRODUCE UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, THE OLD ATTEMPT TO STOP BELIEF IN THIS TYPE OF GOVERNMENT OR TO LET MEN TALK OR PUBLISH BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT, SHOOK THE WORLD. FOR YEARS NO ONE WHO BELIEVED IN LETTING THE MASSES

[redacted]

38-11-26

VOTE WAS CONSIDERED RESPECTABLE, OR QUITE SANE.

AN EVEN GREATER LESSON IN FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IS SHOWN IN THE PROBLEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THIS HAS ARISEN, ESPECIALLY IN THE MODERN WORLD, BECAUSE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY WAS NOT FULLY DEVELOPED. MOST OF THE THINGS NOW OWNED PRIVATELY AND FORMING THE MASS OF PRIVATE WEALTH WERE NEITHER OWNED NOR OWNABLE, 500 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, SO THAT PROPERTY WAS A MATTER OF GOVERNMENT, FAMILY AND CUSTOM RATHER THAN OF PRIVATE RIGHTS. BUT IN THE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES THERE CAME THREE OCCURRENCES WHICH CHANGED THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE MODERN WORLD. ONE WAS THE LOOT OF INDIA, WHICH BROUGHT IMMENSE EXCHANGEABLE WEALTH TO EUROPE. SECOND, AMERICAN SLAVERY, WHICH FURNISHED THE WORLD WITH MATERIALS IN WIDE DEMAND: SUGAR, COTTON AND TOBACCO. AND THIRD, SCIENCE, WHICH INSPIRED BY THIS DEMAND FURNISHED POWER, MACHINES AND TECHNIQUES FOR TURNING RAW MATERIALS INTO CONSUMER GOODS. MERCHANTS DEMANDED FREEDOM FOR COMMERCIAL ADVENTURE AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE GOODS IMPORTED AND MANUFACTURED

THEREAFTER FREEDOM CAME TO BE THOUGHT OF AS THE RIGHT TO FIND AND SEIZE

NEW SORTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND, WHILE FREEDOM FOR OPINION WAS NOT DENIED, IT WAS OFTEN FORGOTTEN. ALSO, A NEW RELATIONSHIP AROSE BETWEEN OWNERS OF GOODS AND MONEY AND THE WORKERS WHO MADE AND TRANSFORMED THESE GOODS. IN PRIMITIVE TIMES LABORERS WORKED TOGETHER AND DIVIDED THE RESULT. IN ANCIENT TIMES THE CHIEF OWNED THE LABORER AND HIS WORK AND GAVE HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT BEST. IN MODERN TIMES THE INDUSTRIALIST OWNS MACHINES, FOOD, CLOTHES, LAND AND RAW MATERIALS, AND BY BARGAIN, EXCHANGES THESE FOR THE RESULTS OF LABOR. SINCE IN MOST CASES THE LABORER HIMSELF CANNOT USE THE RESULTS OF HIS WORK THE EMPLOYER CAN DRIVE A HARD BARGAIN.

38-11-27

THE VALUE OF MANUFACTURED GOODS AFTER THE NAPOLEONIC WARS INCREASED ENORMOUSLY BUT THE DIVISION OF THIS VALUE BETWEEN OWNERS AND LABORERS LED TO MUCH POVERTY. PHILANTHROPISTS BEGAN TO INSIST THAT WEALTH OUGHT TO BE MORE EQUITABLY DIVIDED, THAT BLACK SLAVES BE FREED AND THE HEATHEN CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

EUROPEAN LABORERS FORMED UNIONS AND TRIED TO INCREASE WAGES BY STRIKES. EMPLOYERS PUT STRIKERS IN JAIL. SO GREAT WAS THE UNREST THAT MOST THINKING MEN AND

REFORMERS BEGAN TO ADVOCATE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MACHINES AND RAW MATERIALS BY THE GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF BY PRIVATE OWNERS.

ALMOST EVERYBODY FAMILIAR WITH THE FACTORY SYSTEM ADMITTED THAT CHANGE WAS NECESSARY AND AS A GREAT BRITISH STATESMAN ONCE SAID: "WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW." BUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY, KARL MARX TRIED TO SHOW THAT COMPLETE SOCIALISM COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS WORKERS FORMING THE MAJORITY OF MEN AND VOTERS TOOK CONTROL OF THE STATE. THIS BROUGHT VIOLENT DISSENT FROM THE OWNERS AND MANAGERS OF BUSINESS.

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY THIS ATTEMPT OF WORKERS AND THINKERS TO TAKE OVER THE STATE LED TO EFFORTS AT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND ITALY. THIS SPREAD SOCIALISM, BUT DID NOT DO AWAY WITH PRIVATE CONTROL OF MOST WEALTH USED IN INDUSTRY. OPPRESSION OF WORKERS INCREASED AND MANY DISAPPOINTED WORKERS AND LIBERALS MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES.

38-11-28

BUT CURIOUSLY ENOUGH IN THE UNITED STATES, WHILE WIDER SOCIAL CONTROL OF WEALTH TOGETHER WITH FREE LAND WAS INCREASING, AND THIS WAS CALLED "LAND OF LIBERTY," ON THE OTHER HAND A NEW CONCEPT OF PRIVATE WEALTH WAS ALSO GROWING, AND THAT WAS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF HUMAN BEINGS. THIS WAS REBIRTH OF PRIMITIVE SLAVERY LONG SINCE REPUDIATED IN THEORY BY CIVILIZED LANDS, BUT REESTABLISHED IN AMERICA BY THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS CRYING, "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL," IF HE HAD GLANCED OUT THE WINDOWS OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, EVERY FIFTH PERSON HE SAW PASS WOULD HAVE BEEN A SLAVE OWNED BY A WHITE MAN, AND A SLAVE WHO, AS THE SUPREME COURT LATER DECIDED, HAD "NO RIGHTS WHICH A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT!"

MANY AMERICANS DID NOT LIKE THIS AND SAID SO. THEY BELIEVED THAT IN TIME SLAVES WOULD BECOME FREE CITIZENS. BUT THE DEMAND FOR COTTON WAS GROWING, AND SLAVES RAISED COTTON. ABOLITION OF HUMAN SLAVERY WOULD REDUCE THE INCOME OF MANY PERSONS, GIVE THEM FEWER LUXURIES AND LESS PRETENTIOUS HOMES. MORE AND MORE THE SOUTH, AND MANY IN THE NORTH RESENTED DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY BY ANYONE, ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TIME.

IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY A YOUNG PRINTER OF BOSTON DECIDED THAT SLAVERY WAS WRONG AND SAID SO. HE ESTABLISHED A SMALL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION. HE WAS PUT IN JAIL WHEN IN BALTIMORE, AND THE STATE OF GEORGIA OFFERED $5000 FOR HIS DELIVERY IN THAT STATE. HE ATTENDED A MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL IN BOSTON AND STRONGLY ATTACKED SLAVERY. A NUMBER OF RESPECTABLE CITIZENS, INCLUDING GRADUATES OF HARVARD COLLEGE, FORMED A MOB, TIED ROPES AROUND HIS BODY AND DRAGGED WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON THROUGH THE MUD AND DIRT OF THE STREETS. GARRISON STAGGERED TO HIS FEET AND LIMPED HOME. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID BEFORE: "I AM IN EARNEST; -- I WILL NOT EQUIVOCATE -- I WILL NOT EXCUSE -- I WILL NOT RETREAT A SINGLE INCH -- AND I WILL BE HEARD."

FROM 1820 TO 1860 IT WAS DANGEROUS TO LIFE OR EVEN ILLEGAL TO ADVOCATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MOST PARTS OF THIS NATION. SUCH OPINIONS WERE HELD INDECENT. VERY FEW CHRISTIAN CHURCHES ALLOWED SLAVERY TO BE DISCUSSED IN THEIR PULPITS. THE MOST PROMINENT RABBI IN THIS CITY PREACHED A WIDELY CIRCULATED SERMON, PROVING FROM

8-11-50

HEBREW SCRIPTURE THAT GOD MADE NEGROES "THE MEANEST OF SLAVES." CONGRESSMEN FOUGHT OVER SLAVERY IN THE CAPITOL, WITH CLUBS AND KNIVES. JOHN BROWN WHO BELIEVED SLAVERY SO EVIL THAT HE MURDERED TO STOP IT, WAS HANGED, BUT HIS SOUL WENT MARCHING ON.

THEN, AFTER 50 YEARS OF QUARRELING, THE NATION WENT TO FIGHTING, AND FROM 1861 TO 1864 KILLED AND WOUNDED 500,000 YOUNG MEN AND DESTROYED VAST SUMS OF WEALTH. EVEN THEN THEY COULD NOT END THIS WAR EXCEPT BY FREEING AND ARMING THE VERY SLAVES OVER WHICH THEY HAD BEEN FIGHTING. AND WHEN THE WAR WAS OVER THE QUESTION AS TO HOW FREE NEGROES WOULD BE WAS NOT SETTLED, AND IS NOT SETTLED YET.

WHENEVER A POET OR A SCIENTIST OR A REFORMER SUGGESTS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, THE RESULT HISTORICALLY HAS BEEN ATTEMPTS TO STOP HIM FROM THINKING, PREVENT HIM FROM TALKING, OR HINDER HIS BOOKS FROM BEING PUBLISHED OR TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO EARN A LIVING. WHY IS THIS? USUALLY IT IS BECAUSE THOSE SATISFIED AND COMFORTABLE UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS ARE UNWILLING TO HAVE CHANGE, EVEN IF CHANGE MIGHT

HELP THOUSANDS OF OTHERS!

THE GREATEST QUESTION BEFORE THE WORLD TODAY IS COMMUNISM. IT AROSE WHEN IN 1917, AFTER THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO SET UP A COMPLETELY SOCIALIST STATE AFTER THE PATTERN OF KARL MARX. SIXTEEN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, ATTEMPTED TO STOP THIS EFFORT BY ARMED FORCE. THEY FAILED AFTER TEN YEARS OF WAR. TODAY THEY ARE PREPARING TO RENEW THAT WAR AND ARE SPENDING MORE MONEY ON THAT OBJECT THAN ON EDUCATION, HEALTH, ART AND LITERATURE COMBINED.

THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IS A HISTORY OF WAR AS A METHOD OF MAKING MEN THINK AND ACT IN CERTAIN WAYS. WAR HAS thus LONG BEEN CONSIDERED AS A MEANS OF HUMAN PROGRESS. BUT AS TIME PASSES, THE PROGRESS WHICH WAR HAS ACCOMPLISHED OR WITH PRESENT WEAPONS CAN ACCOMPLISH, IS SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED BY ALL INTELLIGENT MEN. ONLY YESTERDAY OUR BEST KNOWN GENERAL, DOUGLASS MACARTHUR, DECLARED THAT TODAY NO WAR CAN ADVANCE, AND IT MAY DESTROY HUMAN KIND. THE GREATEST QUESTION BEFORE MANKIND TODAY IS WHAT WE SHOULD DO ABOUT COMMUNISM, AND WHETHER THE ATTEMPT TO STOP ITS GROWTH OR ITS PRESENT EXISTENCE BY WORLD WAR IS WISE OR POSSIBLE.

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LOOKING BACK ON WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO TO PREVENT CHANGE IN RELIGION, EDUCATION, POLITICAL POWER AND PROPERTY, WE REALIZE THAT ALMOST ALWAYS WE HAVE BEGUN BY REFUSING TO LET PERSONS HAVE THEIR OWN OPINIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS OR DISCUSS THEM OR TO ADOPT CHANGE BY LEGAL PROCESS. WE HAVE CONTINUALLY RESORTED TO FORCE TO MAINTAIN THE EXISTING SITUATION. WAR AGAINST IDEAS WHICH WERE REALLY GREAT AND GOOD HAS USUALLY FAILED WHEN MEN LEARNED THE FACTS, war against bad ideas proved unnecessary.

WE MUST THEREFORE CONCLUDE THAT OUR FIRST DUTY WHEN WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH PROPOSED CHANGE WHICH WILL GREATLY ALTER PRESENT ownership of property IS TO BE SURE OF THE FACTS BEFORE WE ACT OR VOTE OR COME TO FINAL CONCLUSION. WE MUST DO THIS EVEN IF IT IS CLEAR THAT PROPOSED CHANGE WILL DECREASE OUR personal COMFORT AND PUT ADDITIONAL BURDENS ON US. WE DO NOT STAND ALONE IN THIS WORLD. WE ARE BUT ONE OF A MULTITUDE, AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE MASS OF MEN IS THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF HUMAN ACTION.

ON THE OTHER HAND, CHANGE IS NOT NECESSARILY BENEFICIAL JUST BECAUSE IT IS CHANGE, AND PERFECT COMFORT AND OPPORTUNITY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR EVERYBODY IN ANY

FORSEEABLE DAY. WITH ALL THESE QUALIFICATIONS, OUR FIRST DUTY IS NOT TO KILL BUT TO KNOW; NOT TO STOP PEOPLE FROM THINKING AND EXPRESSING THEMSELVES BUT TO ENCOURAGE THOUGHT, TALKING AND WRITING. THE ONLY ALLOWABLE LIMITATION IS TO HAVE SUCH INFORMATION AND EDUCATION AS WILL LET OPINION BE BASED ON FACTS AND NOT ON IGNORANCE, HATE AND SPIRITUAL LAZINESS.

OUR DANGER TODAY IS THAT WE ARE SEEKING TO FACE COMMUNISM NOT WITH CAREFUL STUDY OR EXHAUSTIVE REVELATION OF FACTS, BUT WITH DOGMATIC ASSERTIONS THAT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE COMMUNISM ARE SCOUNDRELS CONSPIRING TO HARM MANKIND, AND THEN WE PROCEED TO STOP THOUGHT, FRIGHTEN THINKERS, THREATEN HONEST SCIENTISTS WITH STARVATION, AND TO PUT PERSONS WHO PUBLICLY ADVOCATE COMMUNISM IN JAIL OR KILL THEM. TO PREVENT THIS INSANITY AND CRIME, WE DO NOT NEED TO AGREE WITH COMMUNISM, BUT WE DO NEED TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR FAITH.

NO MATTER IF WE DESTROYED THE SOVIET UNION AND MURDERED 600,000,000 CHINESE IN THEIR BEDS, THE SAME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT INCOME AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, WORK

[redacted]

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AND WAGE, WOULD REMAIN. IN THIS WORLD THERE MUST BE NEW THOUGHTS; THERE MUST BE CHANGES IN THE CONDUCT OF LIFE AND WORK AND GOVERNMENT. WHEN CHANGE IS PROPOSED IT SHOULD BE LISTENED TO, IT SHOULD BE EXAMINED. PERSONS WHO SHARE IN RULING THE STATE SHOULD HAVE ENOUGH EDUCATION TO EXAMINE NEW IDEAS; TO KNOW WHAT IDEAS TO REJECT AS TRIVIAL OR WRONG, AND WHAT ARE WORTH CONSIDERATION. THEY SHOULD BE HONEST ENOUGH TO HEAR BOTH SIDES AND TO INSIST ON THE TRUTH HAVING A CHANCE FOR EXPRESSION IN NEWSPAPER, PERIODICAL AND ON THE PLATFORM; IN BOOKS AND IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

IF COMMUNISM IS WRONG IN THEORY OR PRACTICE, EDUCATED AND HONEST PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW IT AND KNOW THE REASONS FOR THEIR DECISIONS. TO REJECT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WAS WRONG, DESPITE THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT IT HAD. TO OPPOSE SLAVERY WAS RIGHT, DESPITE THE CIVIL WAR.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, TODAY A MAJORITY OF MANKIND BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM.

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THIS CANNOT BE LAUGHED OFF NOR SHOT TO DEATH. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO ASSUME THAT MOST MEN ARE wicked and STUPID AND WE ALONE INTELLIGENT AND RIGHTEOUS. IF MANKIND IS DECEIVED AND ENSLAVED IN BODY AND MINDS OUR DUTY IS TO PROVE THAT BY TRUTH AND REASON AND NOT BY ATOM BOMBS.

EVERY SCHOOL SHOULD STUDY COMMUNISM AND DO IT FAIRLY. IT IS AN INDEFENSIBLE TRICK TO LET A DOCTRINE BE EXPLAINED BY THOSE WHO DISBELIEVE IT AND HATE IT AND ARE PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN ITS FAILURE. IT IS DANGEROUS TO DEPEND ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONFESSED AND PAID LIARS.

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FACED THEN AS YOU ARE BY THIS PROBLEM, YOU SHOULD ATTEMPT TO KNOW THE FACTS, FRANKLY REALIZING THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING THE TRUTH. IN MOST CASES WE ACCEPT WITHOUT QUESTION THE CONCLUSIONS OF OTHERS IN WHOM WE HAVE FAITH AND DO NOT TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH FOR OURSELVES. THIS IS NATURAL, AND CONSIDERING THE MASS OF KNOWLEDGE, EXCUSABLE IN many CASES. BUT WHEN A PROBLEM FRONTS THE WORLD, LIKE THAT OF WORK AND WAGE, PROPERTY AND INCOME, COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE, THEN UNLESS EACH

RESPONSIBLE VOTER AND CITIZEN ASCERTAINS TRUTH FOR HIMSELF, THE STATE AND CIVILIZATION ARE DOOMED.

THEREFORE WHAT I CAME HERE TODAY TO SAY IS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE YOUR OWN HONEST OPINIONS AND FOLLOW THEM. AS TO WHAT THOSE OPINIONS ARE I AM NOT NOW INTERESTED. I SIMPLY SAY WHEN A NEW IDEA STRIKES YOU FLAT IN THE FACE, DON'T THROW A FIT AND START YELLING THAT ALL MEN ARE LIARS. IT IS TRUE THAT AN IDEA MAY BE BOTH NEW AND BAD. ALSO IT IS TRUE TODAY THAT AN AMAZING NUMBER OF LIARS ARE LOOSE. BUT A GENTLEMAN AND A SCHOLAR (AND THE BREED IS NOT YET QUITE EXTINCT) IS NOT SATISFIED WITH SNAP JUDGMENTS BUT TAKES TIME TO EXAMINE FACTS AND INSISTS ON HIS RIGHT TO EXAMINE THEM. HE IS CAREFUL TO HEAR BOTH SIDES OF A DISPUTE, DECIDES DELIBERATELY AND THEN STANDS BY HIS GUNS. HE IS NOT CONVINCED THAT THE WORLD IS GOING TO THE DEVIL UNLESS HE SOLVES TODAY PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONTRIVING FOR CENTURIES. HE TAKES HIS STAND WITH A MAN WHOM THE WORLD [redacted] HATED, EXILED AND HURT, IN SAYING A WORD WHICH IS OFTEN QUOTED AND MISQUOTED, AND ATTRIBUTED TO OTHERS. FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE SAID IN 1764,

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE YEARS AGO, IN A LETTER TO MADAME DU DEFFAND:

"I DISAPPROVE OF WHAT YOU SAY, BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT!"

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Du Bois 48-11-19 Feb. 1955

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AFRICA AND AFRO-AMERICA

THE IMPACT WHICH AFRICA HAS HAD ON THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY ON AMERICA, MERITS ATTENTION. BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA FOR FIVE THOUSAND YEARS THE VALLEY OF THE NILE WAS THE LEADING CENTER OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION. THERE WERE OTHER CENTERS IN CHINA AND WEST ASIA, BUT EGYPT LED BY FAR. ABOUT SIXTEEN HUNDRED years BEFORE CHRIST, THE SO-CALLED NEW KINGDOM AROSE IN EGYPT, WITH AN EGYPTIAN PHAROAH AND A BLACK SUDANESE QUEEN, This dynasty WHICH RAISED EGYPT TO GREAT HEIGHTS OF POWER, TO CONQUEST IN ASIA AND TO RELIGIOUS REFORM UNDER AKHNATON. THE SLAVERY AND ESCAPE OF THE JEWS OCCURRED IN THIS ERA.

THEN CAME THE ASCENDENCY OF BLACK ETHIOPIA FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, OVERTHROWN EVENTUALLY BY THE ASIATIC ASSYRIANS AND PERSIANS. GREECE, UNDER ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS RULED NEXT. AFTER THE CHRISTIAN ERA CAME ROME. UNDER ROME THE CATHOLIC CHURCH DEVELOPED FIRST IN AFRICA AND WAS OVERTHROWN (in 600) BY MOHAMMEDANISM, EXCEPT IN THE MOUNTAINS OF ABYSSINIA, NOW CALLED ETHIOPIA. THE MOHAMMEDANS SWEPT ACROSS NORTH AFRICA TO SPAIN AND SOME TURNED DOWN TO THE SUDAN.

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IN THE SUDAN FROM 700 to 1700 ROSE A SUCCESSION OF BLACK KINGDOMS, SOME WITH A CULTURE RIVALING THAT OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE, LIKE THE MELLESTINE, THE SONGHAI AND THE HAUSSA, till they met THE NUBIANS WHO HELD BACK THE MOHAMMEDANS FROM THE NILE VALLEY FOR A THOUSAND YEARS. IN THE NILE VALLEY, ~~AFTER THE ROMANS CAME~~ THE ARABS ~~who~~ MINGLED WITH THE NEGROES ~~AND~~ RULED THERE FROM THE 12th TO THE 19th CENTURY, BUT GRADUALLY DIVIDED ALONG THE COLOR LINE, WITH WHITE RULERS IN THE NORTH AND BLACK RULERS IN THE SUDAN.

THIS EMPIRE-BUILDING IN THE SUDAN FOR TEN CENTURIES PRESSED DOWN ON THE NEGROES OF CENTER THE WEST COAST. THIS WAS THE GREAT INTERNAL STRIFE OF AFRICA, BETWEEN PRIMITIVE NEGROES AND MOHAMMEDAN NEGROES (+ BANTUS IN THE CENTER) WHICH RESULTED IN PRISONERS OF WAR FEEDING AN AMERICAN also SLAVE TRADE AND WHICH SET UP THAT VAST MIGRATION OF THE BANTU PEOPLE LASTING A THOUSAND YEARS FROM ABOUT 800 YEARS TO 1800. THESE PEOPLES MARCHED SLOWLY FROM THE SAHARA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. THEY MET OTHER BLACK PEOPLES ALREADY SETTLED IN EAST AFRICA, THE CONGO VALLEY AND SOUTH AFRICA. SOME OF THESE HAD REACHED HIGH DEGREES

OF CULTURE/AS AT KILWA AND ZYMBABWE,/ WITH WALLED CITIES, IRRIGATION AND MINING.// BUT THE ~~WEST~~ MASS OF INVADERS/MOVED OVER THEM,/ MODIFYING, INTEGRATING OR DESTROYING/UNTIL IN THE 18th CENTURY/THE BANTU ARRIVED AT THE CAPE/AND MET DUTCH AND BRITISH SETTLERS.

MEANTIME/ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA,/ AN ANCIENT NEGRO CULTURE/SURVIVED/BETWEEN THE STATE BUILDING/OF THE SUDAN/AND THE MARCH OF THE BANTU SOUTH.// BELOW THE KONG MOUNTAINS/WAS ~~AN ANCIENT~~ a CIVILIZATION/WHICH WENT BACK INTO THE SHADOWS OF HISTORY. HERE AROSE THE NEGRO CITY STATE/ THE WIDE USE OF IRON,/ A GREAT SCHOOL OF PRIMITIVE ART IN WEAVING, BUILDING AND SCULPTURE;/ AND WIDESPREAD MANUFACTURE AND TRADE.// THIS TRADE WITH OTHER TRIBES/AND FINALLY WITH EUROPE/BEGAN IN GOLD/CLOTH AND SPICE/AND FINALLY TURNED TO SLAVES,/ ON WHICH/IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY/THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE AROSE.

THIS TRADE WAS AT FIRST/A SIDE BARTER OF CAPTIVES/IN WARS BETWEEN COAST PEOPLE/ AND INLAND TRIBES// IT GREW,/ BECAUSE OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA/ INTO A GREAT, WIDESPREAD AND PROFITABLE TRAFFIC/WHICH FROM BEING AN INCIDENT OF WAR/TURNED TO BECOMING A DELIBERATE CAUSE OF WAR.// IT TRANSFERRED LABOR FROM WEST AFRICA/TO

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.// THEN BETWEEN 1500 AND 1900/ IT UPROOTED AT LEAST 50,000,000 NEGROES ~~OUT OF AFRICA~~,/ LEAVING MOST OF THEM DEAD AT HOME/OR ON THE MIDDLE PASSAGE;/ AND LANDING 15,000,000 IN THE AMERICAS.// IT RUINED CULTURE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA.// THEN WHEN MEHEMET ALI/CONQUERED THE EASTERN SUDAN IN 1820/PERHAPS ANOTHER TEN MILLION NEGROES/WERE SOLD IN SLAVERY TO ASIA.// THIS GREAT TRANSFER OF LABOR, ESPECIALLY TO AMERICA,/ TRANSFORMED THE MODERN WORLD.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA/MEANT NEW, FREE, RICH LAND/IN UNLIMITED ABUNDANCE. OF SUCH ABUNDANCE/THE EUROPEAN WORLD OF THE 15th CENTURY/KNEW NOTHING.// LAND IN EUROPE/ IN ACCESSIBLE REGIONS/AND UNOCCUPIED/WAS SCARCE;/ SO SCARCE THAT ITS POSSESSION CONFERRED PRIVILEGE.// A MAN WITH LAND/WAS CALLED "FROM" THAT PLACE/AND THUS AROSE TITLES OF NOBILITY.// GOVERNMENT RESTED/IN THE HANDS OF THESE OWNERS OF LAND,/ AND GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TRADE/ AND TRADE BROUGHT WEALTH.// THIS NEW LAND IN AMERICA/WAS REGARDED/AS A SOURCE OF WEALTH AND PRIVILEGE,/ AND EXPLORERS SEARCHED IT FOR GOLD.

BUT GOLD AND METALS/ COULD ONLY BE HAD FOR WORK,/ AND THE FERTILITY OF THE

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SOIL/ COULD BE REALIZED ONLY BY LABOR.// THIS LABOR CAME FROM THREE SOURCES:/ EUROPEAN WORKERS,/ LOCAL INDIANS,/ AND IMPORTED AFRICAN BLACKS.// THE EUROPEAN LABORERS/ CAME IN LIMITED NUMBERS/ BECAUSE EMPLOYERS IN EUROPE/ WOULD NOT LET THEM LEAVE;// INDIANS WERE FEW IN NUMBER/ AND SO ORGANIZED/ THAT THEIR ENSLAVEMENT/ MEANT DANGEROUS WARS.// BUT AFRICAN NEGROES/ COULD BE HAD IN LARGE NUMBERS/ BECAUSE OF THE STRIFE/ BETWEEN THE MOHAMMEDAN SUDAN/ AND THE HEATHEN COAST,/ AND THEN BECAUSE OF AN ORGANIZED TRADE/ BETWEEN THE POWERFUL TRIBES OF COAST NEGROES/ AS MIDDLE MEN/ OWNING THE LAND AND FORTS/ AND EXCHANGING SLAVES AND GOODS/ WITH EUROPEAN TRADERS.

Central Africa

THUS THE WORKERS OF AMERICA/ BECAME FOR 400 YEARS/ INCREASINGLY BLACK SLAVES, AND THEY BUILT THE SUGAR EMPIRE,/ THE COTTON KINGDOM/ AND RAISED QUANTITIES OF RICE, INDIGO AND TOBACCO.// ON THIS LABOR, LAND AND MATERIAL/ EUROPE GOT RICH;/ WEALTH MADE IN THIS WAY,/ AND MORE STOLEN WEALTH FROM INDIA,/ BECAME THE BASIS OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.// NEW SCIENCE GAVE IMPETUS/ FOR DISCOVERING & NEW TECHNIQUES OF MANUFACTURE.

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BUT GRADUALLY/ PHILANTHROPY PROTESTED/ AND SLAVES REVOLTED/ UNTIL IN HAITI THEY SPOILED THE PLANS OF NAPOLEON/ AND HUMBLED SPAIN AND BRITAIN.// THEREUPON EUROPE TURNED FROM LABOR/ BASED ON A SLAVE TRADE/ TO COLONIALISM.// LABOR WAS STILL PAID/ ONLY ENOUGH TO KEEP IT ALIVE,/ AND LAND STOLEN,/ BUT THIS NOW TOOK PLACE/ WITHIN A COLONY/ WHICH THE IMPERIAL COUNTRY OWNED,/ AND NOT AFTER TRANSFER OF LABORERS OVERSEAS.// ASIA, AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA/ BECAME INCREASINGLY COLONIES OF EUROPE,/ AND THOSE PARTS WHICH DID NOT/ WERE EXPECTED SOON TO SUCCUMB.

HERE NOW/ IN MODERN TIMES/ WE MAY FOLLOW THREE PATHS:// THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE/ WITH ITS CAPITAL, COLONIES AND COMMERCE;// THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICA WITH ITS SLAVE LABOR BUT WITHOUT A SLAVE TRADE,/ AND ITS SIMULTANEOUS ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY among white laborers IN GOVERNMENT/ AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND THOUGHT;/ AND THIRD THE HISTORY OF AFRICA/ AFTER THE STOPPING OF THE OVERSEAS SLAVE TRADE.

EUROPE BECAME THE RULER OF THE WORLD/ SO MUCH SO/ THAT IN THE 19th CENTURY/ IT WAS WIDELY BELIEVED/ THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE/ WERE A DIFFERENT AND BETTER BREED/ AND

PRIVILEGED/TO USE THE EARTH AND OTHER PEOPLE/FOR THE GOOD OF EUROPEANS.//ACTING ON THIS THESIS/ THE EUROPEANS, WITH WEALTH FOR INVESTMENT/ MACHINES AND SOLDIERS,/ SEIZED ASIA, AFRICA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA/AND USED LABOR, LAND AND MATERIALS/TO RAISE THE RAW MATERIALS/WHICH THEIR FACTORIES NEEDED.// THEY PAID THE LABOR THE LOWEST WAGES/ WHICH WOULD KEEP THEM ALIVE,/AND FIXED THE LOWEST PRICES/FOR MATERIALS.// THEIR SOLDIERS, EQUIPPED WITH THE MOST DEADLY WEAPONS,/ KEPT THE COLORED WORLD/IN SUBJECTION. etc //AT HOME THESE RAW MATERIALS FROM COLONIES/WERE MADE INTO COSTLY GOODS/BY WHITE LABORERS WHO soon COMPLAINED/OF THEIR SHARE OF THE RESULT// THIS BECAME THE LABOR PROBLEM/WHICH LED TO DEMAND/FOR POPULAR EDUCATION,/ UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE,/ HIGHER WAGES,/ EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND OTHER PROBLEMS/OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM/AMONG WHITE FOLK.

(ON THE OTHER HAND)

IN AMERICA IN PARTICULAR/ CAME THE PROBLEM/AS TO THE FUTURE STATUS OF BLACK SLAVES/WHO IN 1800 FORMED A QUARTER/OF THE WHOLE LABORING CLASS.// THE FIRST ASSUMPTION WAS/THAT THEY WOULD IN TIME/BECOME FREE,/WITH THE RIGHTS OF OTHER CITIZENS.// BUT THE SLAVES/ PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH/ HAD BECOME NECESSARY TO THE COTTON CROP/AND THAT

CROP/WAS IN INCREASING DEMAND// SO THAT EARLY IN THE 19th CENTURY/FREEDOM FOR SLAVES MEANT LESS PROFIT FOR LANDLORDS// THEREFORE THE SLAVE OWNERS/WERE DETERMINED NOT TO FREE THEIR SLAVES./ AND NORTHERN BUSINESSMEN/ALSO WANTED CHEAP COTTON.// BUT WHITE WORKERS PROTESTED./ THEY, because of the labor argument HAD COME FROM EUROPE/IN LARGE NUMBERS/SEEKING LAND, GOOD WAGES/AND DEMOCRACY./ THEY REFUSED TO COMPETE WITH SLAVES./ THE NATION THEN HAD TO CHOOSE/BETWEEN CONFINING SLAVERY TO THE SOUTH/OR BRINGING NORTHERN LAND/AND LABOR INTO COMPETITION WITH A SLAVE SYSTEM.

Civil War vs Slavery

THEY COULD NOT SETTLE THIS BY ARGUMENT/SO THEY TRIED FIGHTING./ THE NORTH FOUND/THAT THEY COULD NOT WIN THE WAR/WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE SLAVES/WHO WERE FEEDING THE SOUTHERN ARMIES;/AND THE SOUTH MADE THE SAME DISCOVERY./ THE NORTH OFFERED FREEDOM FIRST./ AND EVENTUALLY ARMED 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS/AND USED AT LEAST 200,000 MORE THAN a THAT NUMBER/AS STEVEDORES, SERVANTS AND SPIES.// THE SOUTH KNEW THAT TWO MILLION MORE BLACK SOLDIERS WERE AVAILABLE,/AND HAD TO SURRENDER.

NOW THEN/ AS IN ALL WARS/AFTER THE MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/ THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE/ STILL STAND UNANSWERED.// IN THIS CASE,/ WHAT OF THE NEGRO FREEDMEN? // IT WAS PROPOSED/ TO EDUCATE THEM/ AND LET THEM VOTE.// CONGRESS SAID/ EDUCATION WOULD COST TOO MUCH/ BUT THEY FINALLY/ HAD TO LET THEM VOTE/ FOR OTHERWISE THE WHITE SOUTH / WITH INCREASED REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS/ DUE TO THE FREEDMEN,/ COULD LOWER THE TARIFF/ REFUSE TO PAY THE NORTHERN WAR DEBT,/ OR INSIST ON PAYING THE SOUTHERN WAR DEBT./ AND IN OTHER WAYS GET BACK AT THE NORTH.// THE NEGROES THEREFORE WERE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

THEY HAD A DIFFICULT TIME/ BUT AIDED BY EDUCATED NEGROES/ FROM THE NORTH AND NORTHERN WHITE MISSIONARIES/ THEY ESTABLISHED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE/ GAVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO ALL/ TRIED TO DIVIDE THE LARGE PLANTATIONS/ INTO SMALL HOLDINGS/ AND BEGAN A SOCIAL LEGISLATION/ FOR PROTECTION OF LABOR/ AND HELP FOR THE POOR.// THIS COST MONEY./ TAXES WERE RAISED/ ESPECIALLY ON THE RICH FORMER SLAVEOWNERS/ ALREADY IMPOVERISHED BY EMANCIPATION./ THEY AND NORTHERN BUSINESSMEN GOT TOGETHER.// THEY DISFRANCHISED THE FREEDMEN/ AND SET UP A COLOR CASTE SYSTEM.// THIS SYSTEM/ THE NEGROES AND THEIR WHITE FRIENDS/ HAVE

The tarif was left high and then raised: the Northern debt was paid in gold: the Southern debt was not paid nor were emancipated slaves paid for

BEEN FIGHTING/ WITH SOME SUCCESS/ SINCE 1880 UNTIL TODAY.

NOW BACK TO AFRICA./ WHEN THE EUROPEAN NATIONS/ DIVIDED AFRICA BETWEEN THEMSELVES/ AS COLONIES IN 1876,/ THE YEAR OF OUR CENTENNIAL/ IT WAS GENERALLY EXCUSED/ ON THE GROUND THAT BLACK AFRICANS/ HAD NO CULTURE/ AND THAT THEY WOULD/ IF LEFT ALONE/ RELAPSE INTO UTTER BARBARISM.// MOREOVER/ THIS WOULD DEPRIVE THE WHITE WORLD/ OF ITS MOST VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL/ ON WHICH CIVILIZATION DEPENDED.// COLONIES WERE THEREFORE ORGANIZED/ AS AREAS OF RICH LAND/ CHEAP LABOR AND RAW MATERIALS/ AT THE LOWEST PRICES.// WHITE SOLDIERS WERE STATIONED THERE/ AND WHITE OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS/ WITH HIGH SALARIES AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGES./ MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS WERE ALSO SENT.

THE RESULTS WERE DEPLORABLE./ THE NATIVES WERE REDUCED TO EXTREME POVERTY/ AND WORKED VIRTUALLY AS SLAVES.// THE LAND WAS STOLEN/ AND THE NEGROES HAD LITTLE VOICE/ IN THEIR GOVERNMENT./ MISSIONARIES OPENED SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES/ BUT ONLY SO FAR AS RELIGION/ AND EDUCATION/ DID NOT INTERFERE WITH PROFIT./ AS A RESULT AFRICA WRITHED/ UNTIL TODAY THE WHOLE CONTINENT/ IS SEETHING WITH COMPLAINT AND OPEN REVOLT.

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THERE ARE FIVE CHIEF CENTERS OF TROUBLE IN AFRICA TODAY: SOUTH AFRICA; THE CONGO; EAST AFRICA; THE SUDAN AND WEST AFRICA. YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT THE BANTU FROM THE SUDAN MARCHED SLOWLY FOR A THOUSAND YEARS TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, REACHING THERE IN THE 18TH CENTURY. THEY FOUND THE DUTCH ALREADY SETTLED THERE AND THE BRITISH INTRUDING. THERE ENSUED FOR ~~THREE~~ 2 CENTURIES A SERIES OF WARS AND CLASHES BETWEEN THESE THREE ELEMENTS, UNTIL BY FORCE OF WEALTH AND ARMS (European & American) THE BLACKS WERE DEPRIVED OF NEARLY ALL THEIR LAND AND REDUCED TO SERFDOM, WHILE THE WHITES RULED — FIRST THE BRITISH AND NOW THE DUTCH PREDOMINANTLY ~~HELPED BY INCREASING AMOUNTS OF AMERICAN MONEY~~.

BUT BECAUSE OF THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND DIAMONDS THE LAND BECAME OF FABULOUS VALUE AND THE BRITISH AND LATELY THE AMERICANS INVESTED LARGE SUMS THERE AND NEEDED BLACK LABOR FOR THEIR HUGE PROFITS. SOUTH AFRICA HAS BECOME THE WORST NATION ON EARTH FOR COLOR CASTE, WITH EVERY DISCRIMINATION POSSIBLE BASED ON RACE, AND WITH THE OPENLY DECLARED POLICY OF ENFORCING BLACK INFERIORITY IN EDUCATION, HOUSING, LAND, WAGES, LABOR ORGANIZATION, AND POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS. PRACTICALLY EVERY GREAT AMERICAN

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CORPORATION HAS MADE LARGE INVESTMENTS, AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS GRANTED ($166 millions) LOANS. OUR CONSUL IN 1952 DECLARED SOUTH AFRICA ONE OF THE MOST "PROMISING" NATIONS ON EARTH. THE NEGROES AND THE INDIANS ARE ORGANIZING TO RESIST AND SUFFERING IMPRISONMENT AND DEGRADATION IN THE EFFORT.

THE BELGIAN CONGO WAS ORGANIZED IN 1876 BY LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM, HELPED BY AN AMERICAN REPORTER, TO BE OPENED FOR "CHRISTIANITY AND PEACEFUL TRADE." BELGIUM SEIZED THE LAND AND TREATED THE NATIVES SO VILELY THAT THE WHOLE WORLD PROTESTED. THE BELGIAN STATE TOOK OVER THE COLONY FROM THE KING. BRITISH AND AMERICANS HAVE SINCE INVESTED HUGE SUMS IN COPPER, IVORY, PALM OIL AND URANIUM. THE URANIUM IS MONOPOLIZED BY THE UNITED STATES FOR ATOM BOMBS. BELGIUM IS TRYING TO APPEASE THE NATIVES WITH LIMITED ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, USE BUT NO OWNERSHIP OF LAND, AND RULE THROUGH SUBSIDIZED CHIEFS. LABORERS ARE TRAINED IN SKILLS BUT PAID AT LOW WAGES. RESISTANCE IS SHOWN BY STRIKES OF MINERS, DEMAND FOR PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS. THE ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TO ADMIT A SMALL BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA TO SOME

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS/ IN RETURN FOR THEIR SUPPORT/ OF BIG BUSINESS/ AND LABOR CONTROL.

IN EAST AFRICA,/ ESPECIALLY IN UGANDA AND KENYA,/ 10,MILLION NATIVES WHO ONCE HAD THE MOST ADVANCED FEUDAL CULTURE/ OF NORTH AFRICA,/ FELL VICTIMS OF RELIGION IN THE 19TH CENTURY.// HERE THE MOHAMMEDANS,/ CATHOLICS AND EPISCOPALIANS/ STAGED A QUARREL FOR CONVERTING HEATHEN/ WHO DID NOT WANT CONVERSION.// THE RESULT WAS WAR AND DESTRUCTION/ UNTIL KING MWANGA/ KILLED A BRITISH BISHOP/ WHO PERSISTED IN ENTERING THE COUNTRY/ AGAINST THE KING'S COMMAND.// AS A RESULT THE PROTESTANT BRITISH/ SEIZED THE COUNTRY,/ MACHINE-GUNNED THE FRENCH CATHOLICS/ AND CONVERTED THE UGANDESE/ TO THE TRUE FAITH/ AND RAISING OF COTTON.// AND AN UNEASY PEACE ENSUED.

IN KENYA,/ EAST OF UGANDA,/ THE BRITISH ENTERED/ TO PROTECT THE APPROACH TO UGANDA, PTLY SEIZED ALL THE BEST LAND/ BY PAYING TWO CENTS AN ACRE,/ UNTIL THE NATIVES, CROWDED INTO THE SWAMPS AND LOWLANDS/ REBELLED.// LAST YEAR THEY BEGAN WHOLESALE ROBBERY/ AND MURDER OF WHITES/ AND THEIR NATIVE FRIENDS.// BRITISH SOLDIERS, (To date) HAVE MURDERED 8000 NATIVES

AND PUT 50,000 IN JAIL,/ AND THE REVOLT HAS NOT YET BEEN QUELLED// NEITHER HAVE THE 2000 WHITE LANDHOLDERS/ SURRENDERED ANY OF THEIR LAND/ TO THE FIVE MILLION NEARLY LANDLESS BLACKS.

IN NEIGHBORING UGANDA/ THE NATIVE LANDOWNERS AND COTTON GROWERS/ ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE POLITICAL RIGHTS GRANTED THEM/ AND BECAUSE THEIR KING/ WHO IS STUDYING AT OXFORD/ SIDED WITH HIS SUBJECTS,/ HE HAS NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO RETURN HOME.// UGANDA IS ANGRY AND THREATENING BECAUSE OF THIS.

NORTH OF UGANDA IS THE SUDAN,/ A REMNANT OF THAT VASTER REALM/ OF WHICH WE HAVE HEARD/ FROM EGYPTIAN TIMES/ TO THE GREAT BLACK STATES OF THE 15th CENTURY.// IN THE PART/ SOUTH OF EGYPT/ CALLED THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN,/ HAS BEEN PLAYED A TRAGIC STORY/ SINCE 1820.// IN THAT YEAR THE ALBANIAN RULER OF EGYPT/ CONQUERED THIS SECTION/ AND TURNED IT INTO A SLAVE WARREN.// THE NATIVES REBELLED AND KILLED HIS SON/ BUT WITH WILD VENGEANCE/ HE SEIZED IT AGAIN/ AND SENT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK SLAVES EAST/ TO THE SEA AND BEYOND./ HE DIED INSANE.// WITH HIS SUCCESSOR BRITAIN ENTERED EGYPT,/ GOT CONTROL OF THE

SUEZ CANAL/AND BEGAN TO MOVE FROM CAIRO TO CAPE/ WHERE BLACK FOLK WERE IN DEATH STRUGGLE/ WITH WHITE/AND STILL ARE.// IN THE SUDAN THE BLACK MAHDI/REVOLTED IN 1881, KILLED CHINESE GORDON,/ AND DROVE THE BRITISH OUT FOR 16 YEARS.// MENELIK BECAME RULER OF ETHIOPIA/AND KEPT THE ITALIANS/FROM SEIZING HIS LAND.// THE BRITISH, FRIGHTENED AT TWO NEGRO RULERS/AND FRENCH EXPLORERS,/ SENT KITCHENER WITH MACHINE GUNS/AND DYNAMITE/ TO RECONQUER THE SUDAN.// IT BECAME THEREAFTER/THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN/ RULED BY BRITAIN/BUT CLAIMED BY EGYPT.// RECENTLY, WHEN BRITAIN WAS DRIVEN OUT OF EGYPT/ THE OWNERSHIP OF THE SUDAN/AND ITS 9 MILLION BLACK FOLK/CAME INTO DISPUTE.// BOTH NATIONS ADMITTED/THAT THE NATIVES MIGHT CHOSE/WHICH COUNTRY THEY WOULD SERVE,/ AND LAST DECEMBER THE SUDAN/CHOSE ~~COMPLETE~~ virtual INDEPENDENCE/OF BRITAIN,/ AND ONLY SLENDER TIES TO EGYPT. SO A BLACK PRIME MINISTER/OF THE SUDAN/HAS JUST VISITED CHURCHILL/AND IS PREPARED TO MAKE TREATY WITH NASSER OF EGYPT/AS TO FUTURE RELATIONS.

BUT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT/IN AFRICA/DURING THIS CENTURY/IS THE INDEPENDENCE OF TWO BRITISH COLONIES/ON THE WEST COAST/ WITH 30 MILLION NEGROES,/ THE

GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA.// HERE IS WHERE WEST COAST CULTURE/IN TRADE AND ART/FLOURISHED IN THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN WORLD// AND HERE THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE CENTERED.// MOST OF WHAT IS TODAY/KNOWN AS AFRICAN ART/IN SCULPTURE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP/COMES FROM THIS AREA.// HERE BRITAIN,/ WITHOUT ATTEMPTING CONQUEST,/ TRIED TO RULE BY INDIRECT USE/OF SUBSIDIZED CHIEFS,/AND ~~TO MAKE~~ made HUGE PROFITS/FROM CHEAP LABOR/IN METALS, PALM OIL AND NUTS.// THEN A NATIVE WORKER/INTRODUCED THE COCOA TREE/FROM SPANISH AFRICA,/ WHICH WAS RAW MATERIAL FOR CHOCOLATE.// THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA/BECAME THE GREATEST CENTER OF COCOA RAISING/IN THE WORLD/AND ON NEGRO PLANTATIONS.

IN VAIN/THE BRITISH, DUTCH AND AMERICANS/TRIED TO RAKE OFF THE BULK OF THE PROFIT/BY UNITING IN BUYER MONOPOLY// THE NEGROES HUNG ON./ THEY ARGUED, REFUSED TO SELL THEIR COCOA,/AND FINALLY IN 1948/OPEN REBELLION APPEARED.// THE BRITISH CALLED THEIR FLEET FROM GIBRALTA,/ BUT THEIR BLACK TROOPS ON THE COAST MUTINIED,/AND LOOTING AND RIOTING BEGAN.// NEGOTIATIONS, LONG DRAWN-OUT, ENSUED,/AND TODAY BOTH THESE COLONIES/ ARE ON THE EDGE/OF BEING RECOGNIZED AS INDEPENDENT DOMINIONS/IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

IF AT THE LAST/ THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, AS IT THREATENS,/ STOPS THIS STEP/ THERE WILL BE WAR IN WEST AFRICA /AND HELP FROM ASIA.

THESE ARE THE CHIEF CENTERS OF UNREST /IN AFRICA TODAY.// THERE ARE OTHERS IN RHODESIA,/ IN PORTUGESE AFRICA,/ AND OF COURSE IN TUNIS AND MOROCCO,/ THERE IS MORE GUARDED STRIFE /IN ETHIOPIA AND LIBERIA/ TO CURB WHITE CAPITAL.// THE WHOLE OF THE DARK CONTINENT IS IN UPHEAVAL.

THE CURRENT THOUGHT /ABOUT THIS UNREST/ IS THAT IT DOES NOT CONCERN THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE WEST.// WE HAVE BEEN RATHER ASTONISHED /THAT THE PEOPLES OF ASIA FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY/ KNOW THAT AFRICA CONCERNS THEM/ AND ARE ABOUT TO CONFER WITH AFRICA /IN INDONESIA NEXT APRIL.// BUT WHAT HAS EUROPE AND AMERICA/ TO DO WITH AFRICA? FIRST, OF COURSE,/ IS THE FACT THAT IN AMERICA/ THERE ARE SOME 25 MILLION DESCENDANTS OF BLACK AFRICANS /IN THE UNITED STATES,/ THE WEST INDIES /AND IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA/ THESE COLORED PEOPLE /ARE LONG SEPARATED FROM THE MOTHERLAND,/ HAVE ADOPTED OTHER CULTURES AND OTHER LANGUAGES,/ AND ARE OF X MIXED ~~BLOOD;~~ descent

DESPITE THE DESPERATE PLIGHT OF BLACK AFRICA TODAY /AND THEIR DETERMINED EFFORTS FOR AUTONOMY/ THE 15 MILLION NEGROES /IN THE UNITED STATES/ HAVE IN THE LAST TEN YEARS/ CONTRIBUTED LESS THAN TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS /TO THEIR CAUSE.// TODAY THE AFRO-AMERICAN WEEKLY PRESS /IN THIS NATION,/ WITH ITS TWO MILLION READERS,/ GIVES LITTLE SPACE /AND LESS EDITORIAL THOUGHT /TO AFRICA.// THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS /HAS BEEN PUT ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SUBVERSIVE LIST/ AS "COMMUNIST" DIRECTED/ WHEN NOT A SINGLE ACT OR EFFORT /OF THIS ORGANIZATION /HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO ANYTHING/ BUT THE FREEDOM OF AFRICA.// YET BECAUSE OF THIS/ GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION/ MOST AMERICAN NEGROES DARE NOT JOIN/ NOR CONTRIBUTE TO THIS.// THE ONLY ORGANIZED AMERICAN EFFORT /FOR AFRICAN REDEMPTION;// AND THIS IN FACE/ OF THE HISTORY WE HAVE REVIEWED TODAY// WHEN WE REMEMBER WHAT IRISH AMERICANS/ HAVE DONE FOR IRELAND;/ WHAT GERMANS, SCANDINAVIANS,/ ITALIANS AND CHINESE /HAVE DONE FOR THE LANDS /OF THEIR FATHERS' NATIVITY,/ THE ACTION OF NEGROES HERE TODAY/ SHOULD FILL US WITH SHAME.

THE MATTER, HOWEVER,/ GOES FAR BEYOND THIS.// HAVE THE WHITE FOLK OF EUROPE

AND AMERICA/NO DIRECT INTEREST/IN AFRICA TODAY? //THEY CERTAINLY HAVE. /IN THE CENTURIES WHEN LONG DISTANCE,/ TIME AND DISCOMFORT/SEPARATED EUROPE,/ASIA AND AFRICA/ IT WAS PERHAPS EXCUSABLE/ NOT TO SEE HOW CONDITIONS/ IN THESE CONTINENTS/AFFECTED EACH OTHER/ SAVE IN INDIRECT AND SMALL WAYS.// BUT TODAY/when THE EARTH/IS BUT TWO OR THREE DAYS JOURNEY/ BETWEEN ITS FARTHEST ENDS,/ IT MAKES TREMENDOUS DIFFERENCE/IF MINERS IN AFRICA/ARE PAID TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A DAY/FOR DIGGING COPPER/AND HAVE NO POLITICAL RIGHTS//WHILE MINERS IN WALES AND MONTANA/ARE FIGHTING FOR $3- OR $4 DOLLARS A DAY/AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND STRIKE.//IF THE VICTIM OF OPEN LAND THEFT/IN KENYA/CAN BE PUBLICLY MURDERED FOR DEMANDING HIS RIGHTS,/AND IF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS/CANNOT OWN LAND OR LIVE IN THE TOWNS/ WHERE THEY WORK,/OR BE TREATED AS HUMAN BEINGS,//THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN LABOR/ARE INCREASINGLY PROBLEMS OF LABOR/IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES,//AND THE WEALTH WHICH FIGHTS LABOR UNIONS/IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY/IS MADE BY AMERICAN INVESTORS IN AFRICA.// STARVATION IN JOHANNESBURG GOLD MINES/IS ECHOED BY THE REMOVAL OF NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE MILLS/FROM NEW ENGLAND TO ALABAMA,/ WHERE CONDITIONS OF WORK/ARE MORE NEARLY AFRICAN.

Then

THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA,--/ OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS,/ OF THE JUST DIVISION OF WEALTH,/ARE THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES,/ FRANCE, GERMANY AND BRITAIN,/ AND NONE CAN BE SETTLED ALONE AND APART.//WE FORM INCREASINGLY ONE INSEPARABLE,/ INTERDEPENDENT ECONOMY,/NO PART OF WHICH CAN BE TREATED ALONE.

THIS THEN,/IS THE STORY OF AFRICA/AND OF HER DESCENDANTS HERE TODAY./ IT IS LONG AND INTRICATE,/ BUT IT IS REAL AND NEAR.

Du Bois Melish church 1 Feb. 1935

AFRICA AND AFRO-AMERICA

THE IMPACT WHICH AFRICA HAS HAD ON THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY ON AMERICA, MERITS ATTENTION. BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA, FOR FIVE THOUSAND YEARS, THE VALLEY OF THE NILE WAS THE LEADING CENTER OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION. THERE WERE OTHER CENTERS IN CHINA AND ASIA, BUT EGYPT LED BY FAR. ABOUT SIXTEEN HUNDRED BEFORE CHRIST, THE SO-CALLED NEW KINGDOM AROSE IN EGYPT, WITH AN EGYPTIAN PHAROAH AND A BLACK NUBIANESE QUEEN, WHICH RAISED EGYPT TO GREAT HEIGHTS OF POWER, TO CONQUEST IN ASIA AND TO RELIGIOUS REFORM UNDER AKHNATON. THE SLAVERY AND ESCAPE OF THE JEWS OCCURRED IN THIS ERA.

THEN CAME THE ASCENDENCY OF BLACK ETHIOPIA FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS; OVERTHROWN EVENTUALLY BY THE ASIATIC ASSYRIANS AND PERSIANS. GREECE, UNDER ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS RULED NEXT. AFTER THE CHRISTIAN ERA CAME ROME. UNDER ROME THE CATHOLIC CHURCH DEVELOPED FIRST IN AFRICA AND WAS OVERTHROWN BY MOHAMMEDANISM, EXCEPT IN THE MOUNTAINS OF ABYSSINIA NOW CALLED ETHIOPIA. THE MOHAMMEDANS SWEPT ACROSS NORTH AFRICA TO SPAIN AND SOME TURNED DOWN TO THE SUDAN.

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IN THE SUDAN FROM 700 to 1700 ROSE A SUCCESSION OF BLACK KINGDOMS, SOME WITH A CULTURE RIVALING THAT OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE LIKE THE MELLESTINE, THE SONGHAI AND THE HAUSSA, DOWN TO THE NUBIANS WHO HELD BACK THE MOHAMMEDANS FROM THE NILE VALLEY FOR A THOUSAND YEARS. IN THE NILE VALLEY, AFTER THE ROMANS CAME THE ARABS WHO MINGLED WITH THE NEGROES AND RULED THERE FROM THE 12th TO THE 19th CENTURY, BUT GRADUALLY DIVIDED ALONG THE COLOR LINE, WITH WHITE RULERS IN THE NORTH AND BLACK RULERS IN THE SUDAN.

THIS EMPIRE-BUILDING IN THE SUDAN FOR TEN CENTURIES PRESSED DOWN ON THE NEGROES OF THE WEST COAST. THIS WAS THE GREAT INTERNAL STRIFE OF AFRICA, BETWEEN PRIMITIVE NEGROES AND MOHAMMEDAN NEGROES, WHICH RESULTED IN PRISONERS OF WAR FEEDING A SLAVE TRADE, AND WHICH SET UP THAT VAST MIGRATION OF THE BANTU PEOPLE LASTING A THOUSAND YEARS FROM ABOUT 800 YEARS TO 1800. THESE PEOPLES MARCHED SLOWLY FROM THE SAHARA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. THEY MET OTHER BLACK PEOPLES ALREADY SETTLED IN EAST AFRICA, THE CONGO VALLEY AND SOUTH AFRICA. SOME OF THESE HAD REACHED HIGH DEGREES

OF CULTURE AS AT KILWA AND ZIMBABWE, WITH WALLED CITIES, IRRIGATION AND MINING. BUT THE VAST MASS OF INVADERS MOVED OVER THEM, MODIFYING, INTEGRATING OR DESTROYING UNTIL IN THE 18th CENTURY THE BANTU ARRIVED AT THE CAPE AND MET DUTCH AND BRITISH SETTLERS.

MEANTIME ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA, AN ANCIENT NEGRO CULTURE SURVIVED BETWEEN THE STATE BUILDING OF THE SUDAN AND THE MARCH OF THE BANTU SOUTH. BELOW THE KONG MOUNTAINS WAS AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION WHICH WENT BACK INTO THE SHADOWS OF HISTORY. HERE AROSE THE NEGRO CITY STATE, THE WIDE USE OF IRON, A GREAT SCHOOL OF PRIMITIVE ART IN WEAVING, BUILDING AND SCULPTURE; AND WIDESPREAD MANUFACTURE AND TRADE. THIS TRADE WITH OTHER TRIBES AND FINALLY WITH EUROPE BEGAN IN GOLD CLOTH AND SPICE AND FINALLY TURNED TO SLAVES, ON WHICH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE AROSE.

THIS TRADE WAS AT FIRST A SIDE BARTER OF CAPTIVES IN WARS BETWEEN COAST PEOPLE AND INLAND TRIBES. IT GREW, BECAUSE OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, INTO A GREAT, WIDESPREAD AND PROFITABLE TRAFFIC WHICH FROM BEING AN INCIDENT OF WAR TURNED TO BECOMING A DELIBERATE CAUSE OF WAR. IT TRANSFERRED LABOR FROM WEST AFRICA TO

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PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. THEN BETWEEN 1500 AND 1900 IT UPROOTED AT LEAST 50,000,000 NEGROES OUT OF AFRICA, LEAVING MOST OF THEM DEAD AT HOME OR ON THE MIDDLE PASSAGE; AND LANDING 15,000,000 IN THE AMERICAS. IT RUINED CULTURE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA. THEN WHEN MEHEMET ALI CONQUERED THE EASTERN SUDAN IN 1820 PERHAPS ANOTHER TEN MILLION NEGROES WERE SOLD IN SLAVERY TO ASIA. THIS GREAT TRANSFER OF LABOR, ESPECIALLY TO AMERICA, TRANSFORMED THE MODERN WORLD.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA MEANT NEW, FREE, RICH LAND IN UNLIMITED ABUNDANCE. OF SUCH ABUNDANCE THE EUROPEAN WORLD OF THE 15th CENTURY KNEW NOTHING. LAND IN EUROPE IN ACCESSIBLE REGIONS AND UNOCCUPIED WAS SCARCE; SO SCARCE THAT ITS POSSESSION CONFERRED PRIVILEGE. A MAN WITH LAND WAS CALLED "FROM" THAT PLACE AND THUS AROSE TITLES OF NOBILITY. GOVERNMENT RESTED IN THE HANDS OF THESE OWNERS OF LAND, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TRADE, AND TRADE BROUGHT WEALTH. THIS NEW LAND IN AMERICA WAS REGARDED AS A SOURCE OF WEALTH AND PRIVILEGE, AND EXPLORERS SEARCHED IT FOR GOLD.

BUT GOLD AND METALS COULD ONLY BE HAD FOR WORK, AND THE FERTILITY OF THE

SOIL COULD BE REALIZED ONLY BY LABOR. THIS LABOR CAME FROM THREE SOURCES: EUROPEAN WORKERS, LOCAL INDIANS, AND IMPORTED AFRICAN BLACKS. THE EUROPEAN LABORERS CAME IN LIMITED NUMBERS BECAUSE EMPLOYERS IN EUROPE WOULD NOT LET THEM LEAVE; INDIANS WERE FEW IN NUMBER AND SO ORGANIZED THAT THEIR ENSLAVEMENT MEANT DANGEROUS WARS; BUT AFRICAN NEGROES COULD BE HAD IN LARGE NUMBERS BECAUSE OF THE STRIFE BETWEEN THE MOHAMMEDAN SUDAN AND THE HEATHEN COAST, AND THEN BECAUSE OF AN ORGANIZED TRADE BETWEEN THE POWERFUL TRIBES OF COAST NEGROES AS MIDDLE MEN OWNING THE LAND AND PORTS AND EXCHANGING SLAVES AND GOODS WITH EUROPEAN TRADERS.

THUS THE WORKERS OF AMERICA BECAME FOR 400 YEARS INCREASINGLY BLACK SLAVES, AND THEY BUILT THE SUGAR EMPIRE, THE COTTON KINGDOM AND RAISED QUANTITIES OF RICE, INDIGO AND TOBACCO. ON THIS LABOR, LAND AND MATERIAL EUROPE GOT RICH; WEALTH MADE IN THIS WAY, AND MORE STOLEN WEALTH FROM INDIA, BECAME THE BASIS OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION. NEW SCIENCE GAVE IMPETUS FOR DISCOVERING X NEW TECHNIQUES OF MANUFACTURE.

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BUT GRADUALLY PHILANTHROPY PROTESTED AND SLAVES REVOLTED UNTIL IN HAITI THEY SPOILED THE PLANS OF NAPOLEON AND HUMBLED SPAIN AND BRITAIN. THEREUPON EUROPE TURNED FROM LABOR BASED ON A SLAVE TRADE TO COLONIALISM. LABOR WAS STILL PAID ONLY ENOUGH TO KEEP IT ALIVE, AND LAND STOLEN, BUT THIS NOW TOOK PLACE WITHIN A COLONY WHICH THE IMPERIAL COUNTRY OWNED, AND NOT AFTER TRANSFER OF LABORERS OVERSEAS. ASIA, AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA BECAME INCREASINGLY COLONIES OF EUROPE, AND THOSE PARTS WHICH DID NOT WERE EXPECTED SOON TO SUCCUMB.

HERE NOW IN MODERN TIMES WE MAY FOLLOW THREE PATHS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE WITH ITS CAPITAL, COLONIES AND COMMERCE; THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICA WITH ITS SLAVE LABOR BUT WITHOUT A SLAVE TRADE, AND ITS SIMULTANEOUS ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND THOUGHT; AND THIRD THE HISTORY OF AFRICA AFTER THE STOPPING OF THE OVERSEAS SLAVE TRADE.

EUROPE BECAME THE RULER OF THE WORLD SO MUCH SO THAT IN THE 19th CENTURY IT WAS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE WERE A DIFFERENT AND BETTER BREED AND

PRIVILEGED TO USE THE EARTH AND OTHER PEOPLE FOR THE GOOD OF EUROPEANS. ACTING ON THIS THESIS THE EUROPEANS, WITH WEALTH FOR INVESTMENT, MACHINES AND SOLDIERS, SEIZED ASIA, AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA AND USED LABOR, LAND AND MATERIALS TO RAISE THE RAW MATERIALS WHICH THEIR FACTORIES NEEDED. THEY PAID THE LABOR THE LOWEST WAGES WHICH WOULD KEEP THEM ALIVE, AND FIXED THE LOWEST PRICES FOR MATERIALS. THEIR SOLDIERS, EQUIPPED WITH THE MOST DEADLY WEAPONS, KEPT THE COLORED WORLD IN SUBJUGATION. AT HOME THESE RAW MATERIALS FROM COLONIES WERE MADE INTO COSTLY GOODS BY WHITE LABORERS WHO COMPLAINED OF THEIR SHARE OF THE RESULT. THIS BECAME THE LABOR PROBLEM WHICH LED TO DEMAND FOR POPULAR EDUCATION, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, HIGHER WAGES, EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM AMONG WHITE FOLK.

IN AMERICA IN PARTICULAR CAME THE PROBLEM AS TO THE FUTURE STATUS OF BLACK SLAVES WHO IN 1800 FORMED A QUARTER OF THE WHOLE LABORING CLASS. THE FIRST ASSUMPTION WAS THAT THEY WOULD IN TIME BECOME FREE, WITH THE RIGHTS OF OTHER CITIZENS. BUT THE SLAVES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH, HAD BECOME NECESSARY TO THE COTTON CROP AND THAT

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CROP WAS IN INCREASING DEMAND. SO THAT EARLY IN THE 19th CENTURY FREEDOM FOR SLAVES MEANT LESS PROFIT FOR LANDLORDS. THEREFORE THE SLAVE OWNERS WERE DETERMINED NOT TO FREE THEIR SLAVES, AND NORTHERN BUSINESSMEN ALSO WANTED CHEAP COTTON. BUT WHITE WORKERS PROTESTED. THEY HAD COME FROM EUROPE IN LARGE NUMBERS SEEKING LAND, GOOD WAGES AND DEMOCRACY. THEY REFUSED TO COMPETE WITH SLAVES. THE NATION THEN HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CONFINING SLAVERY TO THE SOUTH OR BRINGING NORTHERN LAND AND LABOR INTO COMPETITION WITH A SLAVE SYSTEM.

THEY COULD NOT SETTLE THIS BY ARGUMENT SO THEY TRIED FIGHTING. THE NORTH FOUND THAT THEY COULD NOT WIN THE WAR WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE SLAVES WHO WERE FEEDING THE SOUTHERN ARMIES; AND THE SOUTH MADE THE SAME DISCOVERY. THE NORTH OFFERED FREEDOM FIRST, AND EVENTUALLY ARMED 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS AND USED AT LEAST 200,000 MORE THEN THAT NUMBER AS STEVEDORES, SERVANTS AND SPIES. THE SOUTH KNEW THAT TWO MILLION MORE BLACK SOLDIERS WERE AVAILABLE, AND HAD TO SURRENDER.

NOW THEN, AS IN ALL WARS AFTER THE MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE STILL STAND UNANSWERED. IN THIS CASE, WHAT OF THE NEGRO FREEDMEN? IT WAS PROPOSED TO EDUCATE THEM AND LET THEM VOTE. CONGRESS SAID EDUCATION WOULD COST TOO MUCH; BUT THEY FINALLY HAD TO LET THEM VOTE FOR OTHERWISE THE WHITE SOUTH , WITH INCREASED REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS DUE TO THE FREEDMEN, COULD LOWER THE TARIFF, REFUSE TO PAY THE NORTHERN WAR DEBT, OR INSIST ON PAYING THE SOUTHERN WAR DEBT, AND IN OTHER WAYS GET BACK AT THE NORTH. THE NEGROES THEREFORE WERE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

THEY HAD A DIFFICULT TIME, BUT AIDED BY EDUCATED NEGROES FROM THE NORTH AND NORTHERN WHITE MISSIONARIES, THEY ESTABLISHED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, GAVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO ALL, TRIED TO DIVIDE THE LARGE PLANTATIONS INTO SMALL HOLDINGS AND BEGAN A SOCIAL LEGISLATION FOR PROTECTION OF LABOR AND HELP FOR THE POOR. THIS COST MONEY. TAXES WERE RAISED, ESPECIALLY ON THE RICH FORMER SLAVEOWNERS ALREADY IMPOVERISHED BY EMANCIPATION. THEY AND NORTHERN BUSINESSMEN GOT TOGETHER. THEY DISFRANCHISED THE FREEDMEN AND SET UP A COLOR CASTE SYSTEM. THIS SYSTEM THE NEGROES AND THEIR WHITE FRIENDS HAVE

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BEEN FIGHTING WITH SOME SUCCESS SINCE 1880 UNTIL TODAY.

NOW BACK TO AFRICA. WHEN THE EUROPEAN NATIONS DIVIDED AFRICA BETWEEN THEMSELVES AS COLONIES IN 1876, THE YEAR OF OUR CENTENNIAL, IT WAS GENERALLY EXCUSED ON THE GROUND THAT BLACK AFRICANS HAD NO CULTURE AND THAT THEY WOULD IF LEFT ALONE RELAPSE INTO UTTER BARBARISM. MOREOVER THIS WOULD DEPRIVE THE WHITE WORLD OF ITS MOST VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL ON WHICH CIVILIZATION DEPENDED. COLONIES WERE THEREFORE ORGANIZED AS AREAS OF RICH LAND, CHEAP LABOR AND RAW MATERIALS AT THE LOWEST PRICES. WHITE SOLDIERS WERE STATIONED THERE, AND WHITE OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS WITH HIGH SALARIES AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS WERE ALSO SENT. THE RESULTS WERE

THE RESULTS WERE DEPLORABLE. THE NATIVES WERE REDUCED TO EXTREME POVERTY AND WORKED VIRTUALLY AS SLAVES. THE LAND WAS STOLEN AND THE NEGROES HAD LITTLE VOICE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT. MISSIONARIES OPENED SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES, BUT ONLY SO FAR AS RELIGION AND EDUCATION DID NOT INTERFERE WITH PROFIT. AS A RESULT AFRICA WRITHED, UNTIL TODAY THE WHOLE CONTINENT IS SEETHING WITH COMPLAINT AND OPEN REVOLT.

THERE ARE FIVE CHIEF CENTERS OF TROUBLE IN AFRICA TODAY: SOUTH AFRICA; THE CONGO; EAST AFRICA; THE SUDAN AND WEST AFRICA. YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT THE BANTU FROM THE SUDAN MARCHED SLOWLY FOR A THOUSAND YEARS TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, REACHING THERE IN THE 17TH CENTURY. THEY FOUND THE DUTCH ALREADY SETTLED THERE AND THE BRITISH INTRUDING. THERE ENSUED FOR THREE CENTURIES A SERIES OF WARS AND CLASHES BETWEEN THESE THREE ELEMENTS, UNTIL BY FORCE OF WEALTH AND ARMS THE BLACKS WERE DEPRIVED OF NEARLY ALL THEIR LAND AND REDUCED TO SERFDOM, WHILE THE WHITES RULED -- FIRST THE BRITISH AND NOW THE DUTCH PREDOMINANTLY.

BUT BECAUSE OF THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND DIAMONDS THE LAND BECAME OF FABULOUS VALUE AND THE BRITISH AND LATELY THE AMERICANS INVESTED LARGE SUMS THERE AND NEEDED BLACK LABOR FOR THEIR HUGE PROFITS. SOUTH AFRICA HAS BECOME THE WORST NATION ON EARTH FOR COLOR CASTE, WITH EVERY DISCRIMINATION POSSIBLE BASED ON RACE, AND WITH THE OPENLY DECLARED POLICY OF ENFORCING BLACK INFERIORITY IN EDUCATION, HOUSING, LAND, WAGES, LABOR ORGANIZATION, AND POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS. PRACTICALLY EVERY GREAT AMERICAN

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CORPORATION HAS MADE LARGE INVESTMENTS, AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS GRANTED LOANS. OUR CONSUL IN 1952 DECLARED SOUTH AFRICA ONE OF THE MOST "PROMISING" NATIONS ON EARTH. THE NEGROES AND THE INDIANS ARE ORGANIZING TO RESIST, AND SUFFERING IMPRISONMENT AND DEGRADATION IN THE EFFORT.

THE BELGIAN CONGO WAS ORGANIZED IN 1876 BY LEOPOLD OF BELGIAN, HELPED BY AN AMERICAN REPORTER, TO BE OPENED FOR "CHRISTIANITY AND PEACEFUL TRADE." BELGIUM SEIZED THE LAND AND TREATED THE NATIVES SO VILELY THAT THE WHOLE WORLD PROTESTED. THE BELGIAN STATE TOOK OVER THE COLONY FROM THE KING. BRITISH AND AMERICANS HAVE SINCE INVESTED HUGE SUMS IN COPPER, IVORY, PALM OIL AND URANIUM. THE URANIUM IS MONOPOLIZED BY THE UNITED STATES FOR ATOM BOMBS. BELGIUM IS TRYING TO APPEASE THE NATIVES WITH LIMITED ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, USE BUT NO OWNERSHIP OF LAND, AND RULE THROUGH SUBSIDIZED CHIEFS. LABORERS ARE TRAINED IN SKILLS BUT PAID AT LOW WAGES. RESISTANCE IS SHOWN BY STRIKES OF MINERS, DEMAND FOR PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS. THE ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TO ADMIT A SMALL BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA TO SOME

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN RETURN FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF BIG BUSINESS AND LABOR CONTROL.

IN EAST AFRICA, ESPECIALLY IN UGANDA AND KENYA, 10 MILLION NATIVES WHO ONCE HAD THE MOST ADVANCED FEUDAL CULTURE OF NORTH AFRICA, FELL VICTIMS OF RELIGION IN THE 19TH CENTURY. HERE THE MOHAMMEDANS, CATHOLICS AND EPISCOPALIANS STAGED A QUARREL FOR CONVERTING HEATHEN WHO DID NOT WANT CONVERSION. THE RESULT WAS WAR AND DESTRUCTION UNTIL KING MWANGA KILLED A BRITISH BISHOP WHO PERSISTED IN ENTERING THE COUNTRY AGAINST THE KING'S COMMAND. AS A RESULT THE PROTESTANT BRITISH SEIZED THE COUNTRY, MACHINE-GUNNED THE FRENCH CATHOLICS AND CONVERTED THE UGANDESE TO THE TRUE FAITH AND RAISING OF COTTON. AND UNEASY PEACE ENSUED.

IN KENYA, EAST OF UGANDA, THE BRITISH ENTERED TO PROTECT THE APPROACH TO UGANDA, SEIZED ALL THE BEST LAND BY PAYING TWO CENTS AN ACRE, UNTIL THE NATIVES, CROWDED INTO THE SWAMPS AND LOWLANDS REBELLED. LAST YEAR THEY BEGAN WHOLESALE ROBBERY AND MURDER OF WHITES AND THEIR NATIVE FRIENDS. BRITISH SOLDIERS HAVE MURDERED 8000 NATIVES

AND PUT 50,000 IN JAIL, AND THE REVOLT HAS NOT YET BEEN QUELLED; NEITHER HAVE THE 2000 WHITE LANDHOLDERS SURRENDERED ANY OF THEIR LAND TO THE FIVE MILLION NEARLY LANDLESS BLACKS.

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IN NEIGHBORING UGANDA THE NATIVE LANDOWNERS AND COTTON GROWERS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE POLITICAL RIGHTS GRANTED THEM, AND BECAUSE THEIR KING WHO IS STUDYING AT OXFORD SIDED WITH HIS SUBJECTS, HE HAS NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO RETURN HOME. UGANDA IS ANGRY AND THREATENING BECAUSE OF THIS.

NORTH OF UGANDA IS THE SUDAN, A REMNANT OF THAT VASTER REALM OF WHICH WE HAVE HEARD FROM EGYPTIAN TIMES TO THE GREAT BLACK STATES OF THE 15th CENTURY. IN THE PART SOUTH OF EGYPT CALLED THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, HAS BEEN PLAYED A TRAGIC STORY SINCE 1820. IN THAT YEAR THE ALBANIAN RULER OF EGYPT CONQUERED THIS SECTION AND TURNED IT INTO A SLAVE WARREN. THE NATIVES REBELLED AND KILLED HIS SON BUT WITH WILD VENGEANCE HE SEIZED IT AGAIN AND SENT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK SLAVES EAST TO THE SEA AND BEYOND. HE DIED INSANE. WITH HIS SUCCESSOR BRITAIN ENTERED EGYPT, GOT CONTROL OF THE

SUEZ CANAL AND BEGAN TO MOVE FROM CAIRO TO CAPE, WHERE BLACK FOLK WERE IN DEATH STRUGGLE WITH WHITE AND STILL ARE. IN THE SUDAN THE BLACK MAHDI REVOLTED IN 1881, KILLED CHINESE GORDON, AND DROVE THE BRITISH OUT FOR 16 YEARS. MENELIK BECAME RULER OF ETHIOPIA AND KEPT THE ITALIANS FROM SEIZING HIS LAND. THE BRITISH, FRIGHTENED AT TWO NEGRO RULERS AND FRENCH EXPLORERS, SENT KITCHENER WITH MACHINE GUNS AND DYNAMITE TO RECONQUER THE SUDAN. IT BECAME THEREAFTER THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, RULED BY BRITAIN BUT CLAIMED BY EGYPT. RECENTLY, WHEN BRITAIN WAS DRIVEN OUT OF EGYPT, THE OWNERSHIP OF THE SUDAN AND ITS 9 MILLION BLACK FOLK CAME INTO DISPUTE. BOTH NATIONS ADMITTED THAT THE NATIVES MIGHT CHOSE WHICH COUNTRY THEY WOULD SERVE, AND LAST DECEMBER THE SUDAN CHOSE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF BRITAIN, AND ONLY SLENDER TIES TO EGYPT. SO A BLACK PRIME MINISTER OF THE SUDAN HAS JUST VISITED CHURCHILL AND IS PREPARED TO MAKE TREATY WITH NASSER OF EGYPT AS TO FUTURE RELATIONS.

BUT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA DURING THIS CENTURY IS THE INDEPENDENCE OF TWO BRITISH COLONIES ON THE WEST COAST WITH 30 MILLION NEGROES, THE

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GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA. HERE IS WHERE WEST COAST CULTURE IN TRADE AND ART FLOURISHED IN THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN WORLD, AND HERE THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE CENTERED. MOST OF WHAT IS TODAY KNOWN AS AFRICAN ART IN SCULPTURE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP COMES FROM THIS AREA. HERE BRITAIN, WITHOUT ATTEMPTING CONQUEST, TRIED TO RULE BY INDIRECT USE OF SUBSIDIZED CHIEFS, AND TO MAKE HUGE PROFITS FROM CHEAP LABOR IN METALS, PALM OIL AND NUTS. THEN A NATIVE WORKER INTRODUCED THE COCOA TREE FROM SPANISH AFRICA, WHICH WAS RAW MATERIAL FOR CHOCOLATE. THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA BECAME THE GREATEST CENTER OF COCOA RAISING IN THE WORLD AND ON NEGRO PLANTATIONS.

IN VAIN THE BRITISH, DUTCH AND AMERICANS TRIED TO RAKE OFF THE BULK OF THE PROFIT BY UNITING IN BUYER MONOPOLY. THE NEGROES HUNG ON. THEY ARGUED, REFUSED TO SELL THEIR COCOA, AND FINALLY IN 1948 OPEN REBELLION APPEARED. THE BRITISH CALLED THEIR FLEET FROM GIBRALTA, BUT THEIR BLACK TROOPS ON THE COAST MUTINIED, AND LOOTING AND RIOTING BEGAN. NEGOTIATIONS, LONG DRAWN OUT, ENSUED, AND TODAY BOTH THESE COLONIES ARE ON THE EDGE OF BEING RECOGNIZED AS INDEPENDENT DOMINIONS IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

IF AT THE LAST THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, AS IT THREATENS, STOPS THIS STEP, THERE WILL BE WAR IN WEST AFRICA AND HELP FROM ASIA.

THESE ARE THE CHIEF CENTERS OF UNREST IN AFRICA TODAY. THERE ARE OTHERS IN RHODESIA, IN PORTUGESE AFRICA, AND OF COURSE IN TUNIS AND MOROCCO; THERE IS MORE GUARDED STRIFE IN ETHIOPIA AND LIBERIA TO CURB WHITE CAPITAL. THE WHOLE OF THE DARK CONTINENT IS IN UPHEAVAL.

THE CURRENT THOUGHT ABOUT THIS UNREST IS THAT IT DOES NOT CONCERN THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE WEST. WE HAVE BEEN RATHER ASTONISHED THAT THE PEOPLES OF ASIA FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY KNOW THAT AFRICA CONCERNS THEM AND ARE ABOUT TO CONFER WITH AFRICA IN INDONESIA NEXT APRIL. BUT WHAT HAS EUROPE AND AMERICA TO DO WITH AFRICA? FIRST, OF COURSE, IS THE FACT THAT IN AMERICA THERE ARE SOME 25 MILLION DESCENDANTS OF BLACK AFRICANS IN THE UNITED STATES, THE WEST INDIES AND IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. THESE COLORED PEOPLE ARE LONG SEPARATED FROM THE MOTHERLAND, HAVE ADOPTED OTHER CULTURES AND OTHER LANGUAGES, AND ARE OF X MIXED BLOOD.

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DESPITE THE DESPERATE PLIGHT OF BLACK AFRICA TODAY AND THEIR DETERMINED EFFORTS FOR AUTONOMY, THE 15 MILLION NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN THE LAST TEN YEARS CONTRIBUTED LESS THAN TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS TO THEIR CAUSE. TODAY THE AFRO-AMERICAN WEEKLY PRESS IN THIS NATION, WITH ITS TWO MILLION READERS, GIVES LITTLE SPACE AND LESS EDITORIAL THOUGHT TO AFRICA. THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS HAS BEEN PUT ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SUBVERSIVE LIST AS "COMMUNIST" DIRECTED, WHEN NOT A SINGLE ACT OR EFFORT OF THIS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO ANYTHING BUT THE FREEDOM OF AFRICA. YET BECAUSE OF THIS GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION MOST AMERICAN NEGROES DARE NOT JOIN NOR CONTRIBUTE TO THIS, THE ONLY ORGANIZED AMERICAN EFFORT FOR AFRICAN REDEMPTION; AND THIS IN FACE OF THE HISTORY WE HAVE REVIEWED TODAY. WHEN WE REMEMBER WHAT IRISH AMERICANS HAVE DONE FOR IRELAND; WHAT GERMANS, SCANDINAVIANS, ITALIANS AND CHINESE HAVE DONE FOR THE LANDS OF THEIR FATHERS' NATIVITY, THE ACTION OF NEGROES HERE TODAY SHOULD FILL US WITH SHAME.

THE MATTER, HOWEVER, GOES FAR BEYOND THIS. HAVE THE WHITE FOLK OF EUROPE

AND AMERICA NO DIRECT INTEREST IN AFRICA TODAY? THEY CERTAINLY HAVE. IN THE CENTURIES WHEN LONG DISTANCE, TIME AND DISCOMFORT SEPARATED EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA, IT WAS PERHAPS EXCUSABLE NOT TO SEE HOW CONDITIONS IN THESE CONTINENTS AFFECTED EACH OTHER SAVE IN INDIRECT AND SMALL WAYS. BUT TODAY when THE EARTH IS BUT TWO OR THREE DAYS JOURNEY BETWEEN ITS FARTHEST ENDS, IT MAKES TREMENDOUS DIFFERENCE IF MINERS IN AFRICA ARE PAID TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A DAY FOR DIGGING COPPER AND HAVE NO POLITICAL RIGHTS, WHILE MINERS IN WALES AND MONTANA ARE FIGHTING FOR $3- OR $4 DOLLARS A DAY AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND STRIKE. IF THE VICTIM OF OPEN LAND THEFT IN KENYA CAN BE PUBLICLY MURDERED FOR DEMANDING HIS RIGHTS, AND IF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS CANNOT OWN LAND OR LIVE IN THE TOWNS WHERE THEY WORK, OR BE TREATED AS HUMAN BEINGS, THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN LABOR ARE INCREASINGLY PROBLEMS OF LABOR IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES; AND THE WEALTH WHICH FIGHTS LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS MADE BY AMERICAN INVESTORS IN AFRICA. STARVATION IN JOHANNESBURG GOLD MINES IS ECHOED BY THE REMOVAL OF NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE MILLS FROM NEW ENGLAND TO ALABAMA, WHERE CONDITIONS OF WORK ARE MORE NEARLY AFRICAN.

THIS THEN, IS THE STORY OF AFRICA

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THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA -- OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, OF THE JUST DIVISION OF WEALTH, ARE THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, GERMANY AND BRITAIN, AND NONE CAN BE SETTLED ALONE AND APART. WE FORM INCREASINGLY ONE INSEPARABLE, INTERDEPENDENT ECONOMY, NO PART OF WHICH CAN BE TREATED ALONE.

THIS THEN, IS THE STORY OF AFRICA AND OF HER DESCENDANTS HERE TODAY. IT IS LONG AND INTRICATE, BUT IT IS REAL AND NEAR.

Feb 1955

early draft

Africa and Afro-America

Typically there are many senses in which the word Africa must be understood and distinction made between the different areas. There is, for instance, North Africa, which is a part of the Meditteranean area, with practical the same climate and products as southern France and Italy. Then there is the Nile valley, with the longest river in the world flowing over 4000 miles from the center of Africa to the Mediterranean. The highlands of Ethiopia form a great rampart to the Northeast and then to the west lies the vast Sahara demsert, a sea of sand as large as the United States. South of the Sahara lies the Sudan in Arabic, land of the blacks, on plateau and valley stretching across the continent from the west coast to the highlands of Ethippia. In the Northwest are the low coastlines of the west coast, rising to the plateau. Then there is the great center of Africa, the valley of the Congo river and the Great Lakes. And south of that rises the great flat plateau of South Africa with its desert in the center and its coastline towards the east, and we are apt sometimes to forget Madagascar, which is nearly as large as Texas.

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In these areas we have all sorts of climate from the equitable climate of the Mediterranean to the hot dry climate of the Sahara and Sudan, the low moist heat of central Africa and the high cold and dry climate of South Africa. Historically these partsofAfrica have varied. The Nile Valley with its 7000 years of culture was once the one center of civilization and the oldest and even down to our day is of great importance. This civilization of the Nile came out of the highlands of Ethiopia. And then to the west developed a series of civilizations in the Sudan, beginning on the western coast, moving east until they came to the Nile valley. They left on the west coast below the mountains the singular civilization of West Africa, with its own political organization, its art and religion. In the Congo and around the Great Lakes came perhaps the beginning of human life in Africa and some of its most interesting developments. While in South Africa we have beginning with the 18th century a development which becomes a part of the modern world and of intense interest to all of us today.

This Africa, or as I might say, these Africas have affected the world and been affected by it in various ways at various times. First the Africa of the Nile dominated civilization so that men lived for thousands of years and knew but one great civilized state in the world and that was Egypt. Then there came the Africa of slavery, where the discovery of new lands to the west ledxfmx to a transportation of human labor from West Africa to America. And later a similar transfer of soldiers and servants to the middle east and to a trade in ivory which was connected with this phase of the slave trade.

Later and toward our day the gold which in ancient times had been found in central and western Africa was fonnd in greater quantities in South Africa, together with diamonds. And then came crops like the palm oil of West Africa and the cocoa of the Gold Coast.

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All this engendered in the modern world three great problems. The problem of race, of colonial exploitation and of war. The problem of race is the question as to how far human beings are on the whole equal to each other; not absolutely equal but persons who should be treatedin the same way. The problem of colonies arises partially from the problem of race or perhaps you could put it the other way, the problem of race helped the colonial problem, and that is the question as to how far the people of the earth are divided into large groups some of whom are so inferior that they work for the benefit of the larger group while the larger group carried on civilization. And finally, the question as to how far the progress of human beings depends upon force, organized and armed force.

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TO VINCENT HALLINAN, April 20, 1955

I REMEMBER FIVE GREAT VICTORIES, WHOSE CELEBRATION I WITNESSED, WHICH PROVED IN THE END TO CONCEAL SUCH DEFEATS THAT MEN AFTERWARD RECALLED WITH DIFFICULTY THE GOOD WHICH ACTUALLY HAD SURVIVED THE EVIL. IN THE FALL OF 1893, I SAW WILLIAM THE SECOND, KING OF PRUSSIA, GERMAN EMPEROR, RIDE DOWN THE UNTER DEN LINDEN IN BERLIN AT THE HEAD OF HIS PLUMED WARRIORS TO GREET THE CROWN PRINCE OF ITALY ON AT TEMPELHOFER FELD. THERE THEY CELEBRATED THE RENEWAL OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN BISMARCK'S GERMANY, THE ITALY OF GARIBALDI AND CRISPI, AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF AUSTRO-HUNGARY. THE DISPLAY WAS MAGNIFICENT. WITH FLASH OF SWORD AND ROLL OF ARTILLERY THE POWER OF CENTRAL EUROPE WAS BALANCED WITH IMPREGNABLE MIGHT.

YET THIS VERY ALLIANCE SPELLED THE DOOM OF GERMANY. FOR IN FIVE YEARS CAME THE FATAL RIVALRY OF THE DOUBLE ENTENTE AND I SAW IN PARIS IN 1900 THAT BEAUTIFUL BRIDGE OF ALEXANDER WHICH CELEBRATED THE MARRIAGE OF FRENCH CAPITAL TO CZARIST TYRANNY, AND CUT THE EUROPEAN WORLD IN TWAIN. WITH THE CORONATION OF GEORGE THE FIFTH, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, EMPEROR OF INDIA AND RULER OF HALF THE EARTH, CAME THE

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SECOND VICTORY WHICH WAS DOOM. I SAW HIM IN 1911 RIDE THROUGH TRAFALGAR SQUARE, WHILE BEHIND HIM MARCHED THE MASSED MIGHT OF THE GREATEST REALM WHICH THE WORLD EVER SAW.

YET IN ALL THIS PARADE OF POWER RODE DEFEAT. FOR THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE HAD KILLED THE WORKERS' DEMOCRACY OF GERMANY, THE GREATEST MOVEMENT TOWARD SOCIALISM WHICH HAD SURVIVED THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 AND SOUGHT TO [illegible] OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. WITH SOCIALISM CRUSHED UNDER MILITARISM AND THE OPPOSITION LED BY THE IMPERIAL COLONIALISM OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, THE WHITE WORKERS OF EUROPE WERE BRIBED BY A HIGH WAGE AND A PARTIAL SOCIALISM WHICH DEPENDED ON THE EXPLOITED SERFS OF ASIA, AFRICA, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS. THE profit from THE DARKER WORLD WAS SO VAST THAT IT NOT ONLY RAISED WHITE WAGES BUT LIFTED ARISTOCRACY TO SUCH HEIGHTS OF LUXURY AND POWER THAT THE ENVY AND GREED OF CHRISTENDOM BURST INTO WORLD-WIDE AND BLOODY WAR OVER THE LOOT IN 1914

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BIG THREE WHO RULED THE WORLD. I SAW WOODROW WILSON, FLUSHED AND SMILING, WAVING HIS HIGH SILK HAT TO THE MILLING, CHEERING THRONGS IN THE GARDENS OF THE TUILLERIES. GEORGE CLEMENCEAU LAY THE PLIGHT OF AFRICA BEFORE THE PEACE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES [redacted] LLOYD GEORGE AND THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE REFUSED TO LET DELEGATES TO [redacted] ATTEND. THE TREATY WAS SIGNED,

[redacted] THE RICH VOICE OF THE FIRST ACTRESS OF THE COMEDIE FRANCAISE RANG THROUGH THE GREAT HALL OF THE TROCADERO. "IT IS VICTORY -- VICTORY!" A MARSHALL OF FRANCE IN FULL REGALIA KISSED A YELLOW VIETNAMESE ON ONE CHEEK AND A BLACK SENEGALESE ON THE OTHER, AND PINNED THE LEGION OF HONOR ON BOTH THEIR BREASTS. [redacted] LINKED TOGETHER, VICTORIOUS BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA ASSUMED RULE OVER THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE SEMI COLONIES OF SOUTH AMERICA AND THE SEAS [redacted].

BUT EVEN HERE THE SHRIEKS OF DEFEAT [redacted] OUT THE PAEANS OF VICTORY! REVOLUTION BORN OF DESPAIR BURST IN RUSSIA AND THE "FREE WORLD," FROM THE UNITED STATES TO

ITALY AND FRANCE [redacted] JAPAN ROSE IN UNISON TO DROWN THE STRUGGLING WORKERS IN BLOOD. TEN LONG AND BITTER YEARS THEY FOUGHT TO DRIVE THE RUSSIAN SERFS BACK TO THEIR KENNELS. IN 1926, I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN OF THE DAMNED CRAWLING OUT OF THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW. [redacted] THE WHOLE CAPITALIST WORLD FROM NEW YORK TO PARIS AND LONDON TOTTERED TOWARD UTTER RUIN.

IN THOSE DREAR DAYS OF DISASTER FROM 1930 TO 1940, I CIRCLED THE WORLD. IN THE VAST MOSQUE OF SAINT WISDOM [redacted] CONSTANTINOPLE, I NOT ONLY SAW THOSE GIANT STONES WHICH ONCE DEFENDED THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE HUNS, BUT I HEARD HITLER SCREECHING IN BERLIN, I SAW SHANGHAI AS CHIANG KAI-SHEK IN HIS NIGHTSHIRT [redacted] TO FIGHT JAPAN. I HEARD ITALY CARRYING IN BUSHELS OF BLOOD A NEW ROMAN EMPIRE [redacted] TO ETHIOPIA, AND THE GREAT VOICE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION SUMMONING MANKIND TO GIRD ITSELF ANEW AND MURDER FORTY MILLION HUMAN BEINGS FOR "PEACE AND FREEDOM."

WHEN STALINGRAD SENT HITLER BURROWING TO HIS DEATH AND STRUNG UP MUSSOLINI

AND HIS LEMAN BY THEIR HEELS.// WHEN ROOSEVELT AND STALIN AT YALTA/ CALLED THE WORLD TO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE/ AND PLANNED THE UNITED NATIONS// I THOUGHT/ THAT AT LONG LAST/ HERE LOOMED VICTORY/ UNALLOYED WITH EVIL.// AGAIN I WAS WRONG.

IN THE OPERA HOUSE OF SAN FRANCISCO,/ UNDER THE PRESIDING OF ALGER HISS/ AND THE WISE ADVICE OF MOLOTOF,/ A CHARTER OF A UNITED NATIONS/ WAS ADOPTED IN JUNE 1945.// ITS GREAT ESSENTIALS HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN APRIL; BUT FOR TWO MONTHS THEREAFTER/ THE IMPERIAL COLONIAL POWERS/ OF THE WORLD/ BACKED BY THE UNITED STATES/ STUBBORNLY FOUGHT TO MAKE THE CHAPTER/ ON COLONIAL TRUSTEESHIP/ AN INSTRUMENT WHICH PUT COLONIAL PEOPLES/ UNDER WESTERN CONTROL/ [illegible].// HERE WAS THE DEFEAT/ THAT LINGERED EVEN IN THIS VICTORY.

THE NEXT DECADE/ WAS FORESAHDOWED BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S DEATH/ AND THE ACCESSION TO POWER/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ OF UNEDUCATED MEN/ CONTROLLED BY THE OWNERS OF INDUSTRY/ AND OBSESSED BY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.// THE WORLD STAGGERED BACKWARD,// GUIDED BY A SOUTHERN SLAVE DRIVER/ WE "GOT TOUGH WITH RUSSIA."/ WE SPENT 18 THOUSAND BILLION DOLLARS/ AND KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND OF OUR SONS/ IN ORDER TO SEIZE THE MARKETS/ AND COOLIES/ OF KOREA AND CHINA.

FOILED OF THIS,/ JUST AS IT WAS DROPPING INTO OUR GREEDY HANDS, WE PROCEEDED IN AMERICA TO KILL OUR OWN CIVIL LIBERTIES,/ THROTTLE FREEDOM,/ STOP THE NATION FROM THINKING,/ MAKE HEROES OF LIARS/ AND RULERS OF THIEVES.// AND RENDER DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA/ A MOCKERY/ IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD.// THIS WE CALLED THE "AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE."/ IT WAS NOT.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE/ HAD ONCE BEEN SIMPLE AND CLEAR.// EQUALITY AMONG CITIZENS/ WITH NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.// FREEDOM OF BELIEF,/ THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.// THE RIGHT BY INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE/ TO WORK FOR A WAGE/ WHICH WOULD ENSURE DECENT SUPPORT/ AND EDUCATION OF A FAMILY/ AND SECURITY IN OLD AGE.// JUSTICE IN THE COURTS/ AND A DECISIVE VOICE IN GOVERNMENT.// THIS WAS THE AMERICAN IDEAL/ AND FOR THIS AMERICA FOR 100 YEARS/ STOOD BEFORE THE WORLD/ UNTIL MILLIONS FROM EVERY CORNER/ OF THE EARTH/ SOUGHT OUR SHORES/ AT ANY SACRIFICE/ IN ORDER TO SHARE THIS GIFT/ OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.

WE NEVER COMPLETELY REACHED THIS IDEAL.// WE FALTERED CONTINUALLY/ [illegible].// BUT SLOWLY/ WITH BLOOD AND TEARS/ WE STAGGERED TOWARD IT/ UNTIL MISLED BY THE GLAMOUR

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OF EUROPE, BEMUSED BY SHEER ~~WEALTH~~ ABUNDANCE OF LAND AND RESOURCES, KEEN WIT OF OUR LABOR AND TECHNIQUE OF SCIENCE. // WE BEGAN UNCONSCIOUSLY TO CENTER OUR THOUGHT ON MAKING AND SELLING THINGS AND BEGAN TO FORGET THE MAKERS AND THE USERS OF THE THINGS AND TO CONCENTRATE ALL POWER IN OWNERS NO MATTER HOW THEY OBTAINED OWNERSHIP.

THUS WE BEGAN TO LOSE OUR WAY OF LIFE. // WE BECAME FANTASTICALLY UNEQUAL IN INCOME AND POWER. // INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE COULD ACHIEVE SECURITY ONLY BY SURRENDER OF POLITICAL POWER AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT. // WE EVEN SANK BELOW THIS AND JUSTICE BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR FROM OUR COURTS: WE CAME TO BE TRIED BY JURIES NOT OUR EQUALS AND NEIGHBORS BUT STRANGERS AND EVEN ENEMIES. // WE HELD ACCUSED PEOPLE, GUILTY UNTIL PROVEN INNOCENT. WE JAILED AND KILLED VICTIMS WITHOUT FAIR TRIAL. WE SURRENDERED THE RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH. // CRIME OVERWHELMED US IN FILTHY FLOOD.

IT IS TO RECALL SUCH INJUSTICE THAT WE ARE HERE TONIGHT. // VINCENT HALLINAN WAS NEVER EVEN ACCUSED OF CRIME. // YET HE RETURNS TO US TONIGHT FROM CONVICTION AND SHAMEFUL PUNISHMENT TWICE. // FROM HAVING HIS FORTUNE DISSIPATED AND HIS FAMILY CRUCIFIED,

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AND FROM BEING HELD UP TO PUBLIC SHAME -- FOR WHAT? BECAUSE HE DEFENDED HARRY BRIDGES, A LABOR LEADER WHOSE REPEATED AND VINDICTIVE PROSECUTION BY A RUTHLESS BUREAUCRACY IS UNPARALLELED IN MODERN CIVILIZED JURISPRUDENCE AND STILL CONTINUES. // BECAUSE HALLINAN DARED TO SUPPORT A THIRD PARTY IN A NATION WHERE EVEN A SECOND PARTY IS NOT LEGALLY POSSIBLE TODAY. // AND FINALLY, BECAUSE HE WAS CHARGED WITH BREAKING A SET OF CONFUSED AND CONTRADICTORY LAWS ON INCOME TAX RETURNS WHICH FEW PERSONS IN THIS AUDIENCE, NO MATTER HOW HONEST AND CAREFUL, COULD AVOID BREAKING IF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DETERMINED TO CONVICT ~~HIM~~ THEM. // THE INCOME TAX LAWS ARE DELIBERATELY USED TO PUNISH CRIMINALS FOR CRIME WHICH THE POLICE CANNOT PROVE AND RECENTLY TO PUNISH POLITICAL NON-CONFORMITY.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES? // IT IS NOT SIMPLY THE WILL TO EVIL. // IT IS BECAUSE A NATION DISCOVERS SOMETHING IT THINKS IS BETTER THAN WHAT ONCE IT CALLED GOOD. // AMERICA OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY SUDDENLY WAS ~~CALLED ON~~ asked TO LEAD A WORLD WHOSE FALSE GLAMOUR ITS LEADERS LONG HAD SECRETLY ENVIED. // WE WANTED TO WALK THE EARTH LIKE TITLED ENGLISHMEN, ITALIAN COUNTS AND RUSSIAN GRAND DUKES. // WE DID NOT UNDERSTAND

THAT WHEN THE YOUNG KAISER FORMED THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE HE KILLED THE SOCIALISM OF THE GERMAN WORKER; THAT BECAUSE BRITTANIA RULED THE SEAS SHE COULD GIVE SOCIAL MEDICINE TO HER WHITE WORKERS BY EXPLOITING HER COLORED SERFS // AND THAT WHEN WE TRIED TO SUCCEED HER AS OWNER OF THE EARTH WE WERE TOO LATE FOR ~~ECONOMIC~~ COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND HAD TO YIELD FREEDOM TO THE COLORED WORLD OR GIVE UP OUR OWN.

WE ELECTED TO GIVE UP OUR OWN AND TO USE WAR TO HELP OUR EFFORT. // THE PRICE IS TOO GREAT. / THAT WE ARE SLOWLY BEGINNING TO KNOW // WE ARE SLOWLY REALIZING THAT THE SOCIALISM WHICH GERMANY TRIED TO KILL AND WHICH BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA ARE BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE AND WHICH, DESPITE OUR DISMAY AND HATE IS ~~BEGINNING~~ STARTING TO TRIUMPH IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA // CANNOT BE DEFEATED BY PUTTING ~~VINCENT HALLINAN~~ Communists IN JAIL OR REFUSING PAUL ROBESON A PASSPORT OR MURDERING THE ROSENBERGS.

BECAUSE VINCENT HALLINAN IN THE FACE OF PROSECUTION BEYOND DECENCY AND JUSTICE, IS STILL READY TO HELP FIGHT THE ETERNAL BATTLE AGAINST WRONG WHO FOLLOWS IN HIS TRAIN? // REMEMBER THE SWAN SONG OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LUETZEN 300 YEARS AGO.

10,000 VOICES BLENDED OF JOY AND SORROW SANG: IN THE QUAINT FAITH OF THOSE DAYS:

FEAR NOT, O LITTLE FLOCK, THE FOE
THAT MADLY SEEK ~~YOUR~~ TO OVERTHROW;
DREAD NOT HIS RAGE AND POWER.
WHAT THOUGH YOUR COURAGE SOMETIMES FAINTS
HIS SEEMING TRIUMPH O'ER ~~THEIR~~ ALL SAINTS
LASTS BUT A LITTLE HOUR.

Nat'l. Guardian

please return to Dr. Du Bois

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TO VINCENT HALLINAN, April 20, 1955

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THERE CAME A BREATHLESS PAUSE IN 1918 WHICH MEN CELEBRATED AS THE END OF THE WAR TO END ALL WARS. IT WAS BUT THE BEGINNING. I SAW THAT CELEBRATION. I SAW THE

BIG THREE WHO RULED THE WORLD. I SAW WOODROW WILSON, FLUSHED AND SMILING, WAVING HIS HIGH SILK HAT TO THE MILLING, CHEERING THRONGS IN THE GARDENS OF THE TUILLERIES; GEORGE CLEMENCEAU [redacted] THE BRIGHT OF AFRICA BEFORE THE PEACE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES, [redacted] LLOYD GEORGE AND THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE REFUSED TO LET DELEGATES TO [redacted] ATTEND.

IN PARIS I HEARD THE RICH VOICE OF THE FIRST ACTRESS OF THE COMEDIE FRANCAIS AS IT RANG THROUGH THE GREAT HALL OF THE TROCADERO: "IT IS VICTORY -- VICTORY!" A MARSHALL OF FRANCE IN FULL REGALIA KISSED A YELLOW VIETNAMESE ON ONE CHEEK AND A BLACK SENEGALESE ON THE OTHER, AND PINNED THE LEGION OF HONOR ON BOTH THEIR BREASTS. THUS LINKED TOGETHER, VICTORIOUS BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA ASSUMED RULE OVER THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND THE SEMI COLONIES OF SOUTH AMERICA AND THE SEAS FOREVER.

38-11-2

BUT EVEN HERE THE SHRIEKS OF DEFEAT [redacted] THE PAEANS OF VICTORY. REVOLUTION BORN OF DESPAIR BURST IN RUSSIA AND THE "FREE WORLD", FROM THE UNITED STATES TO

ITALY AND FRANCE [redacted] JAPAN ROSE IN UNISON TO DROWN THE STRUGGLING WORKERS IN BLOOD. TEN LONG AND BITTER YEARS THEY FOUGHT TO DRIVE THE RUSSIAN SERFS BACK TO THEIR KENNELS. IN 1926, I SAW THE WILD CHILDREN OF THE DAMNED CRAWLING OUT OF THE SEWERS OF MOSCOW WHILE THE WHOLE CAPITALIST WORLD FROM NEW YORK TO PARIS AND LONDON TOTTERED TOWARD UTTER RUIN.

IN THOSE DREAR DAYS OF DISASTER FROM 1930 TO 1940, I CIRCLED THE WORLD. IN THE VAST MOSQUE OF SAINT WISDOM [redacted] CONSTANTINOPLE, I NOT ONLY SAW THOSE GIANT STONES WHICH ONCE DEFENDED THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE HUNS, BUT I HEARD HITLER SCREECHING IN BERLIN, I SAW SHANGHAI AS CHIANG KAI-SHEK IN HIS NIGHTSHIRT [redacted] TO FIGHT JAPAN; I HEARD ITALY CARRYING IN BUSHELS OF BLOOD A NEW ROMAN EMPIRE BACK TO ETHIOPIA, AND THE GREAT VOICE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION SUMMONING MANKIND TO GIRD ITSELF ANEW AND MURDER FORTY MILLION HUMAN BEINGS FOR "PEACE AND FREEDOM."

WHEN STALINGRAD SENT HITLER BURROWING TO HIS DEATH AND STRUNG UP MUSSOLINI

AND HIS LEMAN BY THEIR HEELS; WHEN ROOSEVELT AND STALIN AT YALTA CALLED THE WORLD TO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND PLANNED THE UNITED NATIONS, I THOUGHT THAT AT LONG LAST HERE LOOMED VICTORY UNALLOYED WITH EVIL. AGAIN I WAS WRONG.

IN THE OPERA HOUSE OF SAN FRANCISCO, UNDER THE PRESIDING OF ALGER HISS AND THE WISE ADVICE OF MOLOTOF, A CHARTER OF A UNITED NATIONS WAS ADOPTED IN JUNE 1945. ITS GREAT ESSENTIALS HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN A MONTH; BUT FOR TWO MONTHS THEREAFTER THE IMPERIAL COLONIAL POWERS OF THE WORLD BACKED BY THE UNITED STATES STUBBORNLY FOUGHT TO MAKE THE CHAPTER ON COLONIAL TRUSTEESHIP AN INSTRUMENT WHICH PUT COLONIAL PEOPLES UNDER WESTERN CONTROL FOREVER. HERE WAS THE DEFEAT THAT LINGERED EVEN IN THIS VICTORY.

38-11-3

THE NEXT DECADE WAS FORESHADOWED BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S DEATH AND THE ACCESSION TO POWER IN THE UNITED STATES OF UNEDUCATED MEN CONTROLLED BY THE OWNERS OF INDUSTRY AND OBSESSED BY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. THE WORLD STAGGERED BACKWARD; GUIDED BY A SOUTHERN SLAVE DRIVER WE "GOT TOUGH WITH RUSSIA." WE SPENT 18 THOUSAND BILLION DOLLARS AND KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND OF OUR SONS IN ORDER TO SEIZE THE MARKETS AND COOLIES OF KOREA AND CHINA.

FOILED OF THIS, JUST AS IT WAS DROPPING INTO OUR GREEDY HANDS, WE PROCEEDED IN AMERICA TO KILL OUR OWN CIVIL LIBERTIES, THROTTLE FREEDOM, STOP THE NATION FROM THINKING, MAKE HEROES OF LIARS AND RULERS OF THIEVES, AND RENDER DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA A MOCKERY IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD. THIS WE CALLED THE "AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE." IT WAS NOT.

THE AMERICA WAY OF LIFE HAD ONCE BEEN SIMPLE AND CLEAR: EQUALITY AMONG CITIZENS, WITH NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES; FREEDOM OF BELIEF, THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION; THE RIGHT BY INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE TO WORK FOR A WAGE WHICH WOULD ENSURE DECENT SUPPORT AND EDUCATION OF A FAMILY AND SECURITY IN OLD AGE; JUSTICE IN THE COURTS AND A DECISIVE VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. THIS WAS THE AMERICAN IDEAL AND FOR THIS AMERICA FOR 100 YEARS STOOD BEFORE THE WORLD UNTIL MILLIONS FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH SOUGHT OUR SHORES AT ANY SACRIFICE IN ORDER TO SHARE THIS GIFT OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.

WE NEVER COMPLETELY REACHED THIS IDEAL. WE FALTERED CONTINUALLY and BACKSLIDED, BUT SLOWLY, WITH BLOOD AND TEARS, WE STAGGERED TOWARD IT, UNTIL MISLED BY THE GLAMOUR

OF EUROPE AND BEMUSED BY SHEER WEALTH, ABUNDANCE OF LAND AND RESOURCES, KEEN WIT OF OUR LABOR AND TECHNIQUE OF SCIENCE, WE BEGAN UNCONSCIOUSLY TO CENTER OUR THOUGHT ON MAKING AND SELLING THINGS AND BEGAN TO FORGET THE MAKERS AND THE USERS OF THE THINGS, AND TO CONCENTRATE ALL POWER IN OWNERS NO MATTER HOW THEY OBTAINED OWNERSHIP.

THUS WE BEGAN TO LOSE OUR WAY OF LIFE. WE BECAME FANTASTICALLY UNEQUAL IN INCOME AND POWER. INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE COULD ACHIEVE SECURITY ONLY BY SURRENDER OF POLITICAL POWER AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT. WE EVEN SANK BELOW THIS AND JUSTICE BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR FROM OUR COURTS: WE CAME TO BE TRIED BY JURIES NOT OUR EQUALS AND NEIGHBORS BUT STRANGERS AND EVEN ENEMIES. WE HELD ACCUSED PEOPLE, GUILTY UNTIL PROVEN INNOCENT. WE JAILED AND KILLED VICTIMS WITHOUT FAIR TRIAL. WE SURRENDERED THE RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH. CRIME OVERWHELMED US IN FILTHY FLOOD.

IT IS TO RECALL SUCH INJUSTICE THAT WE ARE HERE TONIGHT. VINCENT HALLINAN WAS NEVER EVEN ACCUSED OF CRIME. YET HE RETURNS TO US TONIGHT FROM CONVICTION AND SHAMEFUL PUNISHMENT TWICE; FROM HAVING FORTUNE DISSIPATED AND HIS FAMILY CRUCIFIED,

AND FROM BEING HELD UP TO PUBLIC SHAME -- FOR WHAT? BECAUSE HE DEFENDED HARRY BRIDGES, A LABOR LEADER WHOSE REPEATED AND VINDICTIVE PERSECUTION BY A RUTHLESS BUREAUCRACY IS UNPARALLELED IN MODERN CIVILIZED JURISPRUDENCE AND STILL CONTINUES; BECAUSE HALLINAN DARED TO SUPPORT A THIRD PARTY IN A NATION WHERE EVEN A SECOND PARTY IS NOT LEGALLY POSSIBLE TODAY. AND FINALLY, BECAUSE HE WAS CHARGED WITH BREAKING A SET OF CONFUSED AND CONTRADICTORY LAWS ON INCOME TAX RETURNS WHICH FEW PERSONS IN THIS AUDIENCE NO MATTER HOW HONEST AND CAREFUL COULD AVOID BREAKING IF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DETERMINED TO CONVICT HIM. THE INCOME TAX LAWS ARE DELIBERATELY USED TO PUNISH CRIMINALS FOR CRIME WHICH THE POLICE CANNOT PROVE, AND RECENTLY TO PUNISH POLITICAL NON-CONFORMITY.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES? IT IS NOT SIMPLY THE WILL TO EVIL. IT IS BECAUSE A NATION DISCOVERS SOMETHING IT THINKS IS BETTER THAN WHAT ONCED IT CALLED GOOD. AMERICA OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY SUDDENLY WAS CALLED ON TO LEAD A WORLD WHOSE FALSE GLAMOUR ITS LEADERS LONG HAD SECRETLY ENVIED. WE WANTED TO WALK THE EARTH LIKE TITLED ENGLISHMEN, ITALIAN COUNTS AND RUSSIAN GRAND DUKES. WE DID NOT UNDERSTAND

THAT WHEN THE YOUNG KAISER FORMED THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE HE KILLED THE SOCIALISM OF THE GERMAN WORKER; THAT BECAUSE BRITTANIA RULED THE SEAS SHE COULD GIVE SOCIAL MEDICINE TO HER WHITE WORKERS BY EXPLOITING HER COLORED SERFS; AND THAT WHEN WE TRIED TO SUCCEED HER AS OWNER OF THE EARTH WE WERE TOO LATE FOR ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM AND HAD TO YIELD FREEDOM TO THE COLORED WORLD OR GIVE UP OUR OWN.

WE ELECTED TO GIVE UP OUR OWN AND TO USE WAR TO HELP OUR EFFORT. THE PRICE IS TOO GREAT. THAT WE ARE SLOWLY BEGINNING TO KNOW. WE ARE SLOWLY REALIZING THAT THE SOCIALISM WHICH GERMANY TRIED TO KILL AND WHICH BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA ARE BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE AND WHICH, DESPITE OUR DISMAY AND HATE IS BEGINNING TO TRIUMPH IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, CANNOT BE DEFEATED BY PUTTING Communists [redacted] IN JAIL OR REFUSING PAUL ROBESON A PASSPORT OR MURDERING THE ROSENBERGS.

100-11-5

BECAUSE VINCENT HALLINAN, IN THE FACE OF PROSECUTION BEYOND DECENCY AND JUSTICE, IS STILL READY TO HELP FIGHT THE ETERNAL BATTLE AGAINST WRONG, WHO FOLLOWS IN HIS TRAIN? REMEMBER THE SWAN SONG OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LUETZEN 300 YEARS AGO.

10,000 VOICES BLENDED OF JOY AND SORROW SANG:

FEAR NOT, O LITTLE FLOCK, THE FOE
THAT MADLY SEEK YOUR OVERTHROW;
DREAD NOT HIS RAGE AND POWER.
WHAT THOUGH YOUR COURAGE SOMETIMES FAINTS
HIS SEEMING TRIUMPH O'ER GODS' SAINTS
LASTS BUT A LITTLE HOUR.

Du Bois Recording June 1, 1955

TO THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS AT HELSINKI, July 1955

THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE 165 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA KNOW NOTHING OF THIS MEETING IN HELSINKI. IF THEY DID KNOW OF IT AND IF THEY KNEW OF THE WORK AND EXTENT OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD SINCE 1949, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WOULD WITHOUT DOUBT BE REPRESENTED HERE AND JOIN WITH ENTHUSIASM IN FORWARDING YOUR AIMS.

HOW NOW CAN IT HAPPEN THAT A GREAT AND POWERFUL NATION WHOSE IDEAL FOR 175 YEARS HAS BEEN DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE STATE BY PEOPLE OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE HAS ALLOWED ITSELF TODAY TO BE DEPRIVED OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE EXTENT THAT IT ALLOWS ITS INFLUENCE TO BE ARRAIGNED AGAINST ITS OWN GOOD AND THE GOOD OF MANKIND? IT IS BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT UNDER THE IMPACT OF INCREASING FEAR, AMERICANS HAVE ALLOWED THOSE WHO WIELD THE CHIEF POWER IN THEIR STATE TODAY, TO DECIDE NOT SIMPLY WHAT THE NATION SHALL DO BUT ALSO WHAT IT SHALL KNOW AS THE BASIS OF ITS ACTION. FOR THIS REASON, OF THE 1,785 DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN OUR COUNTRY WITH A CIRCULATION OF 54 MILLION COPIES, NOT A

28-11-70

SINGLE ONE HAS PUBLICIZED AND MOST HAVE NOT EVEN MENTIONED THIS CONGRESS OF PEACE.

WHEN A PEOPLE DELIBERATELY DEPRIVES ITSELF OF KNOWLEDGE; WHEN ITS SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AVOID TEACHING OR DISCUSSING THE GREATEST QUESTION OF OUR ERA, THEN THAT NATION NOT ONLY MAY GO HOPELESSLY WRONG, BUT DEPRIVES A STRUGGLING WORLD OF JUST THE SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL.

THIS SITUATION ARISES NOT BECAUSE AMERICANS HAVE ANY LARGER TENDENCIES TOWARD EVIL THAN OTHER LANDS; INDEED, AS HAS OFTEN BEEN NOTED, THE UNITED STATES IS GENEROUS AND INTELLIGENT. ITS STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ITS LABORERS IS THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD. BUT DESPITE THIS, THE NATION IS AFRAID TO FACE THE TRUTH AND HAS YIELDED TO ITS MASTERS OF MONEY, INDUSTRY AND TRADE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHAT IT SHALL HEAR AND KNOW AND THINK.

NATURALLY THIS SURRENDER OF A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF DEMOCRACY IS NOT UNANIMOUS; NATURALLY A LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICANS WANT TO RETAIN THE RIGHT TO KNOW AND INTERPRET AND DECIDE THE ACTIONS THEY THINK RIGHT IN THE LIGHT OF THE TRUTH THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW. ALREADY MANY SUCH AMERICANS ARE BEGINNING TO SPEAK OUT AND DEMAND FREEDOM OF

THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION. MORE, MANY MORE, AGREE WITH THEM BUT ARE FORCED TO KEEP SILENCE.

THIS FORCE IS THE THREAT OF POVERTY; THE KNOWLEDGE THAT IF THEY SPEAK THEIR MINDS TODAY THEY WILL NOT ONLY LOSE SOCIAL CASTE BUT WHAT IS MORE VITAL, LOSE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EARN A DECENT LIVING OR EDUCATE AND PROTECT THEIR CHILDREN. TODAY SCORES OF PROFESSORS FORMERLY IN LEADING COLLEGES ARE WITHOUT WORK BECAUSE OF THEIR CONVICTIONS, EVEN WHEN THEY HAVE BROKEN NO LAWS. DAILY OUR SCHOOLS ARE BEING DEPRIVED OF SOME OF OUR BEST TEACHERS BECAUSE THOSE TEACHERS HAVE SHOWN SYMPATHY WITH SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM; AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT THESE BELIEFS HAVE NEVER INTERFERED WITH THEIR TEACHING ABILITY OR MORAL INTEGRITY. OUR COLLEGES TODAY ARE FILLED WITH STUDENTS WHO ARE AFRAID TO INQUIRE OR EXPRESS THEIR IDEAS FOR FEAR THAT ON GRADUATION THEY WILL BE DENIED THE RIGHT TO EARN A LIVING.

AN ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR AND DISTRUST THUS SURROUNDS US AND OUR WEAKER FELLOWS ARE TOO EASILY IMPELLED TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE POWERFUL BY REPEATING GOSSIP AND EVEN TELLING LIES.TO RUIN THE LIVES OF THEIR FELLOWS. THIS IS THE HYSTERIA IN WHICH WE LIVE, AND

88-11-21

THIS IS WHY WE WHO AGREE WITH YOUR OBJECT AND WANT TO BE WITH YOU AND WORK WITH YOU FOR WORLD PEACE ARE FORCIBLY KEPT AT HOME WITH NO CHANCE OF OBTAINING PASSPORTS AND NO OPPORTUNITY OF ADDRESSING YOU SAVE BY THE MECHANICS OF MODERN TECHNIQUE. YET WE GREET YOU AND TELL YOU THAT YOU ARE STRIVING TO SOLVE THE GREATEST PROBLEM OF OUR CENTURY AND OF ALL CENTURIES: HOW HUMAN BEINGS CAN LIVE AND WORK WITHOUT THE CONTINUAL AND REPEATED MURDER AND DESTRUCTION CALLED WAR.

MAY YOUR EFFORTS BE SUCCESS, AND YOUR PATHS, PEACE.

Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi - Suite 200, 113 W. 42 St. N.Y.36,N.Y.

ADDRESS BY DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS AT RALLY FOR JUSTICE IN MISSISSIPPI

Manhattan Center, Wednesday, Feb.8,1956

The Senators from Mississippi

Democratic forms of government have failed in the South, and this has hastened their failure in the North. This development is illustrated by the State of Mississippi. This state is physically one of the most beautiful regions in the nation, with a lovely climate, rich land, and bursting flower and fruit. But also it represents a state where disregard of human rights, rape of natural resources, and heartless exploitation of human labor has led the nation. This state and the southern South never adopted a democratic government because of Indians and Negroes. The Indians were ruthlessly driven out and Negroes brought in. Extermination and slavery were used to enrigh the white masters of the state. Spain surrendered the territory in 1798. In 1802, Georgia ceded its western lands and in 1803, Napoleon, beaten by black Toussaint L'Ouverture, sold the vast West to the United States for a song. Out of this territory Mississippi was formed, and the State admitted in 1817. It immediately became a center of exploitation of slave labor to build the cotton kingdom. Here was nothing of the patriarchal house service, but instead, the whip-driven, degraded toil, pushed on by the money-making slave barons who chose secession rather than limitation of their sphere, and civil war rather than emancipation.

38-0-58

During Reconstruction, the prostrate State made desperate effort to introduce Democratic government and free labor. Free Negroes helped establish free public schools, to enfranchise the poor whites; they restored the credit of the State, ruined long before the Civil War by unexampled theft and cheating. As the white Mississippi Clarion declared in 1872: "While they (the colored people) have been naturally tenacious of their newly acquired privileges, their general conduct will bear them witness that they have shown consideration for the feelings of the whites. The race line in politics would not have been drawn if opposition had not been made to their enjoyment of equal privileges in the government, and under the laws after they were emancipated."

But the white planters were determined to disfranchise the Negroes, and launched the "Mississippi Plan" of revolution to prevent government in the South from expressing the public opinion of all and for restoring Negro slavery under the sharecropper system. Courts and police were organized, not to mete out justice and quell crime, but to intimidate and jail Negroes and let whites do as they please. Two pictures of this state after Reconstruction have been painted: one by writers like Stark Young which paints magnolias, lovely homes, and moonlight; the other by William Faulkner, who outlines "shiftless sharecroppers and grinding poverty; decayed gentlemen and wayward women; racial violence and moral ruin."

The result in fact has been the deliberate use of crime to make private profit; the

monopoly of the best land and all natural resources; the spread of poverty and disease and the making of Mississippi the most illiterate State in the Union, which has lynched and mobbed more Negroes than any other State in the nation.

The man who led the way downward in this century was James Vardaman. He set the type of modern Mississippi white political rule. He rushed to prominence when Theodore Roosevelt invited Booker Washington to dinner. He voiced low insult to Roosevelt's mother and when Roosevelt appointed a Negro as collector of customs in Charleston, South Carolina, and expressed his intention to re-appoint the young colored post-mistress of the third class in a small Mississippi town, Vardaman arrayed himself as the "White Chief" in cheap theatricals and paraded all over the state behind white oxen to protest the services of this "nigger wench". Vardaman won; Roosevelt retreated, and to reassure the South, punished unjustly the black soldiers who rioted at Houston. Vardaman became Governor in 1903. He asserted in his inaugural "the profound God-stamped, time-fixed, and unalterable incompetence of the Negro for citizenship in a white man's count

38-6-59

The, after the pattern of Southern governors , Vardaman tried to go to the U.S.Senate But he was balked first by John Sharp Williams and Pat Harrison, and eventually by Theodore Gilmore Bilbo. Bilbo went beyond Vardaman, and illustrates the ascendant political philosophy of the southern South today. The South demanded in 1860 the right of a state to impose its will on the na tion. This demand was presumably settled by a bloody war. But the South never relinquished this claim. It declared its right to conduct Federal elections and denied the right of the nation to oversee the selection of t he members of its own Congress. For eighty years the nation has yielded. There came then inside the southern states the demand of the counties to defy the power of the state. In Mississippi today the state has no authority to compel the enforcement of state law by local county officials. Enforcement of law in counties is absolutely independent of the state. A Mississippi sheriff is elected by such local persons as are allowed to vote. He serves as Sheriff and Tax-Collector for four years; he is the arresting official and jailor; he is paid by unrevealed and unlimited fees and is practically czar of the county, especially of such counties as have a majority of voteless Negroes living in virtual peonage. By a la te law, a sheriff who loses a prisoner by mob violence may be removed by the Governor, but seldom has a Governor dared use this power. The succeeding sheriff can refuse to punish the mob.

Thus the county politician in Mississippi, in Georgia, and in most of the lower South lives above both state and national law and can defy the nation and the world.

In such a social atmosphere the Bilbos and Eastlands are born and flourish and rule not only the state but have extraordinary power in the United States.

This type of politician is a logical devolution of the States Rights idea. As the

State claims the right to defy the nation, and the County to defy the State, so the individual demagogue is almost absolutely unrestrained by law, reason or common decency. He claims to be free to do almost anything he chooses.

Theodore Bilbo illustrates this. He was an excrescence who perhaps nowhere else in Western civilization could have risen to the power and prestige of a Governor and a Sena tor. He was born in 1877 and became teacher, farmer, and lawyer. He was a little fellow, wide of skull, blue-eyed, and thin-lipped. He was, as one of his fellow-officials said in 1918, " a curious compound of audacity and folly. He will dare anything and is utterly careless of consequences." He was completely unscrupulous and stooped to the rankest demagoguery. When accused of seduction and mistreatment of women, he walked into a State Women's Convention and said :"If these accusations are true, you must admit I'm quite a man." He won the election. Bilbo was repeatedly elected to the United States Sena te by a fraction of the vote given a New York Senator. In 1934, 200,000 votes were cast in his election; in 1936, 140,000 votes; in 194(150,000, while New York Senators at the same time were elected by over five million voters, or ten times the vote in Mississippi. The more voters disfranchised in the South, the easier for a demagogue to enter the United States Senate with power and prestige based simply on length of service. Bilbo became a member of the Rules Committee, the most powerful in the Senate, and chairman of the Committee on the District o: Columbia, where 300,000 of the most intelligent negroes of the nation lived under the almost complete control of Bilbo's committee.

38-6-60

In Mississippi, Bilbo was State Senator, Lieutenant Governor, and twice Governor. As Lieutenant Governor he spent most of his time defending himself in Criminal Court. In one campaign fo r U. S. Senator, he made a thousand speeches, six or eight a day. As Governor, he removed in one day the heads of three colleges and 179 professors and teachers.

In 1923 he was sent to prison in contempt of court for refusing to testify in a seduction case brought against his successor, Governor Russell. He was impeached for bribery in 1910 and blandly admitted the charge, but claimed that his object was to ex pose the bribers. He escaped conviction by one vote but was censured. In his last election, Bilbo said: "I'm calling on every red-blooded American who believes in the superiority and integrity of the w hite race to get out and see that no nigger votes. And the best time to do it is the night before." He acknowledged that he was a membe of the Ku Klux Klan; openly insulted racial minorities by calling them kikes and dagoes; campaigned against the FEPC and advocated the deportation of Negroes to Africa.

When challenged by the Senate War Investigation Committee, Bilbo blithely admitted in 1947 that in Senatorial elections in 1942, he received from war contractors a new automobile, living-room furniture, a $1,200. loan, and $25,000 to be used for promo-

ting the candidacy of a friend for the Senate. He also admitted that he had borrowed $6,000. from a man who, without charge, dug a lake on the Senator's property at Poplarville, Mississippi. From a former lieutenant of Huey Long, he said, he had borrowed $3,000. and tried to help this man in a Federal tax difficulty.

At last the U. S. Senate got the courage in January, 1947, to challenge Bilbo's right to his seat. He flew into a rage and defied his accusers. He stomped out of the Capitol swearing that he would return and " fight till hell freezes over" for the right to serve out his third Senate term. But before he could return he died of cancer which attakced him with unusual logic, in his mouth.

Already before Bilbo's death, his spir itual successor in the U.S.Senate was James Eastland. He entered the Sena te the same year that the Supreme Court admitted Negroes to Southern white primaries. He leaped to the fore with a characeristic declaration that the decision showed an "alarming tendency to destroy state sovereignty. He filibustered against an anti-poll tax bill, declaring that the driving force behind it was "a bunch of communists". In 1945 he fought the FEPC Commission Bill and attacked Negro soldiers: "The Negro soldier," he said, " was an utter and abysmal failure in combat..He has disgraced the flag of his country. He will not fight, he will not work. Therefore Eastland championed continued segregation in the armed forces.

38-6-61

In Mississippi, the per capita income is still the lowest in the nation. Disease is rampant and 40% of the 1,000 children born die in the first year as compared to half that in this state. Mississippi spends $93. per school child a year, and less than $50. if he is colored, while New York spends $328., which keeps Mississippi the most ignorant state in the Union.

But change is coming. The Mississippi farmer is being pressed back by machinery, and the removal of cotton culture to the southwest of the country and to the ancient valley of the Nile. The former cotton plantation is slowly yielding to stockraising and dairying. More important, the great socialist experiment of Franklin Roosevelt, the TVA, is bringing factories to Mississippi.

Between 1940 and 1950, manufacturing plants increased from 57,000 to 79,000. In 1950, manufacturing sales amounted to $914,000,000. The state has begun to give direct subsidies to manufacturers to lure them from the North. Laborers in manufactures have been given some protection in law, but are still the lowest paid in the nation. But agricultural labor is without any regulation or protection. Half the population has moved to town.

As representative of Big Business, Eastland is seeing to it that white workers and small white farmers do not make common cause with Negroes and gain political control

of the state. Lest this happen, the Negro must be intimidated, kept disfranchised, and if necessary, driven out. Race hate must mean more than anything else. The white worker must either not be unionized or kept in racially segregated competing unions. A Supreme Court decision which will give the Negro increased education; administrative rulings which decrease racial segregation and open up jobs in industry must, in the Eastland philosophy, be stopped; otherwise united labor may rule the state and relegate demagogues like Eastland to the scrapheap. This is why Eastland is leading the forces against the Supreme Court decision to integrate the public schools. From his seat in the Senate to which neither Bilbo nor Eastland were ever legally elected, since the fourteenth amendment has never been enforced for 86 years, Eastland is today essaying to rule the nation; investigating the freedom of the press calling the Church communist, opposing all legislation for social welfare, labeling trade unions as subversive, and openly organizing to nullify national law, with the avowed purpose of fighting for "Anglo-Saxon supremacy". It is for us to decide whether or not the Civil War was fought in vain, and whether we are still determined to have a free democracy based on universal suffrage and decent income, or an oligarchy selected by Big Business and founded on disfranchisement and murder.

29-9-85

In the last few days the free democracies of the West have been making history. Frenchmen have stoned their own Prime Minister in order to assert their right to rule Algeria ns. Alabama has begun to secede from the Union, directed by General Eastland and his White Councils, and followed by 2,000 brave young members of a superior race. The education of a black girl has been stopped. The Governor of Alabama does nothing. The President of the United States is busy signing a gas bill, Out of your pockets and mine, this nation is spending 35 thousand million dollars a year to free the slaves of Asia, Europe, a nd Africa. Would it be too much for this audience to ask that a few thousand of these billions be spent to free the slaves of Mississippi and Alabama?

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AMERICA'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY AND WORLD PEACE

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

CARNEGIE HALL, MAY 27, 1956

38-6-65

THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WOULD LIKE TO BE REGARDED AS A DEMOCRACY DEVOTED TO PEACE, FINDS ITSELF TODAY MAKING THE GREATEST PREPARATIONS FOR WAR OF ANY NATION ON EARTH AND APPROACHING A NATIONAL ELECTION WHERE ~~MOST~~ MANY CITIZENS WILL HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE FOR THE POLICIES WHICH THEY PREFER.

THIS CONFERENCE IS PROPOSING TO EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF THIS CONTRADICTORY SITUATION. // FIRST, WE KNOW THAT OUR MAIN REASON IN PREPARING FOR WAR IS THE FACT THAT SLOWLY BUT SURELY SOCIALISM HAS SPREAD OVER THE WORLD AND BECOME A WORKABLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT. // TODAY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND LIVE UNDER SOCIALIST REGIMES. // MOST AMERICANS APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT

38-6-66

THIS SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IS THE RESULT OF A CONSPIRACY LED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ABETTED BY A SECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS. // FOR FEAR OF THIS GROUP ~~AND OF THE SOVIET UNION~~, WE HAVE CURTAILED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, LIMITED CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND PLANNED WAR ON A GIGANTIC SCALE.

THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS IS UNQUESTIONABLY A FACT. // IT STEMMED FROM GROWING PROTEST AGAINST THAT TREMENDOUS EXPANSION OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE WHICH FOLLOWED THE FRENCH REVOLUTION ~~AND CHARACTERIZED THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CRY FOR FREEDOM.~~ THE PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND ECONOMIC ANARCHY RESULTED IN THE FACTORY SYSTEM, THE (American) SLAVE TRADE, THE SUGAR EMPIRE AND THE COTTON KINGDOM. /// ALL THIS WAS CONCURRENT WITH SUCH SUFFERING AND DEGRADATION AMONG THE LABORING MASSES THAT BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THERE WAS HARDLY A

38-6-67

MAN OF THOUGHT AND FEELING, scarcely A SCIENTIST NOR AN ARTIST, WHO DID NOT BELIEVE THAT SOCIALISM MUST eventually SUPPLANT UNBRIDLED PRIVATE CAPITALISM, OR CIVILIZATION WOULD DIE. BY SOCIALISM, MOST THINKERS MEANT SUCH LIMITATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BY THE GOVERNMENT AS WOULD MAKE PUBLIC WELFARE AND NOT PRIVATE PROFIT THE OBJECT OF WORK AND OF THE SAVING OF CAPITAL. ALL OVER THE EARTH SINCE THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA ~~WHICH ABOLISHED SLAVERY~~, SOCIALISM HAS GROWN AND SPREAD AND BECOME MORE AND MORE DEFINITE. IT HAS EMERGED FROM DREAM AND DOCTRINAIRE FANTASY SUCH AS CHARACTERIZED FOURIER AND St. SIMON ~~PROUDHON AND FROM THE LIMITED EFFORTS OF OWEN AND LOUIS BLANC~~ INTO THE ROUNDED DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX AND FINALLY INTO THE SOCIALIST STATES OF LENIN AND MAO TSE-TUNG. IN ALL THIS STRUGGLING ADVANCE

38-6-68

LAY THE CENTRAL IDEA THAT MEN MUST WORK FOR A LIVING BUT THAT THE RESULTS OF THEIR WORK MUST NOT MAINLY BE TO SUPPORT PRIVILEGED PERSONS AND CONCENTRATE POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE OWNERS OF WEALTH. THAT THE WELFARE OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE SHOULD BE THE MAIN OBJECT OF GOVERNMENT. TO REALIZE THIS IDEA THE CONVICTION GREW THAT GOVERNMENT MUST INCREASINGLY BE CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNED, THAT THE MASS OF PEOPLE, INCREASING IN INTELLIGENCE, WITH INCOMES SUFFICIENT TO LIVE A GOOD AND HEALTHY LIFE, SHOULD CONTROL ALL GOVERNMENT, AND THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO DO THIS BY THE SPREAD OF SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUE, ACCESS TO TRUTH, THE USE OF REASON, AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND OF CREATIVE IMPULSE IN ART AND LITERATURE.

THE DIFFICULTY OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS LAY IN THE CURRENT culture patterns ~~IGNORANCE~~ AND INEXPERIENCE OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE EVEN IN THE MOST ADVANCED NATIONS AND IN THE

INHERITED BELIEF THAT NOTHING BETTER THAN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL COULD BE PLANNED WITH HUMAN NATURE AS IT IS.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL, THEREFORE, [redacted] WHILE IT INCREASED, TENDED TO BE POLITICAL RATHER THAN ECONOMIC. IT HAD TO DO WITH SELECTION OF OFFICIALS RATHER THAN WITH WORK AND INCOME. DISCOVERY OF NEW NATURAL FORCES AND INCREASED USE OF MACHINES WITH INTRICATE INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUES TENDED TO PUT LAND, LABOR, AND THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL INTO THE CONTROL OF THE FEW WHO WERE FORTUNATE OR AGGRESSIVE OR UNSCRUPULOUS AND TO EMPHASIZE A BELIEF THAT WHILE THE MASS OF CITIZENS MIGHT SHARE IN GOVERNMENT BY ELECTING OFFICIALS TO ADMINISTER LAW AND LEGISLATORS MIGHT MAKE LAWS IN CERTAIN AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE COULD NOT CONTROL INDUSTRY.

38-6-69

AS SCIENCE INCREASED ITS MASTERY OF NATURE; AS INDUSTRY BEGAN TO USE WORLD

TRADE TO EXPAND MARKETS; AN ENTIRELY NEW PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT AROSE. INDUSTRY REALIZED THAT UNLESS WORLD-WIDE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION LARGELY CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT, INDUSTRY COULD NOT CONTROL LAND AND LABOR, MONOPOLIZE MATERIALS, SET PRICES IN THE WORLD MARKET, AND REGULATE CREDIT AND CURRENCY. FOR THIS PURPOSE NEW AND INTEGRATED WORLD INDUSTRY AROSE CALLED "BIG BUSINESS" -- A MISLEADING MISNOMER. ITS SIGNIFICANCE LAY NOT SIMPLY IN ITS SIZE. IT WAS NOT JUST LITTLE SHOPS GROWN LARGER. IT WAS AN ORGANIZED SUPERGOVERNMENT OF MANKIND IN MATTERS OF WORK AND WAGE, DIRECTED WITH SCIENCE AND SKILL FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. IT COULD NOT BE CONTROLLED BY POPULAR VOTE UNLESS THAT VOTE WAS INTELLIGENT, EXPERIENCED, AND CAST BY PERSONS ESSENTIALLY EQUAL IN INCOME AND POWER. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF MANKIND STILL WAS IGNORANT, SICK, AND POVERTY STRICKEN.

38-6-70

WHEN THE AMERICAN COLONIES REVOLTED AGAINST THE beginning of the COLONIAL SYSTEM AND SET OUT

TO ESTABLISH A REPUBLIC OF FREE AND EQUAL CITIZENS. IT SEEMED TO MOST THINKING PEOPLE THAT A NEW ERA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION HAD BEGUN. HERE, BEYOND THE PRIVILEGE OF TITLED EUROPE, BEYOND THE DEEP-SEATED CONDITIONING OF THE MASSES TO HEREDITARY INEQUALITY AND SUBSERVIENCY TO LUXURY AND DISPLAY, WAS TO ARISE A NATION OF EQUAL MEN AND THAT EQUALITY WAS TO BE BASED ON ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY WHICH, AS KARL MARX Later PREACHED, WAS THE ONLY REAL EQUALITY. BUT UNFORTUNATELY WHILE THE UNITED STATES PROCLAIMED, IT NEVER ADOPTED COMPLETE EQUALITY. FIRST IT PROLONGED THE EUROPEAN RECOGNITION OF PROPERTY AS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN MANHOOD. THEN IT DISCOVERED THAT THEFT OF LAND FROM THE INDIANS WAS NOT MURDER BUT PROGRESS. NEXT AMERICA REDUCED THE AFRICAN LABOR WHICH RISING BRITISH COMMERCE HAD FORCED ON HER, TO SLAVE STATUS AND GAINED THEREBY SUCH FABULOUS INCOME FROM TOBACCO, SUGAR AND COTTON THAT EUROPE BECAME THE CENTER OF TRIUMPHANT PRIVATE CAPITALISM AND THE UNITED STATES

38-6-71

ITS HANDMAID TO FURNISH FREE LAND AND CHEAP LABOR. THIS NATION HAD TO FIGHT A CIVIL WAR TO PREVENT ALL AMERICAN LABOR FROM BECOMING HALF ENSLAVED. THUS FROM 1620 WHEN THE PURITANS LANDED UNTIL 1865 WHEN SLAVERY WAS ABOLISHED, THERE WAS NO COMPLETE DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES, NOT ONLY BECAUSE A LARGE PART OF THE LABORING CLASS WAS ENSLAVED, BUT ALSO BECAUSE WHITE LABOR WAS IN COMPETITION WITH SLAVES AND THUS NOT REALLY FREE.

IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES, WHILE SOCIALISM ADVANCED IN THE LEADING EUROPEAN NATIONS AND IN NORTH AMERICA, IN MOST OF THE WORLD THE EUROPEAN MONOPOLY OF WEALTH AND TECHNIQUE, STRENGTHENED BY THEORIES OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY OF MOST HUMAN BEINGS, LED TO the ASSUMED RIGHT OF WESTERN EUROPE ~~AND NORTH AMERICA~~ TO RULE THE WORLD FOR THE BENEFIT AND AMUSEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE. THIS

38-6-72

THEORY OF WORLD DOMINATION WAS HIDDEN BEHIND THE RISE OF THE WESTERN WORKING CLASSES AND HELPED KEEP DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS FROM EASTERN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA; FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEVEN SEAS.

38-6-73

IN WESTERN EUROPE ~~AND NORTH AMERICA~~ A LABOR MOVEMENT KEPT FORCING INCREASING NUMBERS OF THE WORKERS AND OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES INTO A LARGER SHARE OF ECONOMIC POWER. ~~LABOR HAD TO BE PROFITED BY HIGHER WAGES AND BETTER CONDITIONS OF WORK.~~

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MASS OF COLORED LABOR, AND WHITE LABOR IN BACKWARD LATIN AND SLAVIC LANDS, WERE REDUCED TO SUBORDINATE SOCIAL STATUS SO THAT INCREASED PROFIT FROM THEIR LAND AND LABOR HELPED TO MAINTAIN THE HIGH PROFITS AND HIGH WAGES OF INDUSTRY IN Western EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. ALSO IT WAS EASY THERE TO HIRE WHITE SOLDIERS TO KEEP NIGGERS, CHINKS, DAGOES, AND HUNKIES IN THEIR PLACES. THIS WAS THE ESSENCE OF

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. IT WAS INDUSTRY ORGANIZED ON A WORLD SCALE AND HOLDING MOST OF MANKIND IN SUCH ECONOMIC SUBJECTION AS WOULD RETURN THE LARGEST PROFIT TO THE ~~WHITE WORLD~~. OWNERS of Wealth

MEANTIME, THE NEW EFFORT TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM, FATHERED BY KARL MARX AND HIS SUCCESSORS, INCREASED. IT DECLARED THAT EVEN BEFORE THE MASS OF WORKERS WERE INTELLIGENT AND EXPERIENCED ENOUGH THEMSELVES TO CONDUCT MODERN INDUSTRY, INDUSTRIAL ~~LEADERSHIP~~ GUIDANCE MIGHT BE FURNISHED THEM BY INTELLIGENT AND DEVOTED LEADERS. AS KNOWLEDGE AND EFFICIENCY THEN INCREASED, DEMOCRACY WOULD SPREAD AMONG THE MASSES AND THEY WOULD BECOME CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING A MODERN WELFARE STATE ~~DEMOCRATIC MEANS~~. THIS SOCIAL PROGRAM THE WORLD GOVERNED BY OWNERS OF CAPITAL REGARDED AS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE DICTATORSHIP FALLING OUT OF THEIR HANDS AND INTO THE HANDS OF DEMAGOGUES ~~AND OPPRESSORS~~. EVERY

28-6-74

SORT OF FORCE WAS EMPLOYED/ TO STOP EVEN THE ATTEMPT/ TO SET UP SUCH STATES.// YET THE FIRST WORLD WAR,/ CAUSED BY RIVALRY/ OVER THE OWNERSHIP OF COLONIES,/ RESULTED IN THE EFFORT TO START/ A COMPLETE SOCIALIST STATE IN RUSSIA/ BY COMMUNIST METHODS;/ AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR,/ ARISING FROM THE SAME CAUSES AS THE FIRST,/ A SIMILAR ATTEMPT WAS MADE IN CHINA. DESPITE WIDE/ AND REPEATED OPPOSITION,/ BOTH OF THESE STATES/ HAVE BECOME SO SUCCESSFUL AND STRONG/ THAT THEIR OVERTHROW/ BY OUTSIDE FORCE/ OR INNER REVOLT/ DOES NOT TODAY SEEM AT ALL LIKELY. ALSO AND MEANTIME/ IN ALL LEADING COUNTRIES/ SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION/ STEADILY ~~HAS~~ INCREASED. IT DID NOT CREEP./ IT ADVANCED WITH POWERFUL STRIDES.

38-6-25 TP

THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS EMPHASIZED THE FIGHT/ BETWEEN BELEAGUERED PRIVATE CAPITALISM/ AND ADVANCING SOCIALISM.// THE COMMUNISTS/ POINTING OUT THE UNNECESSARY LAG/ OF SOCIALIZATION/ IN WESTERN LANDS/ AND THE CAPITALISTS/ ACCUSING COMMUNISM/ OF UNDEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP.

IN ORDER TO FIGHT ~~SOCIALISM~~ SOCIALISM,/ SUPER BIG BUSINESS/ AS CONTRASTED WITH ORDINARY SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISE/ HAD TO BECOME ITSELF SOCIALISM/ IN REVERSE.// IF PUBLIC WELFARE INSTEAD OF PRIVATE PROFIT/ BECAME ITS OBJECT,/ IF PUBLIC OFFICIALS SUPPLANTED PRIVATE

OWNERS,/ SOCIALISTIC GOVERNMENT/ WOULD BE IN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.// HOWEVER THOSE AMERICANS/ WHO THEREFOR HOPE/ THAT THE WELFARE STATE/ WILL THUS BE REALIZED/ UNDER A SYSTEM OF PRIVATE CAPITAL// ARE TODAY/ HAVING THAT CARPET/ PULLED FROM BENEATH THEIR FEET/ BY THE RECESSION OF DEMOCRACY/ IN THE UNITED STATES.// THIS HAS COME ABOUT BY THE REPUDIATION OF SOCIALISM/ BY ORGANIZED LABOR/ AND THE CONSEQUENT REFUSAL/ OF THE LABOR VOTE/ TO FOLLOW/ EVEN THE GOALS OF THE NEW DEAL.// THIS SURRENDER OF LABOR HAS BEEN LED/ BY THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SOUTH.// WITH FAVORABLE CLIMATE, CHEAP LABOR AND HALF THAT LABOR DISFRANCHISED/ AND MOST LABOR UNORGANIZED,/ THE MASS OF SOUTHERNERS DO NOT VOTE.// IN THE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT/ WHERE TILL WAS MURDERED, THERE LIVE 400,000 NEGROES/ AND 300,000 WHITES./ YET ONLY 7000 voters/ went to the POLLS/ TO ELECT THE PRESENT CONGRESSMAN.// THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE BLACK HALF OF THE LABOR VOTE/ IN THE SOUTH/ KEEPS NEGROES POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT./ BUT IT ALSO HURTS WHITE LABOR/ BY MAKING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT/ UNWORKABLE./ IF THE SOUTH HAS/ FROM THREE TO TEN TIMES/ THE VOTING POWER/ OF THE NORTH AND WEST//

38-6-76

BECAUSE OF THIS SYSTEMATIC AND ILLEGAL DISFRANCHISEMENT,/ A MAJORITY OF AMERICAN VOTERS CAN OFTEN BE OUTVOTED BY A MINORITY/ AND LAWS LIKE THE McCARRAN AND SMITH ACTS/ CAN BECOME ILLEGAL STATUTES,/ BECAUSE A ~~MINOR~~ MINORITY OF VOTERS/ CAN PREVAIL OVER A MAJORITY.// FIGURES TO PROVE THIS/ ARE EASY TO ADDUCE,/ BUT I ONLY

MENTION NOW THE FACT THAT SENATOR LEHMAN REPRESENTS THE VOTE OF FIVE MILLION CITIZENS, WHILE SENATOR EASTLAND REPRESENTS LESS THAN 150,000 VOTERS.

THIS LOSS OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR NATION CAN BE EVEN more clearly demonstrated

[illegible] TO ICE IN THEIR VOTE FOR THESE POLICIES. AMERICANS MUST NEXT NOVEMBER VOTE FOR WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR ON A SCALE NEVER BEFORE CONTEMPLATED IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. THERE WILL BE NO EFFECTIVE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN NOVEMBER WHO STANDS PLEDGED FOR PEACE, DISARMAMENT, ABOLITION OF THE DRAFT, LOWER TAXES RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA TO HAVE THE GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY CHOOSE AND FOR STOPPING OUR EFFORT TO FORCE OTHER NATIONS TO DO AS WE WANT THEM TO DO. NOT ONLY WILL WE HAVE NO CHANCE THUS TO DECIDE OUR FOREIGN POLICY, BUT WE WILL BE EQUALLY

38-6-77

HELPLESS IN DECIDING OUR COURSE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IS FALLING TO PIECES. WE NEED TEACHERS AND SCHOOL-HOUSES BY THE MILLIONS, BUT WE CANNOT HAVE THEM IF WE CONTINUE MAKING WEAPONS AT THE PRESENT RATE AND SETTING OUR YOUTH TO LEARNING DEATH AND DESTRUCTION INSTEAD OF BUILDING, HEALING, AND TEACHING.

~~WHY IS THIS NECESSARY?~~ IS THIS CURTAILMENT OF DEMOCRACY THE RESULT OF KNOWLEDGE AND DISCUSSION? ON THE CONTRARY KNOWLEDGE AND DISCUSSION ARE TODAY SO FAR CURTAILED THAT MOST MEN DO NOT EVEN ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS, LEST THEY BE ACCUSED OF TREASON OR CONSPIRACY.

38-6-78

WHY IS THIS?

AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THE COLONIAL PEOPLES WERE TRYING DESPERATELY TO HAVE FOOD AND FREEDOM WE BECAME OBSESSED BY THE AMBITION TO HAVE NORTH AMERICA REPLACE BRITAIN AS THE EMPIRE UPON WHICH THE SUN NEVER DARED TO SET. WE WANTED HIGH PROFITS AND HIGH WAGES EVEN IF THE REST OF THE WORLD STARVED. IN ORDER TO RESTORE WORLD RULE OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY, THE UNITED STATES HAS CHOSEN UNIVERSAL AND CONTINUOUS WORLD WAR UNTIL

[illegible]

AN EQUIVALENT OF

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COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/IS RESTORED/UNDER OUR LEADERSHIP.

TO THIS PROGRAM most PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/HAVE AGREED.//HOW WAS SUCH AGREEMENT BROUGHT ABOUT?//SUCH A NATIONAL POLICY/FOUND UNEXPECTED SUPPORT/IN OUR LONG ENCOURAGED PREJUDICE/AGAINST PEOPLE WITH BLACK OR COLORED SKINS/AND AGAINST ALL GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN/WHO WERE NOT OF ANGLO-SAXON DESCENT.//THIS PROVINCIAL POINT OF VIEW/REPUDIATED BY SCIENCE AND RELIGION,/STILL REMAINS IN AMERICA/A LIVING AND POWERFUL MOTIVE/GUIDING/OUR LIVES AND LIKES.//THIS RECIPROCAL SUPPORT/OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM/BY AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE/HAS RESULTED IN OUR PRESENT PROGRAM/OF WAR.//HOW WAS THIS ACCOMPLISHED?//HOW HAVE THE MAJORITY/OF AMERICAN PEOPLE BEEN CONVINCED/THAT PREPARATION FOR WAR/AND SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES/AND CURTAILMENT OF DEMOCRACY/ARE OUR BEST PATH TO PROGRESS?

38-6-79

16

(and lack of an integrated background of Culture

AMERICA IS AN INTELLIGENT NATION, DESPITE LARGE ILLITERATE GROUPS.//WE STILL HAVE NUMBERS OF THE POOR AND SICK, BUT OUR AVERAGE INCOME IS FAR HIGHER THAN THAT OF MOST NATIONS

NATIONS THIS NATION WANTS TO DO RIGHT/AS EVIDENCED BY A PLETHORA OF CHURCHES/AND A WIDE AND LOUD PROFESSION OF RELIGION.//IF ANY COUNTRY IS READY FOR INCREASE OF DEMOCRACY/IT IS THE UNITED STATES.//YET WE ARE PREPARING OUR SONS FOR WAR/

AND OUR [redacted] FOR WHICH DEMOCRACY SHOULD NOT BE/BECAUSE WE ACTUALLY BELIEVE/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/IS BEHIND A WORLD-WIDE CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY/TO DESTROY THE UNITED STATES//AND THAT SOCIALISM IS THE RESULT.//THE STATEMENT IS SO FANTASTIC/THAT MOST FOREIGN PEOPLES NATIONS CANNOT CONCEIVE/HOW IT CAN BE TRUE/THAT WE REALLY ACCEPT THIS BROTHERHOOD. FAIRY TALE.

38-6-80

WE HAVE BEEN INDUCED/TO ACCEPT THIS THEORY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS/BY BEING SUBJECTED TO THAT METHOD OF PROPAGANDA/BY WHICH PEOPLE ARE LED TO BELIEVE/THAT WHICH THEY DO NOT

Ordinarily they never would have believed

WHICH KNOWN FACTS DISPROOVE

[redacted] AND [redacted]. IT WAS FIRST APPLIED ON A WIDE SCALE BY ADOLF HITLER UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF PAUL GOEBBELS. RECENT WORLD ADVANCE IN THE SCIENCE OF THOUGHT AND EMOTION HAS IN THE HANDS OF [redacted] OWNERS OF GREAT WEALTH, WITH SKILLED [redacted] AGENTS [redacted], BEEN USED TO AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE TO GUIDE AND CONTROL THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THIS NATION. FEW DISCOVERIES, INVENTIONS, AND FORCES HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OVER THOUGHT, EMOTION, AND HUMAN ACTION WHICH PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURES ARE EXERCISING OVER [redacted] US TODAY.

38-6-81

TO RESTORE OUR LOST OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE HUGE PROFIT ON PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA, THE BALKANS AND PARTICULARLY IN CHINA, BIG BUSINESS HAS RESTRICTED AND GUIDED PUBLIC ACCESS TO TRUTH. IT HAS DOMINATED NEWS GATHERING, MONOPOLIZED THE PRESS, AND LIMITED PUBLISHING. BY FEAR OF LOSING EMPLOYMENT; BY SECRET POLICE AND [redacted]

[redacted] HIGH PAY TO INFORMERS, OFTEN CONFESSED LIARS; BY CONTROL OF EDUCATION AND LIMITATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION AND CENSORSHIP OF THE DRAMA ALL BY ALL THESE METHODS AND OTHERS THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE NATION HAS BEEN FORCED INTO ONE IRON CHANNEL OF DISASTER. [redacted]

38-6-82

GHOST WRITERS [redacted] DISPLACE AUTHORS AND [redacted] LITERATURE IS CONFINED TO SUCH SUBJECTS AS THOSE [redacted] WHO CONTROL OUR NATION WISH TO HAVE TREATED. OUR BROADCASTERS, WHO ONCE INTERPRETED NEWS FOR THE PUBLIC, ARE NOW REDUCED TO ADVERTISING TOOTHPASTE AND SLEEPING PILLS WITH THE SAME AUTHORITY AS THEY ANNOUNCE EDITED NEWS FROM CHINA AND PAKISTAN. IN ORDER TO LET THE NATION RETURN TO NORMAL SANITY WE MUST REALIZE THAT SOCIALISM IS NOT A CRIME NOR A CONSPIRACY, BUT THE PATH OF PROGRESS TOWARD WHICH THE FEET OF ALL MANKIND ARE SET. THE FOOTSTEPS OF THESE LONG OPPRESSED AND STAGGERING MASSES ARE NOT ALWAYS STRAIGHT AND SURE [redacted] BUT THEIR MISTAKES CAN NEVER CAUSE THE MISERY

AND DISTRESS/WHICH THE FACTORY SYSTEM/CAUSED IN EUROPE,/ THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM HAS CAUSED IN ASIA AND AFRICA//AND WHICH SLAVERY, LYNCHING, DISFRANCHISEMENT, AND JIM-CROW/ HAVE CAUSED IN THE UNITED STATES.

OUR WAY OUT OF THIS IMPASSE IS STRAIGHT AND CLEAR/AND AS OLD AS THE STRUGGLE OF FREEDOM/FOR THE MIND OF MAN.//AMERICANS MUST FACE THE FACTS AT ALL COSTS. / WALKING WITH DETERMINATION/THROUGH THIS MORASS OF DELIBERATE DISTORTION,/WE MUST INSIST ON THE RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH,/ TO DISCUSS IT /AND TO LISTEN TO ITS INTERPRETATION /BY MEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND HONESTY;/ WE MUST RESTORE TO ALL CITIZENS /THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE,/NO MATTER WHETHER THEY ARE NEGROES, COMMUNISTS,/OR NATURALIZED FOREIGN-BORN.// WE MUST INSIST /THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY /AS WELL AS OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS/AND ESPECIALLY OUR PROBLEM OF INDUSTRY/BE SUBJECTS/ ON WHICH WE MAY AND MUST VOTE.

38-6-83

ARISE AND DECLARE YOUR WAR
FOR THE WORLD OF DAWN IS BLOWING.
FOR THE EYES OF THE EAST ARE GLOWING,
FOR THE LARK IS UP AND THE COCK IS CROWING,
AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT IS HERE!

38-6-84

JUNE 7, 1956

MARCANTONIO/HAS BEEN DEAD/ONLY 21 MONTHS//IT SEEMS MUCH LONGER/FOR IN THIS TIME/HIS MEMORY/HAS BURNED FRESH/AMONG HIS FRIENDS/AND HIS GREAT WORK/HAS LOOMED IN LARGER SIGNIFIGANCE/IN THIS WORLD/FOR WHICH HE SO EAGERLY/GAVE HIS LIFE.// TONIGHT/HE LIVES AGAIN HE NO LONGER IS/SIMPLY MEMORY OF IRREPARABLE LOSS.// BUT HIS OWN VOICE SPEAKS ANEW./ HE REPEATS HIS MESSAGE TO US,/ HIS CITY AND HIS WORLD,/ "HO! EVERY ONE THAT THIRSTETH,/ COME YE TO THE WATERS."/ AGAIN HE SPEAKS OF PEACE AND DISARMAMENT;/ OF DECENT AND REASONABLE TAXATION;/ OF SOCIAL SECURITY / HOUSING AND THE WELFARE STATE/ WE SEE HIS FAMILIAR FEATURES,/ HIS SMILE AND JOY OF LIFE.//MEETING HERE/IN HONOR OF HIS WIFE MIRIAM/AND IN THE PRESENCE/OF THOSE WHO LOVED AND HONORED HIM,/WE RECEIVE THE LABOR OF ANNETTE RUBENSTEIN/WHO HAS MADE HIS MEMORY/INTO A BOOK,/ BUILT OF HIS WORD/ THOUGHT AND DREAM.//THIS BOOK MUST BE MORE THAN READ;/ IT MUST BE PUT INTO ACTION /ALL THE MORE RESOLUTELY AND DOGGEDLY/FOR THE VERY FACT THAT MARC IS NOT HERE/IN PERSON TO LEAD.// MEN LIVE ALL TOO BRIEFLY/ TO ACCOMPLISH MUCH IN THIS WORLD./ BUT THAT THEY LIVE AT ALL/IS HOPE. /AND WHEN THEY LIV E NOBLY AND COMPLETELY/LIKE THIS DEAD FRIEND OF OURS,/ HOW OVERWHELMING IS THE DUTY/TO CROSS THAT THRESHHOLD/AND REALIZE THE TASK/WHICH MARCANTONIO HAS [redacted] LAID ON OUR HANDS AND HEARTS.

38-6-85

A POLITICAL PROGRAM

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

ADMIT, MY FRIENDS, THAT FOR 1956 AT LEAST, WE'RE LICKED SO FAR AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ARE CONCERNED. BIG BUSINESS WILL NOMINATE THE CANDIDATES. BIG BUSINESS WILL SCREEN THE NEWS AND WRITE THE EDITORIALS. RADIO AND TELEVISION, OWNED BY BIG BUSINESS, WILL DONDUCT THE CAMPAIGN. THE F.B.I. WILL SCARE VOTERS. MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN SLUSH FUNDS WILL PAY "EXPENSES." HOW MUCH OF THIS IS FLAT BRIBERY, WE WILL NEVER KNOW IF THE SENATE CONTINUES TO PREVENT INVESTIGATION AND THE HOUSE NEVER STARTS IT. SO OUR DEMOCRACY WILL FALL FLAT SO FAR AS CHOICE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IS CONCERNED.

DESPITE THAT, REMEMBER THAT IT IS NOT THE PRESIDENT, BUT THE CONGRESS, WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLLAPSE OF DEMOCRACY IN THIS NATION. ILLEGAL,

36-12-1

IMMORAL, AND SHAMELESS "INVESTIGATIONS" HAVE TURNED JUSTICE INTO A MOCKERY AND DISGRACE. CITIZENS UNREPRESENTED BY COUNSEL HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY INSULTED AND BROWBEATEN, WHILE DEPRIVED OF NEARLY EVERY CIVIL LIBERTY GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ENGLISH COMMON LAW. CONGRESS HAS TRESPASSED ON THE DOMAIN OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE COURTS AND ARROGANTLY AND INSULTINGLY THREATENS FURTHER FORAYS. THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS PROMINENCE AND POWER REMAINS IN THE FULL BLAZE OF PUBLICITY AND THEREFORE IS PECULIARLY SUBJECT TO PUBLIC OPINION. IF, LIKE FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, HE IS A LIBERAL LEADER, PUBLIC OPINION WILL SUPPORT HIM, DESPITE CONGRESS, MONEY, AND THE MOB. IF, LIKE HERBERT HOOVER, HE IS A REACTIONARY CAPITALIST, ONLY PUBLIC OPINION COULD RESTRAIN HIM AT ALL. NO PRESIDENT CAN WHOLLY ESCAPE THE COMPELLING PRESSURE OF DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION.

36-12-2

CORPORATIONS AND MONOPOLY CAN LIMIT OUR CHOICE OF CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY TO ONE PLATFORM, AND THAT IS THEIRS.

PRESIDENTS RECENTLY HAVE VETOED MOST OF OUR WORST LEGISLATION. IT IS CONGRESS WHICH HAS PLAYED THE TYRANT AND THE FOOL. IT IS THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ESPECIALLY WHICH SHOULD FIRST CENTER OUR ATTENTION. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS A FACELESS, IRRESPONSIBLE ANONYMITY OF 435 LARGELY UNKNOWN MEN, MOSTLY MEDIOCRE AND SOMETIMES CRIMINAL, WHO OFTEN GET AWAY WITH THEFT, LYING, GRAFT, AND MURDER.

36-12-3

SOMEONE HAS PROPOSED A NEW GAME: "WHO IS YOUR CONGRESSMAN?" THERE ARE THREE GUESSES, A DOLLAR AN ENTRY, AND THE WINNER GETS THE KITTY. A SECOND AND MORE DIFFICULT GAME WOULD BE: "WHERE IS YOUR CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT?" THIS

MIGHT PUT A FEW GUTS INTO THE SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY LESSON AND EXPLAIN THOSE GOOD OLD NINETEENTH CENTURY WORDS, "ROTTEN BOROUGH" AND "GERRYMANDER."

FORGET THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1956. IT IS ALREADY LOST AND YOUR VOTE IS ABSOLUTELY WORTHLESS. OR, IF THIS IS ONLY TRUE OF ME AND OTHERS IN MY POSITION, IF YOU CAN CAST A REAL VOTE IN NOVEMBER, GO CAST IT; I CAN'T, SO I STAY HOME.

36-12-4

MEANWHILE, LET US ALL TURN OUR ATTENTION TOWARD CONGRESS AND FIRST TOWARD THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. IT IS PROBABLY TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING THIS YEAR WITH THE WHOLE ELECTION MUDDLED UP WITH THE PRESIDENCY.

BUT PLANNING TODAY AND ACTING IN 1958, WITH THE FIELD CLEAR FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, WHY CAN WE NOT THROW EVERYTHING WE HAVE INTO ELECTING A

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WORTHY OF A GREAT DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE OF A SHAMEFUL BUT HOPEFUL CENTURY? FIRST WE MUST ENVISION AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT SORT OF CONGRESS. WE MUST GET HOLD OF MEN OF PROVEN INTEGRITY AND CHARACTER, NOT CHOSEN BY WARD-HEELERS AND "BUSINESS MEN," BUT BY INTELLIGENT HONEST CITIZENS. WE MUST SELECT MEN OF MANNERS AND MORALS; MEN WHO DO NOT PLAN TO USE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN CONGRESS FOR BRIBERY, THEFT, AND GRAFT; WHO CAN READ AND WRITE AND KNOW THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. WE CANNOT HOPE TO GET PROGRESSIVES EXCEPT IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES. WE CAN HOPE TO GET HONEST AND OPEN-MINDED MEN WHO CAN AND WILL LEARN.

36-12-5

IN ORDER TO GET SUCH SORT OF MEN IN CONGRESS, THE TOWN MEETING OF OPEN PUBLIC DEBATE IN SMALL AREAS MUST BE RESTORED. WE MUST DRIVE THE WARD

POLITICIAN INTO THE OPEN AND RESTORE A PRIMARY ASSEMBLY OF DECENT CITIZENS, WHERE THE SNEAKING F.B.I. CANNOT STOP DEBATE AND GRAFTING POLICE CANNOT BRING CHARGES OF CONSPIRACY.

OF YOUR PRESENT CONGRESSMAN AND ANY PROPOSED CANDIDATE, ASK: WHAT IS HIS NAME? WHAT DOES HE DO FOR A LIVING? WHAT IS HIS RECORD? WHAT BILLS HAS HE INTRODUCED, SUPPORTED, OPPOSED? HOW OFTEN IS HE IN HIS SEAT? WHAT COMMITTEES IS HE ON? LOOK UP HIS VOTES AND NOTE HOW OFTEN HIS VOTE IS NOT RECORDED. THIS IS A FAVORITE ALIBI. INQUIRE INTO HIS PROGRAM. IF HE GETS SNOOTY REMIND HIM THAT YOU ARE PAYING HIS SALARY. CONGRESSMEN ARE WELL PAID. THEY RECEIVE EXPENSES AND PENSIONS. MOST OF THEM HAVE AS MANY RELATIVES ON THEIR PAYROLLS AS THE TRAFFIC WILL BEAR. GET AFTER HIM BY LETTER, PERSONAL CALL, OR GROUP

36-12-6

APPROACH. DO NOT BE AFRAID. SOME OF YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES STILL SURVIVE. IF THE F.B.I. ASKS YOU IF YOU ASSOCIATE WITH NEGROES, ANSWER THAT YOU ARE TRYING TO ASSOCIATE WITH CONGRESSMEN. IF ANYONE ASKS IF YOU ARE A "COMMUNIST," TELL HIM THAT IS NONE OF HIS BUSINESS BUT THAT IT IS YOUR BUSINESS TO HAVE A VOTE AND BE ABLE TO CAST IT AS YOU PLEASE. DEMAND TO KNOW HIS OWN STAND ON PEACE, TAXATION, EDUCATION, HOUSING, OLD AGE AND SICKNESS SECURITY, THE DRAFT, AND THE RIGHT TO THINK AND TALK.

36-12-7

THERE ARE HONEST, HARD-WORKING, PUBLIC-SPIRITED CONGRESSMEN, LIKE THE BRAVE VITO MARCANTONIO. REMEMBER WHAT WAS DONE TO HIM. MONEY, IGNORANCE, AND PREJUDICE DROVE FROM CONGRESS THE ONLY MAN WHO DARED OPPOSE WAR AND SUBSTITUTED FOR HIM SOMETHING WORSE THAN NOBODY AND LOWER THAN NOTHING.

IN OTHER WORDS, ORGANIZE BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT AND GO AFTER YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND GO HARD. IN NO OTHER WAY CAN DEMOCRACY FUNCTION IN THIS NATION. THIS WILL CALL FOR UNSELFISH WORK, BUT ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN WE CLEAR THE HALLS OF CONGRESS OF ITS PRESENT RUBBISH.

36-12-8

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS LESS POWERFUL THAN THE SENATE, AND HERE WE MEET THE PART OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WHICH IS LEAST DEMOCRATIC; WHICH DELIVERS US BOUND HAND AND FOOT TO FASCISM AND DICTATORSHIP AND YET NOTHING IS SAID ABOUT IT AND NOTHING WILL BE SAID UNLESS YOU BEGIN TO ACT.

THE SENATE HAS 96 MEMBERS PAID OVER TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS A MONTH PLUS $200 A MONTH UNTAXED FOR EXPENSES AND MANY OTHER PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES. IT HAS BEEN CALLED THE GREATEST SOCIAL CLUB IN THE WORLD. IT SHARES WITH THE

PRESIDENT THE RIGHT OF APPOINTING HIGH OFFICIALS AND MAKING TREATIES. YET THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE LESS POWER OVER THE SENATE THAN OVER ANY PART OF GOVERNMENT EXCEPT THE COURTS. THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IS EQUAL REPRESENTATION. WITHOUT THIS DEMOCRACY FAILS: IF ONE MAN CASTS ONE VOTE AND HIS NEIGHBOR TEN, THE RESULTING GOVERNMENT IS NOT DEMOCRATIC. THE CONSTITUTION REQUIRES THAT EACH STATE HAVE EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE. DEMOCRACY WOULD RESULT FROM THIS IF THE STATES WERE APPROXIMATELY EQUAL IN POPULATION. AT THE TIME THE CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED, THIS WAS NOT TRUE, BUT IT WAS NOT FAR FROM TRUE. FIVE COLONIES HAD FROM THREE TO FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS. VIRGINIA HAD 750,000 BUT NEARLY HALF WERE SLAVES. TWO COLONIES HAD 250,000 EACH; FIVE HAD BETWEEN 60 and 200 THOUSAND. HERE WERE DIFFERENCES IN THE GROUPS REPRESENTED,

36-12-9

BUT DUE IN PART TO SLAVERY AND IN THE OTHER CASES OVERLOOKED BECAUSE THE DISCREPANCIES WERE EXPECTED TO RIGHT THEMSELVES AND COMPROMISE WAS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO HURRY UNION.

TODAY THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT AND FAR MORE DANGEROUS. THERE ARE TWENTY STATES WHICH CAST LESS THAN 500,000 VOTES TO ELECT A UNITED STATES SENATOR. THUS A SENATOR FROM NEW YORK REPRESENTS A CONSTITUENCY OF NEARLY SIX MILLION VOTERS WHILE EASTLAND OF MISSISSIPPI WAS SENT TO THE SENATE BY 150,000 VOTERS. YET EASTLAND EXERCISES THE SAME POLITICAL POWER THAT LEHMAN DOES. IN FACT, HE EXERCISES FAR MORE POWER, BECAUSE HE CAN BY REPEATED ELECTION FROM HIS DISTRICT UNDER NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT GAIN KKK SENATORIAL SENIORITY AND BECOME CHAIRMAN OF A POWERFUL SENATE COMMITTEE.

36-12-10

OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY: MISSISSIPPI HAS A POPULATION OF 1,188,632 WHITE PEOPLE AND 986,494 NEGROES, A TOTAL OF 2,178,914 OR ABOUT THE SIZE OF CONNECTICUT. EASTLAND NEEDED BUT 150,000 VOTES AND NO OPPOSITION TO SEND HIM TO CONGRESS, WHILE McMAHON WENT TO CONGRESS FROM CONNECTICUT IN AN ELECTION WHERE 877,825 PERSONS VOTED. MISSISSIPPI DELIBERATELY DISFRANCHISEDAT LEAST A MILLION PROSPECTIVE VOTERS AND WAS REWARDED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF EASTLAND AS THE HEAD OF A POWERFUL COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO JUSTICE AND THE "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS;" AND AT HOME HE ~~HADS~~ HEADS THE "CITIZENS COUNCILS" WHICH ARE OUT TO NULLIFY THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT ON SEPARATE NEGRO SCHOOLS. DELAWARE WITH THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND INHABITANTS AND RHODE ISLAND WITH LESS THAN A MILLION HAVE THE SAME POWER IN THE SENATE AS PENNSYLVANIA AND CALIFORNIA WITH OVER TEN MILLION

36-12-11

EACH. NO WONDER THAT DELAWARE BELONGS TO DU PONT AND THAT THE SENATORS FROM RHODE ISLAND HAVE LONG REPRESENTED THE INSURANCE AND BANKING MONOPOLY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

NEVADA, WITH A POPULATION OF 160,000, CHIEFLY ENGAGED IN DIVORCE AND GAMBLING, OUTWEIGHS IN POLITICAL POWER IN THE SENATE THE FIFTEEN MILLION INHABITANTS OF NEW YORK AND ITS SENATOR McCARRAN~~XXXXX~~ WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR MOST OUTRAGEOUS LEGISLATION. IF WE COUNT, NOT THE NUMBER OF SENATORS, BUT THE POPULATION WHICH ELECTED THEM, NONE OF THE PRESENT UNDEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION COULD HAVE PASSED. THE SENATE TODAY IS KNOWN TO REPRESENT CORPORATIONS AND NOT VOTERS.

36-12-12

SMALL WONDER THAT WHEN SOMEONE PROPOSED INVESTIGATING THE CONTRIBUTION OF

CORPORATIONS TO THE ELECTION OF SENATORS, THE PROJECT WAS QUICKLY BURIED IN RED TAPE.

UNLESS THE CONSTITUTION IS AMENDED AND REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE BASED ON POPULATION AND NOT ON WEALTH, DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER RISE AGAIN.

36-12-13

250

[INCOMPLETE]

PANORAMA OF PROGRESS - JULY 3RD, 1956

W. E. B. DU BOIS

IN THANKING YOU FOR THE HONOR DONE ME TONIGHT, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THE MESSAGE OF EDUCATION WHICH I HAVE STRESSED FOR FIFTY YEARS.

IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHEN I BEGAN WORK, WE BEHELD A LAND WHICH HAD ITS DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS, BUT WHERE IN THE MAIN THE PATH OF PROGRESS SEEMED CLEAR AND THE GUIDING LIGHTHOUSES BRIGHTLY BURNING. FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY WERE THE ENDS OF HUMAN EFFORT AND MY WORK WAS TO PROVE THAT NEGROES WERE A PART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND MUST BE SO RECOGNIZED AND TREATED, NOT SIMPLY FOR THE BLACK MAN'S OWN GOOD BUT FOR THE GOOD OF ALL MANKIND.

THIS PLAN WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE WORLD WARS, BY THE ASTONISHING FACT THAT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY INSTEAD OF FOLLOWING THE NINETEENTH IN

36-12-26

INTEGRATION, FAR ROCKAWAY, AUG., 18, 1956

THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NEW BUT THE CONTINUATION OF AN OLD CULTURAL PROBLEM WHICH SHOWS HOW HUMAN ACTIONS ARE NOT ISOLATED BUT FOLLOW CAUSALLY IN A LONG TRAIN OF CONSEQUENCES. WHEN WE HAVE A REAL SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY WE WILL BE able TO STUDY THESE THINGS MORE CA REFULLY

IN THE EALY NINETEENTH CENTURY WE TRIED TO ESTABLISH IN THE UNITED STATES A DEMOCRACY OF ESSENTIALLY EQUAL CITIZENS. THERE WOULD OF COURSE BE DIFFERENCES IN ABILITY AND PHYSICAL STRENTH, BUT THE NATION ~~WAS DETERMINED~~ HOPED THAT DIFFERENCES OF RELIGION SHOULD NOT BE EMPHASIZED THAT EVERYONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO EARN A GOOD LIVING AND THAT ALL SHOULD HAVE A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT THIS WAS NOT FULLY ACHIEVED EVEN AFTER THE

36-12-14

REVOLUTION AND AMONG WHITE EUROPEAN CITIZENS. BUT IT WAS THE CLEAR IDEAL THERE WERE HOWEVER TWO EXCEPTIONS: NEGROES AND INDIANS THERE WERE NEAR A MILLION NEGROES IN 1800 among FOUR MILLION WHITES. FOR NEAR TWO CENTURIES SINEE 1600 THESE BLACK WORKERS HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO AMERICA CHIEFLY BY THE ENGLISH TO WORK BESIDE THE WHITE LABORERS BROUGHT FROM THE REST OF EUROPE ALL THESE LABORERS WORKED ALIKE AND WERE TREATED THE SAME UNTIL BLACK LABOR BECAME MORE VALUABLE BUTCAUSE EASIER TO PROCURE THEN NEW LAWS WERE MADE THAT REDUCED THE BLACKS TO SLAVERY WHILE THE WHITES GRADUALLY BECAME FREE LABOR ~~AND THE INDIANS MOVED WEST~~ THUS ESPECIALLY FOR RAISING COTTON SUGAR AND RICE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES BLACK SLAVES BECAME THE Chief LABORERS BUT FEW EXPECTED THIS SITUATION TO CONTINUE. JUST AS SOON AS NORMAL CONDITIONS RETURNED AFTER THE Napoleonic WARS THE BLACK SLAVES WHO HAD

36-12-15

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helped the whites repel England/would be freed/and become like other free CITIZENS// ONLY IT SEEMED CERTAIN/THAT THE BLACKS/WOULD SOON DIE OUT/SINCE THE SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA/WOULD BE STOPPED// MY MOTHERS GRANDFATHER/THUS BECAME A SOLDIER AND FREE CITIZEN. MY [redacted] FATHERS GRANDMOTHER/FREE [thus became]

36-12-16

BUT THIS PROGRAM/DID NOT WORK OUT/FOR ALL NEGROES// COTTON BECAME INCREASINGLY VALUABLE/AND BLACK SLAVES RAISED/MORE AND MORE OF IT// NEW SLAVES/WERE CONTINUALLY SMUGGLED IN/DESPITE THE LAW/AND THE SLAVES ALREADY HERE/DID NOT DIE OUT./SO THAT BY THE TIME/OF THE CIVIL WAR/THERE WERE 4½ MILLION. // MANY PEOPLE/IN THE NORTH/INCLUDING FREE NEGROES/DEMANDED FREEDOM FOR SLAVES//BUT THE WHITE SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDERS/INDIGNANTLY REFUSED.//THEY BEGAN TO REASON/THAT SLAVERY/WAS NATURAL FOR BLACK FOLK/BECAUSE THEY WERE DIFFERENT FROM WHITES/AND DID NOT WANT TO BE FREE/AND COULD NOT

SUPPORT THEM SELVES/AS FREE CITIZENS.//ALSO SCIENCE IN EUROPE/BEGAN TO DECLARE/THAT HUMAN BEINGS/DIFFERED SO GREATLY/THAT MOST WERE MUCH INFERIOR/TO THE GIFTED FEW/AND THAT TO PRESERVE CIVILIZATION/THE POWERFUL WHITE EUROPEANS/MUST CONTROL THE COLORED ASIATICS/AND AFRICANS/FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD. THE REASON FOR THIS BELIEF WAS THAT THERE AROSE GRADUALLY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHAT WAS

36-12-17

CALLED/COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/WHICH MEANT THAT GREAT BRITAIN/AND FRANCE AND HOLLAND/PRACTICALLY RULED THE REST OF THE WORLD/AND BECAME RICH AND POWERFUL.//THE WHITE SOUTH THEREFOR/BECAME MORE AND MORE DETERMINED/TO PRESERVE NEGRO SLAVERY/IN AMERICA/AND FINALLY FOUGHT A CIVIL WAR FOR THIS END//THE NORTH FOUGHT AGAINST THEM/NOT TO ABOLISH/BUT TO RESTRICT SLAVERY/TO THE SOUTH//WHERE SLAVE LABOR/WOULD NOT COMPETE/WITH WHITE FREE LABOR/IN THE NORTH AND WEST// IN ORDER TO WIN THIS WAR/THE NORTH HAD TO ASK NEGROES/TO HELP THE NORTHERN ARMIES/ ON PROMISE OF FREEDOM/IF THE NORTH [when]

AT LEAST FIVE HUNDRED NEGROES FOUGHT & LABORED IN THIS WAR. WITHOUT THEIR HELP, ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID THE NORTH COULD NOT HAVE WON THE WAR. ~~WON THE WAR~~ THE NORTH WON BUT WAS NOW IN A QUANDARY. THE ~~FREE NEGROES~~ Slaves WERE IGNORANT BY LAW, OWNED NO LAND NOR TOOLS. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ~~FOR~~ WITH THEM THEORETICALLY THEY SHOULD BE GIVEN ~~EDUCATION~~ AND LAND AND TOOLS AND SET TO WORK AS FREE AMERICANS. THIS WOULD HAVE TAKEN TIME ~~AND MON~~ Money AND A GOVERNMENT AGENCY WOULD HAVE TO BE SET UP FOR THIS TASK. ~~THIS~~ Freedmen's Such a Bureau CHARLES SUMNER AND THADDEUS STEVENS STRONGLY ADVOCATED. BUT THE SOUTH OBJECTED. MOST SOUTHERNERS DID NOT BELIEVE NEGROES COULD BE EDUCATED ..., mmmmm OR THAT THEY WOULD WORK UNLESS DRIVEN BY MASTERS. EVEN IF IT PROVED TRUE THAT THEY WOULD ACCOMPLISH THIS THE CHANGE WOULD DEPRIVE THE WHITES OF SERVANTS AND DECREASE THIER INCOM E AND POWER. MOREOVER NOR THERN MERCHANTS WANTED THE NEGROES TO RAISE COTTON AND MANY AGREED THAT NEGROES WOULD NOT MAKE GOOD CITIZENS. SO LONG THEN AS THE WAR WT

36-12-18

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WAR STOPPED AND COTTON WAS RAISED ~~THE SOUTH~~ Most Northerners DID NOT CARE HOW THE FREED SLAVES WERE TREATED. BUT THE WHITE SOUTH INCREASED ITS DEMANDS BECAUSE THE SLAVES WERE NOW LEGALLY FREE, THEY COUNTED AS CITIZENS, THE SOUTH HAD INCREASED POLITICAL POWER EVEN THOUGH THE NEGRO COULD NOT VOTE. THE SOUTH THEREFOR ~~PROPOSED~~ THREATENED TO STOP PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL WAR DEBT, REDUCE THE TARIF ON FOREIGN GOODS WHICH ENABLED THE NORTHERN MANUFACTURERS TO CHARGE MORE FOR THEIR GOODS. ~~EXTENDED~~ ALSO THE SOUTH DETERMINED TO CONTINUE TO TREAT NEGROES AS SLAVES EXCEPT IN NAME. IN ~~RETALIATION~~ THE NORTH SUDDENLY GAVE THE NEGROES THE VOTE AND THE NEGROES PROCEEDED TO SHARE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOUTH. WHITE SOUTHERNERS WERE FURIOUS. THEY TRIED TO STOP NEGROES VOTING BY ~~FOR~~ FORCE AND CHEATING. BUT SOME OF THE WHITE SOUTHERNERS ~~SOME NORTHERNERS~~ WITH NORTHERNERS, WHITE AND BLACK ~~FROM THE NORTH~~ SET UP GOVERNMENTS WHICH IN SOME RESPECTS WERE BETTER THAN THE FORMER SLAVE STATE GOVERNMENTS.

36-12-19

THEY ALLOWED ALL MALE CITIZENS OF AGE TO VOTE. THEY ESTABLISHED FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THEY TRIED TO DISTRIBUTE THE LAND AMONG THE WORKERS AND THEY ESTABLISHED ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS. THIS RAISED THE TAXATION OF THE FORMER RICH PLANTERS ALREADY IMPOVERISHED BY WAR. THEY SCREAMED COMPLAINT AND OFFERED TO MAKE A BARGAIN WITH THE NORTH. IF THE NORTH WOULD LET THE SOUTH DISFRANCHISE THE NEGRO, THE SOUTH WOULD PAY THE WAR DEBT AND LET THE HIGH TARIF TAXES STAND. THE NORTH CONSENTED AND IN 1876 LEFT THE FORMER SLAVES TO THE MERCY OF THEIR FORMER MASTERS. THE WHITE ADVISERS OF THE NEGRO ADVISED THEM TO SUBMIT QUIETLY AND GO TO WORK FOR THE WHITES AT SUCH WAGES AND ON SUCH CONDITIONS AS THE WHITES OFFERED. SOME NEGRO LEADERS LIKE BOOKER WASHINGTON EMPHASIZED THIS ADVICE AND NEGROES TRIED TO FOLLOW IT, BUT POVERTY AND CRIME SPREAD AMONG THE BLACKS AND LYNCHING

and mob violence RAGED AMONG THE NEGRO HATERS. EDUCATION WHICH HAD BEEN STARTED AMONG NEGOOES AND WAS SUPPORTED IN PART BY NORTHERN FRIENDS, SPREAD BUT PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES WERE POORLY SUPPORTED BY THE WHITE VOTER SEGREGATED SYSTEM AROSE: ONE FOR WHITES AND ONE FOR THE BLACKS. THIS almost DOUBLED THE COST OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND WHILE THE WHITE SCHOOLS BEGAN TO GROW BETTER THE BLACK SCHOOLS WERE INCREASINGLY NEGLECTED AND OFTEN NOT FURNISHED AT ALL. MOREOVER A CASTE SYSTEM BASED ON COLOR AROSE SO THAT NEGROES WERE NOT ONLY LARGELY DEPRIVED OF EDUCATION BUT DISCRIMINAED AGAINST AND INSULTED IN WORK, HOUSING, PUBLIC TREATMENT AND CIVIL PRIVILEGES. I BECAME IN 1910, ONE OF THE INCORPORATORS OF THE NAACP WHICH WAS AN ORGANIZATION OF WHITE AND COLORED PEOPLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS TO NEGRO CITIZENS. WE FOUGHT AGAINST LYNCHING, AND FOR

VOTES FOR NEGROES/AND BETTER OPPORTUNIY FOR EDUCATION// BY 1935 LYNCHING WAS GREATLY REDUCED/AND THE FIGHT FOR BETTER EDUCATION/ INDUCED THE SOUTH TO IMPROVE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS/ ALTHOUGH THEY STILL REMAINED/FAR INFERIOR TO THE WHITE SCHOOLS//AND EVEN IN THE NORTH/SEPARATE NEGRO SCHOOLS were opened IN MANY PLACES//THE NAACP/LED BY THURGOOD MARSHALL/WENT INTO COURT/ AND MAINTAINED/THAT SCHOOLS SEPARATED BY RACE/COULD NEVER BE EQUAL/ BECAUSE OF THE STIGMA INVOLVED// THE COURTS HAD IN THE PAST/LONG EVADED A CLEAR DECISION/ON THIS POINT./BUT ON May 17, 1954/ THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES/DECLARED unanimously THAT SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS/BASED ON RACE OR COLOR/WERE UNCONSTITUTIONAL/

36-12-22

THIS WAS AN UNEXPECTED BLOW/TO THE reactionary WHITE SOUTH.// HOWEVER THE WHITES IN THE BORDER STATES,/WHERE THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES/IN THE POPULATION/WAS SMALLER,/WERE DISPOSED TO YIELD TO THE COURT,/SINCE THEY KNEW IT WOULD STILL BE POSSIBLE/TO EXERCISE MUCH DISCRIMINATION/BASED ON POVERTY AND HOUSING// BUT IN THE LOWER SOUTH/WHERE THE NEGRO POPULATION/IS LARGE WHERE THE NEGRO/IS STILL LARGELY DISFRANCHISED/AND WHERE NEW CAPITAL IS EXPLOITING LABOR/TO A VAST EXTENT/BECAUSE OF LOW WAGES/AND LACK OF LABOR UNIONS/AMONG BLACK AND WHITE/ DEMAGOGUES LIKE EASTMAN/ ELLENDER , TALMADGE AND BYRNES/ARE DETERMINED TO DEFY THE LAW/AT ANY PRICE.// THIS IS AROUSING THE NATION// THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY/WHICH HAS THE GREATEST NEGRO FOLLOWING/BECAUSE OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT/IS SPLIT AND TRYING TO DECIDE WHETHER TO FLOUT THE WHITE SOUTH/OR THE NORTHERN NEGRO VOTE// THE RE-

36-12-23

PUBLICAN PARTY/ TRYING TO LURE THE NEGRO VOTE/ FROM THE DEMOCRATS/ HAS ~~THO~~ Whole
IN POWER/ DONE LITTLE/ TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISION/ OF THE SUPREME COURT/ AND
HESITATES/ TO PROMISE MORE/ FOR THE FUTURE// IT TENDS TO BECOME THE PARTY OF
THE RICH EXPLOITER/ MEANTIME NEGRO CHILDREN/ AND NEGRO TEACHERS/ SUFFER NOW/ AND WILL
SUFFER/ IN THE FUTURE. NEGRO SCHOOLS OPENED A CAREER/ FOR WELL-TRAINED
YOUNG NEGROES/ WHO COULD NOT FIND GOOD JOBS/ IN INDUSTRY// WHERE SCHOOL FUNDS WE
WERE ADEQUATE/ NEGRO SCHOOLS/ WERE AS GOOD OR BETTER/ THAN THE WHITE SCHOOL
~~THEY AND~~ TAUGHT NEGRO HISTORY/ AND CULTURE/ WHICH THE WHITES IGNORED// BUT
FUNDS FOR THE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS/ WERE SELDOM ADEQUATE/ AND WHITE SUPERIN
TENDENTS/ NEGLECTED THE NEGRO SCHOOLS.// NOW IN TIME/ THE NEGRO SCHOOLS/ WILL BE
INTEGRATED/ INTO THE ONE SYSTEM// BUT MUCH DISCRIMINATION/ WILL BE HIDDEN
UNDER VARIOUS SUBTERFUGES/ BASED ON POVERTY AND LIVING DISTRICTS// JUST AS NO
NOW RICH SUBURBAN DISTRICTS/ HAVE EXCELLENT PUBLIC SCHOOLS/ WHILE HARLEM

36-12-24

AND THE LOWER EAST SIDE/ SUFFER FROM OVERCROWDING/ AND POOR TEACHING

NATURALLY THERE ARE NEGROES/ WHO WOULD PREFER THEIR OWN SEGREGATED
SCHOOLS/ EVEN IF THEY SUFFER SOME DISCRIMINATION// MANY EXCELLENT NEGRO TEACHE
ERS/ WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS/ AND THEIR RACIAL INTEREST IN TEACHING// BUT NEGRO
PUBLIC OPINION/ MUST FORCE SUCH REBELS/ TO CONFORM/ SINCE SEPARATE SCHOOLS/ ARE
BASICALLY WRONG./ CONSEQUENTLY/ THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEGRO RACE/ WILL GRA
DUALLY PASS/ FROM THE EDUCATORS/ TO THE BUSINESS MEN/ AND PROFESSIONAL
LEADERS// AND THIS INDUSTRIAL CLASS/ WILL FIND ALLIANCE/ WITH WHITE INDUSTRY
AND ITS METHODS/ OF SOCIAL CONTROL// HERE WILL POSE A NEW PROBLEM/ WITH RE-
PERCUSSIONS/ ON THE COLONIES OF DARKER PEOPLES/ WHO ARE IN GROWING REVOLT/
AGAINST MODERN BIG BUSINESS/ AND ECONOMIC COLONIALISM./ THIS MAKES THE FUT
URE RELATIONS/ OF AMERICAN NEGROES/ AND THEIR AFRICAN COUSINS/ UNCERTAIN.
But THIS IS A PROBLEM/ WHICH I WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO DISCUSS TONIGHT.

36-12-25

MARCANTONIO, TWO YEARS AFTER

IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO REALIZE WHEN I WROTE THIS PAPER THAT VITO MARCANTONIO HAD BEEN DEAD BUT TWENTY-EIGHT MONTHS. IT SEEMED A VASTER STRETCH OF TIME -- THE END OF AN ERA, THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. FROM ONE WHERE LEADERSHIP OF MEN WAS SO DYNAMIC AND INESCAPABLE WE HAVE ALREADY ENTERED UPON A DAY WHEN THE LEADER IS BEING DENIGRATED AND THE MASS IS PUSHING FORWARD TO SELF-ASSERTION.

36-12-71

WITH AN UNEXPECTED SUDDENNESS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE RAISED NEW VOICES FOR CONTROL; IN POLAND THE CURRENT REGIME IS BEING MODIFIED. IN WESTERN ASIA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA NEW MASS FORCES ARE DEVELOPING AND IN THIS OUR OWN LAND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES ARE IN TURMOIL of disagreement

ALMOST TOO SUDDENLY WE ARE BROUGHT TO A NEW EXAMINATION OF THE INTER-RELATIONS OF

THOUGHT AND ACTION AND EXPERIENCE; FOR TODAY IN CURIOUS AND FRIGHTENING HELPLESSNESS WE FIND THE WORLD WITHOUT LEADERSHIP, WITHOUT AUTHORITY, AND WITH LOSS OF FAITH IN EACH OTHER. FOR A LONG STRETCH OF TIME WE HAVE IN THEORY EXALTED THE ROLE OF THE MASS OF MEN; MORE ESPECIALLY OF THOSE WHO DO THE WORLD'S ESSENTIAL WORK, WHICH MUST ALWAYS BE THE BASIS OF CIVILIZED LIFE. YET DURING THIS TIME WE REJOICED IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GREAT DICTATORS LIKE JOSEPH STALIN, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, AND WINSTON CHURCHILL. THEY CREATED A NEW WORLD OF SOCIALIST AND SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES. WE SAID ALL HUMAN ACTION IS THE ACTION OF INDIVIDUALS; ALL THOUGHT AND KNOWLEDGE IS THE WORKING OF THE SINGLE HUMAN BRAIN; EXPERIENCE MUST BE THE EXPERIENCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL SOUL.

36-12-72

WHENCE NOW, WE ASKED, SHALL SUCH SOULS COME? NOT INDEED AS A SPECIAL CREATION, NOT

FROM A PRIVILEGED CASTE.// BUT OUT OF THE DEPTHS OF THE EAST SIDE, THE OIL WELLS OF BAKU, THE SLAVE COAST OF AFRICA, OR THE MANOR HOUSES OF THE HUDSON.// NO MATTER WHENCE THEY COME SO LONG AS THEY BRING REAL KNOWLEDGE, AUTHENTIC EXPERIENCE AND DECISIVE ACTION.// FROM THESE SEEMINGLY CONTRADICTORY POINTS OF VIEW WE ARE APPROACHING SLOWLY BUT DECISIVELY A DAY WHICH CALLS FOR A MASS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE EDUCATED IN REAL KNOWLEDGE, WITH BRAINS CAPABLE OF INTERPRETING EXPERIENCE AND REAL EXPERIENCE OF LIFE AND WORK.// WE EXPECT TO DEVELOP OUT OF THIS MASS THE MEN WITH THE FORCE AND STRENGTH AND INSIGHT TO DO WHAT MUST BE DONE FOR THE BEST INTEREST OF ALL MEN. NOT THIS IS NOT MERE FOLLOWING OF THE MAJORITY VOTE. IT IS THE INTEGRATION IN ONE MIND AND SOUL OF WHAT THAT MIND KNOWS IS FOR THE COMMON GOOD;// THIS IS MORE THAN FOLLOWING THE MASS; IT IS MORE THAN KNOWING THE PEOPLE.// IT IS REAL LEADERSHIP BORN OF THE ASTONISHING

36-12-73

FECUNDITY OF HUMAN BEINGS ON THE LEVEL OF INTELLECT AND CHARACTER.

THIS WAS THE MEANING OF VITO MARCANTONIO AND PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS MUST NOT OBSCURE THIS TRUTH.// THE HOPE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS THE HOPE OF THE UNITED STATES LIES IN THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE SO AS TO DEVELOP A FOLK CAPABLE OF CHOOSING LEADERS INTELLIGENTLY AND DISCUSSING POLICIES WITHOUT PREJUDICE AND IGNORANCE AND CHEAP ENVY.// TODAY TO MY MIND THE SOVIET UNION HAS A BETTER START ON THE ROAD TOWARD THIS ACHIEVEMENT THAN ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH.// IT IS STILL FAR FROM THE IDEAL GOAL, BUT ITS START IS PHENOMENAL. I AM LED TO BELIEVE THAT CHINA ALSO IS MAKING THE RIGHT START TOWARD THIS GOAL BUT IT HAS A HARD, LONG ROAD YET TO TRAVEL, OUT OF A BITTER PAST. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ONCE LED THE WORLD IN POPULAR EDUCATION AND INTELLIGENT DEMOCRACY, IS TODAY FALLING BEHIND // A SITUATION ALL THE MORE DISCOURAGING BECAUSE OF THE

36-12-74

BRIGHT PROMISE/ OF THE PAST.// OUR CITY SCHOOLS/ WHERE OUR BEST YOUTH IS BEING TRAINED/ ARE OVERCROWDED/ AND IN A SINISTER ENVIRONMENT;// OUR RURAL SCHOOLS/ UNEQUIPPED;/ OUR WHOLE SYSTEM LACKS TEACHERS/ AND OUR CROWDED COLLEGES/ ARE FILLED WITH STUDENTS/ WHO SEEK NOT KNOWLEDGE BUT INCOME.// THIS SITUATION WAS PITIFULLY INDICATED/ BY OUR LAST ELECTION/ AN ELECTION WHICH/ IN A BETTER AGE/ MIGHT HAVE SENT MEN/ LIKE MARCANTONIO/ BACK TO CONGRESS/ TO OPPOSE WAR, TO ACHIEVE CIVIL RIGHTS, TO BUILD SCHOOLS, TO BEAT BACK THE RISING POWER OF MONOPOLIZED WEALTH/ WHICH IS TODAY/ LEADING US TO WAR AND DISASTER.// THE VOTERS HAD NO CHOICE/ AND MADE NONE.// THEY VOTED BLINDLY/ FOR WHAT IS/ AND IN BLANK FEAR/ OF WHAT MAY BE.// TWENTY MILLION DID NOT VOTE AT ALL/ OR A FIFTH OF THOSE QUALIFIED BY AGE;/ AND OF THOSE WHO VENTURED TO VOTE/ I DOUBT IF HALF TODAY/ COULD GIVE A COHERENT REASON/ FOR

36-12-75

WHAT THEY DID.

YET IN THE MIDST OF THIS/ AND IN THE FACE OF WORLD DISASTER/, THIS NATION TODAY IS FALLING FOR/ THE SAME DELIBERATELY PLANNED/ AND PURCHASED PROPAGANDA/ TO PROMOTE WORLD HATE,/ IGNORANCE, AND POVERTY/ WHICH WAS OCCURRING/ WHEN MARCANTONIO BEGAN HIS CAREER/ I REMEMBER IT WELL./ I ASKED MYSELF/ JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RUSSIA?/ IS THIS A REVOLUTION FOR PROGRESS/ OR A NEW TYRANNY FOR DISASTER?// STORY OF FAILURE FOLLOWED STORY/ IN THE PRESS:/ ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE SLAVES;/ ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN/ WERE PUBLIC PROSTITUTES; REVOLT WAS FOLLOWING FAMINE;/ STARVATION WALKED WITH CRIME;/ GOD WAS MOCKED AND HIS CHURCH CRUCIFIED.// ALL THIS WAS PROVEN. TROTSKY WAS IN MEXICO/ POURING A STREAM OF ABUSE/ INTO THE WILLING AMERICAN PRESS.// RUSSIANS OF THE NOBLEST ANCESTRY/ THRONGED OUR (dress shops and BEAUTY PARLORS) AND FILLED OUR EARS/ WITH CORROBORATING TESTIMONY./ NORMAN THOMAS AND HIS ILK/ WERE PRAISING

36-12-76

SOCIALISM ON THE ONE HAND AND DAMNING ON THE OTHER THE STRUGGLES OF THE ONLY SOCIALIST STATE IN THE WORLD.

I SAT SILENT AND DISMAYED UNTIL BY HAPPY CHANCE IN 1928 I HAD OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT RUSSIA. I DID NOT SEE IT ALL. I WAS THERE BUT A SHORT MONTH. I SAW NO PARADISE. I SAW WILD CHILDREN CRAWLING OUT OF FILTHY SEWERS. I SAW RAGGED, HUNGRY PEOPLE, STANDING IN QUEUES WAITING FOR FOOD. BUT I SAW TOO A NATION RISING GLORIOUSLY TO A FREEDOM WHICH NO AMERICAN NEGRO HAD EVER SEEN AND I SAW AND SAID THAT ~~I SAW~~ THERE WAS IN RUSSIA MORE HOPE FOR MANKIND THAN I HAD EVER WITNESSED IN AMERICA.

36-12-77

SO TODAY, I DO NOT KNOW NOR DO ANY OF YOU JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING IN HUNGARY. I DO KNOW THAT THE HUNGARY WHICH I SAW IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WAS THE MOST CRUELLY EXPLOITED NATION IN EUROPE. ON THE BACKS OF A POVERTY-STRICKEN, IGNORANT

AND SUPERSTITIOUS PEASANTRY RODE A FLAMBOYANT, IMPUDENT ARISTOCRACY, RICH, PRIVILEGED, AND SHRILL; ON THE BACKS OF THESE LAZY, LECHEROUS TYRANTS, PERCHED A GROWING HOST OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN INVESTORS EAGER FOR "HIGH SOCIETY" AND RICH PROFITS FROM THE LAND AND LABOR OF EXPLOITED HUNGARY. SINCE THEN THE STORY OF THIS UNHAPPY LAND HAS BEEN A "TALE TOLD BY AN IDIOT" AND NOW AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO RIDE THE WINDS AS THE PROPOSED RESCUERS OF THE HUNGARY WHICH THEY ONCE DESTROYED ~~ARE~~ IS THE SAME GANG OF TITLED NOBILITY, THE SAME FLOCK OF RAPACIOUS LANDLORDS AND AN INCREASED HOST OF AMERICAN CAPITALISTS SEEKING TO SINK THEIR CLAWS AGAIN INTO THE MINES AND OIL WELLS, SOIL AND SERF LABOR OF TEN MILLION HUNGARIANS. THE FOLK WHO ITCH TO GO TO HUNGARY AND INVESTIGATE HAVE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS INVESTED IN THE OLD REGIME WHICH THEY HOPE NOW TO GET BACK. THE CHAIRMAN OF OUR PEACE CRUSADE IS ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF TWO OF THE MOST

36-12-78

rapacious

~~GREEDY~~ CORPORATIONS/ IN NORTH AND SOUTH AFRICA/ WHO PAY MINERS A DOLLAR A DAY/ AND REAP MILLIONS IN PROFIT.// THE UNITED NATIONS SHOW NO ANXIETY/ TO INVESTIGATE ALABAMA OR KENYA/ OR SOUTH AFRICA/ WHERE AMERICANS ARE ALREADY/ MAKING MORE MONEY THAN EVER// BUT HUNGARY (did/has/is to be) AN EXPLOITERS' PARADISE.// PERHAPS COMMUNISM IS TO BLAME/ FOR NOT BUILDING AS STRONG AND INTELLIGENT A STATE/ AS IT SHOULD HAVE,/ BUT NEITHER COMMUNISM NOR RUSSIA/ ARE TO BLAME/ FOR THE DEPTHS TO WHICH HUNGARY WAS PUSHED/ BY CIVILIZATION/ IN THE NINETEENTH/ AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.// TODAY THE U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SAYS: in 1952

36-12-78

"~~NO GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL WILL ADMIT IT, BUT~~ WE ARE TRAINING MEN TO BE SPIES/ SABOTEURS,/ SPECIALISTS IN THE TOUGHER FORMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.// THEY LEARN TO BLOW UP BRIDGES,/ RAILROAD TRAINS AND/ WAR PLANTS,/ ARE TAUGHT TO USE ALL TYPES OF

(anti-semites)
When/ Hungary fought with Hitler
+ Mussolini against the U.S. + Russia

WEAPONS..// THEY BECOME EXPERT MAP READERS./ THEY LEARN SECRET METHODS OF COMMUNICATION SO THEY CAN GET BACK WORD/ OF WHAT THEY LEARN.// THEY MERGE INTO HOSTILE POPULATIONS AND SPREAD DISQUIETING RUMORS// ~~HELP TO FRAME RUSSIAN STOOGES SO THAT THEIR OWN SUPERIORS WILL LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THEM.~~"

36-12-80

ABOVE THIS/ WE ARE FURNISHING MONEY/ FROM OUR OWN TAXES/ WHICH PAYS FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF DISTORTION AND LIES/ WHICH TODAY ~~ARE~~ IS FLOODING THE WORLD/ IN PREPARATION FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR.// AND THIS PUBLIC MONEY BECOMES IN PART/ PRIVATE CAPITAL/ TO SWELL THE PROFITS OF AMERICAN CORPORATIONS.

ALL THIS/ MAKES US MISS ~~HIM~~ THE MORE POIGNANTLY/ VITO MARCANTONIO/ NOT BECAUSE ONE LEADER IS DEAD BUT BECAUSE HIS INTREPID EXAMPLE CAN (no longer) INSPIRE THE DEAD SOULS OF OUR YOUTH TODAY.

38-7-07

MARCANTONIO, TWO YEARS AFTER

IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO REALIZE WHEN I WROTE THIS PAPER THAT VITO MARCANTONIO HAD BEEN DEAD BUT TWENTY-EIGHT MONTHS. IT SEEMED A VASTER STRETCH OF TIME -- THE END OF AN ERA, THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. FROM ONE WHOSE LEADERSHIP OF MEN WAS SO DYNAMIC AND INESCAPABLE WE HAVE ALREADY ENTERED UPON A DAY where THE LEADER IS BEING DENIGRATED AND THE MASS IS PUSHING FORWARD TO SELF-ASSERTION.

WITH AN UNEXPECTED SUDDENNESS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE RAISED NEW VOICES FOR CONTROL; IN POLAND THE CURRENT REGIME IS BEING MODIFIED. IN WESTERN ASIA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA NEW MASS FORCES ARE DEVELOPING AND IN THIS OUR OWN LAND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES ARE IN TURMOIL of disagreement

ALMOST TOO SUDDENLY WE ARE BROUGHT TO A NEW EXAMINATION OF THE INTER-RELATIONS OF

THOUGHT AND ACTION AND EXPERIENCE; FOR TODAY IN CURIOUS AND FRIGHTENING HELPLESSNESS WE FIND THE WORLD WITHOUT LEADERSHIP, WITHOUT AUTHORITY, AND WITH LOSS OF FAITH IN EACH OTHER. FOR A LONG STRETCH OF TIME WE HAVE IN THEORY EXALTED THE ROLE OF THE MASS OF MEN; MORE ESPECIALLY OF THOSE WHO DO THE WORLD'S ESSENTIAL WORK, WHICH MUST ALWAYS BE THE BASIS OF CIVILIZED LIFE. YET DURING THIS TIME WE REJOICED IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GREAT DICTATORS LIKE JOSEPH STALIN, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, AND WINSTON CHURCHILL. THEY CREATED A NEW WORLD OF SOCIALIST AND SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES. WE SAID ALL HUMAN ACTION IS THE ACTION OF INDIVIDUALS; ALL THOUGHT AND KNOWLEDGE IS THE WORKING OF THE SINGLE HUMAN BRAIN; EXPERIENCE MUST BE THE EXPERIENCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL SOUL.

WHENCE NOW, WE ASKED, SHALL SUCH SOULS COME? NOT INDEED AS A SPECIAL CREATION, NOT

38-7-08

FROM A PRIVILEGED CASTE, BUT OUT OF THE DEPTHS OF THE EAST SIDE, THE OIL WELLS OF BAKU, THE SLAVE COAST OF AFRICA, OR THE MANOR HOUSES OF THE HUDSON. NO MATTER WHENCE THEY COME SO LONG AS THEY BRING REAL KNOWLEDGE, AUTHENTIC EXPERIENCE, AND DECISIVE ACTION. FROM THESE SEEMINGLY CONTRADICTORY POINTS OF VIEW WE ARE APPROACHING SLOWLY BUT DECISIVELY A DAY WHICH CALLS FOR A MASS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE EDUCATED IN REAL KNOWLEDGE, WITH BRAINS CAPABLE OF INTERPRETING EXPERIENCE AND REAL EXPERIENCE OF LIFE AND WORK. WE EXPECT TO DEVELOP OUT OF THIS MASS THE MEN WITH THE FORCE AND STRENGTH AND INSIGHT TO DO WHAT MUST BE DONE FOR THE BEST INTEREST OF ALL MEN. THIS IS NOT MERE FOLLOWING OF THE MAJORITY VOTE. IT IS THE INTEGRATION IN ONE MIND AND SOUL OF WHAT THAT MIND KNOWS IS FOR THE COMMON GOOD; THIS IS MORE THAN FOLLOWING THE MASS; IT IS MORE THAN KNOWING THE PEOPLE. IT IS REAL LEADERSHIP BORN OF THE ASTONISHING

38-7-09

FECUNDITY OF HUMAN BEINGS ON THE LEVEL OF INTELLECT AND CHARACTER.

THIS WAS THE MEANING OF VITO MARCANTONIO AND PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS MUST NOT OBSCURE THIS TRUTH. THE HOPE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS THE HOPE OF THE UNITED STATES LIES IN THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE SO AS TO DEVELOP A FOLK CAPABLE OF CHOOSING LEADERS INTELLIGENTLY AND DISCUSSING POLICIES WITHOUT PREJUDICE AND IGNORANCE AND CHEAP ENVY. TODAY TO MY MIND THE SOVIET UNION HAS A BETTER START ON THE ROAD TOWARD THIS ACHIEVEMENT THAN ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH. IT IS STILL FAR FROM THE IDEAL GOAL. BUT ITS START IS PHENOMENAL. I AM LED TO BELIEVE THAT CHINA ALSO IS MAKING THE RIGHT START TOWARD THIS GOAL BUT IT HAS A HARD, LONG ROAD YET TO TRAVEL, OUT OF A BITTER PAST. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ONCE LED THE WORLD IN POPULAR EDUCATION AND INTELLIGENT DEMOCRACY, IS TODAY FALLING BEHIND -- A SITUATION ALL THE MORE DISCOURAGING BECAUSE OF THE

38-7-10

BRIGHT PROMISE OF THE PAST. OUR CITY SCHOOLS WHERE OUR BEST YOUTH IS BEING TRAINED ARE OVERCROWDED AND IN A SINISTER ENVIRONMENT; OUR RURAL SCHOOLS UNEQUIPPED; OUR WHOLE SYSTEM LACKS TEACHERS AND OUR CROWDED COLLEGES ARE FILLED WITH STUDENTS WHO SEEK NOT KNOWLEDGE BUT INCOME. THIS SITUATION WAS PTIFULLY INDICATED BY OUR LAST ELECTION, AN ELECTION WHICH IN A BETTER AGE MIGHT HAVE SENT MEN LIKE MARCANTONIO BACK TO CONGRESS TO OPPOSE WAR, TO ACHIEVE CIVIL RIGHTS, TO BUILD SCHOOLS, TO BEAT BACK THE RISING POWER OF MONOPOLIZED WEALTH WHICH IS TODAY LEADING US TO WAR AND DISASTER. THE VOTERS HAD NO CHOICE AND MADE NONE. THEY VOTED BLINDLY FOR WHAT IS AND IN BLANK FEAR OF WHAT MAY BE. TWENTY MILLION DID NOT VOTE AT ALL, OR A FIFTH OF THOSE QUALIFIED BY AGE; AND OF THOSE WHO VENTURED TO VOTE I DOUBT IF HALF TODAY COULD GIVE A COHERENT REASON FOR

28-7-11

WHAT THEY DID.

YET IN THE MIDST OF THIS AND IN THE FACE OF WORLD DISASTER, THIS NATION TODAY IS FALLING FOR THE SAME DELIBERATELY PLANNED AND PURCHASED PROPAGANDA TO PROMOTE WORLD HATE, IGNORANCE, AND POVERTY, WHICH WAS OCCURRING WHEN MARCANTONIO BEGAN HIS CAREER. I REMEMBER IT WELL. I ASKED MYSELF JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RUSSIA? IS THIS A REVOLUTION FOR PROGRESS OR A NEW TYRANNY FOR DISASTER? STORY OF FAILURE FOLLOWED STORY IN THE PRESS: ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE SLAVES; ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE PUBLIC PROSTITUTES; REVOLT WAS FOLLOWING FAMINE; STARVATION WALKED WITH CRIME; GOD WAS MOCKED AND HIS CHURCH CRUCIFIED. ALL THIS WAS PROVEN. TROTSKY WAS IN MEXICO POURING A STREAM OF ABUSE INTO THE WILLING AMERICAN PRESS. RUSSIANS OF THE NOBLEST ANCESTRY THRONGED OUR (smart shops + beauty parlors) AND FILLED OUR EARS WITH CORROBORATING TESTIMONY. NORMAN THOMAS AND HIS ILK WERE PRAISING

38-7-12

SOCIALISM ON THE ONE HAND AND DAMNING ON THE OTHER THE STRUGGLES OF THE ONLY SOCIALIST STATE IN THE WORLD.

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38-7-13

AND SUPERSTITIOUS PEASANTS RODE A FLAMBOYANT, IMPUDENT ARISTOCRACY, RICH, PRIVILEGED, AND SHRILL; ON THE BACKS OF THESE LAZY, LECHEROUS TYRANTS, PERCHED A GROWING HOST OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND AMERICAN INVESTORS EAGER FOR "HIGH SOCIETY" AND RICH PROFITS FROM THE LAND AND LABOR OF EXPLOITED HUNGARY. SINCE THEN THE STORY OF THIS UNHAPPY LAND HAS BEEN A "TALE TOLD BY AN IDIOT" AND NOW AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO RIDE THE WINDS AS THE PROPOSED RESCUERS OF THE HUNGARY WHICH THEY ONCE DESTROYED ~~ARE~~ IS THE SAME GANG OF TITLED NOBILITY, THE SAME FLOCK OF RAPACIOUS LANDLORDS AND AN INCREASED HOST OF AMERICAN CAPITALISTS SEEKING TO SINK THEIR CLAWS AGAIN INTO THE MINES AND OIL WELLS, SOIL AND SERF LABOR OF TEN MILLION HUNGARIANS. THE FOLK WHO ITCH TO GO TO HUNGARY AND INVESTIGATE HAVE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS INVESTED IN THE OLD REGIME WHICH THEY HOPE NOW TO GET BACK. THE CHAIRMAN OF OUR PEACE CRUSADE IS ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF TWO OF THE MOST

38-7-14

GREEDY CORPORATIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH AFRICA WHO PAY MINERS A DOLLAR A DAY AND REAP MILLIONS IN PROFIT. THE UNITED NATIONS SHOW NO ANXIETY TO INVESTIGATE ALABAMA OR KENYA OR SOUTH AFRICA WHERE AMERICANS ARE ALREADY MAKING MORE MONEY THAN EVER BUT HUNGARY IS AN EXPLOITERS' PARADISE. PERHAPS COMMUNISM IS TO BLAME FOR NOT BUILDING AS STRONG AND INTELLIGENT A STATE AS IT SHOULD HAVE, BUT NEITHER COMMUNISM NOR RUSSIA ARE TO BLAME FOR THE DEPTHS TO WHICH HUNGARY WAS PUSHED BY CIVILIZATION IN THE NINETEENTH AND ~~TWENTIETH~~ TWENTIETH CENTURIES. TODAY THE U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SAYS:

"NO GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL WILL ADMIT IT, BUT WE ARE TRAINING MEN TO BE SPIES, SABOTEURS, SPECIALISTS IN THE TOUGHER FORMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.... THEY LEARN TO BLOW UP BRIDGES, RAILROAD TRAINS AND WAR PLANTS, ARE TAUGHT TO USE ALL TYPES OF

And yesterday when an anti-semitic Hungary fought with Hitler & Mussolini against the United States & Russia

38-7-15

WEAPONS.... THEY BECOME EXPERT MAP READERS. THEY LEARN SECRET METHODS OF COMMUNICATION SO THEY CAN GET BACK WORD OF WHAT THEY LEARN. THEY MERGE INTO HOSTILE POPULATIONS AND SPREAD DISQUIETING RUMORS, HELP TO FRAME RUSSIAN STOOGES SO THAT THEIR OWN SUPERIORS WILL LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THEM."

ABOVE THIS WE ARE FURNISHING MONEY FROM OUR OWN TAXES WHICH PAYS FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF DISTORTION AND LIES WHICH TODAY ARE FLOODING THE WORLD IN PREPARATION FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR, AND THIS PUBLIC MONEY BECOMES IN PART PRIVATE CAPITAL TO SWELL THE PROFITS OF AMERICAN CORPORATIONS.

ALL THIS MAKES US MISS ALL THE MORE POIGNANTLY VITO MARCANTONIO NOT BECAUSE ONE LEADER IS DEAD BUT BECAUSE HIS INTREPID EXAMPLE CAN (no longer) INSPIRE THE DEAD SOULS OF OUR YOUTH TODAY.

38-7-16

THE NEW NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

LATELY PUBLIC ATTENTION/HAS BEEN DRAWN TO THE NEGRO RACE/IN AFRICA, THE WEST INDIES/AND THE UNITED STATES.//IN AFRICA/A BRITISH COLONY/THE GOLD COAST/HAS BECOME THE INDEPENDENT DOMINION/OF GHANA;//IN THE WEST INDIES/A NEW FEDERATION OF COLONIES/HAS BEEN FORMED/WITH PARTIAL AUTONOMY;//IN THE UNITED STATES/THE SUPREME COURT/HAS DECLARED SEGREGATION BY RACE/IN SCHOOLS AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES/UNCONSTITUTIONAL//AND A MASS STRIKE/AGAINST DISCRIMINATION ON BUSSES/IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA,/HAS ~~BEEN WIDELY~~ HAD WIDE SUCESS~~FUL~~

32-9-132

THESE ARE NOT ISOLATED OCCURENCES,/EITHER FROM EACH OTHER/OR FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT/AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION/IN THE WORLD AT LARGE.//TO UNDERSTAND THIS INTERNECTION/WE MUST RECALL MODERN HISTORY.//IN WESTERN EUROPE,/LAND MONOPOLY/HOME INDUSTRY/AND SERF LABOR/PREVAILED BEFORE THE 15TH CENTURY.//THEN ABUNDANT LAND IN AMERICA,/BROKE THE FEUDAL MONOPOLY/~~AND ENCOURAGED MIGRATION OF EUROPEAN LABOR~~ WHILE THE PEOPLE AWAKENED/TO LEARNING, ART AND RELIGION.//~~IN~~ THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY/SCIENCE AND TRADE/BEGAN TO UNITE THE WORLD.//LABOR IN EUROPE/BEGAN TO BETTER ITS PLIGHT,/WHILE NEW DEMAND FOR LABOR IN AMERICA/BROUGHT WHITE LABOR FROM EUROPE/AND BLACK LABOR FROM AFRICA/

~~NEW~~ AMERICAN AGRICULTURE/~~BROUGHT~~ RAISED NEW CROPS/LIKE TOBACCO, SUGAR AND COTTON.//PRIVATE CAPITAL/LARGELY STOLEN FROM ASIA/AND INCREASED/BY THE REDUCTION OF BLACK LABOR TO SLAVERY/~~AND SYSTEMIZING THE SLAVE TRADE,~~/ENCOURAGED NEW INVENTIONS WIDENED WORLD TRADE/AND BEGAN THE MODERN FACTORY SYSTEM.//IN THE 19TH CENTURY/WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR/UNITED IN UNIONS/AND SECURED HIGHER WAGES/~~FREE SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL POWER~~//ON CONDITION/THAT THEY VOTE AND FIGHT/TO REDUCE COLORED LABOR TO SERFDOM.// THIS WAS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/UNDER CAPITALISM

~~MEANTIME/IN THE COLONIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA/VOLUNTARY TRADE/YIELDED~~ PROFITABLE TO FORCED TRADE/~~WHICH~~ REDUCED/CHINA, INDIA, AND AFRICA/TO ECONOMIC AND THEN POLITICAL CONTROL BY EUROPE.//CONTINUOUS WAR DURING THE 19TH CENTURY,/CARRIED ON BY WHITE WORKERS/AGAINST COLORED WORKERS/RAISED WAGES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA/AND TURNED/AFRICANS AND ASIATICS/INTO SERFS.//WHITE WORKERS GAINED EDUCATION/AND POLITICAL POWER/BUT USED ~~IT~~ 'IT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CAPITALISTS/TO EXTEND THE CONTROL OF EUROPE/OVER THE REST OF THE WORLD.//THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BROUGHT REVOLUTION/FIRST BECAUSE LEADING LANDS OF EUROPE/QUARRELED OVER THE DIVISION OF THEIR LOOT/AND THEN BECAUSE COLORED LABOR/REFUSED FURTHER TO SUBMIT TO EXPLOITATION

32-9-133

ASIA AND AFRICA/SAVED WESTERN EUROPE/FROM DESTRUCTION BY GERMANY/IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR//AND WHEN ASKED TO SAVE THEM/IN A SECOND WAR/CONSENTED ONLY ON CONDITION/OF FREEDOM FOR INDIA AND CHINA/AND LOOSENING THE BONDS OF AFRICA.

THIS HAD TO BE GRANTED/BECAUSE THE WHITE WORKERS OF EUROPE/HAD ALSO REVOLTED AGAINST WAR// REVOLUTION BROKE OUT IN RUSSIA/WHICH ~~AND A SOCIALIST STATE AIMING AT COMMUNISM AND THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM WAS ESTABLISHED~~ ATTEMPTED/TO ERECT A COMMUNIST STATE/AND ABOLISH PRIVATE CAPITALISM//WESTERN EUROPE/TRIED TO PREVENT THIS/AND FAILED.//SOCIALISM/AIMED TOWARD EVENTUAL COMMUNISM/SPREAD//IT FOUND ALLIES/IN THE LABOR MOVEMENTS/OF BRITAIN, FRANCE and SCANDINAVIA// THEREUPON/LED BY THE UNITED STATES/AND SECONDED BY THE CAPITALISTS/OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE/A WORLD-WIDE ATTEMPT WAS MADE/IN THE KOREAN WAR/COLD WAR/TO OVERTHROW COMMUNISM/AND CURB SOCIALISM BY FORCE//-- A PLAN WHICH IS STILL ~~BEING CARRIED OUT~~/PUSHED BY THE UNITED STATES.

384-134

LET US NOW CONSIDER/THE EFFECT OF THIS HISTORY/ON GHANA AND ALABAMA// THE BRITISH BEGAN/TRADE WITH WEST AFRICA/IN THE 17TH CENTURY/AND BY THE 18TH/DOMINATED THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA/WHICH WAS THE OBJECT/OF THE SO-CALLED WAR OF SPANISH SUCESSION/IN 1713.//BUT SLAVE REVOLT IN AMERICA/AND MORAL REVOLT

IN BRITAIN/ABOLISHED THE SLAVE TRADE IN 1807/AND THE BRITISH TRANSFERRED THEIR CAPITAL/TO WEST AFRICA/WHERE THEY INCREASED THEIR CONTROL/OF LAND AND LABOR/AND BEGAN POLITICAL CONQUEST// MORE AND MORE/BRITISH INDUSTRY/NEEDED AFRICAN MATERIALS:/PALM OIL, COCOA, TIN AND MANGANESE;/AND ESPECIALLY MANPOWER: ~~SKILLED~~ LABOR, AND SOLDIERS// BLACK AFRICA/WRESTED THE GERMAN COLONIES/IN AFRICA FROM THE REICH//THE COCOA CROP/WHICH ENGLAND TRIED TO STEAL FROM SPAIN/WAS TAKEN OVER BY THE NEGROES/OF THE GOLD COAST/WHO NOW RAISE ON THEIR OWN FARMS/THE LARGER PART OF THE COCOA CROP/OF THE WORLD.// BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, with prices high/BRITAIN TRIED/TO CONTROL ~~THE COCOA~~ this CROP/AND WAS MET BY A NATIVE BOYCOTT/WHICH COMPELLED HER/TO SURRENDER CONTROL OF THE CROP/TO THE COLONY./~~THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A STRIKE AGAINST THE~~ British Merchants raised PRICES/ON IMPORTED GOODS ~~CHARGED BY BRITISH MONOPOLIES~~ which led to riots/. THE COLONY AND THE EMPIRE/WERE ON THE BRINK OF WAR. But HERE BRITAIN PAUSED/AND BEGAN CONCESSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS// AS A RESULT/THE GOLD COAST/UNDER THE ASTUTE LEADERSHIP/OF KWAME NKRUMAH/BECAME THE INDEPENDENT DOMINION OF GHANA/ON MARCH SIXTH, 1957.// SIMILAR STRIFE AND NEGOTIATIONS/ARE TAKING PLACE IN NIGERIA,/AND FOR LIKE REASONS //

38-9-135

THIS TERRITORY/IS THE GREATEST COLONY left in THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.// IT IS LARGER/THAN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN COMBINED//AND IS INHABITED/BY 32 MILLION NEGROES/WHOSE HISTORY GOES BACK/A THOUSAND YEARS/BUT WHOM THE BRITISH/PARTIALLY SUBDUED IN THE 19TH CENTURY.// DISSATISFACTION AND REVOLT/BEGAN AFTER THE WORLD WARS/AS ~~HER~~ TIN/PALM OIL/COTTON/COCOA/HIDES AND PEANUTS/BECAME MORE NECESARY TO BRITISH INDUSTRY.//PARTIAL AUTONOMY/IS ALREADY GRANTED/AND NEGOTIATEONS ARE ~~NOW~~ UNDER CONSIDERATION/FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.//THE BRITISH ARE NOT YET READY/FOR SURRENDER/BUT THEIR EXPERIENCE/IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA/WARNS THEM.

28-9-136

FOR INSTANCE/IN KENYA A TERRITOY/AS LARGE AS FRANCE/WITH SIX MILLION BLACKS/AND 20,000 WHITES/MAINLY FROM SOUTH AFRICA/ THE WHITES HAVE SEIZED/MOST OF THE BEST LAND/WHILE THE BLACKS LACK/ENOUGH LAND FOR SUPPORT.//THE RESULT HAS BEEN BLOODY REVOLT/WHICH recently HELPED BANRUPT BRITAIN/AND KILLED AND IMPRISONED 100,000 NATIVES// BRITAIN HAS BEEN COMPELLED/TO YIELD A FEW SEATS/IN THE GOVERNING COUNcil to black natives// SHE MUST SOON YIELD MORE.//IN UGANDA AND BECHUANALAND/BRITAIN/HAS TRIED TO EXPEL NATIVE RULERS/AND FAILED.

6/ ~~THIRTEEN AND~~ TANGANYIKA/WITH EIGHT MILLION NEGROES/IS PROMISED INDEPENDENCE/IN TEN YEARS/BY THE UNITED NATIONS.//ON THE OTHER HAND/IN SOUTH AFRICA/IS THE WORST INTER-RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE WORLD./IT MAY END/IN A HORRIBLE BLOOD-BATH.

FRANCE IS IN TURMOIL IN NORTH AFRICA/AND IS PROMISING THE 35 MILLION NEGROES/OF FRENCH AFRICA/AN INCREASED VOICE/IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.//THE BELGIAN CONGO/WITH ~~1~~ 12 MILLION NEGROES/AND THE GREATEST ~~HORDE~~ reserves OF COPPER/COBALT ~~AND~~ AND URANIUM/IN THE WORLD/HAS TRIED TO GIVE THE BLACKS/(Elementary schools)/SKILLED INDUSTRY/~~AND~~ without ~~NO~~ POLITICAL CONTROL./ THEY NOW FACE A DEMAND/~~OF~~ for AUTONOMY/FROM A NEW INTELLIGENTIA/WHICH IS BECOMING VOCAL.

WHAT EFFECT/HAS ALL THIS HAD/ON THE NEW WORLD/INTO WHICH THE BRITISH ~~STOLE AND~~ TRANSPORTED/15 MILLION NEGROES/~~IN THE 18TH CENTURY~~?/FROM 1522 TO ~~1895~~ 1895,/THESE NEGROES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS/STAGED 37 REVOLTS/WHICH FREED HAITI,/GAVE LOUSIANA AND THE PACIFIC WEST/TO THE UNITED STATES/AND GAVE PARTIAL FREEDOM/TO ALL THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.//TODAY AT LAST,/LED BY JAMAICA BARBADOES AND TRINIDAD,/A NEW FEDERATION/OF THE WEST INDIES HAS BEEN INAUGURATED/WITH A ~~FREE~~ DEGREE/OF AUTONOMY/WHICH WILL GROW PROGRESSIVELY LARGER/UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF LABOR GROUPS/PLEDGED TO WIDE SOCIAL LEGISLATION.// IN GUIANA (SOUTH AMERICA) A

28-9-137

COMPLETE SOCIALISM / WAS VOTED / BUT WAS OVERTHROWN BY THE BRITISH // TODAY THE BRITISH / ARE STRIVING TO SATISFY / THE STILL REBELLIOUS HALF MILLION / BLACK FOLK AND EAST INDIANS / WHO ~~STILL~~ DEMAND GREATER AUTONOMY.

WE CAN WITH THIS BACKGROUND OF HISTORY / AND CURRENT POLITICS / BETTER UNDERSTAND / WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING / AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES

38-9-138

THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES / CAME MOSTLY FROM THE WEST INDIES / WHERE THEY OR THEIR FATHERS / HAD BEEN TRANSPORTED FORCIBLY / FROM AFRICA. // ON THE WEST INDIAN PLANTATIONS / THEY HAD BEEN BROKEN IN / AS LABORERS ON PLANTATIONS // THEIR LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL PATTERNS / HAD BEEN CHANGED // SOME HAD REVOLTED AND TAKEN REFUGE IN THE MOUNTAINS / SOME REMAINED AS WEST INDIAN LABORERS / SOME WERE SOLD FOR TRANSPORT TO SOUTH AMERICA & some 6 THE UNITED STATES // HERE THEY LEARNED THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE / BECAME NOMINAL CHRISTIANS / AND WORKED TO RAISE / COTTON / TOBACCO / SUGAR / RICE AND OTHER CROPS. // THEY FOUND THREE PATHS TO FREEDOM // REVOLT / WHICH FROM 1663 TO THE CIVIL WAR / WAS ATTEMPTED ON A LARGER OR SMALLER SCALE / ~~SOMEWHERE IN EVERY DECADE~~. at least 500 times.

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P DETAILS WERE SUPPRESSED / BUT THE LEGISLATION OF THE SOUTH / SHOWED THAT FEAR OF SLAVE UPRISING / WAS ~~AN EVERPRESENT~~ the greatest FACT / IN SOUTHERN HISTORY // NEXT AND COUNTER-BALANCING REVOLT / WAS ESCAPE OF SLAVES / TO THE FREE NORTH AND CANADA // THIS BECAME SYSTEMATIZED / AND WAS ONE OF THE MAIN CAUSES / OF THE WAR BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH // THIRDLY / THE GOAL OF AMERICAN NEGROES / FROM 1619 TO THE FOUNDATION OF LIBERIA / WAS EVENTUAL RETURN TO AFRICA // AS THE NUMBER OF FREE NEGROES INCREASED / IN THE NORTH BY ESCAPE / AND IN THE SOUTH BY EMANCIPATION, // THEY BEGAN TO FORM ORGANIZATIONS / WHICH THEY USUALLY / CALLED "AFRICAN" // THERE WERE AFRICAN UNIONS / IN PHILADELPHIA, / NEW YORK AND NEWPORT; // AND THE FIRST INDEPENDENT NEGRO CHURCHES / WERE CALLED AFRICAN. AMERICAN FREE NEGROES EARLY IN

P MANY WHITES ADVOCATED / NEGRO MIGRATION TO AFRICA / AND NEGROES THEMSELVES / EARLY IN THE I 9TH CENTURY / BEGAN IT ON THEIR OWN BOATS // THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY / WAS FORMED ~~BY WHITES~~ IN 1917 / BY SOUTHERN WHITE SLAVEHOLDERS // SOME FROM PHILANTHROPIC MOTIVES / OTHERS AS A WAY / OF RIDDING THE NATION / OF FREE NEGROES. // ~~COLONIZATION SOCIETY WAS FORMED IN TWO YEARS AFTER BLACK PAUL CUFFE HAD~~

COLONIZATION

~~STARTED MIGRATION TO AFRICA IN HIS OWN BOAT.~~ THE SOCIETY HAD DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE: A NEPHEW OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, HENRY CLAY AND JOHN RANDOLPH. BUT IT SOON BECAME EVIDENT THAT TO MANY SLAVEHOLDERS COLONIZATION WAS A RUSE TO GET RID OF FREE NEGROES AND MAKE A BLACK SKIN AND SLAVE STATUS SYNONYMOUS IN AMERICA. FREE NEGROES BALKED: THOSE BORN FREE OF WHOM THERE WERE MANY; THOSE OF MIXED BLOOD AND THOSE WHO NOT BORN IN AFRICA AND KNOWING LITTLE OF IT BEGAN TO REGARD THE UNITED STATES AS THEIR HOME. JOINING WITH THE WHITE ABOLISTIONISTS THEY BEGAN TO BUILD A SENTIMENT FOR FREEDOM OF BLACK FOLK RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA. AND THEY POINTED OUT THAT WITH THE BACKING OF A DOZEN STATES AND WITH THE GIFT OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY HAD NOT TRANSPORTED TO AFRICA in ten years AS MANY NEGROES AS HAD MEANTIME BEEN BORN IN THE NATION. BY 1830 A NEW SPIRIT SEIZED INTELLIGENT NEGROES: SYSTEMATIC FLIGHT FROM SLAVERY, EDUCATION AND ABOVE ALL A DEMAND FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK AT DECENT WAGE. THIS SPLIT THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS 3 WAYS: THE ~~[illegible]~~ NEGROES, THE WHITE IMMIGRANTS AND THE NATIVE WHITE WORKERS.

THEY FOUGHT EACH

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10

(Foreign immigrants attacked & killed Negroes)

OTHER BITTERLY. ON THE STREETS OF BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA AND CINCINATTI NATIVE WHITE WORKERS ~~FOUGHT AGAINST~~ AND VOTED AGAINST FOREIGNERS ~~[illegible]~~ EVEN COMMUNISTS WITHDREW FROM OPPOSITION TO NEGRO SLAVERY. THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT FOR THE MOST PART EXCLUDED NEGROES. DISCOURAGED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1830 TO 1860 ~~WHICH BECAUSE OF~~ Caused by THE RISING ~~PRIVATE~~ PROFIT ON COTTON RAISED BY SLAVES ~~THE~~ SOME LEADING NEGROES BEGAN again TO PLAN MIGRATION TO AFRICA, HAITI OR SOUTH AMERICA. THEY SENT DELEGATIONS OF INQUIRY TO ALL THESE PLACES AND MIGRATION TO HAITI BEGAN. MY GRANDFATHER WAS ONE WHO WENT TO HAITI TO LOOK OVER THE PROSPECTS AND ON THIS TRIP MY FATHER WAS BORN IN THAT ISLAND. BUT MY GRANDFATHER WAS DISSATISFIED WITH THE OUTLOOK AND RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES WHERE MY FATHER LATER ENLISTED IN THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE SLAVE AND FREE STATES. THIS WAR WAS WON AND THE SLAVES FREED NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE NORTH WAS ~~[illegible]~~ RICHER AND STRONGER THAN THE SLAVE SOUTH, BUT BECAUSE WHITE LABOR IN THE NORTH FOUGHT FOR FREE LAND AND A HALH MILLION Black Laborers from North and South ~~FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES RIGHT IN THE SLAVE~~

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~~TERRITORY~~ WORKED AND BORE ARMS FOR THE NORTHERN ARMIES // THE WAR HAD TO STOP WHEN THE SOUTH REALIZED THAT AT LEAST THREE MILLION MORE BLACK SOLDIERS WERE READY TO JOIN THE NORTHERN ARMIES // THE FREEDMEN WERE ENFRANCHISED NOT ONLY IN GRATITUDE FOR HELPING WIN THE WAR BUT AS THE ONLY WAY TO SECURE VOTES TO ENABLE NORTHERN INDUSTRY TO PREVENT A NEW SOUTHERN ~~SLAVE~~ ECONOMY ~~LINKED WITH~~ TIED TO EUROPEAN MARKETS // THE NEW NEGRO VOTERS DESPITE THEIR POVERTY AND INEXPERIENCE TRIED TO DISTRIBUTE THE LAND OF THE SLAVE OWNERS AMONG THE WORKERS AND TO OPEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS ~~THEY~~ THIS WAS STOPPED BY A BARGAIN BETWEEN THE FORMER SLAVEOWNERS AND NORTHERN BUSINESS BY WHICH THE BLACK WORKER WAS DISFRANCHISED AND THE SOUTHERN WORKING CLASS CUT IN TWO AND RENDERED HELPLESS // AFTER THIS BARGAIN OF 1876 THE NEGROES STROVE FOR TEN YEARS TO REGAIN THE SUFFRAGE // THEY WERE BEATEN BACK BY LYNCHING AND MOBS ~~AND COLOR CASTE LEGISLATION~~ WHILE THE NORTH ~~JOINED OR~~ SAT SILENT. // THE NEGROES OFFERED COMPROMISE AND LED BY BOOKER WASHINGTON AND HIS WHITE SUPPORTERS OFFERED NOT TO ~~VOTE~~ TRY TO VOTE, NOT TO JOIN ~~TRADE~~ UNIONS AND TO LIMIT THEIR DEMAND FOR EDUCATION TO LEARNING TRADES (HOUSE SERVICE AND) // THE SOUTH PRAISED

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THIS OFFER BUT NEVER CARRIED OUT THEIR PART OF THE BARGAIN // ON THE CONTRARY THEY TOOK IMMEDIATE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEGRO'S PAUSE IN HIS FIGHT FOR CITIZENSHIP AND PASSED LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING AN ALMOST COMPLETE COLOR CASTE IN VOTING RESIDENCE, EDUCATION AND TRAVEL. // NEGROES WERE TRAINED ~~FOR~~ TO BE AS SERVANTS AND FOR REPAIR WORK BUT NOT FOR THE NEW SKILLED TRADES // TRADE UNIONS EXCLUDED HIM FROM WORK EVEN IF HE WAS CAPABLE. // AT LAST IN ~~189~~ 1905 REVOLT SURGED AMONG THE YOUNGER EDUCATED NEGROES // THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT DEMANDED COMPLETE EQUALITY OF NEGRO CITIZENS // ~~WORK~~ AND WHITE AND WHITE LIBERALS FORMED THE NAACP. // IN 1910, THESE TWO CURRENTS BLENDED AND BEGAN A SYSTEMATIC FIGHT FOR ENFORCEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE CIVIL WAR AMENDMENTS, AND THE GENERAL LEGISLATION COVERING CIVIL RIGHTS // ~~WARTIME~~ THEN TWO WORLD WARS TORE MODERN CULTURE APART AND ~~BRO~~ TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WHICH CHALLENGED THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM ~~IN AMERICA WHO~~ BORN OF AMERICAN SLAVERY ~~IN AMERICA HAD~~ LAUNCHED TOWARD THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY. THESE WARS HALTED THE MIGRATION OF WHITE LABOR TO THE UNITED STATES AND BLACK LABOR FROM THE SOUTH POURED INTO NORTHERN INDUSTRY AND CHANGED FROM DISFRANCHISED FARM LABOR TO CITY ARTISANS WITH VOTES // THE BLACKS WERE WELCOMED BY RIOT AND MURDER LED

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BY WHITE UNION LABOR// BUT THE NEGROES HUNG ON, EVEN THOUGH HERDED IN SLUMS AND CRIME /AND PAID SCAB WAGES (THE NEW MASS INDUSTRY absorbed them gradually) DURING THIS TIME

~~IN POWER BEFORE THIS~~ A BLACK JAMAICA LEADER/ MARCUS GARVEY/ TRIED TO START A MOVEMENT /IN THE WEST INDIES /AND THE UNITED STATES/ BY WHICH NEGROES SHOULD REPLACE WHITES /AS EXPLOITERS OF LABOR IN (in West Indies and) AFRICA. / WHITE INDUSTRY QUICKLY SQUELCHED THIS EFFORT.// MEANTIME THE SUCESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM/AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM /ALL OVER THE WORLD /BEGAN TO REACT ON THE NEGRO WORKER! ~~IT BEGAN TO DEVELOPE IN GUANA, BUT WAS RUTHLESSLY STOPPED.~~ (WHEN IN THE UNITED STATES/ THE ~~WHOLE~~ WORKING CLASS/ WAS SWEPT TOWARD SOCIALISM/ BY THE NEW DEAL,// INDUSTRY MADE DESPERATE EFORT/ TO PREVENT THE NEGRO/ FROM JOINING THIS TREND// THE MASSIVE EFFORT OF PROPAGANDA / TO FRIGHTEN, LABOR/ BY PAINTING COMMUNISM AS A CRIME /AND ESPEECIALLY AS A CONSPIRACY /AGAINST AMERICA// WAS /IN THE CASE OF NEGROES /ACCOMPANIED BY A CONCERTED EFFORT/ TO LESSEN COLOR CASTE/ AND MAKE BLACK FOLK/ THE ALLIES OF BIG BUSINES/ BY BRIBE OF BETTER JOBS / AND BY THE ~~UNEXPECTED~~ unexpected SUPREME COURT

14/ DECISION OF 1954 /DECLARING RACE DISCRIMINATION/ IN EDUCATION/ UNCONSTITUTIONAL AT THE SAME TIME/ THE WHITE WORKER/ WAS BLASTED BY THE CHARGE OF COMMUNISM/ AND "COMMUNISTS") WERE DEPRIVED OF CIVIL RIGHTS /AND EVEN OF COMMON DECENCY// THUS THE PARTIAL BREAKING/ OF THE COLORLINE/ WAS USED TO ANSWER THE STAND/ OF THE SOVIET UNION/ AGAINST COLOR DISCRIMINATION / AND ITS FIGHT ON COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/ THIS WAS AIMED/ TO SPLIT AMERICAN NEGROES /FROM UNION WITH /OR SYMPATHY FOR/ ~~COL~~ COLONIAL PEOPLES// TRAVEL ABROAD /SAVE FOR NEGROES /WHO WOULD TESTIFY ON NEGRO EQUALITY/ IN THE UNITED STATES// WAS SYSTEMATICALLY CURTAILED. Then came the (or COMMUNISM)

OCCURRENCE AT MONTGOMERY , ALABAMA.// IT HAD NO CONNECTION ORIGINALLY/ WITH THE NAACP/ AND WAS A MASS MOVEMENT/ OF WORKERS/ WITH NO LEADERSHIP/ FROM THE NEGRO INTELLIGENTIA OR BOURGEOISIE.// IT WAS NOT A FIGHT/ FOR A GREAT PRINCIPLE/ BUT ~~THE~~ A PROTEST (of black workers) AT BEING KICKED ABOUT/ BY WHITE ~~WORKERS~~ [redacted] ~~FOR~~ THE PROFIT OF ~~WHITE~~ CHICAGO INVESTORS.// IT RECEIVED RATHER UNEXPECTEDLY LEADERSHIP /FROM THE NEGRO CHURCH/ THE OLDEST NEGRO SOCIAL ORGA IZATION/ WHICH USUALLY REPRESENTED ESCAPISM/ RELIGIOUS ~~FAIRY TALE~~ DOGMA /AND GROUP RECREATION.// IN MONTGOMERY THIS CHURCH FOUND INTELIGENT LEADERS /AND ~~LED TO~~ STAGED /AN UNUSUALLY SUCESSFUL STRIKE./ THE QUESTION IS / WHENCE DOES IT GO FROM HERE?/ THIS IS NOT CLEAR./ IT IS NOW TAKING UNCERTAIN REFUGE IN PRAYER MEETINGS (and following Gandhi techniques) IT SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE RIGHT, TO REGISTER AND VOTE

100-9-144

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AND GET BETTER JOBS /AT HIGHER WAGES/ FOR ORDINARY NEGRO WORKERS/ WHO BEGAN THIS FIGHT/ AND BORE THE BRUNT/ OF ITS BURDEN// THIS REQUIRES AN UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIALISM /AND ITS NEED ~~FOR~~ among NEGRO WORKERS// COOPERATIVE FARMING AND CONSUMERS COOPERATION /ARE BASIC NECESSITIES /FOR BLACK WORKERS /IN THE SOUTH/ AND THEY CANnot exist / under uncurbed private capitalism// SO LONG AS THE NEGRO VOTER/ SUPPORTS THE CURRENT EFFORT/ TO OVERTHROW COMMUNISM BY FORCE /AND STARVE THE WELFARE STATE / IN ORDER TO PREPARE FOR WORLD WAR/ THE NEGRO WORKER/ WILL BE FORCED/ BELOW A DECENT STANDARD OF LIFE.// ON THE CONTRARY IN AFRICA/ SOCIALISM IS RISING TO LEADERSHIP// NKRUMAH AND AZIKIWE ARE DECLARED SOCIALISTS// FRENCH AFRICAN LEADERS/ ARE SOCIALISTS// EGYPT AND THE SUDAN/ ARE FRIENDLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION/ AND IN ALL BLACK AFRICA/ AN ANCIENT BASIC SOCIALISM/ MAY MAKE COMMON CAUSE/ WITH SOCIALIST INDIA/ AND COMMUNIST CHINA.// ALREADY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA / NEGROES AND INDIANS/ ARE FIGHTING COLONIALISM/ SIDE BY SIDE. THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD LIES IN ASIA AND AFRICA

38-9-14 6

oppose Socialism and

american

of Ghana + Nigeria

and Ethiopia + Liberia are not inimical.

Money & Trade

But many of you pay have these questions
mean money jobs at decent wages. These of course cut
down our expenses but what has governments and international
to do with

One of the worst symptoms of our times is that most decent people pay little attention to economics. This is the science of money, income and . It is not taught in the schools
It is not taught teachers. You do not hear it on the platform. The result of this may be illustrated in several ways. For instance whom I know and who lives in family, went to visit rich relatives. There, by means well known to children, she found out that the head of the house was receiving an income of $700 a week. When she told this to another friend of mine, the friend explaimed, "There, I knew there was plenty of money in this country."

I looked at this friend in astonishment and said, "Of course there is plenty of money in the country and if there wasn't it would be easy to have more, and just as easy, if there was too much money, to have less."

To this my friend made remark which made it plain to me that he thought that prosperity depended upon there being a large amount of money in the country and that poverty arose from there being a small amount. Now this is a state of ignorance which is lamentable. Most people do not realise what money is. If you will take a dollar bill from your pocket you will see that it is a receipt telling you that the U.S. government has a silver dollar which it will hand over to you if you ask for it and present this receipt. As a matter of fact you do not present the receipt at all. You simply use the receipt to pay for things which you want to buy.

If you take a five dollar bill, or are so fortunate as to have a $20 bill, you will find that that is a promise on the part of the government to

U.S. treasury.

In other words, most of the money which you use is not real money, it is promises to pay money. But even beyond this the amount of money in a country as compared with the wealth, that is, the goods or the services that are offered for wages, is very very small and should be small, because money is simply the wheelbarrow that exchanges goods for goods. What you want is food, and clothes and a house to live in. You cannot eat money or wear it. You can use it to buy the things that you really want. That of course makes it necessary for you to have a certain amount of money. But only enough money should exist in the country to start the exchange of goods. The main thing that everybody wants is this exchange.

Now that brings up the whole matter of buying and selling, of business and industry. I saw a film the other day, which was very beautiful on account of its music. But the climax of the film was a little startling. The boy and girl, being successful in their love affairs, were going off in the wilderness to live their life. I wondered if they knew what that meant. Today people cannot be, as we used to say, independent. The independent farmer of a hundred years ago raised his food and fiber, wove his cloth and built his house. But it meant a terrible amount of work and it meant goods nottoo well adapted to his needs and not always beautiful to look at. In modern life no one attempts to be economically independent. This man goes fishing, that man goes rabbit hunting. They exchange fish and meat roughly in accordance with the time that they had to spend in order to get these things. Or, better than that, this man works in a factory to make steel, he is paid in money, but he uses the money in order to buy clothes. Now the real question is, how much money he gets for his work and what price he has to pay for the things which he buys.

How is that settled? For a long time there was an attempt to make this

41-3-62

settlement on the basis of exchanging equal work and sacrifice for the same amount expended in other ways. So that the price of goods depended in a general way upon the amount of labor that was expended upon it.

Today all this has disappeared. We have no idea how much work it took to furnish us with bread and butter and meat and set its price. And what wages the workers got who raised these things and how their work and wage compares with ours. All this is not only unknown but with the length of time which it takes to make things, the wide spread of industry throughout this nation and over nations of the earth, without a serious and widespread attempt to study it and to bring out the facts so that all can know them and understand them. This effort is not made. Work is secret, or if it is known it is not understood because of lack of education and lack of revelation of the facts.

For instance in the "Times" May 12th was this little item:

"Harvey Klein, a Baltimore merchant, parlayed a $1000 war-time investment into more than 5 million dollars in profits." Most people, even workers, would read this as a curious fact but as having no connection with them. But it does have a connection. It means that Mr. Klein, with effort worth $1000 is now able to buy 5 million dollars worth of goods and services which people like you furnish. In other words, he has made an immense fortune for practically nothing. And you have to furnish the goods for it, that 5 million dollars worth of money. It is in the legal right to take money, goods or work ti e from other people. And he gets this not by giving to those people an equal amount of goods and services, it gets it by practically nothing.

It becomes therefore necessary in all civilized communities to have what is called "a market." That is, some sort of arrangement where the amount of goods offered, the amount of work that people are willing to do, the amount of wages that they get; that all these things be settle d by some

kind of planning. But in our time and country most of this planning is done by the people who are interested in what they get personally out of the trade, so that the people who furnish the goods usually determine what goods and how many shall be offered and at what price; While the people that do the work for the most part have little to say. Through trade unions they are trying in a general way to protect themselves from extreme methods by which their wages are forced down and their conditions of work made worse, but trade unions only have begun this kind of bargaining and are not yet very successful.

41-3-64

On the other hand the private business man and particularly the corporation has a wide chance to make tremendously advantageous prices which bring him extraordinary profits. There are well-known cases, for instance, the first John Jacob Astor worked hard, and saved money. In his day New York did not extend far uptown. Most of the area above 42 Street was waste-land and farms. I can remember myself when at 42 Street, New York, in place of the present library, there was a large city reservoir. Mr. Astor bought land up this way and much further up, at very low prices, and let it lay there. He did not have to pay much in taxes because the land was, as people said, "unimproved."

Then as people began to settle up that way and live there was a demand for stores and offices and dwellings. If a person asked Mr. Astor to sell him some land Mr. Astor said the land was not for sale, "But, for Mr. Astor,"if you want to put a building there at your own expense and use it you can, but after 20 years the building will belong to me." It was a hard bargain but what else could people do? In that way Mr. Astor bought up a fortune which even today is tremendous.

Or take the question of petroleum oil. Mr. Rockefeller and the Texas oil men did not make the oil. They bought it and they bought it cheap, for after all what ~~ex~~ can a poor man do with an oil well? They bought it cheap and they drove other people out of business by making better bargains than other people could with the railroads, and so forth. Lately in Texas particularly the oil men escaped a good deal of taxation by claiming that as oil comes out of the wells naturally there is less left and therefore their resources are being dissipated. Consequently numbers of millionaires pay much less in taxes proportionately than you do.

41-3-55

Or consider the case of my garage man. Many years ago I used to keep my car in a garage in Harlem. It was a small garage, and all the space was rented at quite reasonable terms. The young man who carried on this business not only attended ~~it~~ to the safety of the cars and their cleaningbut also was expert on car machinery so that after a few years he was making a good living. And one day when I came in he said that he was giving up his garage. When I asked why, he explained~~x~~ that the landlord had just raised his rent by $200 a month which he said he could not afford to pay. Now the landlord had done this simply because he had the power to do it. The land was no more valuable than before, the rent already paid was reasonable, but this young man was going to be driven out of business because the landlord simply took over his profits.

Then there was another phase to it. When I asked him what he was goint oto do he said he was going to buy a Rolls-Royce car and rent it out. Now I knew why he was doing this. The Rolls-Royce car is made in England and it lasts practically a lifetime. If we wished here in the United States we could make cars that would last and run well for 25 years. But the automobile makers find that they can make more profit if they make a car that will

break down in two or three years. Then they induce you to buy a new car. We therefore have come to think that cars will not last for more than a few years and we speak with some pride and astonishment on the part of xx our neighbors if the car xx lives on for ten years.

The same way with razor blades. It was a great inventionx when the safety razor was brought out, But a safety razor with a good steel blade ought to last for years. As a matter of fact the blade sometimes will do well for a week. If it lasts two weeks we are gratified. Why? Because deliberately the blades are made in such a way that they xxx will not stand up. There are lots of inventions which would save us time and money if they were used. But they are bought up and not used by people who mxxxpxxxxxxxxx monopolize old gadgets and old methods of work.

41-3-66.

All this is well known and it has become so common in American business that we make no protest against it. New methods are coming in. I have a friend in a neighboring city who is a very excellent housekeeper and cook. She wanted some shrimp for a special dish and went down to her favorite fish market. "Have you any shrimp?"

"Oh yes, madame".

"Well I want a few pounds."

The clerk started back toward where the shrimp were kept and said to her in a low voice, "We have got shrimp, but we have had them for two years. I don't xx think you really want them."

These shrimp had been put in cold storage and they can be kept for a long, long time. In this way we who live where fish ought to be fresh and cheap pay for fish which is really not fit to eat. The same way with our bread. You read stories, or perhaps you have even seen French and Italian workmen with a loaf of bread, a piece of cheese and some wine, making an excellent dinner. But if they had to eat the kind of bread that you usually buy and the cheese that is cheap enough so that you can buy it, you could

not live on it; and the wine, being doctored with alcohol would make you drunk instead of ~~xxxiii~~ exhilerated.

Now all this sort of thing means that the planning of our industry and business that goes on ~~in~~ is not for the interest of the public but is in the interest of those people who happen to have the advantage and power, no matter how they got it, whether they got it by theft of ~~thrift xinnk~~ slick dealing or chance.

Now this means, of course, that the people who are doing the world's work are not getting a fair deal, and that in so many cases this is true without their really knowing it. It reaches far beyond the boundaries of our country. For instance, consider our breakfast table. We have ~~xxix~~ coffee, salt and pepper, butter and milk, bread and bacon. But almost invariably the work ng people who raise~~x~~ coffee in the groves of Brazil, who dig salt in the ..... of Texas, who raise peppery in Africa, who m ilk cows upstate in New York; who work in the wheat fields of the west and Canada; are at best poorly paid workers and often poverty-stricken, ignorant and sick. You know nothing about it and care less because you do not see it. When the price of coffee goes up it is not because workers in Brazil ~~xxx~~ or Guatemala are getting higher wages. On the contrary, it often is because there is a large amount of coffee on the market and rather than let the price go down as it should

[redacted]

under those circumstances, those who own the coffee either destroy it or withhold it from the market until the price shoots up. The only people that profit from this kind of cornering of the market arethe people who own the coffee, not the people who raise it.

41-3-67

The same sort of thing is current in our own country. There have been many times when the price of tomatoes have been kept up simply by dumping cargoes of tomatoes which came into New York into the harbor.

This sort of "fixing the prices" and the conditions of trade by which the worker sells his service for the goods made by other workers, is cheated out of a fair basis of exchange, and great fortunes made by private profit, and by people who have no right to such profits. The world has long considered this condition and tried to remedy it, and the remedy consists of putting the planning into the hands of the public instead of leaving prices to be set by private individuals.

41-3-68

Of course the answer long has been that there is a sort of mysterious law of supply and demand that automatically sets the prices at the right and fair place. This is, of course, nonsense. Supply and demand are regulated by owners and the price is set today in practically everything for the interests of private profiteers. This also means that if there is work which ought to be done for the public welfare, that it is neglected unless some private person can make a fortune on it.

For instance, year after year the Mississippi River and its branches, like the Missouri and the Ohio, overflow their banks, destroy crops, ruin property and kill human beings. Each year for a hundred years and more this has happened. It can be stopped. It was stopped in the Valley of the Tennessee. But it is very difficult to stop it and at the same time allow private investors to make money on it. The only people who get advantage from such control of rivers and floods are the mass of people living along those rivers and profiting by what these rivers can do for them.

So that by common consent this kind of thing has to be turned over to the public if the private profiteer allows it. It is our present thought that he ought to be made to allow it, that there are such things as mail carrying,

as transportation of goods and passengers, telephoning and telegraph, roads of all sorts; general work for the private interest which should be done under the control of the mass of people and not be left to those who make private fortunes out of it. Most civilized countries in the world except the United States allowx private organizations to run their railroads, telegraphs and telephones and in some cases even their roads. And yet when we ask such public control we're called "Communists."

But there is another phase of this matter of Work, wage, trade and income. In the local and national market we can use money to facilitate trade and, providing we have the money, we can buy where and what we will. But it is different in international trade, and international trade has become increasingly important to our comfort and welfare, for our food and clothes, our medicines and comforts. But in international trade there is no international money; so that if international trade goes on, and it should go on, then when we export goods the people wx to whom we thus sell them have only one way to pay for them and that is, to sell goods to us; that is if we export goods we must import goods. No instead of doing that we have tried for centuries to play the slick game of exporting our goods to foreign countries and refusing to let them pay for it. It would seem at first a ridiculous effort on our part but it is possible for some people among us to make money in this way, to increase their private profit. If, for instance, the people of England can make better woven cloth for men's suits than we can, then by putting a tariff on English cloth we can make ourselves wear worse cloth and pay more for it. And this is for the advantage of whom? For Americans? Only for those Americans who are selling cloth.

41-3-69

Since the world wars we have been particularly crazy. We sell? /Cotton, and wheat, machinery and various kinds of manufactured goods to all the people of the world, and they are willing to buy it. But they can only buy it if we let them pay for it. The tariff which is in force and which is the highest tariff we ever had, keeps those people from the chance of selling goods in the United States. It puts monopoly of certain kinds of business into the hands of a few men, it deprives our workers of jobs, and it increases international friction and the dangers of war. Yet just as soon as it is proposed to modify the tariff in any way, a flock of vultures descend upon Washington and oppose any move. So that international trade upon which the welfare of the world including ourselves depends, is made increasingly difficult and people kept in poverty who might prosper, if a great commercial country like the United States had sense to understand its own interests.

41-3-20

All this ties up with the problem of peace. When Mr. Eisenhower, for instance, lately talked about our interests in Indo-China, he did not say a word about the people in Indo-China. He talked about the tin and the rice, because on our ownership of tin and rice we would get such power of control over the workers of Indo-China that the owners of Big Business in our country could get rich, and that is the reason and the chief reason that we are interfering in Indo-China and have been interfering in Korea, and are terribly upset because we cannot continue to interfere in China.

And it is this situation that interferes with Peace and turns a country like ours, which has nothing to fear, which has never been attacked, which has almost never even been invaded or threatened, turns this country into the greatest war-mongering country in the world, the one country in the world that has forts and soldiers and weapons all over the universe, in which we are pretending to protect ourselves but as a matter of fact are endeavoring in any

way to make the mass of people throughout the world work for us at wages which are not decent and which does not give them a dement life.

What we therefore should demand is first, Peace. Stop War. We are not threatened either from the outside nor is there the slightest evidence that there has been any plot in the United States to overturn this government. The hysteria by which we are made to believe this is a set of unjustifiable lies.

Having established again a program and policy of Peace, then we should turn to our internal problem which is the matter of of Prices; of probing monopoly so that goods sell for a reasonable price; and increasing wages and stopping unemployment so that workers can have money to buy those goods and to maintain a decent life; with systems of education such as civilized countries ought to have and which we are failing to provide; with social security, with social medicine, with flood control, with control of all public services which should be under government control so as to stop their manipulation for private profit.

41-3-71

This is a clear, and plain program for the working man. Many of the things which I have said here you will find disputed. But there is one absolutely certain way for you to find out the truth. There are books, there are libraries, there are a few men who dare stand up and tell the truth; and by recourse to this kind of information you can know just what money is and what it is not; just what wages ought to be and how prices ought to be set. With this knowledge and with greater democratic government than we now have, you can make this land really a "landof the free."

WORLD PEACE IN 1956

By W. E. B. Du Bois

The United States, because of its vast expenditure for war, is in position decisively to influence peace in the world in 1956. We had last October 2,850,000 men and women in uniform and spent in the last fiscal year 34 thousand million dollars in preparation for war, not to mention what we spent for past wars. This sum will not be reduced in 1956, because any reduction might disturb our economic stability, which is today largely based on war. This entails a burden of taxation which the mass of people feel. The poor are more heavily taxed than the rich, the salaried class more heavily than the owner of the business. The cost of living continues to rise.

This must eventually make the demand for peace stronger, but the change will be slower than one would expect because of the failure of the democratic process in a nation which professes to lead democracy in the world. For instance, it is well known that the people of the United States have had no chance recently to vote on war. The popular vote was overwhelmingly against the first world war. But it was negatived by the vast profit of the war material furnished by the allies; we were induced to join the allies mainly so as to get repaid.

In the second world war the socialism of Roosevelt's New Deal after a fight with Big Business, joined Soviet Communism to fight fascism. The victorious outcome was crowned by a United Nations "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war;" but unfortunately Roosevelt died and Truman came to power. Unedu-

cated, inexperienced and naive, he unnecessarily and cruelly started atomic warfare; later, after succeeding to the Presidency, he surrendered before he realized it to Big Business. The nation, which for fear of Communism, defeated the progressives in 1948 and elected Truman, who straightway plunged the nation into the Korean War without a chance for them to vote. Nevertheless, the nation let its sentiment for peace be known. Two and a half million persons signed the Stockholm Appeal and universal military service could not be forced through Congress, even with false war scares.

Acheson pushed the war scare by tongue and pen with the frenzied help of the press. I was indicted and threatened with jail for advocating peace and only protest from the civilized world saved me from conviction. The redemption of China was pictured as a "Communist conspiracy" instead of recognised as the direct result of our greed and color prejudice.

In 1952, there came to power the most illiterate administration in our history since Andrew Jackson. There was no interest in art or literature and none in science or education save as means for war. State papers were written almost entirely by ghost writers and policy was dictated by Big Business to an extent unprecedented because business had reached unprecedented power. Eisenhower, before election, was pledged to check all steps toward socialism. The mass of American citizens wanted peace. However, they were frightened, for ten years, by a deliberate and cunning

propaganda. The determination of American Big Business, after having lost Eastern Europe and China, was to exploit labor and raw materials, in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and the Sea Islands. using our marvellous technique and aided by the votes of organized labor which shares the loot through high wages and consumer goods like automobiles and television. This propaganda has convinced the average American that he must fear Communism; that the very success of the Soviet Union, Poland, China and other Communist nations is a threat to Americans, since it will cut down American profits and lower American wages now based on poverty and disease in most of the world.

Against this threat Americans have been induced to establish 100 foreign bases to keep Communism from expanding. Then American business planned four aggressive steps: 1. Refusing to conclude peace in Korea; 2. Inducing Chiang Kai-shek to attack China; 3. Encouraging revolt in Eastern Europe; 4. Intervention in Indo-China. These efforts failed to bring the world war which Big Business wanted.

There was nothing left but negotiation. This began at Geneva, and to the dismay of Big Business, Eisenhower treated the Soviet delegates like fellow men and expressed his belief in their sincerity. On return he was quickly pressured into partial modification of his first impressions and then, unfortunately, Eisenhower was taken gravely ill. Dulles with his lack of culture and utter devotion to Big Business took over and slowed up, but could not destroy the American march toward

peace.

The idea of negotiation which we adopted was to demand that the Soviet Union agree with everything we asked while we yielded nothing. Then we blamed the Soviets for refusal to negotiate. But after two Genevas, there is coming a realization, first, that the Soviet Union really does not want war and yet is not ready to give up Communism just because we do not like it.

Meantime, the greatest help toward peace has been the recent interchange of visits, especially the farmers in Kansas and our Congressmen in the Soviet Union.

It was the genuine surprise of Kansas farmers to meet fellow human beings from the Soviet Union, which did most for peace and understanding. The visit of the newspapermen and housing experts was not so successful, since the authorities deliberately hindered Americans from seeing them. The student delegations had only partial success because most of the returning students have been afraid to talk. The experience of Congressmen has been good. God knows what these half-educated politicians expected, but their reactions have vastly strengthened the forces for peace and understanding.

Intelligent Americans are ready for peaceful cooperation but they face three difficulties: the immense profits of Big Business under present conditions; four of our six millionaire corporations made 1500/millions of dollars in profits during the first six months of 1955. They are determined for this reason to keep up the war scare. Sec-

ond, most of the trade union leaders agree to the war scare, the draft and taxation, because they think it will keep wages high. Third, the fifteen million American Negroes are developing economic class structure. In a city like Philadelphia, 24% of the Negro families have an income of $4,000 a year or more. Thus a Negro bourgeoisie is forming and being bribed by Big Business to back its program by a partially relaxed color line, mainly aimed at attracting the well-to-do. Despite this, the mass of Southern Negroes are still disfranchised and mobbed, and in a state like Mississippi 35% earn less than $500 a year per family. Thus Negroes who are articulate and with a decent standard of living support Big Business. They are encouraged and allowed to go abroad if they will keep silent or assure foreigners that Negroes are well treated in America. "Porgy," which is a Southern white man's idea of Negroes, is permitted to travel, while Paul Robeson is interned.

41/11A/22

Nevertheless, the grip of Big Business on America is lessening. Our economy due to huge war preparation is shaky. Gross national product is increasing, but so is consumer debt. Many a well-to-do American is spending $150 a week while his actual income is only $100. The rest is borrowed. One day he must pay and meantime the cost of living is rising. Also the feverish gambling on the stock market to keep up prices is spreading dangerously. Our dedication to world war must lessen. Nevertheless, the American public cannot yet be faced by the facts. A statement like this by a Negro like me cannot be published in the United States save in a very few periodi-

cals, of limited circulation. The 300 or more Negro newspapers will, with one or two exceptions, scarcely dare notice it.

41/11A/23

WORLD PEACE IN 1956

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41-11A-15

This must eventually make the demand for peace stronger, but the change will be slower than one would expect because of the failure of the democratic process in a nation which professes to lead democracy in the world. For instance, it is well known that the people of the United States have had no chance recently to vote on war. The popular vote was overwhelmingly against the first world war. But it was negatived by the vast profit of the war material furnished by the allies; we were induced to join the allies mainly so as to get repaid.

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41-118-16

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41-111A-17

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41-GII-18

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WORLD PEACE IN 1956

THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE OF ITS VAST EXPENDITURE FOR WAR IS IN POSITION DECISIVELY TO INFLUENCE PEACE IN THE WORLD IN 1956. WE HAD LAST OCTOBER 2,850,000 MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM AND SPENT IN THE LAST FISCAL YEAR 34 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS IN PREPARATION FOR WAR, NOT TO MENTION WHAT WE SPENT FOR PAST WARS. THIS SUM WILL NOT BE REDUCED IN 1956 BECAUSE ANY REDUCTION WOULD DISTURB OUR ECONOMIC STABILITY WHICH IS TODAY LARGELY BUILT ON WAR. THIS ENTAILS A BURDEN OF TAXATION WHICH THE MASS OF PEOPLE FEEL SINCE THE POOR ARE MORE HEAVILY TAXED THAN THE RICH AND SINCE THE COST OF LIVING CONTINUES TO RISE. THIS MUST EVENTUALLY MAKE THE DEMAND FOR PEACE STRONGER, BUT THE CHANGE WILL BE SLOWER THAN ONE WOULD EXPECT BECAUSE OF THE DEPENDENCE OF OUR STANDARD OF LIVING ON WAR INDUSTRY; AND/PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN A NATION WHICH PROFESSES TO LEAD DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD. FOR INSTANCE, IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE HAD NO CHANCE RECENTLY TO VOTE ON WAR. THE POPULAR VOTE WAS OVERWHELMINGLY AGAINST THE FIRST WORLD WAR. BUT IT WAS NEGATIVED BY THE PROSPECT OF VAST PROFIT OF THE WAR MATERIAL FURNISHED BY THE ALLIES; WE WERE INDUCED TO JOIN THE ALLIES MAINLY SO AS TO GET REPAID.

IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR THE SOCIALISM OF ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL AFTER A FIGHT WITH BIG BUSINESS JOINED SOVIET COMMUNISM TO OVERTHROW FASCISM. THE VICTORIOUS OUTCOME WAS CROWNED BY A UNITED NATIONS "DETERMINED BY SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR;" BUT UNFORTUNATELY ROOSEVELT DIED AND TRUMAN CAME TO POWER. UNEDUCATED, INEXPERIENCED AND NAIVE, HE UNNECESSARILY AND CRUELLY STARTED ATOMIC WARFARE. LATER, AFTER ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY, HE SURRENDERED BEFORE HE REALIZED IT TO BIG BUSINESS , PLUNGED THE NATION INTO THE KOREAN WAR WITHOUT POPULAR CONSENT AND NARROWLY MISSED STARTING A THIRD WORLD WAR IN CHINA. HERE THE NATION, WITHOUT A CHANCE TO VOTE WHICH FOR FEAR OF COMMUNISM HAD DEFEATED THE PROGRESSIVES IN 1948 AND ELECTED TRUMAN STILL WITHOUT A CHANCE TO VOTE, NEVERTHELESS LET ITS SENTIMENT FOR PEACE KNOWN. TWO AND A HALF MILLION PERSONS SIGNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AND UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE COULD NOT BE FORCED THROUGH CONGRESS.

BUT ATCHESON PUSHED THE WAR SCARE BY TONGUE AND POISON PEN WITH THE FRENZIED HELP

OF THE PRESS. I WAS INDICTED AND THREATENED WITH JAIL FOR ADVOCATING PEACE AND ONLY PROTEST FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CIVILIZED WORLD SAVED ME FROM CONVICTION.

IN 1952, THERE CAME TO POWER THE MOST ILLITERATE ADMINISTRATION IN OUR HISTORY SINCE ANDREW JACKSON. STATE PAPERS WERE WRITTEN ALMOST ENTIRELY BY GHOST WRITERS AND POLICY WAS DELIVERED BY BIG BUSINESS. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE MASS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WANT PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WITH THE WORLD. BUT THEY WERE FRIGHTENED; FOR TEN YEARS BY A DELIBERATE AND CUNNING PROPAGANDA THE DETERMINATION OF AMERICAN BIG BUSINESS, HAVING LOST EASTERN EUROPE AND CHINA, WAS TO EXPLOIT LABOR AND RAW MATERIALS IN ASIA, AFRICA, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE SEA ISLANDS, USING OUR MARVELLOUS TECHNIQUE AND AIDED BY THE VOTERS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHICH SHARES THE LOOT THROUGH HIGH WAGES AND CONSUMER GOODS LIKE AUTOMOBILES AND TELEVISION. THIS PROPAGANDA HAS CONVINCED THE AVERAGE AMERICAN THAT HE MUST FEAR COMMUNISM, THAT THE VERY HUGE SUCCESS OF THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND, CHINA AND OTHER COMMUNIST NATIONS IS A THREAT TO AMERICANS, SINCE IT WILL CUT DOWN AMERICAN PROFITS, LOWER AMERICAN WAGES NOW BASED ON POVERTY AND DISEASE IN MOST OF THE WORLD. AGAINST THIS THREAT AMERICANS HAVE BEEN (ILLEGIBLE) TO ESTABLISH 100 FOREIGN BASES TO KEEP COMMUNISM FROM EXPANDING. CHINA STOPPED THIS ILLUSION. THEN IT WAS PLANNED TO "LIBERATE" THE PEOPLES IN COMMUNIST LANDS BY ENCOURAGING REVOLT. THIS FAILED AND WE WERE AT LAST PERSUADED TO NEGOTIATE. BUT THE IDEA OF NEGOTIATION WHICH WE ADOPTED WAS TO DEMAND THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE WITH EVERYTHING WE ASKED WHILE WE YIELDED NOTHING. NOW WE BLAME THE SOVIETS FOR REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE. BUT AFTER THE TWO GENEVAS THERE IS COMING A REALIZATION, FIRST, THAT THE SOVIET UNION REALLY DOES NOT WANT WAR AND YET IS NOT READY TO GIVE UP SOCIALISM JUST BECAUSE WE DO NOT LIKE IT.

THE GREATEST HELP TOWARD PEACE HAS BEEN THE RECENT INTERCHANGE OF VISITS, ESPECIALLY THE FARMERS IN KANSAS AND THE CONGRESSMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION. EISENHOWERS VERY HUMAN INTERCHANGE OF COURTESIES AT GENEVA DID MUCH TO CONVINCE THE AVERAGE AMERICAN THAT COMMUNISTS ARE NOT "CONSPIRATORS," WHEN

IT WAS CONTRASTED WITH THE GAUCHERIES OF DULLES.

BUT IT WAS THE GENUINE SURPRISE OF KANSAS FARMERS TO MEET FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS FROM THE SOVIET UNION WHICH DID MOST FOR PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. THE VISIT OF THE NEWSPAPERMEN WAS NOT SO SUCCESSFUL SINCE THE AUTHORITIES DELIBERATELY HINDERED THEIR MEETING AMERICANS. THE STUDENT DELEGATIONS HAVE HAD ONLY PARTIAL SUCCESS SINCE MOST OF THE RETURNING STUDENTS HAVE BEEN AFRAID TO TALK. THE EXPERIENCE OF CONGRESSMEN HAS BEEN GOD KNOWS WHAT THESE HALF-EDUCATED POLITICIANS EXPECTED, BUT THEIR REACTIONS HAVE VASTLY STRENGTHENED THE FORCES FOR PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING.

INTELLIGENT AMERICANS ARE READY FOR PEACEFUL COOPERATION BUT THEY FACE THREE DIFFICULTIES: THE IMMENSE PROFITS OF BIG BUSINESS UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS; FOUR OF OUR MILLIONAIRE CORPORATIONS MADE 1500 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN PROFITS DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1955. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO KEEP UP THE WAR SCARE. SECOND, MOST OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AGREE TO THE WAR SCARE, THE DRAFT AND TAXATION BECAUSE THEY THINK IT WILL KEEP WAGES HIGH. THIRD, THE FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES ARE DIVIDING INTO (ILLEGIBLE) CLASSES. IN A CITY LIKE PHILADELPHIA 24% OF THE NEGRO FAMILIES HAVE AN INCOME OF $4,000 OR MORE A YEAR. THIS BOURGEOISIE IS BEING BRIBED BY BIG BUSINESS TO BACK ITS PROGRAM BY A PARTIALLY RELAXED COLOR LINE, ALTHOUGH THE MASS OF SOUTHERN NEGROES ARE STILL DISFRANCHISED AND MOBBED AND 35% EARN IN A STATE LIKE MISSISSIPPI LESS THAN $500 A YEAR PER FAMILY. THUS NEGROES WHO ARE ARTICULATE AND WITH A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING SUPPORT BIG BUSINESS. THEY ARE ENCOURAGED TO GO ABROAD IF THEY WILL ASSURE FOREIGNERS THAT NEGROES ARE WELL-TREATED IN AMERICA. "PORGY," WHICH IS A SOUTHERN WHITE MAN'S IDEA OF NEGROES IS PERMITTED TO TRAVEL, WHILE PAUL ROBESON IS INTERNED.

THE GRIP OF BIG BUSINESS ON AMERICA IS LOOSENING. OUR ECONOMY DUE TO HUGE WAR PREPARATION IS SHAKY. GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IS INCREASING BUT SO IS CONSUMER DEBT. MANY A WELL TO DO AMERICAN IS SPENDING $150 A WEEK

WHILE HIS INCOME IS ONLY $100. THE REST IS BORROWED. ONE DAY HE MUST PAY AND MEANTIME THE COST OF LIVING IS RISING. ALSO THE FEVERISH GAMBLING ON THE STOCK MARKET TO KEEP UP PRICES IS SPREADING DANGEROUSLY. THE HOPE OF PEACE FOR 1956 IS GROWING. OUR DEDICATION TO WORLD WAR MUST LESSEN. NEVERTHELESS, THE AMERICAN PUBLIC CANNOT YET BE FACED BY THE FACTS. A STATEMENT LIKE THIS BY A MAN LIKE ME CANNOT BE PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES SAVE IN A VERY FEW PROSCRIBED PERIODICALS OF LIMITED CIRCULATION.

(1) I HAVE YOUR KIND INVITATION/OF JANUARY 22, 1957.// IN BEHALF OF MYSELF AND OF MY WIFE, 023
SHIRLEY GRAHAM,/ I THANK YOU FOR IT/AND WANT TO SAY/HOW GREAT WAS OUR DESIRE/TO ACCEPT IT.
BUT SINCE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT/REFUSED TO ISSUE US PASSPORTS,/WE MUST/WITH DEEP REGRET
INFORM YOU/OF OUR INABILITY TO COME.// I HAVE RECENTLY ALSO/ AND FOR THE SAME REASON/ 031
BEEN COMPELLED TO MY SORROW/TO DECLINE A TRIP TO CHINA/FOR LECTURES/AND PARTICIPATION IN
THE CELEBRATION/OF THE 250th ANNIVERSARY/OF THE BIRTH OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

036
HOWEVER/ BECAUSE OF THE FACT/THAT I AM NOW ENTERING/ THE 90th YEAR OF MY LIFE/ AND BECAUSE
OF MY ACQUAINTANCESHIP/ WITH YOU/ DURING THE LAST 12 YEARS,// WHICH COVER THE YEARS/OF YOUR
IMPRISONMENT,/ VINDICATION,/ AND POLITICAL TRIUMPH,/ I TRUST YOU WILL ALLOW ME/ A FEW WORDS OF
ADVICE/FOR THE FUTURE OF GHANA AND AFRICA.

37-8-77

042
(2) I VENTURE THE MORE READILY/ TO DO THIS/BECAUSE, 40 YEARS AGO/AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD
WAR,/ I TRIED TO ESTABLISH/ SOME MEANS OF CO-OPERATION/BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT/
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.// SINCE THEN/FIVE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES/HAVE MET/AND, AT THE LAST ONE/IN
ENGLAND IN 1945,/ I HAD THE PLEASURE OF MEETING YOU.

050
TODAY,/ WHEN GHANA ARISES FROM THE DEAD/AND FACES THIS MODERN WORLD,/ IT MUST NO LONGER
BE/ MERELY A PART/OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH/OR A REPRESENTATIVE/OF THE WORLD OF WEST EUROPE,
CANADA, AND THE U.S.// GHANA MUST/ ON THE CONTRARY/BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF AFRICA;/ AND NOT ONLY
059
THAT/ BUT OF BLACK AFRICA/BELOW THE SAHARA DESERT.// AS SUCH,/ HER FIRST DUTY SHOULD BE/TO COME
INTO CLOSE ACQUAINTANCESHIP/AND CO-OPERATION/WITH HER FELLOW GROUPS/OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA/AND
LIBERIA,// WITH THE GREAT AREAS/ OF BLACK FOLK/IN FRENCH WEST AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA/ WITH THE

37-8-78

(3.)

SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, AND SOMALILAND, WITH UGANDA, KENYA AND TANGANYIKA, WITH THE BELGIAN CONGO, AND ALL PORTUGUESE AFRICA, WITH THE RHODESIAS AND BECHUANALAND, WITH SOUTHWEST AFRICA, AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND MADAGASCAR, AND WITH ALL OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA, AND WITH PEOPLES WHO WANT TO CO-OPERATE. ALL THE FORMER BARRIERS OF LANGUAGE, CULTURE, RELIGION AND POLITICAL CONTROL SHOULD BOW BEFORE THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF RACE AND DESCENT, THE COMMON SUFFERING OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE MODERN COLOR BAR.

IGNORING THE OLD SOURCES OF DIVISION AND LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF AND SYMPATHY FOR EACH OTHER, GHANA SHOULD LEAD A MOVEMENT OF BLACK MEN FOR PAN-AFRICANISM, INCLUDING PERIODIC CONFERENCES AND PERSONAL CONTACTS OF BLACK MEN FROM THE SAHARA TO THE INDIAN OCEAN.

4.)

WITH A PROGRAM OF PEACE AND WITH NO THOUGHT OF FORCE, POLITICAL CONTROL OR UNDERGROUND SUBVERSION, A NEW SERIES OF PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES SHOULD BE HELD. THEY SHOULD INCLUDE DELIGATES FROM ALL GROUPS AND ESPECIALLY FROM THE AFRICAN CONGRESSES WHICH ALREADY EXIST IN MANY PARTS OF AFRICA AND WHICH GOT THEIR INSPIRATION IN MOST CASES FROM THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS IN 1919.

THE NEW SERIES OF PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES WOULD SEEK COMMON AIMS OF PROGRESS FOR BLACK AFRICA INCLUDING TYPES OF POLITICAL CONTROL, ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSAL EDUCATION AND FREEDOM FROM RELIGIOUS DOGMA AND DICTATION.

5.)

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THE CONSEQUENT PAN-AFRICA/ WORKING TOGETHER THROUGH ITS INDEPENDENT UNITS,/ SHOULD SEEK TO DEVELOP/ A NEW AFRICAN ECONOMY/ AND CULTURAL CENTER/ STANDING BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA/ TAKING FROM/ AND CONTRIBUTING TO/ BOTH.// IT SHOULD STRESS PEACE/ AND JOIN NO MILITARY ALLIANCE/ AND REFUSE TO FIGHT/ FOR SETTLING EUROPEAN QUARRELS.// IT SHOULD AVOID/ SUBJECTION TO/ AND OWNERSHIP BY/ FOREIGN CAPITALISTS/ WHO SEEK TO GET RICH/ ON AFRICAN LABOR/ AND RAW MATERIAL.// AND SHOULD TRY TO BUILD/ A SOCIALISM/ FOUNDED ON OLD AFRICAN COMMUNAL LIFE;// REJECTING ~~ON THE ONE HAND~~/ THE EXAGGERATED PRIVATE INITIATIVE/ OF THE WEST,/ AND SEEKING TO ALLY ITSELF/ WITH THE SOCIAL PROGRAM/ OF THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONS/ WITH BRITISH AND SCANDINAVIAN SOCIALISM,/ WITH THE PROGRESS/ TOWARD THE WELFARE STATE OF INDIA,/ GERMANY, FRANCE AND THE U.S.// AND WITH ~~THE~~ COMMUNIST STATES/ LIKE THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA,// IN PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION/ AND WITHOUT

C 109

18-7-38

120

6.)

PRESUMING/ TO DICTATE/ AS TO HOW SOCIALISM/ MUST OR CAN/ BE ATTAINED/ AT PARTICULAR TIMES AND PLACES.

129

PAN-AFRICAN SOCIALISM/ SEEKS THE WELFARE STATE/ IN BLACK AFRICA.// IT WILL REFUSE/ TO BE EXPLOITED/ BY PEOPLE OF OTHER CONTINENTS/ FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT/ AND NOT FOR THE BENEFIT/ OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA.// IT WILL NO LONGER CONSENT/ TO PERMITTING/ THE AFRICAN MAJORITY/ OF ANY AFRICAN COUNTRY/ TO BE GOVERNED AGAINST ITS WILL/ BY A MINORITY OF INVADERS/ WHO CLAIM RACIAL SUPERIORITY/ OR THE RIGHT TO GET RICH/ AT AFRICAN EXPENSE.// IT WILL SEEK/ NOT ONLY TO RAISE/ BUT TO PROCESS/ ITS RAW MATERIAL/ AND TO TRADE IT FREELY/ WITH ALL THE WORLD/ ON JUST AND EQUAL TERMS AND PRICES.

ST 143

(7.)

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PAN-AFRICA WILL SEEK TO PRESERVE ITS OWN PAST HISTORY, AND WRITE THE PRESENT ACCOUNT // ERASING FROM LITERATURE THE LIES AND DISTORTIONS ABOUT BLACK FOLK WHICH HAVE DISGRACED THE LAST CENTURIES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN LITERATURE // ABOVE ALL, THE NEW PAN-AFRICA WILL SEEK THE EDUCATION OF ALL ITS YOUTH ON THE BROADEST POSSIBLE BASIS WITHOUT RELIGIOUS DOGMA AND IN ALL HOSPITABLE LANDS AS WELL AS IN AFRICA // AND FOR THE END OF MAKING AFRICANS NOT SIMPLY PROFITABLE WORKERS FOR INDUSTRY NOR STOOLPIGEONS FOR PROPAGANDA, // BUT FOR MAKING THEM MODERN, INTELLIGENT, RESPONSIBLE MEN OF VISION AND CHARACHTER.

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(8.)

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I PRAY YOU, MY DEAR MR. NKRUMAH, TO USE ALL YOUR POWER TO PUT A PAN-AFRICA ALONG THESE LINES INTO WORKING ORDER AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. // SEEK TO SAVE THE GREAT CULTURAL PAST OF THE ASHANTI AND FANTI PEOPLES // NOT BY INNER DIVISION BUT BY OUTER CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION TOWARD THE OUTMOST BOUNDS OF THE GREAT AFRICAN PEOPLES // SO THAT THEY MAY BE FREE TO LIVE, GROW, AND EXPAND // AND TO TEACH MANKIND WHAT NON-VIOLENCE AND COURTESY, LITERATURE AND ART, MUSIC AND DANCING CAN DO FOR THIS GREEDY, SELFISH, AND WAR-STRICKEN WORLD.

9.)

I HEREBY PUT INTO YOUR HANDS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MY EMPTY BUT STILL SIGNIFICANT TITLE OF "PRESIDENT OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS," TO BE BESTOWED ON MY DULY-ELECTED SUCCESSOR WHO WILL PRESIDE OVER A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS DUE, I TRUST, TO MEET SOON AND FOR THE FIRST TIME ON AFRICAN SOIL, AT THE CALL OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF GHANA.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND THE COLORED WORLD

FROM THE FIFTEENTH THROUGH THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES THE AFRICANS IMPORTED TO AMERICA REGARDED THEMSELVES AS TEMPORARY SETTLERS DESTINED TO RETURN EVENTUALLY TO AFRICA. THEIR INCREASING REVOLTS AGAINST THE SLAVE SYSTEM WHICH CULMINATED IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY STILL LEFT A FEELING OF CLOSE KINSHIP TO THE MOTHERLAND AND EVEN WELL INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THEY CALLED THEIR ORGANIZATIONS "AFRICAN," AS WITNESS THE "AFRICAN UNIONS" OF NEW YORK AND NEWPORT, AND THE AFRICAN CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA. IN THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA THERE WAS EVEN CLOSER INDICATION OF FEELINGS OF KINSHIP WITH AFRICA AND THE EAST.

THE EARLY EXCUSE FOR AMERICAN SLAVERY ON THE PART OF PLANTERS WAS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY. BUT AS SLAVERY BECAME THE BASIS OF GREAT INCOME IN THE SUGAR EMPIRE AND THE COTTON KINGDOM, AND AS PLANS WERE LAID FOR ITS EXPANSION, THE SLAVES IN THE

UNITED STATES SOUGHT FREEDOM BY ESCAPE TO THE NORTH AND JOINED WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS TO FIGHT FOR EMANCIPATION. THE WHITES AS WELL AS MANY BLACKS NOW REVERTED TO THE FIRST EXCUSE FOR SLAVERY, NAMELY CONVERSION OF AFRICA TO CHRISTIANITY; AND MANY PLANS AROSE FOR REPATRIATION OF NEGROES TO AFRICA. THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY WAS THE BEST KNOWN, BUT SOON EARNED THE DISTRUST OF NEGROES WHEN IT BECAME A METHOD OF GETTING RID OF FREE NEGROES SO AS TO FASTEN THE CHAINS CLOSER ON SLAVES.

WHEN, LATER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE PLIGHT OF THE SLAVES WORSENED, THERE AROSE AGAIN AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES PLANS FOR MIGRATION not only TO AFRICA but to HAITI, AND SOUTH AMERICA. CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION INTERVENED AND AMERICAN NEGROES LOOKED FORWARD TO BECOMING FREE AND EQUAL CITIZENS HERE WITH NO THOUGHT OF RETURNING TO AFRICA OR OF KINSHIP WITH THE WORLD'S DARKER PEOPLES. HOWEVER, THE RISE OF THE NEGRO WAS

HINDERED BY DISFRANCHISEMENT, LYNCHING, AND CASTE LEGISLATION. // THERE WAS SOME RECURRENCE OF THE "BACK TO AFRICA" IDEA AND INCREASED SYMPATHY FOR DARKER FOLK WHO SUFFERED THE SAME SORT OF CASTE RESTRICTIONS AS AMERICAN NEGROES.

BUT THIS BROUGHT CURIOUS DICHOTOMY. IN OUR EFFORT TO BE RECOGNIZED AS AMERICANS, WE NEGROES NATURALLY STROVE TO THINK AMERICAN AND ADOPT AMERICAN FOLKWAYS // WE BEGAN TO DESPISE ALL YELLOW, BROWN, AND BLACK PEOPLES // WE ESPECIALLY WITHDREW FROM ALL REMEMBRANCE OF KINSHIP WITH AFRICA AND DENIED WITH THE WHITE WORLD ~~DENIED~~ THAT AFRICA EVER HAD A HISTORY OR INDIGENOUS CULTURE // WE DID NOT WANT TO BE CALLED "AFRICANS" OR NEGROES AND ESPECIALLY NOT "NEGRESSES." // WE TRIED TO INVENT NEW NAMES FOR OUR GROUP. WE BEGAN TO ~~DESPISE~~ Call YELLOW PEOPLE ~~AS~~ "CHINKS" and "Coolies;" AND DARK WHITES ~~AS~~ "DAGOES." // THIS WAS NATURAL UNDER OUR PECULIAR SITUATION BUT IT MADE US MORE EASILY NEGLECT OR LOSE

38-9-290

SIGHT OF THE PECULIAR CHANGE IN THE WORLD WHICH WAS LINKING US WITH THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE ESSENTIALLY UNIMPORTANT FACT OF SKIN COLOR, BUT BECAUSE OF THE IMMENSELY IMPORTANT FACT OF ECONOMIC CONDITION.

IN THE LATTER PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EUROPE HAD BEGUN TO EXPAND ITS TRADE AND TO IMPORT RAW MATERIALS TO BE TRANSFORMED ~~IN THEIR FACTORIES~~ INTO CONSUMER GOODS. // MACHINES AND METHODS FOR MANUFACTURE OF GOODS INCREASED TREMENDOUSLY // WHEN THE REVOLT OF SLAVES, ESPECIALLY IN HAITI, AND THE MORAL REVOLT IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, LED TO THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES, THE MERCHANTS WHO HAD INVESTED IN SLAVE LABOR ~~NOW~~ BEGAN TO CHANGE THE FORM OF THEIR INVESTMENT; THEY SEIZED COLONIES IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND INSTEAD OF EXPORTING NATIVE LABOR, USED THE LAND AND LABOR ON THE SPOT AND EXPORTED THE RAW MATERIALS TO EUROPE FOR CONSUMPTION OR FURTHER

38-9-291

FOR CAPITAL

MANUFACTURE.// IMMENSE AMOUNTS OF WEALTH WERE SEIZED BY EUROPEANS IN INDIA AND CHINA, IN SOUTH AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE, AND THUS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AROSE TO DOMINATE THE WORLD.// MOST OF THE EXPLOITED PEOPLES WERE COLORED - YELLOW, BROWN, AND BLACK. A SCIENTIFIC THEORY AROSE AND WAS WIDELY ACCEPTED WHICH TAUGHT THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE WERE SUPERIOR TO THE COLORED AND HAD A RIGHT TO RULE THE WORLD AND USE ALL LAND AND LABOR FOR THE BENEFIT AND COMFORT OF EUROPEANS.// WHILE THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN AMERICA INVOLVED GREAT LOSSES FOR EUROPEAN INVESTORS, THE SIMULTANEOUS SEIZURE OF WEALTH IN ASIA AND THE NEW CONTROL OF COLONIAL LABOR ENABLED NEW RICH EMPLOYERS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA TO ACCUMULATE VAST SUMS OF CAPITAL IN PRIVATE HANDS AND TO START THE FACTORY SYSTEM.// THIS METHOD OF CONDUCTING INDUSTRY USED NEW INVENTIONS AND SOURCES OF POWER SO AS TO DRIVE LABORERS OFF THE LAND, HERD THEM IN FACTORIES AND REDUCE THEM TO SEMI-SLAVERY IN EUROPE BY A WAGE CONTRACT.

38-9-242

THIS BROUGHT THE LABOR MOVEMENT.// IN THE MORE ADVANCED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LABOR AND ITS FRIENDS FOUGHT FOR MORE POLITICAL POWER, PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION, HIGHER WAGES AND BETTER CONDITIONS.// THESE THINGS THEY GRADUALLY SECURED BY UNION ORGANIZATION AND STRIKES.// ON THE OTHER HAND, IN EASTERN EUROPE THERE WAS LITTLE EDUCATION AND WAGES REMAINED VERY LOW.// POLITICAL POWER RESTED IN THE HANDS OF AN ARISTOCRACY WHICH BECAME RICH THROUGH ENCOURAGING AND PROTECTING WESTERN INVESTMENT.// THIS SEMI-COLONIAL STATUS OF LABOR WAS EVEN WORSE IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND IN THE WEST INDIES,// WHILE IN MOST OF ASIA AND IN AFRICA THE CONDITION OF COLONIAL LABOR APPROACHED SLAVERY.

38-9-243

THEREUPON AROSE THE DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM, WHICH DEMANDED THAT THE RESULTS OF THE MANUFACTURE OF GOODS AND THE GIVING OF SERVICES GO TO THE LABOR INVOLVED AND NOT

38-9-294

CAPITALISTS

MAINLY/ TO THE ~~PRIVILEGED CLASSES~~// THIS DOCTRINE WAS IN ESSENCE/AS OLD AS HUMAN LABOR./ PRIMITIVE LABOR GOT ALL THE RESULTS/ OF WHAT IT DID OR MADE// MANY EARLY SOCIETIES/ LIKE THE FIRST CHRISTIANS/ (AND TRIBES IN AFRICA) LIVED AS COMMUNAL GROUPS,/ SHARING ALL RESULTS OF WORK IN COMMON.// SLAVERY INTERVENED,/ ~~WHICH RANGED INDIVIDUALS IN GRADES~~/ SO THAT SOME WORKERS/ WERE OWNED BY OTHERS;/ THEN CAME ARISOCRACY/ WHERE A FEW TOOK THE RESULTS OF THE WORK OF THE MANY/ AND THE NATION BECAME/ THE ABODE OF A RICH AND PRIVILEGED (IDLE) CLASS/ WHO WERE SERVED/ BY THE MASS OF LABORERS.// PROTEST AGAINST THIS/ AND THE DOCTRINE THAT INCOME/ SHOULD IN SOME DEGREE/ BECOME THE MEASURE OF EFFORT/ BECAME AN INCREASING DEMAND// FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD/ THROUGH THE MEDIAEVAL WORLD/ AND WAS STUDIED AND SCIENTIFICALLY STATED/ BY KARL MARX/ IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.// HE PROPOSED/ THAT CAPITAL BELONG TO THE STATE/ AND THAT WORKERS RUN THE STATE.// CAPITALISTS

38-9-295

VEHEMENTLY OPPOSED THIS/ AND ~~TRIED TO MEET~~ PARTIALLY MET THE DEMANDS OF LABOR/ BY RAISING WAGES.

P IN THE ~~MORE ADVANCED~~ CAPITALIST NATIONS/ THIS RAISE/ WAS MORE THAN MET/ BY INCREASED PROFITS/ DUE TO EXPLOITATION/ IN COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL LANDS.// ALSO THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/ WAS COUNTERBALANCED/ BY HIRING WHITE LABOR/ TO WAR ON COLONIAL LABOR,/ AND USING PUBLIC TAXATION/ FOR WAR/ RATHER THAN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

FROM THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON IN 1815/ TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ THERE WAS CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE/ LED BY WHITE TROOPS/ ARMED WITH THE MOST INGENIOUS WEAPONS/ TO KEEP COLONIAL PEOPLES FROM REVOLT.// AND MOST OF THE OTHER PEOPLES/ OF THE WORLD/ IN SUBJECTION/ TO WESTERN EUROPE.

THIS WAS THE SITUATION/ AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.// BRITISH, FRENCH,/ AND AMERICAN CAPITALISTS/ OWNED THE COLONIES,/ WITH THE RICHEST NATURAL RESOURCES

AND THE BEST CONTROLLED AND LOWEST PAID LABOR // BY 1900, THEY WERE REACHING OUT FOR OTHER COLONIES ELSEWHERE: // OTHER NATIONS WITH FEWER OR NO COLONIES, LED BY GERMANY, DEMANDED A REALLOTMENT OF COLONIAL WEALTH. // THIS BROUGHT ON THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

38-9-296

BUT IT BROUGHT MORE THAN THIS. // THE ASSAULT OF GERMANY AND HER ALLIES WAS SO FIERCE THAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE HAD TO ASK HELP FROM THEIR COLORED COLONIES. // THEY NEEDED BLACK MANPOWER AND WITHOUT IT FRANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN BY GERMANY IN THE FIRST FEW MONTHS OF WAR. // BRITAIN NEEDED FOOD AND MATERIALS FROM ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE WEST INDIES. // THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AMERICAN NEGROES WHO FORMED AN INNER LABOR COLONY AS LABORERS AND STEVEDORES. // THIS MEANT AN INCREASE OF WAGES AND RIGHTS FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES. // IN THE UNITED STATES IT BROUGHT THE FIRST RECOGNITION SINCE 1876 OF THE EQUAL CITIZENSHIP OF NEGROES.

THE WORKERS OF EASTERN EUROPE, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA WERE NOT AS BADLY OFF AS THE AFRICAN SERFS AND CHINESE AND INDIAN COOLIES // BUT THEY WERE SUNK IN POVERTY, DISEASE, AND IGNORANCE. // THEY WERE OPPRESSED BY THEIR OWN RICH CLASSES WORKING HAND IN GLOVE WITH WHITE WESTERN INVESTORS. // WHEN WAR CAME THEY STARVED AND DIED. // THE SITUATION ~~WAS~~ BECAME SO DESPERATE THAT RUSSIANS AND HUNGARIANS REFUSED TO FIGHT. THEIR RULERS SOUGHT COMPROMISE BY TRYING TO REPLACE IMPERIAL RULE WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY. // BUT THE RUSSIAN LEADERS, STUDENTS OF KARL MARX AND LED BY LENIN, DEMANDED A SOCIALIST STATE.

38-9-297

THE WESTERN WORLD UNITED TO FORESTALL THIS EXPERIMENT. // IT SAID FIRST THAT NO SOCIALIST STATE COULD SUCCEED, BUT LEST IT SHOULD AND LOWER THE PROFITS OF CAPITALISTS, THE EFFORT MUST BE STOPPED BY FORCE OF ARMS. // SIXTEEN CAPITALIST NATIONS,

INCLUDING BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY, THE UNITED STATES, AND JAPAN, INVADED RUSSIA AND FOUGHT FOR TEN YEARS BY EVERY MEANS CIVILIZED AND UNCIVILIZED, TO OVERTHROW THE PLANS OF THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER, THE WORLD-WIDE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM IN 1930, MADE THIS ATTACK FAIL AND THE WORLD WITNESSED THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE.

38-9-248

THEN CAME A NEW AND EVEN MORE UNEXPECTED DIVERSION. THE DEPRESSION WHICH WAS THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM, WAS SO BAD IN GERMANY, SPAIN, AND ITALY THAT THOSE STATES FELL INTO THE HANDS OF TWO DICTATORS, HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. BACKED BY CAPITALISTS, THEY SEIZED POWER AND DEMANDED CONTROL NOT ONLY OF THE COLONIAL WORLD THEN DOMINATED BY BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND NORTH AMERICA, BUT DOMINATION OF THE WHOLE WORLD. THE WEST TRIED TO COMPROMISE AND OFFERED PRACTICALLY EVERYTHING DEMANDED, BUT HITLER'S GREED AND GERMAN AMBITION GREW BY WHAT THEY FED UPON. THEY WERE SO CONVINCED OF THEIR SUPERIOR

POWER OVER THE WEST THAT HITLER STARTED A SECOND WORLD WAR, LIKE THE FIRST AIMED AT CONTROL BY A PART OF THE WHITE RACE OVER THE RESOURCES, LAND, AND LABOR OF THE REST OF THE WORLD. HE BEGAN A WILD CAREER. HE KILLED SIX MILLION JEWS, ACCUSING THEM OF BEING THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE DEPRESSION AND OF BEING AN INFERIOR RACE. HE CONQUERED FRANCE, AND CHASED THE BRITISH OFF THE CONTINENT. THEY HUDDLED ON THEIR OWN SMALL ISLAND TO MAKE A LAST STAND. BUT HERE HITLER PAUSED. HE HAD A NEW VISION. IF INSTEAD OF WASTING HIS POWER ON A DESPERATE ENGLAND HE TURNED EAST AND SEIZED THE SEMI-COLONIAL LANDS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BALKAN STATES, THEN FROM THIS CENTRAL HEARTLAND HE COULD SEIZE ASIA AND AFRICA AND AFTER THAT TURN BACK TO DELIVER THE COUP DE GRACE TO BRITAIN AND AMERICA. HITLER THEREUPON SCRAPPED HIS TREATY WITH THE SOVIETS WHICH THEY, SPURNED BY THE WEST, HAD BEEN FORCED TO ACCEPT, AND TO THE

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RELIEF OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. HITLER TURNED TO CONQUER RUSSIA. ENGLISHMEN AND AMERICANS SAID WITH TRUMAN, "LET THEM KILL AS MANY OF EACH OTHER AS POSSIBLE." SO, ALTHOUGH HITLER'S REAR WAS EXPOSED, THE WESTERN POWERS HELD OFF ATTACK FOR A YEAR AND WHEN THEY DID ATTACK WENT TO THE DEFENSE OF THEIR AFRICAN COLONIES AND NOT TO AID THE SOVIET UNION. THE WEST WAS SURE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD FALL IN SIX WEEKS AND THUS RID THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM AND NAZIS AT ONE STROKE.

THE RESULT WAS ASTONISHING. THE SOVIET UNION (ALMOST UNAIDED) CONQUERED HITLER, SAVED THE BALTIC STATES AND THE BALKANS. ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, AND STALIN FACED A WORLD IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION, BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES MUST GO FORWARD ~~IN PEACE AND CO-OPERATION~~ TOWARD A WORLD IN WHICH SOCIALISM WOULD GROW, NOT PERHAPS AS COMPLETE COMMUNISTIC STATES LIKE THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IN STATES LIKE THE UNITED STATES AND

at a cost of nine million killed and wounded
and the distruction of much they had toiled for
since 1917

38-9-291

ENGLAND WHERE SOCIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE NEW DEAL AND THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WOULD ADVANCE TOGETHER ALONG PATHS LEADING TO THE SAME ULTIMATE GOAL.

THIS CO-OPERATION AMERICAN BUSINESS REPUDIATED WHEN IT INVENTED THE ATOM BOMB. AFTER ROOSEVELT DIED, OUR CAPITALISTS DETERMINED TO DRIVE COMMUNISM FROM THE WORLD AND PUSH SOCIALISM BACK. THIS CRUSADE FAILED. INDIA BECAME INDEPENDENT AND ADOPTED MODIFIED SOCIALISM; CHINA CONQUERED THE STOOL-PIGEONS WHOM WE PAID TO STOP HER REVOLUTION AND BECAME THE GREATEST COMMUNIST STATE IN THE WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION, INSTEAD OF FAILING AS WE PREDICTED, BECAME ONE OF THE FOREMOST NATIONS OF THE EARTH, WITH THE BEST EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND FREEDOM FROM CHURCH DOMINATION AND SECOND ONLY TO THIS NATION IN INDUSTRY. ALSO THE SOVIET UNION TOOK A LEGAL STAND AGAINST THE COLOR LINE AND STOOD READY TO OPPOSE COLONIALISM. WE TRIED TO RE-CONQUER CHINA IN

during the war in Korea and to help France retain Indo-China but again failed. // Meantime we formed the greatest military machine on earth and spent and are still spending more money preparing for war than ever any other nation on earth ~~prepared to spend~~ at any time has spent.

38-9-292

The excuse for our action is that Communism is a criminal conspiracy of evil-minded men and that private capitalism is so superior to socialism that we should use every effort to stop its advance. // Here we rest today and to sharpen our aim and concentrate our strength, we starve our schools, lessen social services in medicine and housing, curtail our freedom of speech, limit our pursuit of learning, and are no longer free to think or discuss.

Where now does that leave American Negroes? We cannot teach the peoples of Africa or Asia because so many of them are either communistic or progressing toward socialism,

40-1-15

while we do not know what socialism is and can study it only with difficulty or danger. // After the first World War Negroes were in advance of many colored peoples. We started in two ways to lead Africans. // In the West Indies Garvey tried to share (have Negroes) in western exploitation of Africa. // White industry stopped him before he could begin. // In the United States Negro churches carried on missionary effort and a few (Negroes) in 1918 tried to get in touch with Africa so as to share thoughts and plans. // Four Pan-African congresses were held in 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1925, which American, African, and West Indian Negroes attended, and a few persons from Asia and South America. // They made a series of general demands for political rights and education. // The movement met much opposition ~~and could not meet in Africa~~. // However, it encouraged similar congresses which still exist in all parts of Africa and it was the inspiration back of

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THE MANDATES COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. // AFTER A LAPSE OF TWENTY YEARS, A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS WAS HELD IN ENGLAND IN 1945. IT WAS ATTENDED BY NEGRO LABOR LEADERS FROM ALL PARTS OF AFRICA AND FROM THE WEST INDIES AND ONE FROM THE UNITED STATES. // ESPECIALLY PROMINENT WERE THE DELEGATES FROM KENYA AND FROM GHANA, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT BLACK DOMINION OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. // THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED HERE HAD A CLEAR SOCIALIST TREND AND FURTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES WERE ENVISIONED TO BE HELD IN AFRICA.

WHITHER NOW DO WE GO? // WE AMERICAN NEGROES CAN NO LONGER LEAD THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD BECAUSE THEY FAR BETTER THAN WE UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD TODAY. BUT WE CAN TRY TO CATCH UP WITH THEM. WE CAN LEARN ABOUT CHINA AND INDIA AND THE NEW FERMENT IN EAST, WEST, AND SOUTH AFRICA. // WE CAN REALIZE BY READING IF NOT IN

We can learn of

the vast realm of Indonesia rescued from Holland

CLASSROOM, HOW SOCIALISM IS EXPANDING OVER THE MODERN WORLD AND BE PENETRATING THE COLORED WORLD. // SO FAR AS AFRICA IS CONCERNED WE CAN REALIZE THAT SOCIALISM IS PART OF THEIR PAST HISTORY AND WILL WITHOUT A SHADE OF DOUBT PLAY A LARGE PART IN THEIR FUTURE.

HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY, WE CAN THINK, WORK AND VOTE FOR THE WELFARE STATE OPENLY AND FRANKLY // FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE, PUBLICLY SUPPORTED HOUSING, STATE OWNERSHIP OF PULIC POWER AND PUBLIC FACILITIES // CURBING THE POWER OF PRIVATE CAPITAL AND GREAT MONOPOLIES // AND STAND READY TO MEET AND COOPERATE WITH WORLD SOCIALISM AS IT GROWS AMONG WHITE AND BLACK

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W. E. B. Du Bois

MAY DAY , NEW YORK, 1957

AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THIS IS A MEETING TO ADVANCE SOCIALISM IN THIS CITY AND NATION. IT SEEKS TO COMBINE THE [redacted] THINKING AND EFFORTS OF THOSE WHO BE - LEIVE THAT THE SOCIALIST STATE IS THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF POLITICAL ACTION ON THE PART OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL. THE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO JUST WHAT SOC- IALISM IS DO NOT SEEM TO ME GREAT ENOUGH TO HINDER JOINT ACTION TOWARD WHAT ALL SHOULD AGREE AS ESSENTIAL. FIRST THE AIM OF THE STATE SHOULD BE THE GEN- eral welfare OF ITS INHABITANTS AND NOT THE PRIVATE PROFIT OF PROPERTYOWNERS. SECONDLY, WEALTH USED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH, SHOULD IN MOST CASES BE OWNED BY THE STATE AND NOT BY INDIVIDUALS. ~~THIRDLY~~ FOURTH, IT SHOULD BE THE AIM OF THE STATE TO EXACT FROM ALL WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND TO INSURE THEM INCOME ACCORDING TO THEIR NEED. NOONE FOR A MOMENT CAN DENY THE GREAT DIFFICULTY OF CARRYING OUT SUCH A PROGRAM. IT CALLS FOR ABILITY, KNOWLEDGE, SACRIFICE AND PATIENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND NO MATTER HOW MUCH IN SPECIFIC TIMES AND PLACES WE MAY DOUBT THE ABILITY OF HUMAN NATURE TO RISE TO THESE HEIGHTS, NEVERTHELESS IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT UNTIL MANKIND CAN APPROACH THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM LIFE ON THIS EARTH FOR MOST MEN WILL NOT BE WORTH LIVING.

TO ME THE PROBLEM OF TAKING STEPS TOWARD SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

38-7-22

SEEMS FAIRLY SIMPLE. WE FACE MANY AND CLEAR EVILS IN THIS LAND DUE TO MONOPOLY OF ~~LAND AND~~ NATURAL SOURCES IN PRIVATE HANDS AND TO UNREGULATED ANARCHY OF ACTION WHICH WE SOMETIMES MISCALL INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. THIS NATION IS RICH IN RESOURSES, BUT FORCE, THEFT, GAMBLING AND LYING DISTRIBUTE IT UNJUSTLY IN TOO MANY CASES. AS A RESULT WE HAVE MANY INDIVIDUALS WITH MORE WEALTH THAN THEY NEED OR KNOW HOW TO USE WHILE A THIRD OF THE NATION RECEIVES LESS THAN IS NECESSARY TO LIVE DECENTLY. IT IS NO ANSWER TO THIS ARRAIGNMENT TO SAY THAT WE ARE BETTER OFF THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD. OUR WELL-BEING MAY ~~WELL~~ BE DUE IN PART TO THE TRIBUTE THE WORLD PAYS US ~~AS WELL AS TO~~ and in spite of OUR FAILURE TO DISTRIBUTE OUR vast WEALTH MORE JUSTLY AND ~~TO OUR~~ in spite of our SPENDING SUCH INDEFENSIBLE SUMS FOR WAR. WE BOAST OF PROSPERITY EVEN AS WE FACE DISASTER. OUR EDUCATION IS DECLINING IN EFFICIENCY CRIME IS INCREASING; GAMBLING IS REPLACING THRIFT; OUR JAILS ARE OVERCROWDED AND NEGLECTED AND OUR RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT OURSELVES AND THE WORLD IS DELIBERATELY HINDERED AND DISTORTED. OUR OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IS LIMITED BY BY COMPULSION TO THINK AS OTHERS DO. TO SAY NOTHING. read NOTHING AND LISTEN TO NOTHING WHICH THE OWNERS OF THIS NATION DO NOT APPROVE.

38-7-23

HERE THEN IS A CLEAR DUTY FOR THOSE WHO THINK PRESENT CONDITIONS ARE

are unnecessary and can be improved. TO THINK AND ACT ON WAYS OF IMPROVING THEM // BUT AS SOON AS THIS IS SUGESTED, TWO THINGS HAPPEN: FIRST WE ARE TOLD THAT IMPROVEMENT IS UNNECESSARY AND FURTHER IS IMPOSSIBLE. // TO PROVE THIS WE ARE STARTED ON AN ARGUMENT ABOUT RUSSIA, CHINA OR HUNGARY. // THE POINT OF MY TALK TONIGHT IS THAT TIHS IS [redacted] ILLOGICAL. // I DENY THE NECESSITY FOR A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES TO SEND ITS EDITORS TO HUNGARY. // MISSISSIPPI WOULD BE MUCH MORE LOGICAL. // I INSIST THAT THE STUDY OF A SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR THE UNITED STATES BEGINS IN NEW TORK AND NOT IN MOSCOW. // I YIELD TO NONE IN MY INTEREST IN THE SOVIET UNION AND MY CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. // BUT THAT IS BECAUSE OF MY INTEREST IN THE RUSSIAN AND CHINESE PEOPLE. // WHEN IT COMESES TO THE UNITED STATES THAT PROPLEM MUST BE SETTLED HERE. // SOMETHING MAY BE LEARNED FROM PEOPLES ABROAD WITH DIFFERENT HISTORIES, CULTURES AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT OUR MAIN SOURSE OF INFORMATION ABOUT SOCIALISM IN AMERICA MUST BE FOUND RIGHT HERE. // AND ARGUMENTS OVER SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT CONTINUALLY DISSOLVE INTO DEBATES OVER STALIN.

38-7-24

OF COURSE THE REAL CAUSE OF THIS DIVERSION OF ATTENTION AND FUZZY LOG

IS TOO OFTEN ALL TOO CLEAR. // IT IS THE INEVITABLE DISCOVERY THAT THE CURE FOR THE POWER OF CORPORATIONS IN AMERICA; THE PLANNING FOR WELFARE RATHER THAN PRIVATE PROFIT IN INDUSTRY; THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND THE CURE OF CRIME BY DISCIPLINED LABOR // THAT IN ALL THESE CASES, WE may SEE IN WHAT THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA HAVE DONE A PATTERN OF WHAT WE MUST TRY. // AND WE THEREFORE DECIDE OR ARE FORCED TO DECIDE THAT ANYTHING THAT SUCCEEDS OR IS SAID TO SUCCEED IN EASTERN EUROPE OR IN ASIA MUST FOR THAT REASON BE BAD FOR AMERICA. // THAT IS QUITE AS [redacted] AS ASSUMING WITHOUT THOUGHT OR STUDY THAT what [redacted] MAO TSE TUNG [redacted] IS SUITED TO OUR PLIGHT IN AMERICA.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM SHOULD BE PLANNED FOR AMERICAN CONDITIONS AND TO CURE AMERICAN ILLS. // FOR THIS PURPOSE IT SHOULD DEMAND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH: FREEDOM TO STUDY, TRAVEL AND LEARN // AND ABOVE ALL FREEDOM TO VOTE FOR WHAT WE WANT INSTEAD OF COMPULSION TO VOTE FOR ONE PARTY UNDER TWO NAMES WHICH STANDS FOR WAR, MONOPOLY, THEFT AND LYING ON A UNIVERSAL SCALE

38-7-25

THE WORLD KNOWS ONLY TOO WELL THAT AT THE CLOSE OF THE 19TH CENTURY THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND OF CHINA WERE AMONG THE MOST OPPRESSED PEOPLES ON EARTH! // TODAY AS A RESULT OF WORK AND SACRIFICE THEY ARE INFINI[redacted] ~~TELY BETTER OF THAN THEY WERE~~ ~~TO CALL THIS STRUGGLE A~~

nitely better off than they were before. // TO CALL THIS STRUGGLE A CRIME AND REGARD IT AS A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES IS ABOUT THE SILLIEST PIECE OF PROPAGANDA THAT EVER BEFUDDLED AN INTELLIGENT NATION.

88-7-26

AT THE SCHOMBURG LIBRARY, MAY SEVEN, I 957

P

I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE | THAT ANY WORD FROM ME | ON AN OCCASION LIKE THIS | IN-
VOLVES SOME EMBARRASSMENT || IT SAVORS faintly OF ASKING THE CORPSE | TO SPEAK AT ITS OWN
FUNERAL || SO IN CASTING ABOUT | RATHER DESPERATELY | FOR A FEW REMARKS | WHICH WOULD
BE APPROPRIATE, || IT OCCURRED TO ME | THAT MENTION | OF MY RELATION TO LIBRARIES |
MIGHT BE IN PLACE || BOOKS HAVE FROM MY CHILDHOOD | PLAYED A CONSIDERABLE PART |
IN MY LIFE. || FOR SOME REASON | NOT NOW CLEAR | I CONCEIVED THE IDEA | OF STARTING A
LIBRARY | OF MY OWN | WHEN I WAS ABOUT TEN YEARS OF AGE || BESIDE THE HUGE FAMILY
BIBLE, | WHICH WAS BEYOND MY REACH | I GATHERED ABOUT A DOZEN | MISCELLANEOUS VOLUMES |
WHICH WERE LYING ABOUT my home, AND ARRANGED THEM | IN A BOOKCASE OF MY OWN || APPARENTLY |
THEY WERE NOT ESPECIALLY | FOR READING, SINCE ONE VOLUME | "OPIE ON LYING" | IS
STILL IN MY LIBRARY | AND I HAVE NEVER YET READ | THIS THIN VOLUME | WRITTEN BY AN
ENGLISH LADY IN I828 || My collection was | I think | mainly symbolic | and for a timE

ITS ONLY ADDITIONS | WERE MY SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS | WHICH IN THOSE DAYS WERE NOT FREE |
AND SERVED | TO KEEP MANY OF THE POOR | OUT OF SCHOOL. | WHEN I WAS ABOUT TWELVE | THE
TOWN | OPENED A FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY || THIS WAS FOR ME | A TREMENDOUS OCCASION || I MAY
NOT HAVE BEEN | THE FIRST TO PRESENT MYSELF | FOR A LOAN | BUT I WAS CERTAINLY AMONG
THE FIRST || AND I TOOK OUT A SEVEN VOLUME ~~OF~~ SET ON EUROPEAN HISTORY | WHICH PROVED PRET-
TY TOUGH, | BUT I READ IT THROUGH || I THEN ~~TURNED~~ TOOK TO SHAKESPEARE | WHOSE POETRY PRE-
SENTED DIFFICULTIES | ~~1882~~ and to Scott. IN I 882, | ITURNED BACK TO MY OWN PRIVATE LIBRARY | BY
EMBARKING | ON AN IMPORTANT ADVENTURE || IN JOHNNIE MORGAN'S BOOKSHOP, | THERE WENT
ON DISPLAY | LATE ~~THAT~~ THAT FALL, | A ~~SET~~ a 5 volume SET | OF MACAULEY'S ~~HISTORY~~ HISTORY
OF ENGLAND, | GEORGEOUSLY BOUND IN GREEN AND GOLD. | THE LITTLE SHOP | WAS IN THE
FRONT PART | OF THE VILLAGE POST OFFICE. | BUT These books SEEMED TO ATTRACT SINGULARLY LITTLE
ATTENTION from the Public

38-7-03

Finally after looking at ~~viewing~~ this treasure from all points OF VIEW, I VENTURED TO MAKE A PROPOSAL TO THE PROPRIETOR. I WOULD PAY HIM TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A WEEK, WHICH WAS AT THE TIME ABOUT THE WHOLE OF MY EARNED INCOME, IF HE WOULD HOLD These books FOR ME UNTIL PAID FOR (~~INCOME~~ INSTALLMENT BUYING OF THIS SORT WAS NOT COMMON AT THE TIME AND WAS RATHER FROWNED UPON AS NOT THRIFTY. BUT JOHNNIE MORGAN CONSENTED AND AT XMAS, TIME 1882 ~~1882~~, I placed this SET OF BOOKS All held for IN MY LIBRARY WHERE IT ~~THEY~~ STILL STANDS.

WHEN I WENT SOUTH TO COLLEGE, I FOUND IN MY DORMITORY ROOM AT FISK UNIVERSITY, A SINGLE THREE-SHELF BOOKCASE. I ~~IMMEDIATELY~~ APPLIED FOR ANOTHER CASE AND FILLED BOTH Cases WITH MY BOOKS WHICH ~~IMMEDIATELY~~ BECAME THE SHOWPLACE OF THE FLOOR AND THE PRIDE OF THE MATRON. THE COLLEGE LIBRARY AT FISK WAS NOT LARGE BUT THE TEACHER IN CHARGE WAS MY LATIN TEACHER AND HER ASSISTANT WAS ONE OF MY CLASSMATES. I CAME TO KNOW THAT LIBRARY ALMOST BY HEART. DURING MY FOUR YEARS AT HARVARD AS UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDENT, ~~THE MEANING OF~~

4)

38-7-04

~~BOOKS CHANGED.~~ ONE OF MY FIRST ASSIGNMENTS WAS TO TO SEARCH THAT LARGE LIBRARY FOR ALL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NAT TURNER, THE VIRGINIA SLAVE WHO IN '31 ~~1831~~ LED A BLOODY REVOLT. I CAN ONLY SAY THAT IF THERE IS ANYTHING IN THAT LIBRARY WHICH I DID NOT FIND IT HAS BEEN ADDED SINCE I LEFT. THIS BROUGHT ME TO A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD BOOKS. THEY WERE NO LONGER BIBLES TO BE UTTERLY BELIEVED but opinions TO BE BALANCED against ~~WITH~~ OTHER OPINIONS. AND FINALLY I decided ~~BELIEVED~~ THAT IF NO BOOK SAID WHAT I thought ~~BELIEVED~~ WAS TRUE I COULD WRITE A BOOK MYSELF. THUS I WAS CONFIRMED IN THE BAD HABIT OF ~~WRITING~~ OF WRITING BOOKS IN 1896 WHEN MY FIRST BOOK WAS PUBLISHED.

DURING THE NEXT HALF CENTURY, I WORKED IN SOME OF THE GREATEST COLLECTIONS OF BOOKS IN THE WORLD. I SAT LONG HOURS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. I HAD A CARD TO THE GREAT NATIONAL LIBRARY IN PARIS. I WORKED IN THE LARGEST LIBRARY OF THE WORLD, THE MARX-LENIN LIBRARY OF MOSCOW. I USED LIBRARIES IN JAPAN AND THE WEST INDIES AND THOSE IN MOST OF THE GREAT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES. AS A TEACHER I

38-7-05

HELPED TO OPEN/AND ARRANGE LIBRARIES/IN WILBERFORCE/AND ATLANTA UNIVERSITIES/ WHERE MY OWN LIBRARY/ON AFRICA AND THE NEGRO PROBLEMS/BECAME OF IMPORTANCE.

AS A DEVELOPMENT OF THIS WORK/ I CAME TO KNOW/SOON AFTER I arrived in NEW YORK IN 1910/ ARTHUR SCHOMBURG/AND CATHARINE LATIMER// SCHOMBURG AND I USED TO DISCUSS/ BOOKS ON NEGROES// I HELPED WITH MY KNOWLEDGE/OF ENGLISH BOOKS/WHILE HIS KNOWLEDGE/ OF SPANISH AND LATIN-AMERICAN BOOKS/WAS BOUNDLESS/AND HE WAS EVER LEARNING MORE// THIS WAS NOT/HIS MEANS OF EARNING A LIVING,/ IT WAS HIS LIFE/ ON WHICH/HE SPENT MUCH OF HIS INCOME// CATHARINE/WHO WAS ONE OF HIS FIRST HELPERS/WAS THE DAUGHTER/OF ONE OF MY FISK SCHOOLMATES/AND ONE WHOSE FATE IT WAS/TO LAND IN THE MIDST OF THE FIGHT/TO GAIN FOR NEGROES/THE RIGHT TO BECOME FULL LIBRARIANS/ COOPERATE in this system// WITH THESE UNSELFISH WORKERS/IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE TO ~~WORK~~. I COULD JOIN WITH SCHOMBURG in rejoicing WHEN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY/WAS CONVINCED/ THAT THE NEGRO RACE/HAD A HISTORY AND CULTURE/WORTH CONSERVING// AND IN CONJUNCTION WITH CATHARINE LATIMER and Regina Anderson// THE CRISIS MAGAZINE which I then edited STARTED IN THE BASEMENT OF

38-7-06

THIS BUILDING A LITTLE THEATRE. AARON DOUGLASS/PAINTED OUR SCENERY// AND ONCE/IN A COMPETITION/ COVERING THE UNITED STATES/AND ENGLAND/OUR GROUP WON SECOND PLACE// I WOULD LIKE TO THINK/THAT IF SCHOMBURG AND CATHARINE/KNEW/THEY WOULD NOT BE AVERSE/TO HAVING ME/IN BRONZE/SHARE THIS SCENE/OF THEIR LIFE WORK// AND THAT THEY WOULD JOIN WITH ME/IN APPRECIATION OF THE GREAT ARTIST/WHO DID THIS ~~WORK~~ BUST/AND IN THANKING MR. REZWICK/AND HIS COLLEAGUES/WHO THOUGHT THIS OCCASION/INTO BEING// MAY I THANK/THE DISTINGUISHED PERSONS/WHO HAVE BEEN GOOD ENOUGH ~~TONIGHT~~/TO SAY COMPLIMENTIARY WORDS/ABOUT MY CAREER// MY WIFE AND I/JOIN IN APPRECIATION/OF YOU/WHO HAVE HONORED US/WITH YOUR PRESENCE HERE TONIGHT.

IN THIS LIBRARY TOO THE KRIGWA AWARDS HELPED THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE OF NEGRO LITERATURE in the Thirties

Interview with Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, by Al Morgan, over Channel 5, By Dumont Broadcasting Company, [redacted] June 4, 1957

MORGAN: Our first guest is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. An economical biographer would say: He was born in Massachusetts 89 years ago of a family that had been in this country since the 17th, Then came Harvard, his research and writing about the Negro people which have brought him acclaim as a distinguished historian, and his international crusade for world peace through such devices as the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the Peace Information Bureau. These have earned him the censure of many Americans, who have branded him a fellow-traveller. Other high points of Dr. Du Bois' resume include helping to organize the NAACP in 1909, editing its magazine The Crisis for more than twenty years, and running as the New York candidate of the American Labor Party for the United States Senate in 1950, polling a quarter of a million votes. Among his recent works are "Black Reconstruction in America" just re-issued by Russell Publishers, which the New York Times called the most painstakingly thorough study ever made on the subject, and his novel, "The Ordeal of Mansart," the first of a trilogy he is now writing.

First of all, Dr. Du Bois, let's turn to your most current controversy. Though you have made at least fourteen trips abroad during your life, the passport office at Washington, D. C., told us this afternoon that since 1952 you have not been granted a passport. They say that this is due to your refusal to answer an application blank and all the questions contained in all passport requests. Those questions read: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party? Have you ever been a member? If so, state the period of membership." Why did you refuse to sign this blank?

DU BOIS: I refused to sign that as a matter of principle. I am not a member of the Communist Party but I think that the government has no right to ask a person to say anything about his religious views or his political views; that that is an invasion of his private life. More, the passport division refused me a passport before they had this question on the passport at all. I wanted to go to the Peace Conference at Montevideo and they refused it because they said they didn't think my trip there would be to the best interests of the United States. The next time that I applied again, the Communist matter wasn't on the application, and they simply waited a

long time and before they got through waiting this statement appeared on the application.

MORGAN: But you refuse to answer it now on the basis of principle. Dr. Du Bois, you say you are not a Communist. How would you describe yourself? Are you a conservative, a socialist?

DU BOIS: I am certainly not a conservative. I should call myself a socialist, although that isn't a very definite term. But I mean I believe in the welfare state. I believe that business should be carried on not for private profit but for public welfare. I believe in many of the steps which are usually associated with socialism.

MORGAN: On page 163 of your book which was published six years ago, "In Battle for Peace," you speak of Soviet Russia in this fashion:

"I regard that land as today the most hopeful nation on earth."

That was six years ago. Do you still feel that way, Doctor?

DU BOIS: I still feel that way.

MORGAN: Does Russia come closest to the kind of socialism you subscribe to?

DU BOIS: I think it does. Russia and China.

MORGAN: Last Sunday, Khrushchev in his CBS interview predicted that the United States of America would be a socialist state within two generations. Do you agree with that?

DU BOIS: I don't know about the two generations, but certainly the United States will become a socialist state. There is nothing else for it to become. We can't go on being a state which is ruled by business for businessmen and for private profit. We have already taken many steps toward socialism. We will take more. Eventually we shall come to be a Communist state. How long that is going to take, I don't pretend to say.

MORGAN: How will that come about?

DU BOIS: It will come about by the increase of socialism, by the change in our attitude towards each other, by making an individual American think of the progress of America and the welfare of America rather than thinking of his own advantage over his fellows, by ceasing to make the butt of our jokes the person who has suffered injury, by doing away with what the Germans call schadenfreude, by the extension of sacrifice and of love and of sympathy for our fellow beings.

MORGAN: Now you are speaking philosophically, Dr. Du Bois. I would like to have you answer specifically. Will it come about through violence and force,

or democratically, or through elections -- exactly how?

DU BOIS: I think it will come about democratically, not by violence. There was a time when I thought that the only way in which progress could be made in the world was by violence. I thought that the only way the darker people could get recognition was by killing a large number of white people. But I think that most of us are beginning to realize that that is not true, that the violence that accompanies revolution is not the revolution. The revolution is the reform, the change of thought, the change of attitude among the people who are affected by it.

MORGAN: All right, Dr. Du Bois, let's turn to Russia. I have read your writing and much of it praises the Russian system, Bur before we go on to what you consider to be its virtues, I'd like to ask you what major criticisms you have, if any, of Russia today.

DU BOIS: Well, the criticism would be of the difficulty of carrying out a welfare state on so large a scale, the number of bureaucrats, the power that must be put into their hands. But I think that that is a difficulty which occurs in every state. In every state which is making progress there is always the difficulty of saying how much freedom the individual can have in consonance with the best interests of the state. I think that when you consider what Russia was before the twentieth century, that the progress which the people have made there since has been simply phenomenal, and that that is the thing that brings my greatest admiration. I don't want you to think that I am a specialist on Russia. After all, Russia is a very large country. I have seen only parts of it. I have been there three times -- in 1926, in 1936, and in 1949. Enough to make comparisons, but I haven't been all over the country and I do not speak Russian. So that it might be that if I knew more than I do today I would change my conclusions. But from what I have seen and what I have read I think my conclusion stands as it did six years ago, as the most hopeful country on earth.

MORGAN: Well, let me take you back to last October. The Hungarian Republic was over-run by Soviet tanks and guns in an obviously unfair battle which has been called in less polite terms a bloodbath. Do you approve of Russia's action?

DU BOIS: I do not know just what Russia's action was. I do know that the United States of America gave the Hungarians every reason to think that if they started a revolution that they were going to get help. They spent a great deal of money on it, and they spent a great deal of time. In addition to that, there are a great many business interests of the United States who had investments in Hungary and

who expected to have more investments if they could change the form of government. Now, whether the Russian intervention was an intervention which was called for by the mass of the Hungarian people or whether it was intervention that was not called for, that I do not know. I am not an expert on Hungary although I have seen it twice.

MORGAN: Well, Milovan Djilas, the deposed Yugoslav Vice-President, now imprisoned by Tito, wrote in the New Leader magazine for November 19 last year:

"The world has rarely witnessed such unprecedented unity of the popular masses. The heroic intoxication was so high that bare-handed boys and girls were stopped by the tanks of the interventionists, who like the Cossacks of Nicholas I of 1848 tried to suppress their liberty and enslave their country." And almost every observer who has reported on the Hungarian uprising, almost every single newspaper and wire service carrying the story here, has corroborated that belief, that the revolt was carried out by the unity of the masses, not merely by a faction of white-collar workers. Do you agree with that?

DU BOIS: I do not. I do not believe those reports, and those are not the only reports that have come from Hungary. We have a situation here in the United States that when we get news of foreign countries we get the kind of news that certain persons in authority want us to have.

MORGAN: In all the papers, Dr. Du Bois?

DU BOIS: Oh, I would not say all the papers. I did not see all the papers and I don't suppose that many people did see all of the papers. Nevertheless, in spite of reports of that sort, I have seen reports of another sort. I do not believe that that first quotation which you read was a quotation which showed just what was happening in Hungary.

MORGAN: Do you think that the newspapers in America for the most part report foreign affairs truthfully? Do you think we are getting a full picture of what is happening in the world?

DU BOIS: No; I certainly do not.

MORGAN: There are something like ten thousand newspapers in America. There are 9,000 magazines. There are 3,000 radio stations. What do you think the percentage is of those that are telling us the whole story?

DU BOIS: I don't know. I couldn't attempt to say. But let me tell you one experience that I had. When I first went to Russia in 1926, I landed at Kronstadt, which was a dead city with weeds growing among the cobblestones, with only a few people, ragged and walking dejectedly through the streets, with only a few ships rotting in the harbor. I stayed there only about a day and then went to Leningrad and

about a week later I got to Moscow. When I got to Moscow I found a copy of the New York Times which had been published on the very day that I landed in Kronstadt. And the New York Times said that revolution had broken out in Kronstadt and the streets were flowing with blood!"

MORGAN: ~~Besides this,~~ which paper do you read?

DU BOIS: I read the New York Times.

MORGAN: Why don't you, for instance, read the Daily Worker? Do you think the Daily Worker gives us a better picture of what is happening inside Soviet Russia today?

DU BOIS: Someimtes it does, but the Daily Worker hasn't the facilities to get at the news.

MORGAN: Let's talk about -- excuse me, Dr. Du Bois -- let's talk about the Russian press. You have by inference criticized the American press. What about the Russian press? How free is that and how much of the news in the Russian press is to be believed by somebody in Russia?

DU BOIS: I think that a good deal of it is to be believed. It is slanted, it is controlled, but take, for instance, one thing. We usually say that the American press is poisoning the Russian people with regard to the Americans, so that they are getting altogether a false idea. I think that anybody who goes to Russia will feel that the Russians are very well disposed to the Americans ~~there~~. They are not hating them. They don't believe that they have horns. They have continually something nice to say about them. The young man who was my interpreter when I was there in 1949 not only told me about his education and so forth but one of his ambitions was to come to the United States. He had a great admiration for many things, not for all things, but for many things in the United States. I didn't have the heart to tell him that he could't come here.

MORGAN: One ~~further~~ question on the whole newspaper situation. Let's go back again to the Hungarian revolt. ~~Now~~ you ~~yourself~~ say we have not heard the full story of it, and yet tonight you are on a television program in the largest city in the world, in which you are able to say this. Do you think the same courtesy would be extended to somebody in Russia who held a viewpoint that was different from what was in the press and what was the government viewpoint?

DU BOIS: ~~Well,~~ that depends. In some cases not and in other cases yes. ~~I think a specific case.~~ I think that recently the press in Russia has been a great deal freer. Remember, however, the situation that you had there at the beginning of the twentieth century when you had people who were perhaps 90 percent illiterate,

New-York Zeno was slanted
its News.

Answer Yes.

were poor, were diseased, were superstitious, you were trying to bring that people up to a state where they could form a socialist government, and you had to do that by discipline. Now that discipline included being careful of the kind of news that you let them have, that you wanted them to have. It included a great deal of curtailment of their liberty. The result, however, has shown itself in what the Russians are today, shown itself first in an extraordinary system of education. The city of New York has np such system of education as Moscow. Now that education has gone on, it has spread, until the people have demanded more liberties, and they are getting more liberties, and in the future as they become more intelligent and effective, they will get still more. I do not think that the Russian press today is as curtailed and one-sided as the American press, but I do know that of course it is curtailed.

MORGAN: A short question, Dr. Du Bois. Are you a religious person?

DU BOIS: That depends on what you call a religious person. I belong to no church.

MORGAN: You belong to no church?

DU BOIS: No.

MORGAN: All right. Let's turn to some other items in your resume. In 1948 you were dismissed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization you helped found back in 1909. How did that come about?

DU BOIS: It came, I think, from a misunderstanding on both sides. At the age of 75, after I had served the NAACP and Atlanta University for long periods, I was retired for age. The NAACP suggested that I come back to them. At first I did not pay much attention to it and then at last I met at their invitation with a number of their officers. They wanted me to come back. They didn't want to limit what I was going to do. They said they wanted me to do what I pleased, but to come back at a reasonable salary and be on their staff. Now I think that what they meant there was that they wanted to afford me an easy approach to death and they probably thought that there wasn't much more that I could do or wanted to do. Now I, on the other hand, misunderstood that as meaning that they wanted me to do what work I could and I started in, perhaps rather impatiently, to do a whole lot of things. I wrote two or three books. I wrote columns in newspapers. I lectured at universities. I wrote the Appeal to the United Nations and pretty soon I was getting into controversy-- with the secretary. Now since I had been away from there ten years that organization had grown and it had become tightly organized. I don't think I realized then how tight the organization is and perhaps has to be in associations like that.

MORGAN: Dr Du Bois, I am sorry to cut you off, but I would like to read you this. Do you know Mr. Henry Lee Moon, the public relations director of the NAACP? I assume you do.

DU BOIS: Yes.

MORGAN: We talked with Mr. Moon today. I break in because I think maybe we can get the information you were giving us in your reaction to this. This is what he told us today. He said: "Dr. Du Bois was a tremendous influence on the Negroes of my generation. ~~That~~ His generation was during the thirties and early forties. He truly inspired us and nurtured all that had intellectual aspirations. He held our banner aloft. Most of us still have great reverence for him. But we ~~think~~ feel that he has departed from his original position, and is pursuing a path that we of the NAACP do not choose to follow. Very, very few of us go along with him today."

What is your reaction to that?

DU BOIS: I have no ~~difference~~ distaste with that at all. Of course, nobody has the same outlook on life and the development of the world today that they had in the thirties. We have had tremendous changes. But I think it wouldr be unfair to say that the controversy concerning me in the NAACP had anything to do directly with my different views. It was rather the matter of whether the NAACP was going to have any hand in the development of Africa. I had come back with the idea that we were ~~going~~ to carry on the work that I had been gone for, regarding the pan-African Congresses, and I held one Congress after I came back there. But many people in the NAACP said that we had enough trouble in the United States ~~enough~~ without seeking troubles and problems in Africa and they didn't want that part to go on. So I think that that was the basic difference. I don't think that the difference concerning my political outlook came up until after I was dismissed.

MORGAN: In our ~~five~~ final minutes, sir, I'd like to turn from William Du Bois the historian to find out about William Du Bois the apparently sprightly octogenarian, ~~the~~ the question ~~has been asked of so many~~ that is always asked of elderly people, sir, what is the secret of your long and obviously healthy life?

DU BOIS: Well, as I told a number of interviewers not long ago, first it is care with regard to your grandfathers, and then, secondly, it is getting enough sleep.

MORGAN: Do you smoke, sir?

DU BOIS: I think I ~~reach~~ average three cigarettes a day, and I have a ~~little~~ jigger of whiskey usually every night before I go to bed.

MORGAN: And how is your appetite?

DU BOIS: Fairly good, although my wife complains about it.

MORGAN: One final question, sir. If you were writing your epitaph, and I sincerely hope that you won't be, what would you set down?

DU BOIS: Well, the thing I would want to be remembered for would be my writing and my teaching. I have liked teaching. I left the NAACP to go back to teaching and then found as I had feared before that it wasn't quite as ideal a job as I wanted. Then I have always wanted to express myself in writing. This began with the school paper which was gotten out by hand in the high school in 1883 and it has ended with the trilogy which you called attention to. I have tried to write with some success. I have tried to teach.

MORGAN: Thank you very much, Dr. Du Bois, for spending this half hour with us. Whatever else may be said of William Du Bois' philosophies, it is only when his views cannot be aired, only when they are denied utterance because they are unpopular views, only when there is silence and solemn agreement, does this country then stand in danger.

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WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

Public Relations Counsellor

23 West 26 Street, N. Y. C.

Dear Friend:

The enclosed is an interview with Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, which took place on TV in New York a few weeks ago. I am sending you a copy in order that you may evaluate for yourself the views of this great scholar. William E. B. Du Bois is a great Negro, a great American, and a great human being. The government's seizure of his passport and the restriction it has imposed upon his right to travel testify to its fear of the influence of this man. He is undoubtedly one of the most outstanding historians this country has produced.

Dr. Du Bois was interviewed over the Dumont Broadcasting Station by Mr. Al Morgan. The issues dealt with are of concern to all mankind and although not specifically dealing with the "Negro Question" certainly are matters of deep significance to Negroes, whose problems are now merging with the problems of the hundreds of millions of Asia, Africa, and so on, who are seeking freedom and demanding respect for their dignity as human beings.

Dr. Du Bois will reach his ninetieth birthday on February 23, 1958. In his own country, although officially there may be silence, this eminent man will not be without honor. For thousands this will be an occasion for rejoicing. Perhaps you would like to express your appreciation of his efforts in behalf of the liberation of Africa, the Negro in the U.S.A. and oppressed mankind. He can be reached at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, New York.

This interview will give you a more graphic picture of the position of this man and the clarity of his thought.

Sincerely yours,

WLP/el

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

INTERVIEW WITH DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, BY AL MORGAN, OVER CHANNEL 5, DUMONT BROADCASTING COMPANY, JUNE 4, 1957.

MORGAN: Our first guest is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. An economical biographer would say: He was born in Massachusetts 89 years ago of a family that had been in this country since the seventeenth century. Educated at Harvard, his research and writing about the Negro people have brought him acclaim as a distinguished historian, and his international crusade for world peace through such devices as the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the Peace Information Center. These have earned him the censure of many Americans, who have branded him a fellow-traveller. Other high points of Dr. Du Bois' resume include helping to organize the NAACP in 1909, editing its magazine The Crisis for more than twenty years, and running as the New York candidate of the American Labor Party for the United States Senate in 1950, polling a quarter of a million votes. Among his recent works are "Black Reconstruction in America," just re-issued by Russell Publishers, which the New York Times called the most painstakingly thorough study ever made on the subject, and this novel, "The Ordeal of Mansart," the first of a trilogy he is now writing.

First of all, Dr. Du Bois, let's turn to your most current controversy. Though you have made at least fourteen trips abroad during your life, the passport office at Washington, D. C., told us this afternoon that ever since 1952 you have not been granted a passport. They say that this is due to your refusal to fill out an application blank and all the questions contained in all passport requests. Those questions read: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party? Have you ever been a member? If so, state the period of your membership." Why did you refuse to sign this blank?

DU BOIS: I refused to sign that as a matter of principle. I am not a member of the Communist Party but I think that the government has no right to ask a person to say anything about his religious views or his political views, that that is an invasion of his private life. Moreover, the passport division refused me a passport before they had this question on the application at all. I wanted to go to the Peace Conference at Montevideo and they refused it because they said they didn't think that my trip there would be to the best interests of the United States. The next time that I applied again, the Communist matter wasn't on the application, and they simply waited a long time and before they got through waiting this statement appeared on the application.

MORGAN: But you refuse to answer it now on the basis of principle?

DU BOIS: On the basis of principle.

MORGAN: Dr. Du Bois, you say you are not a Communist. How would you describe yourself? Are you a Socialist, a conservative?

DU BOIS: I am certainly not a conservative. I should call myself a Socialist, although that isn't a very definite term. But I mean I believe in the welfare state. I believe that business should be carried on not for private profit but for public welfare. I believe in many of the steps which are usually associated with socialism.

MORGAN: On page 163 of your book which was published six years ago, "In Battle for Peace," you speak of Soviet Russia in this fashion: "I regard that land as today the most hopeful nation on earth." That was six years ago. Do you still feel that way, Doctor?

DU BOIS: I still feel that way.

MORGAN: Does Russia come closest to the kind of socialism you subscribe to?

DU BOIS: I think it does. Russia and China.

MORGAN: Last Sunday, Nikita Krushchev in his CBS interview predicted that the United States of America would be a socialist state within two generations. Do you agree with that?

DU BOIS: I don't know about the two generations, but certainly the United States will become a socialist state. There is nothing else for it to become. We can't go on becoming a state which is ruled by business for businessmen and for private profit. We have already taken many steps toward socialism. We will take more. Eventually we shall come to be a Communist

state. But how long that is going to take, I don't pretend to say.

MORGAN: How will that come about?

DU BOIS: It will come about by the increase of socialism, by the change in our attitude toward each other, by making an individual American think of the progress of America and the welfare of America rather than thinking of his own advantage over his fellows, by ceasing to make the butt of our jokes the person who has suffered injury, by doing away with what the Germans call schadenfreude, by the extension of sacrifice and of love and of sympathy for our fellow beings.

MORGAN: Now you are talking philosophically, Dr. Du Bois. I would like to have your answer specifically. Will it come about through violence and force, or democratically, or through elections -- exactly how?

DU BOIS: I think it will come about democratically, not by violence. There was a time when I thought that the only way in which progress could be made in the world was by violence. I thought that the only way that the darker people were going to get recognition was by killing a large number of white people. But I think that most of us are beginning to realize that that is not true, that the violence that accompanies revolution is not the revolution. The revolution is the reform, is the change of thought, is the change of attitude on the people who are affected by it.

MORGAN: All right, Dr. Du Bois, let's turn to Russia. I have read your writing and much of it praises the Russian system. But before we move on to what you consider to be its virtues, I'd like to ask you what major criticisms, if any, you have of Russia today.

DU BOIS: Well, the criticism would be of the difficulty of carrying out a welfare state on so large a scale, the number of bureaucrats, the power that must be put in their hands. But I think that that is a difficulty which occurs in every state. In every state which is making progress there is always the difficulty of saying how much freedom the individual can have in consonance with the best interests of the state. I think that when you consider what Russia was before the twentieth century, that the progress which the people have made there since has been simply phenomenal, and that that is the thing that brings my great admiration. I don't want you to think I pretend that I am a specialist on Russia. After all, Russia is a very large country. I have seen only parts of it. I have been there three times -- in 1926, in 1936, and in 1949. Enough to make comparisons, but I haven't been all over the country and I do not speak Russian. So that it might be that if I knew more than I do today I would change my conclusions. But from what I have seen and what I have read, I think my conclusion stands as it did six years ago, and it's the most hopeful country on earth.

MORGAN: Well, let me take you back to last October. The Hungarian Republic was over-run by Soviet tanks and guns in an obviously unfair battle which has been called in less polite terms a bloodbath. Do you approve of Russia's action?

DU BOIS: I do not know just what Russia's action was. I do know that the United States of America gave the Hungarians every reason to think that if they started a revolution that they were going to get help. They spent a great deal of money on it, and they spent a good deal of time. In addition to that, there are a great many business interests of the United States who had investments in Hungary and who expected to have more investments if they could change the form of government. Now, whether the Russian intervention was an intervention that was called for by the mass of the Hungarian people or whether it was intervention that was not called for, that I do not know. I am not an expert on Hungary although I have seen it twice.

MORGAN: Well, Milovan Djilas, the deposed Yugoslav Vice-President, now imprisoned by Tito, wrote in the New Leader magazine for November 19 last year: "The world has rarely witnessed such unprecedented unity of the popular masses. The heroic intoxication was so high that bare-handed boys and girls were stopping the tanks of the interventionists, who like the Cossacks of Nicholas I of 1848 tried to suppress their liberty and enslave their country." And almost every observer who has reported on the Hungarian uprising, almost every single newspaper and wire service carrying the story here,

has corrobated that belief, that the revolt was carried out by the unity of the masses, not merely by a faction of white-collar workers. Do you agree with that?

DU BOIS: I do not. I do not believe those reports, and those are not the only reports that have come from Hungary. We have a situation here in the United States that when we get news of foreign countries we get the kind of news that certain persons in authority want us to have.

MORGAN: In all the papers, Dr. Du Bois?

DU BOIS: Oh, I would not say all the papers. I did not see all the papers and I don't suppose that many people did see all of the papers. Nevertheless, in spite of reports of that sort, I have seen reports of another sort. I do not believe that that first quotation which you read was a quotation which showed just what was happening in Hungary.

MORGAN: Do you think that the newspapers in America for the most part report foreign affairs truthfully? Do you think we are getting a full picture of what is happening in the world?

DU BOIS: No, I certainly do not.

MORGAN: There are something like ten thousand newspapers in America. There are 9,000 magazines. There are 3,000 radio stations. What do you think the percentage is of those that are telling the whole story?

DU BOIS: I don't know. I couldn't attempt to say. But let me tell you one experience that I had. When I first went to Russia in 1926, I landed at Kronstadt, which was a dead city with weeds growing among the cobblestones, with only a few people, ragged and walking dejectedly through the streets, with only a few ships rotting in the harbor. I stayed there only about a day and then I went to Leningrad and about a week later I got to Moscow. When I got to Moscow I found a copy of the New York Times which had been published on the very day that I landed in Kronstadt. And the New York Times said that revolution had broken out in Kronstadt and the streets were flowing with blood.

MORGAN: You are saying then in this specific instance the New York Times slanted its news. Which paper do you read?

DU BOIS: I read the New York Times.

MORGAN: Why don't you, for instance, read the Daily Worker? Do you think the Daily Worker gives us a better picture of what is happening inside Soviet Russia today?

DU BOIS: Sometimes it does, but the Daily Worker hasn't the facilities to get at the news.

MORGAN: Let's talk about -- excuse me, Dr. Du Bois -- let's talk about the Russian press. You have by inference criticized the American press. What about the Russian press? How free is that and how much of the news in the Russian press is to be believed by somebody in Russia?

DU BOIS: I think that a good deal of it is to be believed. It is slanted, it is controlled, but take, for instance, one thing. We usually say that the American press is poisoning the Russian people with regard to the Americans, so that they are getting altogether a false idea. I think that anybody who goes to Russia will find out that the Russians are very well disposed to Americans there. They are not hating them. They don't believe that they have horns. They have continually something nice to say about them. The young man who was my interpreter when I was there in 1949 not only told me about his education and so forth but one of his ambitions was to come to the United States. He had a great admiration for many things, not for all things, but for many things in the United States. I didn't have the heart to tell him that he couldn't come here.

MORGAN: One final question on the whole newspaper situation. Let's go back again to the Hungarian revolt. You say we have not heard the full story of it, and yet tonight you are on a television program in the largest city in the world, in which you are able to say this. Do you think the same courtesy would be extended to somebody in Russia who held a viewpoint that was differ-

ent from what was in the press and what was the government viewpoint?

DU BOIS: That depends. In some cases not and in other cases yes. In this specific case I think that recently the press in Russia has been a great deal freer. Remember, however, the situation that you had there at the beginning of the twentieth century when you had people who were perhaps 90 percent illiterate, were poor, were diseased, were superstitious, you were trying to bring that people up to a state where they could form a socialist government, and you had to do that by discipline. Now that discipline included being careful of the kind of news that you let them have, that you wanted to have. It included a great deal of curtailment of their liberty. The result, however, has shown itself in what the Russians are today, shown itself first in an extraordinary system of education. The city of New York has no such system of education as Moscow. Now that education has gone on, it has spread, until the people have demanded more liberties, and they are getting more liberties, and in the future as they become more intelligent and effective, they will get still more. I do not think that the Russian press today is as curtailed and one-sided as the American press, but I do know that of course it is curtailed.

MORGAN: A short question,Dr. Du Bois. Are you a religious person?

DU BOIS: That depends on what you call a religious person.

MORGAN: By your definition.

DU BOIS: I belong to no church.

MORGAM: You belong to no church?

DU BOIS: No.

MORGAN: All right. Let's turn to some other items in your resume. In 1948 you were dismissed by the National Association for the Advanced of Colored People, an organization you helped found back in 1909. How come the firing?

DU BOIS: It came, I think, from a misunderstanding on both sides. At the age of 75, after I had served the NAACP and Atlanta University for long periods, I was retired for age. The NAACP suggested that I come back to them. At first I did not pay much attention to it and then at last I met at their invitation with a number of their officers. They wanted me to come back. They didn't want to limit what I was going to do. They said they wanted me to do what I pleased, but to come back at a reasonable salary and be on their staff. Now I think that what they meant there was that they wanted to afford me an easy approach to death and they probably thought that there wasn't much more that I could do or wanted to do. Now I, on the other hand, misunderstood that as meaning that they wanted me to do what work I could and I started in, perhaps rather impatiently, to do a whole lot of things. I wrote two or three books. I wrote columns in newspapers. I lectured at universities. I wrote the Appeal to the United Nations and pretty soon I was getting into con -- well, controversy -- with the secretary. Now since I had been away from there ten years that organization had grown and it had become tightly organized. I don't think I realized then how tight the organization is and perhaps has to be in associations like that.

MORGAN: Dr. Du Bois, I am sorry to cut you off, but I would like to read you this. Do you know Mr. Henry Lee Moon, the public relations director of the NAACP? I assume you do.

DU BOIS: Yes.

MORGAN: We talked with Mr. Moon today. I break in because I think maybe we can get the information you were giving us in your reaction to this. This is what he told us today. He said: "Dr. Du Bois was a tremendous influence on the Negroes of my generation. His generation was during the thirties and early forties. He truly inspired us and nurtured all that had intellectual aspirations. He held our banner aloft. Most of us still have great reverence for him. But we feel that he in recent years has departed from his original position, and is pursuing a path that we of the NAACP do not choose to follow. Very, very few of us go along with him today." What is your reaction to that?

DU BOIS: I have no dispute with that at all. Of course, nobody has the same outlook on life and the development of the world today that they had in the thirties. We have had tremendous changes. But I think it would be unfair to say that the controversy concerning me in the NAACP had anything to do directly with my different views. It was rather the matter of whether the NAACP was going to have any hand in the development of Africa. I had come back with the idea that we were going to carry on the work that I had been doing, with regard to the Pan-African Congresses, and I held one Congress after I came back there. But many people in the NAACP said that we had enough trouble in the United States without seeking troubles and problems in Africa and they didn't want that part to go on. So that I think that that was the basic difference. I don't think that the difference concerning my political outlook came up until after I was dismissed.

MORGAN: In our final minutes, sir, I'd like to turn from William Du Bois the historian to find out about William Du Bois the apparently sprightly octogenarian. As the question that is always asked of elderly people, sir, what is the secret of your long and obviously healthy life?

DU BOIS: Well, as I told a number of interviewers not long ago, first it is care with regard to your grandfathers, and then, secondly, it is getting enough sleep.

MORGAN: Do you smoke or drink, sir? Any vices?

DU BOIS: I think I average three cigarettes a day, and I have a jigger of whiskey usually every night before I go to bed.

MORGAN: And how is your appetite?

DU BOIS: Fairly good, although my wife complains about it.

MORGAN: One final question, sir. If you were writing your epitaph, and I sincerely hope you won't be, what would you set down?

DU BOIS: Well, the thing that I would want to be remembered for would be my writing and my teaching. I have liked teaching. I left the NAACP to go back to teaching and then found as I had found before, that it wasn't quite as ideal a job as I wanted. Then I have always wanted to express myself in writing. We began with the school paper which was gotten out by hand in the high school in 1883 and it has ended with the trilogy which you brought attention to. I have tried to write with some success. I have tried to teach.

MORGAN: Thank you very much, Dr. Du Bois, for spending this half hour with us. Whatever else may be said of William Du Bois' philosophies, it is only when his views cannot be aired, only when they are denied utterance because they are unpopular views, only when there is silence and solemn agreement, does this country then stand in danger.

THE END.

ROCKWELL KENT June 19, 1957

AT THIS COMMENCEMENT SEASON/ WE ARE NOT SAYING TO OUR GRADUATES/ THAT WHICH MUST BE UPPERMOST/ IN OUR MINDS/ NAMELY THAT THE UNITED STATES/ IS GRADUALLY GOING INSANE:// WE ARE SUFFERING/ FROM EMOTIONAL MALADJUSTMENT/ TO REALITY:// INAPPROPRIATE EMOTIONAL RESPONSE/ AND SEVERE DISTORTION/ OF JUDGEMENT.// AND THIS IS HAPPENING/ IN A NATION/ LONG NOTED/ FOR ITS COMMONSENSE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD THINKING.// WE ARE NOT FACING THIS FACT/ THIS SPRING.// RATHER WE ARE SAYING/ TO OUR GRADUATES/ BE CAREFUL,/ NOT DARING:// WE ARE ADVISING DISCRETION/ NOT COURAGE.// YET WE WHO MEET HERE TONIGHT/ COME TO GREET A MAN/ WHO IN A DAY OF DANGER/ REFUSES TO BE CAREFUL/ AND DARES TO ACCEPT THE CHAIRMANSHIP/ OF THE COUNCIL OF AMERICAN SOVIET FRIENDSHIP.// [redacted] FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES/ AND RUSSIA/ IS WHAT THE WORLD NEEDS MOST TODAY.// NO ONE DISPUTES THIS.// WHY THEN ARE WE NOT OVERWHELMED/ WITH GREAT AMERICANS

38-7-27

BEGGING TO ACCEPT/ THIS RESPONSIBLE OFFICE.// WE ARE NOT.// ON THE CONTRARY/ WE ARE COMPELLED/ TO DRAFT A MAN WHOSE LIFE WORK/ IS NOT PROPAGANDA/ BUT PAINTING.// THE VERY NECESSITY/ OF SUCH INTERFERENCE WITH WORK ILLUSTRATES/ OUR NATIONAL PARANOIA.// THE [redacted] WORLD TODAY STANDS READY/ TO GREET ROCKWELL KENT/ AS A GREAT ARTIST/ ON HIS SEVENTY FIFTH BIRTHDAY.// THE MAGIC OF HIS HAND/ [redacted] HAS BEEN GATHERED IN MOSCOW/ TO HANG BESIDE/ THE MASTERWORKS OF MANKIND.// YET THIS ARTIST/ IS NOT ALLOWED TO BE PRESENT.// AND AT THE VERY TIME THAT PICASSO'S WORKS/ ARE ON EXHIBIT IN NEW YORK,/ PICASSO IS NOT ALLOWED/ TO BE WITH THEM/ NOT BECAUSE HE IS NOT/ ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST ARTISTS/ BUT BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN COMMUNISM.// HAS ANY ACTION OF ANY GREAT NATION/ IN THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS/ EQUALLED THIS [redacted]? [redacted] IT IS, PERHAPS NON SENSE? PROPHETIC/ THAT IN SUCH A CRISIS/ WE FALL BACK ON OUR ARTISTS/ THE POETS AND PAINTERS/ FOR REASON AND JUDGMENT./ WE MAY HAVE TO SAY INCREASINGLY/ TO

38-7-28

FUTURE GRADUATES// SHUN SCIENCE FOR IT HAS SOLD ITSELF TO ~~THE~~ DEVIL.// AVOID THE PROFESSIONS/ FOR THEY ARE FRIGHTENED TO DEATH/ AND FOLLOW THE ~~STRICT~~ FATAL RULES/ OF THEIR TRADE UNIONS// OUR ENGINEERS ARE BECOMING MACHINISTS OF ~~DEATH~~ DISEASE.// BUT THE POET MAY STILL WRITE/ IF HE ~~WRITE NOT TOO CLEARLY~~ can do without good// AND THE PAINTER MAY PAINT/ IF ~~HIS PORTRAITS BE NOT TOO FRANK~~ he needs no home// ALL THAT WE ASK/ OF POET OR PAINTER/ IS THAT THEY STARVE LIKE GENTLEMEN/ UNTIL NATIONS RETURN TO THEIR SENSES/ EVEN IF THEIR GAUGINS DIE ~~AND~~ THEIR PICASSOS SOMETIMES ~~LIVE BEYOND THEIR~~ OUTLIVE POVERTY. ~~AND IT WILL BE;~~ ~~FOR~~ AFTER WE RAISE OUR ARTISTS TO RULE/ WHITHER CAN THEY LEAD US?/

WHAT DOES ONE DO/ WHEN ONE SEES UNREASON AND COWARDICE/ ALL AROUND/ TRIUMPHANT AND THREATENING?// ONE SEEKS CHANGE, FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE: //REASON INSTEAD OF INSANE REFUSAL/ TO THINK/ OR DELIBERATE REFUGE/ IN SILENCE/ AND FUTILE WORSHIP OF PARODOX// CAN VIOLENCE BRING SUCH CHANGE?/ ~~VIOLENCE IS NOT CHANGE;~~ ~~INDEED~~ VIOLENCE USUALLY STOPS CHANGE/ AND REAL CHANGE/ IN ITSELF/ IS NEVER VIOLENT.

WHETHER CHANGE COME/ BEFORE OR AFTER VIOLENCE/ OR IN SPITE OF IT// CHANGE/ (or betterment) IS WHAT MEN SEEK AND STRIVE FOR// THIS WAS WHAT 150 DELEGATES/ FROM 18 NATIONS/ ~~DEMANDED~~ ASKED AT STOCKHOLM MARCH 15, 1950// "WE DEMAND THE ABSOLUTE BANNING OF THE ATOMIC WEAPON!"//(WHEN I AND MY FELLOW WORKERS/ INDUCED TWO AND A HALF MILLION AMERICANS/ TO JOIN/ THIS PRAYER AGAINST VIOLENCE/ THE GOVERNMENT TRIED DESPERATELY/ TO SEND US TO JAIL// SO WE KEEP ON./ SO WE SIMPLY SAY AGAIN/ WHAT WE HAVE ALREADY SAID/ LET US HAVE PEACE/ BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION/ AND LET ROCKWELL KENT PAINT THE GLORIOUS WAY.// THIS WE ADMIT FREELY/ IS UN-AMERICAN/ AND SUBVERSIVE IN THE EYES/ OF ALL MCCARTHIES AND MCCARRANS// BUT OPPOSITION/ TO THIS GREAT TRUTH/ MUST ONE DAY/ BE AS DEAD AS THEY ARE.

WE HAVE BUT TO REMEMBER/ THAT TI HAS BEEN THE REITERATED EXPERIENCE/ OF MANKIND/ THAT JUST AS A GOOD CAUSE DIES/ IT LIVES AGAIN. ABOLITION WAS NEVER SO

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE/ FROZE TO DEATH AT VALLEY FORGE

DEAD ~~IN THE UNITED STATES~~ AS WHEN JOHN BROWN WAS HANGED.// CHARTISM WAS NEVER SO DISCREDITED/ AS WHEN O'CONNOR WENT INSANE.// SOCIALISM DIED IN 1871/WHEN 25,000 PARISIANS/ ~~WERE SHOT~~ WELTERED IN BLOOD IN THE CEMETERY/OF PERE LA CHAISE;// AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAS BEEN DEFINITELY ENDED/ AT LEAST TEN TIMES ~~AFTER~~ SINCE 1917// TRUTH ALONE IS IMMORTAL/ AND WE HUMAN BEINGS ALONE/ CAN SUMMON BACK ITS GASPING BREATH.

38-7-31

JAMES FORD , TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1957

W. E. B. DU BOIS
PLEASE RETURN

JAMES FORD WAS A MAN TO BE REMEMBERED FOR HIS CHARACTER. // THAT IS A WORD WHICH WE DO NOT USE OFTEN TODAY. // WE SPEAK OF WHAT A MAN HAS DONE OR WHAT HE PSSSESSES: // WE RELATE WHAT POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE HE HAS OCCUPIED. // FOR NONE OF THESE THINGS ARE WE REMEMBERING JAMES FORD TONIGHT // HE WAS TO BE SURE A GOOD CITIZEN. // HE WORKED FOR A LIVING. HE SERVED AS A SOLDIER. HE OBEYED THE LAW // BUT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH WHAT HE DID AS HOW HE DID IT AND WHY. // IT WAS FOR THE KIND OF HUMAN BEING HE WAS RATHER THAN WHAT HE ACCOMPLISHED THAT WE HONOR HIM TONIGHT // BECAUSE IT IS THE DOER RATHER THAN THE DEED THAT MAKES CIVILIZATION. // MASSIVE AND MAGNIFICENT AS THE BUILDING MAY BE IT IS THE SOUL AND SIGHT OF THE ARCHITECT WHICH SPELLS ITS MEANING // THE DOER TRANSCENDS THE DEED AND THIS GREAT TRUTH THE WORLD IN EACH AGE MUST LEARN ANEW // JAMES FORD WAS HONEST; HE HAD MANNERS, HE RESPECTED WOMEN, he COULD AND DID WORK AND HE WAS A STRAIGHTFORWARD RADICAL. // LET US EXAMINE THIS LIST OF VIRTUES // WHEN JAMES FORD TALKED HE SAID WHAT HE MEANT // HIS WORDS DID NOT HAVE TWO MEAN INGS AND YOU COULD BELIEVE IN HIS HONESTY. HE MIGHT BE WRONG BUT HE WAS HONESTLY WRONG // HE WAS A MAN OF GOOD MANNERS.

(Ignore underlining + words)

38-7-32

HE WAS NEITHER LOUD NOR RUDE, BUT COURTEOUS AND DIGNIFIED // HE REGARDED WOMEN NEITHER AS PLAYTHINGS TO BE PAWED OVER NOR BEASTS OF BURDEN BUT AS CO-WORKERS WITH WHOM HE DID HIS SHARE OF WORK HE WAS A MAN WHO DID AN HONEST JOB OF WORK TOILING LONG AND THOROUGHLY UNTIL THE END // HE WAS A RADICAL: NOT ONE WHO CURSED AND COMPLAINED BUT ONE WHO BELIEVED THAT THIS NATION NEEDED FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE AND COULD GET IT BY [redacted], CLEAR THINKING AND RIGHT VOTING // THE CHILD OF A NEGRO ARTISAN AND A SERVANT, HE KNEW POVERTY AND WORKED HARD FOR AN EDUCATION, // INTERRUPTED IT TO FIGHT AS A SOLDIER IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND COMPLETED HIS EDUCATION AFTER HONORABLE DISCHARGE FROM THE RANKS // HE BECAME A SOCIALIST BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRY WAS THE WELFARE OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE AND NOT THE WEALTH OF THE FEW. HE BECAME A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THAT ITS PROGRAM OF COMPLETE SOCIALISM WAS BETTER THAN ANY PLAN OF PARTIAL OR GRADUAL SOCIALISM // HE BECAME CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY ON THE COMMUNIST TICKET AND CAMPAIGNED ON A PLATFORM OF PEACE AND REASON

38-7-33

LEADING/ BY OPEN DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES/ TO CHANGE IN OUR FORM/ OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.// HE AND HIS PARTY/ FAILED/ NOT BECAUSE HE WAS OUTVOTED,/ BUT BECAUSE THE NATION/ NEVER HAD THE OPPORTUNITY/ TO KNOW/ WHAT THE OBJECT OF COMMUNISM/ WAS/ NOR WHAT IT HAD ACCOMPLISHED/ IN THE SOVIET UNION/ OR CHINA// NOR COULD AMERICANS/ KNOW THE ADVANCE/ WHICH SOCIALISM HAD MADE/ AND IS MAKING/ ALL OVER THE CIVILIZED WORLD// IN ADDITION/ TO A TOTALLY FALSE PICTURE/ OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD/ AND A TERRIBLE MEMORY OF WAR/ THERE WAS ADDED/ A CHARGE OF PLANNED MURDER AND TREASON/ AGAINST COMMUNIST LEADERS/ WHICH LED TO IMPRISONMENT/ OF MEN/ FOR WHAT THEY WERE BACK IN CHINA THOUGHT AND FOR NOTHING THEY EVER DID// THROUGH THIS TIME/ OF DISAPPOINTMENT/ AND DESPAIR/ JAMES FORD WALKED CALM AND UPRIGHT,/ INSISTING ON HIS BELIEFS/ AND STILL EXPRESSING HIS DETERMINATION/ TO WORK FOR A RADICAL REFORM OF THIS NATION// ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS/ WHICH THE SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS/ PLACED BEFORE THE NATION// THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/ NEVER VOTED/ AND NEVER HAD A CHANCE TO VOTE// WE WENT INTO THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ AFTER AN OVERWHELMING/ VOTE FOR PEACE// WE FOUGHT THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE COMMUNIST SOVIET UNION (WHO CONQUERED HITLER FOR US) AND WE WENT INTO THE KOREAN WAR/ AGAINST CHINA/ WITHOUT ANY VOTE AT ALL// YET WE CALL THIS/ A FREE DEMOCRACY OF THE WEST// DURING THIS

33-4-34

TIME/ JAMES FORD WENT HIS QUIET,/ COURTEOUS WAY/ STATING HIS BELIEFS/ AND REITERATING HIS PLATFORM.// THERE WAS LITTLE HE/ OR ANY RADICAL COULD DO/ AMID COWARDICE AND SILENCE/ SURROUNDED BY SPIES AND LIARS// BUT WHAT FORD DID/ HE DID OPENLY/ AND CLEARLY// AND ESPECIALLY HE TRIED TO ALLAY PANIC/ AND SURRENDER/ AMONG HIS OWN COMRADES.// HIS LAST WORK/ WAS TO AROUSE/ AMERICAN NEGROES/ TO A REALIZATION/ OF WHAT THEIR AFRICAN COUSINS/ WERE DOING/ TO BUILD SOCIALIST STATES// TO THIS MAN/ OUR DEEP APPRECIATION/ AND REVERENCE //

33-4-35

COLONIALISM

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

THE EARLIEST COLONISTS WERE MERCHANTS AND ADVENTURERS WHO WENT OUT FROM THE MOTHER CITY FOR TRADE AND ADVENTURE; WHO BECAME LITTLE CENTERS OF CULTURAL DISSEMINATION, ASSOCIATED WITH NATIVE POPULATIONS, UNTIL AT LAST STATES GREW WHICH DOMINATED THE NATIVE POPULATIONS WITH MIGRANT MASTERS AND YET INTERFERED LITTLE WITH THESE PEOPLES, SAVE TO TAX THEM AND TO REQUIRE SOME SUBMISSION TO GENERAL LAWS. THIS CULMINATED IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND WHEN THAT VAST GOVERNMENT OF MEN FELL APART, INDIVIDUAL NATIONS AROSE THE WORLD OVER, INDEPENDENT AND COMING IN CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER ONLY THROUGH TRADE AND TRAVEL, WITH LITTLE OR NO FOREIGN CONQUEST.

38-9-184

THE TRADE WITH INDIA AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA CHANGED THIS. INDIA AND EARLY AMERICA FURNISHED WEALTH WHICH WAS BRUTALLY STOLEN BY FOREIGN PEOPLES, AND NATIVE POWER

~~READY TO RESIST~~ WAS SO REDUCED THAT VAST REGIONS BECAME COLONIES. THIS NEW WEALTH WAS INVESTED IN THE DEGRADATION OF BLACK LABOR THROUGH THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, IN ORDER TO RAISE NEW CROPS IN WORLD-WIDE DEMAND -- TOBACCO, SUGAR, AND COTTON. NEW MACHINES AND TECHNIQUES TO PROCESS THESE MATERIALS MADE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. A NEW COLONIAL ERA DAWNED UPON THE WORLD. THE PEOPLE IN THE COLONIES SIFTED THEMSELVES INTO THREE SORTS: THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY SETTLED THERE FOR THE MOST PART TEMPORARILY FOR THE ONE PURPOSE OF GAIN; OTHER PERSONS FROM THE MOTHER COUNTRY FLEEING TO THE COLONY AS FUGITIVES SEEKING INTELLECTUAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM; OTHERS STOLEN AND TRANSPORTED TO THE COLONIES AS SLAVES AND INDENTURED SERVANTS.

38-9-185

THE FUGITIVES AND THE INEDNTURED SERVANTS WERE DESPISED AND DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, BUT THE HEIGHT OF LEGAL DISCRIMINATION FELL UPON THE NEGRO AND OTHER COLORED SLAVES. THEN CAME THE GREAT ERA OF INVESTMENT, WHEN THE REASON FOR THE COLONY WAS NOT SETTLEMENT

BUT FOREIGN PROFIT, AND DURING WHICH THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY WAS REBUILT AND REVIVIFIED IN THE MODERN WORLD.

ALL THIS WAS QUICKLY RATIONALIZED. IT IS THE HABIT OF MEN, AND MUST BE IF THEY REMAIN RATIONAL BEINGS, TO FIND REASONS, AND COMFORTING REASONS, FOR LINES OF ACTION WHICH THEY ADOPT FROM VARYING MOTIVES. FIRST OF ALL, RELIGION RATIONALIZED SLAVERY AS A METHOD OF SAVING SOULS, BUT THIS BADE FAIR TO INTERFERE WITH PROFIT AND INVESTMENT AND SOON WAS CHANGED BY THE NEW SCIENCE TO A DOCTRINE OF NATURAL HUMAN INFERIORITY ON THE PART OF THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND, MAKING THEM FOREVER INFERIOR AND SUBSERVIENT TO THE RULING NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

38-9-186

COLONIES ~~ARE~~ became THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD. THEY ~~ARE TODAY~~ were THE PLACES OF GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY, DISEASE, AND IGNORANCE OF WHAT THE HUMAN MIND HAS COME TO KNOW. THEY ARE were CENTERS OF HELPLESSNESS, OF DISCOURAGEMENT OF INITIATIVE, OF FORCED

LABOR, AND OF LEGAL SUPPRESSION OF ALL ACTIVITIES OR THOUGHTS WHICH THE MASTER COUNTRY FEARS OR DISLIKES.

THEY RESEMBLE IN SOME WAYS THE MUNICIPAL SLUMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN CULTURE LANDS. IN THOSE DAYS MEN THOUGHT OF SLUMS AS INEVITABLE, AS BEING CAUSED IN A SENSE BY THE WRETCHED PEOPLE WHO INHABITED THEM, AS YIELDING TO NO REMEDIAL ACTION IN ANY CONCEIVABLE TIME. IF ABOLISHED, THE DREGS OF HUMANITY WOULD RE-CREATE THEM. THEN WE WERE JERKED BACK TO OUR SENSES BY THE REALIZATION THAT SLUMS WERE INVESTMENTS WHERE HOUSING, SANITATION, EDUCATION, AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM WERE LACKING, AND WHERE FOR THIS REASON THE PROFITS OF THE LANDLORDS, THE MERCHANTS, AND THE EXPLOITERS WAS ENORMOUS.

38-9-187

~~TO MOST PEOPLE THIS CHARACTERIZATION OF COLONIES WILL SEEM OVERDRAWN, AND OF COURSE IN ONE MAJOR RESPECT COLONIES DIFFER RADICALLY FROM SLUMS.~~ MUNICIPAL SLUMS ARE

MAINLY FESTERING SORES DRAWING THEIR SUBSTANCE FROM THE SURROUNDING CITY AND SHARING THE BLOOD AND THE CULTURE OF THAT CITY. COLONIES, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE FOR THE MOST PART QUITE SEPARATE IN RACE AND CULTURE FROM THE PEOPLES WHO CONTROL THEM. THEIR CULTURE IS OFTEN ANCIENT AND HISTORICALLY FINE AND VALUABLE, SPOILED TOO OFTEN BY MISFORTUNE AND CONQUEST AND MISUNDERSTANDING. THIS SENSE OF SEPARATION, THEREFORE, MAKES COLONIES USUALLY AN INTEGRAL ENTITY BEYOND THE SYMPATHY AND THE COMPREHENSION OF THE RULING WORLD. BUT IN BOTH CITY AND COLONY, LABOR IS FORCED BY POVERTY, AND CRIME IS LARGELY DISEASE.

WHAT, THEN, ARE COLONIES? LEAVING ANALOGIES, IN THIS CASE NONE TOO GOOD, WE LOOK TO FACTS, AND FIND THEM ALSO ELUSIVE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEFINE A COLONY PRECISELY. THERE ARE THE DRY BONES OF STATISTICS; BUT THE ESSENTIAL FACTS ARE NEITHER WELL MEASURED NOR LOGICALLY ARTICULATED. AFTER ALL, AN IMPERIAL POWER IS NOT

INTERESTED PRIMARILY IN CENSUSES, HEALTH SURVEYS, OR HISTORICAL RESEARCH. CONSEQUENTLY WE KNOW ONLY APPROXIMATELY, AND WITH WIDE MARGINS OF ERROR, THE COLONIAL POPULATION, THE NUMBER OF THE SICK AND THE DEAD, AND JUST WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE THE COLONY WAS CONQUERED.

FOR THE MOST PART, TODAY THE COLONIAL PEOPLES ARE COLORED OF SKIN; THIS WAS NOT TRUE OF COLONIES IN OTHER DAYS, BUT IT IS MAINLY TRUE TODAY. AND TO MOST MINDS, THIS IS OF FATAL SIGNIFICANCE; COUPLED WITH NEGRO SLAVERY, CHINESE COOLIES, AND DOCTRINES OF RACE INFERIORITY, IT PROVES TO MOST WHITE FOLK THE LOGIC OF THE MODERN COLONIAL SYSTEM: COLONIES ARE FILLED WITH PEOPLES WHO NEVER WERE ABREAST WITH CIVILIZATION AND NEVER CAN BE.

THIS RATIONALIZATION IS VERY SATISFACTORY TO EMPIRE-BUILDERS AND INVESTORS, BUT IT DOES NOT SATISFY SCIENCE TODAY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH IT DID YESTERDAY. SKIN COLOR

IS A MATTER OF CLIMATE, AND COLONIES TODAY ARE MAINLY IN THE HOT, MOIST TROPICS AND SEMITROPICS. NATURALLY, HERE SKINS ARE COLORED. BUT HISTORICALLY THESE LANDS ALSO WERE SEATS OF ANCIENT CULTURES AMONG NORMAL MEN. HERE HUMAN CIVILIZATION BEGAN, IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND CENTRAL AMERICA. WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THESE FOLK ACROSS THE AGES? THEY HAVE BEEN CONQUERED, ENSLAVED, OPPRESSED, AND EXPLOITED BY STRONGER INVADERS. BUT WAS THIS INVADING FORCE INVARIABLY STRONGER IN BODY, KEENER IN MIND, AND HIGHER IN CULTURE? NOT NECESSARILY, BUT ALWAYS STRONGER IN OFFENSIVE TECHNIQUES, EVEN THOUGH OFTEN LOWER IN CULTURE AND ONLY AVERAGE IN MIND.

38-9-190

OFFENSIVE TECHNIQUE DREW THE CONQUERORS DOWN UPON THE CONQUERED, BECAUSE THE CONQUERED HAD THE FERTILE LANDS, THE NEEDED MATERIALS, THE ARTS OF PROCESSING GOODS FOR HUMAN NEEDS. WITH THE CONQUERORS CONCENTRATING TIME AND THOUGHT ON THESE ASPECTS OF CULTURE, USUALLY THE CONQUERED COULD NOT OPPOSE THE BARBARIANS WITH MUSCLE, CLUBS,

SPEARS, GUNPOWDER, AND CAPITAL. IN TIME, THE INVADERS ACTUALLY SURPASSED, AND FAR SURPASSED, THE WEAKER PEOPLES IN WEALTH, TECHNIQUE, AND VARIETY OF CULTURE PATTERNS, AND MADE THEM SLAVES TO INDUSTRY AND SERVANTS TO WHITE MEN'S EASE.

BUT WHAT OF THE FUTURE? HAVE THE PRESENT MASTERS OF THE WORLD SUCH AN ETERNAL LIEN ON CIVILIZATION AS TO ENSURE UNENDING CONTROL? BY NO MEANS; THEIR VERY ABSORPTION IN WAR AND WEALTH HAS SO WEAKENED THEIR MORAL FIBER THAT THE END OF THEIR RULE IS IN SIGHT. ALSO, THE DAY OF THE COLONIAL CONQUERED PEOPLES DAWNS, OBSCURELY BUT SURELY.

38-9-191

TODAY, THEN, THE COLONIAL AREAS LIE INERT OR SULLENLY RESENTFUL OR SEETHING WITH HATE AND UNREST. WITH UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES, THEY HAVE BUT SCRAPS OF UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN ACCUMULATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE; BUT THEY ARE PRESSING TOWARD EDUCATION WITH BITTER DETERMINATION. THE CONQUERORS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE GIVING THEM ONLY THE PASSING ATTENTION WHICH PREOCCUPATION WITH PROBLEMS OF WEALTH AND POWER AT HOME LEAVES

FOR COLONIAL "PROBLEMS."

WHAT, THEN, DO MODERN COLONIES LOOK LIKE, FEEL LIKE? IT IS DIFFICULT TO DRAW ANY UNIVERSAL PICTURE, SUPERFICIAL IMPRESSIONS ARE COMMON: BLACK BOYS DIVING FOR PENNIES; HUMAN HORSES HITCHED TO RICKSHAWS; MENIAL SERVICE IN PLETHORA FOR A WAGE NEAR NOTHING; ABSOLUTE RULE OVER SLAVES, EVEN TO LIFE AND DEATH; FAWNING, CRAWLING OBEISANCE; HIGH SALARIES, PALACES, AND LUXURY COUPLED WITH ABJECT, NAUSEATING, DISEASED POVERTY -- THIS IN A VAGUE, IMPERFECT WAY PAINTS THE PRESENT COLONIAL WORLD.

IT IS NOT NEARLY SO EASY AS IT WOULD APPEAR TO FILL IN THIS OUTLINE AND MAKE IT PRECISE AND SCIENFITIFIC. EMPIRES DO NOT WANT NOSY BUSYBODIES SNOOPING INTO THEIR TERRITORIES AND BUSINESS. VISITORS TO COLONIES ARE, TO BE SURE, ALLOWED AND EVEN ENCOURAGED; BUT THEIR TOURS ARE ARRANGED, OFFICIALS GUIDE THEM IN SPACE AND IN THOUGHT, AND THEY SEE USUALLY WHAT THE COLONIAL POWER WANTS THEM TO SEE AND LITTLE

MORE. DANGEROUS "RADICALS" ARE RIGOROUSLY EXCLUDED. MY OWN VISITS TO COLONIES HAVE BEEN RARE AND UNSATISFACTORY. SEVERAL TIMES I HAVE TRIED IN VAIN TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA. NO VISAS WERE OBTAINABLE. I HAVE BEEN IN BRITISH AND FRENCH WEST AFRICA AND IN JAMAICA.

IN THE MAIN, COLONIAL PEOPLES ARE LIVING ABNORMALLY, SAVE THOSE OF THE UNTOUCHED OR INERT MASS OF NATIVES. WHERE THE WHITES FORM A SMALL RULING GROUP, THEY ARE MOST ABNORMAL AND ARE NOT, AS IS ASSUMED, REPLICAS OF THE HOME GROUP. THEY CONSIST, CHIEFLY, OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMERCIAL CONCERNS WHOSE FIRST OBJECT IS TO MAKE MONEY FOR THEMSELVES AND THE CORPORATIONS THEY REPRESENT. THEY ARE IN THE MAIN HARD-BOILED, OFTEN RUTHLESS BUSINESSMEN, UNRESTRAINED BY THE INHIBITIONS OF HOME IN EITHER LAW OR CUSTOM. NEXT COME THE COLONIAL OFFICIALS, EITHER IDENTICAL WITH THE COMMERCIAL MEN OR MORE OR LESS UNDER THEIR DOMINATION, ESPECIALLY THROUGH HOME INFLUENCE. COLONIALS AND BUSINESSMEN

CLASH, BUT BUSINESS USUALLY WINS. SOMETIMES PHILANTHROPIC CAREER OFFICIALS GET THE UPPER HAND; BUT THEY ARE IN DANGER OF BEING REPLACED OR LOSING PROMOTION. THE OFFICIAL CLASS -- HEADS, ASSISTANTS, CLERKS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN -- ARE APT TO BE ARROGANT, RAISED ABOVE THEIR NATURAL POSITION AND FEELING THEIR BRIEF AUTHORITY; THEY LORD IT OVER DESPISED NATIVES AND DEMAND SWIFT AND EXEMPLARY PUNISHMENT FOR ANY AFFRONT TO THEIR DIGNITY. THE COURTS PRESIDED OVER BY WHITES ARE USUALLY EVEN-HANDED IN NATIVE QUARRELS, BUT THROUGH FEAR ARE STRICT, HARSH, AND EVEN CRUEL IN CASES BETWEEN NATIVES AND WHITES. WHITE PRESTIGE MUST BE MAINTAINED AT ANY COST. THERE IS USUALLY A CONSIDERABLE GROUP OF WHITE DERELICTS, HANGERS-ON, SADISTIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "SUPERIOR RACE," BANISHED TO COLONIES BY RELATIVES WHO ARE ASHAMED TO KEEP THEM AT HOME.

38-9-195

THIS WHOLE GROUP OF WHITES FORMS A CASTE APART, LIVES IN SEGREGATED, SALUBRIOUS, AREAS, SELDOM SPEAKS THE VERNACULAR OR KNOWS THE MASSES EXCEPT OFFICIALLY. THEIR

REGULAR INCOME FROM COLONIAL SERVICES IS LIBERAL ACCORDING TO HOME STANDARDS AND OFTEN FANTASTIC ACCORDING TO THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN COLONIES. CONCEIVE OF AN INCOME OF $10,000 A YEAR FOR A COLONIAL GOVERNOR OVER PEOPLE WHOSE AVERAGE INCOME IS $25 A YEAR! THE OFFICIALS GET FREQUENT VACATIONS WITH PAY, AND ARE PENSIONED AFTER COMPARATIVELY SHORT SERVICE. THE PENSIONS ARE PAID FOR LIFE BY COLONIAL TAXATION, AND THE PENSIONERS ARE REGARDED AS EXPERTS ON COLONIAL MATTERS THE REST OF THEIR LIVES.

38-9-196

WHERE THE WHITE RESIDENT CONTINGENT IS RELATIVELY LARGE, AS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA, THE CASTE CONDITIONS ARE AGGRAVATED AND THE WHITES BECOME THE COLONY WHILE THE NATIVES ARE IGNORED AND NEGLECTED EXCEPT AS LOW-PAID LABOR LARGELY WITHOUT RIGHTS THAT THE COLONISTS NEED RESPECT.

BELOW THIS GROUP OF WHITE OVERLORDS ARE THE MILLIONS OF NATIVES. THEIR NORMAL AND TRADITIONAL LIFE HAS BEEN MORE OR LESS DISRUPTED AND CHANGED IN WORK, PROPERTY, FAMILY

LIFE, RECREATION, HEALTH HABITS, FOOD, RELIGION, AND OTHER CULTURAL MATTERS. THEIR INITIATIVE, EDUCATION, FREEDOM OF ACTION, HAVE BEEN INTERFERED WITH TO A GREATER OR LESS EXTENT. AUTHORITY HAS BEEN ALMOST ENTIRELY WITHDRAWN FROM THEIR CONTROL AND THE WHITE MAN'S WORD IS LAW IN MOST CASES. THEIR NATIVE STANDARDS OF LIFE HAVE BEEN DESTROYED AND THE NEW STANDARDS CANNOT BE MET BY A POVERTY THAT IS THE WORST IN THE WORLD. THE MASS OF NATIVES SINK INTO CARELESS, INERT, OR SULLEN INDIFFERENCE, MAKING THEIR CONTACT WITH WHITES AS RARE AS POSSIBLE, AND INCURRING REPEATED PUNISHMENT FOR LAZINESS AND INFRACTION OF ARBITRARY OR INEXPLICABLE RULES.

UP FROM THESE RISE TWO GROUPS: THE TOADIES OR "WHITE FOLKS NIGGERS," WHO USE FLATTERY AND TALEBEARING TO CURRY FAVOR; AND THE RESENTFUL, BITTER, AND AMBITIOUS WHO SEEK BY OPPOSITION OR EDUCATION TO ACHIEVE THE EMANCIPATION OF THEIR LAND AND PEOPLE. THE EDUCATED AND THE HALF-EDUCATED, IN PARTICULAR, ARE THE OBJECT OF ATTACK

AND DISLIKE BY THE WHITES AND ARE ENDLESSLY SLANDERED IN ALL TESTIMONY GIVEN VISITORS AND SCIENTISTS.

THE MISSIONARIES FORM ANOTHER CLASS. THEY HAVE BEEN OF ALL SORTS OF PERSONS: UNWORLDLY VISIONARIES, FORMER PASTORS OUT OF A JOB, SOCIAL WORKERS WITH AND WITHOUT SOCIAL SCIENCE, THEOLOGIANS, CRACKPOTS, AND HUMANITARIANS. THEIR VOCATION IS SO UNCONVENTIONAL THAT IT IS ALMOST WITHOUT STANDARDS OF TRAINING OR SET NORMS OF EFFORT. YET MISSIONARIES HAVE SPENT TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND INFLUENCED HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF MEN WITH RESULTS THAT LITERALLY VARY FROM HEAVEN TO HELL. MISSIONARIES REPRESENT THE OLDEST INVASION OF WHITES, AND INCUR AT FIRST THE ENMITY OF BUSINESS AND THE FRIENDSHIP OF NATIVES. COLONIAL OFFICIALS, ON PRESSURE FROM HOME, COMPROMISE DIFFERENCES, AND THE KEENER NATIVES THEREUPON COME TO SUSPECT MISSIONARY MOTIVES AND THE NATIVE TOADIES RUSH TO GET CONVERTED AND CASH IN ON BENEFITS. THE TOTAL RESULT

VARIES TREMENDOUSLY ACCORDING TO THE PRESSURE OF THESE ELEMENTS.

DESPITE A VAST LITERATURE ON COLONIAL PEOPLES, THERE IS TODAY NO SOUND SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR COMPREHENSIVE STUDY. WHAT WE HAVE ARE REPORTS OF OFFICIALS WHO SET OUT TO MAKE A CASE FOR THE IMPERIAL POWER IN CONTROL; REPORTS OF MISSIONARIES, OF ALL DEGREES OF RELIABILITY AND OBJECT; REPORTS OF TRAVELERS SWAYED BY EVERY CONCEIVABLE MOTIVE AND FITTED OR UNFITTED FOR TESTIMONY BY WIDELY VARYING EDUCATION, IDEALS, AND RELIABILITY. WHEN SCIENCE TRIES TO STUDY COLONIAL SYSTEMS IN AFRICA AND ASIA, IT MEETS ALLSORTS OF HINDRANCES AND INCOMPLETE STATEMENTS OF FACT. IN FEW CASES IS THERE TESTIMONY FROM THE COLONIAL PEOPLES THEMSELVES, OR IMPARTIAL SCIENTIFIC SURVEYS CONDUCTED BY PERSONS FREE OF COMPULSION FROM IMPERIAL CONTROL AND DICTATION.

38-9-200

BY THE FACT

MOST FOLK TODAY ARE COMFORTED/THAT RECENTLY THE NUMBER OF COLONIES HAS GREATLY DECREASED. IN 1944, JUST BEFORE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE NUMBER OF COLONIES OFFICIALLY REPORTED 725 MILLION PERSONS, OR A THIRD OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION LIVING ON A THIRD OF THE LAND SPACE OF THE WORLD. TODAY, THIRTEEN YEARS LATER, THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN COLONIES HAS DECREASED FROM 725 MILLION TO 139 MILLION IN 1957. AND OF THESE, 44,413,000 ARE BECOMING INDEPENDENT SOON OR ARE TRUST TERRITORIES WHOSE INDEPENDENCE IS ASSURED. IN OTHER WORDS, ONLY FIVE PER CENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION LIVE TODAY IN COLONIES.

38-9-201

UNFORTUNATELY, THIS IS NOT AS GOOD AS IT SOUNDS. WHILE THE POLITICAL CONTROL OF COLONIES HAS GREATLY DECREASED, LARGE PARTS OF THE WORLD AND ITS PEOPLE REMAIN UNDER IMPERIALISM BY ECONOMIC POWER. THUS A VAST SPREAD OF QUASI-COLONIES HAS

SUCCEEDED THE POLITICAL COLONIES. THE RELEASED COLONIES LIKE INDIA AND PAKISTAN; THE PHILLIPINES; SOUTH EAST ASIA AND NEARLY ALL AFRICA; SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES ARE TODAY UNDER SUCH ECONOMIC CONTROL BY BRITAIN AND FRANCE, AND INCREASINGLY BY AMERICA, THAT THE FORMER COLONIAL QUESTION RE-APPEARS WITH NEW POLITICAL CONTROLS, BUT THIS POLITICAL CONTROL TOGETHER WITH ALMOST ALL OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A LIVING IS STILL DOMINATED BY THE IMPERIAL NATIONS AND INCREASINGLY BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

38-9-203

CONSIDER, FOR INSTANCE, PUERTO RICO. SUGAR IS ALMOST ENTIRELY ABSENTEE-CONTROLLEI TOBACCO IS 95 PER CENT ABSENTEE-CONTROLLED; BANKS, 60 PER CENT; AND STEAMSHIP LINES, APPROXIMATELY 100 PER CENT. SO THAT THE DOLLARS WHICH ON PAPER APPEAR TO GIVE PUERTO RICO A FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE ARE DOLLARS WHICH ARE NEVER SEEN IN PUERTO

RICO, BUT ARE GIVEN BY THE BANKS TO THE ABSENTEE HOLDERS OF SHARES IN INDUSTRY.

38-9-204

TAKE THE ONWERSHIP OF LAND IN AFRICA. JUST AS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES IN EUROPE SEIZURE OF THE LAND FORCED THE PEASANTS INTO WAGE LABOR AT LOW RATES, SO IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE THERE IS SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO DEPRIVE THE NATIVE OF HIS LAND. IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE EUROPEANS, FORMING ONLY 20 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION, HAVE LESS THAN 13 PER CENT OF THE LAND. THIS SITUATION EXISTS EVEN AFTER LONG AND REPEATED EFFORT TO BETTER NATIVE LAND CONDITIONS.

IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 60,000 EUROPEANS HAVE 47,000,000 ACRES OF THE BEST LAND, LEAVING 21,000,000 ACRES AS RESERVES FOR 1,500,000 NATIVES, AND OF THESE 17,000,000 ACRES MAY BE GIVEN TO WHITES. IN KENYA LESS THAN 2,000 EUROPEANS HOLD 4,500,000 ACRES OF THE BEST FARM LAND IN THE COUNTRY, WHICH WAS PRACTICALLY GIVEN TO THEM

AND ONLY 11 PER CENT OF THIS IS UNDER CULTIVATION. THE NATIVE RESERVES ARE SO CROWDED THAT IN SOME PLACES THERE IS A DENSITY OF 145 AND EVEN 283 PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE.

CONSIDER ONE CASE OF INVESTMENT. UNDER THE COVENANT OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY, THE WEST AFRICAN CAMEROONS BECAME "A SACRED TRUST OF CIVILIZATION," THE LARGEST PART OF WHICH WAS TRANSFERRED TO BRITAIN. THE BRITISH AUCTIONED FIFTY GERMAN ESTATES, COMPRISING 258,000,000 ACRES, TO THEIR FORMER GERMAN HOLDERS, WHO WERE THE ONLY ONES ABLE TO BID, AND THESE GOT BACK THEIR PROPERTIES FOR A FRACTION OF THEIR REAL VALUE. THESE ESTATES ARE WORKED BY NEGRO LABOR AT THE AVERAGE PAY OF ONE SHILLING A DAY.

WE APPEND ONE ILLUSTRATION OF ACTUAL INVESTMENT:

(1) THE ENTIRE OUTPUT OF COPPER FOR THE YEAR 1937 IN NORTHERN RHODESIA WAS SOLD OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AND IT YIELDED TWELVE MILLION POUNDS. (2) FIVE MILLION POUNDS OF THIS SUM WENT TO SHAREHOLDERS AS DIVIDENDS, AND NOT ONE OF THESE SHAREHOLDERS WAS AN AFRICAN — NOR WAS THE MONEY SPENT IN OR FOR MATABELE. (3) ONE-HALF MILLION WAS PAID AS ROYALTY, NOT TO THE INHABITANTS OF MATABELE, BUT TO THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY BECAUSE OF THE SO-CALLED TREATY. (4) EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS OF THIS MONEY WENT IN PAYMENT OF THE SALARY OF SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY EUROPEANS, APPROXIMATELY FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS PER PERSON; TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR THOUSAND POUNDS WENT TO THE WAGES OF SEVENTEEN AFRICANS, WHICH APPROXIMATES FOURTEEN POUNDS PER PERSON.

IN SHORT, IT MEANS THAT OF THE TWELVE MILLION POUNDS ACCRUING FROM THE COPPER INDUSTRY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA, THE INHABITANTS THEREOF, THE LEGITIMATE

OWNERS OF THE LAND, GOT ONLY ONE- QUARTER OF A MILLION POUNDS, WHILE THE BALANCE OF FOUR AND A HALF MILLION POUNDS WENT TO THE IMPERIALISTS.

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY THERE HAS COME GREAT CHANGE IN THESE JUDGMENTS. IN THE FIRST PLACE, WE HAVE PRACTICALLY GIVEN UP THE IDEA THAT THERE IS ANY CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF THE CIVILIZED PEOPLES WHO CANNOT BY EDUCATION AND BY THE TRAINING OF EXPERIENCE BE MADE INTO EFFECTIVE VOTERS AND ADMINISTRATORS IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS. FURTHER THAN THIS, WE ARE NOT NEARLY SO SURE TODAY AS WE USED TO BE OF THE INHERENT INFERIORITY OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE EARTH WHO HAPPEN TO BE COLORED. WE KNOW, OF COURSE, THAT SKIN COLOR ITSELF HAS NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE, AND THE OTHER PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, WHATEVER THEIR SIGNIFICANCE, ARE NOT CERTAIN INDICATIONS OF INFERIORITY.

28-9-207

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY WE NATURALLY REALIZE IS NOT DECISIVE. HISTORY HAS BEEN WRITTEN DELIBERATELY TO EMPHASIZE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CERTAIN PEOPLES AND TO DECRY OR OMIT THE WORK OF OTHER PEOPLES. IT IS ALWAYS ASTONISHING FOR AMERICANS TO CONTRAST THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AS SET DOWN IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS.

LET ME CLOSE THIS TALK BY A REFERENCE TO GHANA, THAT BLACK WEST AFRICAN NATION WHICH HAS JUST BECOME INDEPENDENT AFTER BEING A BRITISH COLONY FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY. IN 1844, THE BLACKS OF THE GOLD COAST FORMED A BOND WITH LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BUT FAIR RECOGNITION OF RIGHTS OF TRADE FOR THE BRITISH. THE BRITISH NOT ONLY REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THIS DECLARATION, BUT PUT ITS LEADERS IN JAIL AND SEIZED COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE COLONY. ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER THIS COLONY IS GRANTED COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE. THE LEADER IN THIS WORK WAS A BLACK BOY WHOM I MET IN 1945. KWAMI NKRUMAH WAS BORN IN AFRICA, EDUCATED IN

28-9-208

MISSION SCHOOLS AND CAME TO THE UNITED STATES FOR FURTHER EDUCATION IN 1935 AND STAYED TEN YEARS. HE HAD A HARD TIME. HE RECEIVED HIS BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN 1939 AND BEGAN WORK FOR HIS MASTER'S WHICH HE RECEIVED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1943. HE WORKED HARD FOR IT. "IN ORDER TO KEEP BODY AND SOUL TOGETHER," HE WROTE IN HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY, "I GOT A JOB AS A COUNTER IN THE SUN SHIPBUILDING YARD AT CHESTER WHERE I WORKED IN ALL WEATHERS FROM TWELVE MIDNIGHT UNTIL EIGHT THE FOLLOWING MORNING. IT FROZE SO HARD ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT MY HANDS ALMOST STUCK TO THE STEEL AND ALTHOUGH I PUT ON ALL THE CLOTHES THAT I POSSESSED, I WAS CHILLED TO THE MARROW. AT 8 A. M. I USED TO RETURN TO MY LODGINGS, HAVE BREAKFAST, SLEEP FOR A FEW HOURS AND THEN BEGIN RESEARCH FOR THE WRITING OF MY THESIS." ONCE HE FOUND WORK IN A SOAP FACTORY. "IT TURNED OUT," HE WROTE LATER, "TO BE BY FAR THE FILTHIEST AND MOST UNSAVORY JOB THAT I EVER HAD. ALL THE ROTTING ENTRAILS AND LUMPS OF FAT OF ANIMALS WERE DUMPED BY LORRIES INTO A YARD. ARMED WITH A

38-9-209

FORK I HAD TO LOAD AS MUCH AS I COULD OF THIS REEKING AND UTTERLY REPULSIVE CARGO INTO A WHEELBARROW AND THEN TRANSPORT IT, LOAD AFTER LOAD, TO THE PROCESSING PLANT. AS THE DAYS WENT BY, INSTEAD OF BEING STEADILY TOUGHENED, I HAD THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY IN TRYING NOT TO VOMIT THE WHOLE TIME."

HE WAS ONCE TRAVELLING BY BUS AND STOPPED AT BALTIMORE. "I WAS PARCHED FROM THIRST," HE WROTE IN HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY, "AND I ENTERED THE REFRESHMENT ROOM AT THE TERMINAL AND ASKED THE WHITE AMERICAN IF I COULD HAVE A DRINK OF WATER. HE FROWNED AND LOOKED DOWN HIS NOSE AT ME AS IF I WAS SOMETHING UNCLEAN. 'THE PLACE FOR YOU, MY MAN, IS THE SPITTOON OUTSIDE,' HE DECLARED AS HE DISMISSED ME FROM HIS SIGHT. I WAS SO SHOCKED THAT I COULD NOT MOVE."

38-9-210

HE RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN 1945 AND THERE I FIRST MET HIM. I WAS THERE TO ATTEND THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. I HAD STARTED THESE CONGRESSES IN 1919 AT THE TIME OF THE VERSAILLES CONGRESS WHICH WAS MAKING THE PEACE TREATY TO END THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

WE HAD ASSEMBLED THREE OTHER CONGRESSES IN 1921, 1923 and 1929. BUT HERE I HAD GIVEN UP. IMPERIAL OPPOSITION BECAME TOO STRONG: I COULD NOT GET A MEETING PLACE IN AFRICA AND INTEREST AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES SEEMED TO DECREASE. BUT AFRICANS THEMSELVES TOOK UP THE IDEA AND FORMED NATIONAL AFRICAN CONGRESSES ALL OVER THE CONTINENT. WHEN THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD MET IN PARIS IN 1945, AFRICAN MEMBERS DEMANDED ANOTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. I HAD IN 1944 RETURNED FROM TEACHING IN GEORGIA TO REJOIN THE N.A.A.C.P. WHICH I HAD HELPED FOUND IN 1909. ONE OF MY FIRST EFFORTS WAS TO RESPOND TO THIS CALL FOR A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN 1945. THE NAACP HESITATED BUT FINALLY PERMITTED ME TO GO. WE MET IN MANCHESTER AND NKRUMAH WRITES THUS ABOUT IT:

"THE CONGRESS TOOK PLACE AS PLANNED IN OCTOBER UNDER THE JOINT CHAIRMANSHIP OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, AN AFRO-AMERICAN SCHOLAR AND ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE NATIONAL

88-9-211

ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AND DR. PETER MILLIARD, A NEGRO PHYSICIAN FROM BRITISH GUIANA, PRACTISING IN MANCHESTER. THE CONGRESS WAS A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS AND WAS ATTENDED BY OVER 200 DELEGATES FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. WE LISTENED TO REPORTS OF CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIAL TERRITORIES AND BOTH CAPITALIST AND REFORMIST SOLUTIONS TO THE AFRICAN COLONIAL PROBLEMS WERE REJECTED. INSTEAD THE CONGRESS UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED THE DOCTRINE OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM BASED UPON THE TACTICS OF POSITIVE ACTION WITHOUT VIOLENCE. IT ALSO ENDORSED THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ADVISED AFRICANS AND THOSE OF AFRICAN DESCENT WHEREVER THEY MIGHT BE TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES INTO POLITICAL PARTIES, TRADE UNIONS, CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT.

"THE IMPORTANT DECLARATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE IMPERIALIST POWERS OF THE WORLD WERE

88-9-212

ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS, ONE WRITTEN BY DR. DU BOIS AND THE OTHER WRITTEN BY MYSELF. THESE DECLARATIONS ASSERTED THE DETERMINATION OF COLONIAL PEOPLES TO BE FREE AND CONDEMNED THE MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL AND THE USE OF PRIVATE WEALTH AND INDUSTRY FOR PERSONAL PROFITS ALONE. THEY MADE A STAND FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY AS BEING THE ONLY REAL DEMOCRACY AND APPEALED TO COLONIAL PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- THE INTELLECTUALS, PROFESSIONAL CLASSES AND THE WORKERS -- TO AWAKEN TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN FREEING THEMSELVES AND SAVING THE WORLD FROM THE CLUTCHES OF IMPERIALISM.

38-9-213

"ALTHOUGH THIS CONFERENCE WAS THE FIFTH OF ITS KIND THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE, IT WAS QUITE DISTINCT AND DIFFERENT IN TONE, OUTLOOK AND IDEOLOGY FROM THE FOUR THAT HAD PRECEDED IT. WHILE THE FOUR PREVIOUS CONFERENCES WERE BOTH PROMOTED AND SUPPORTED MAINLY BY MIDDLE-CLASS INTELLECTUALS AND BOURGEOIS NEGRO REFORMISTS, THIS FIFTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS WAS ATTENDED BY WORKERS, TRADE UNIONISTS, FARMERS, CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND BY

AFRICAN AND OTHER COLORED STUDENTS. AS THE PREPONDERANCE OF MEMBERS ATTENDING THE CONGRESS WERE AFRICAN, ITS IDEOLOGY BECAME AFRICAN NATIONALISM -- A REVOLT BY AFRICAN NATIONALISM AGAINST COLONIALISM, RACIALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA -- AND IT ADOPTED MARXIST SOCIALISM AS ITS PHILOSOPHY."

38-9-214

AMONG THE OTHER ATTENDANTS AT THIS CONGRESS WERE KOMO KENYATTA, NOW IN JAIL ACCUSED OF INCITING THE MAU MAU REBELLION IN KENYA, PETER ABRAHAMS THE SOUTH AFRICAN WRITER, AND GEORGE PADMORE, THE BEST STUDENT ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS NOW WRITING.

THEN NKRUMAH RESUMED HIS EXTRAORDINARY CAREER. FOR TWO YEARS HE WORKED AMONG THE AFRICANS IN LONDON AND FOLLOWED THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENTS. HE LANDED ON THE GOLD COAST IN 1947 AND IMMEDIATELY TOOK UP THE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE. HE WAS SOON ARRESTED BECAUSE OF A STRIKE OF SOLDIERS FOR WHICH HE WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE. HE WAS LATER RELEASED

AND THEN RE-ARRESTED AND SENT TO JAIL FOR THREE YEARS; HE WRITES:

"I WAS TAKEN TO CELL NUMBER ELEVEN WHERE TEN OF MY COMRADES WERE ALREADY INSTALLED, AND I CAN'T SAY THAT THE PROSPECT OF A THREE YEARS' STAY IN THESE SURROUNDINGS WAS A VERY HAPPY ONE.

"WHILST I DIDN'T EXACTLY EXPECT TO BE MADE TO FEEL AT HOME IN JAMES FORT, IT WAS SOMEWHAT OF A SHOCK TO ME TO DISCOVER THAT, AS A POLITICAL PRISONER, I WAS TREATED AS A CRIMINAL. SOMETIMES I USED TO SPECULATE AS TO WHAT MY LOT WOULD HAVE BEEN AS A HARDENED GAOL-BIRD. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THAT THERE COULD BE WORSE TREATMENT IF THE MINIMUM OF HEALTH AND SANITY OF THE INMATE WERE TO BE PRESERVED."

BUT NKRUMAH'S FOLLOWERS, DESPITE BITTER OPPOSITION, ELECTED HIM TO PARLIAMENT WHILE HE WAS IN JAIL BY SO LARGE A MAJORITY THAT THE GOVERNMENT RELEASED HIM AND BECAME PRIME MINISTER. HE FOUGHT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SO THAT THEY FINALLY GRANTED THE GOLD COAST

INDEPENDENCE LAST MARCH. HE ESPECIALLY ASKED THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO LET ME ATTEND THE CEREMONIES, BUT THE GOVERNMENT SENT VICE PRESIDENT NIXON INSTEAD.

THE REASON THAT NIXON AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FORTY GREAT NATIONS ATTENDED THIS CEREMONY WAS BECAUSE THIS FREE BLACK NATION HAS IMMENSE INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES. THEY ALREADY CONTROL THE COCOA CROP FROM WHICH OUR CHOCOLATE COMES; THEY HAVE HUGE DEPOSITS OF BAUXITE FROM WHICH ALUMINUM COMES; THEY HAVE IMMENSE POSSIBILITIES OF WATER POWER. THE IMPERIALISTS ASK: HOW CAN WE CONTROL THIS WEALTH AND KEEP THE HUGE INCOME FROM GOING TO BLACK AFRICANS? AND NKRUMAH ASKS: HOW CAN I KEEP GHANA FROM THE CLUTCHES OF WORLD BIG BUSINESS AND YET PROVIDE WORK AND WAGES FOR MY PEOPLE. IT IS A HARD JOB AND IS THE ESSENCE OF THE CURRENT FIGHT AGAINST THE NEW ECONOMIC COLONIALISM. IN MY LAST LETTER TO NKRUMAH, I GAVE NO POLITICAL ADVICE. BUT I DID SAY TO THIS YOUNG STATESMAN OF FIFTY YEARS: "GO TO THE HOSPITAL WHILE YOU ARE IN LONDON VISITING THE QUEEN AND

HER MINISTERS AND SEE TO IT THAT YOU HAVE HEALTH. YOU ARE GOING TO NEED IT."

38-9-217

MARION BACHRACH

40-1-129

In America of the twentieth century, a woman of physical attraction, intelligence, and financial independence has before her the temptation to be carefully groomed, expensively dressed, and to associate with persons of recognized respectability in doing nothing of importance or engaging in such activities as are calculated to preserve the present status of society. This is the reason that the emancipation of women, toward which the nineteenth century looked forward with such hope, has proved so disappointing. When at long last the women of England and America achieved the right of suffrage, many expected a vital change in our political and social life. It did not become so, and the cause was that women, instead of voting as independent thinkers and doers, voted as their fathers or husbands did or did not vote at all. This was natural. A

40-1-130

woman who became an independent thinker or who dared to act against current patterns of life, must have an education which few woman could obtain; they must have an independent income or paid work which few women have and they must have independence of thought which few men want in the mates they marry. Yet conventions which compel women to seek beauty above salvation; which pay more for their legs than their brains, and which face the independent thinker with the alternative of Hollywood or jail, are going to build a world in which half its power of thought and action will be hopelessly lost. Present human culture can ill afford this. With all available brains and courage, it is going to be hard enough today for civilization to survive and escape from the miserable mess in which we find ourselves today, and this mainly because of

our own stupidity.

For this reason we spend this little hour to keep the memory of Marion Bashrach. She was a beautiful woman. She was an intelligent woman. She was as yet young as time goes when she died. Yet she faced jail and calumny; persecution and insult, just for the right to think her own thoughts; to study the truth so as to have thoughts; to join such other human beings as she regarded as worthy of knowing and working beside. She chose this in spite of the possibility of a career for which America would willingly have paid large income and given glamorous publicity, which to her seemed trash. We come here to applaud her decision and glorify her end, and to say to the world and especially to America: this is the woman we love; this is the career we envy, and Marion Bashrach is the person we wish to set before our daughters as the one whose life example should be followed.

40-1-131

40-1-135

It is a joy and an honor for me to say that Marion Bachrach was my comrade. I was not privileged to know her as long or to work with her as intimately as many of you but time had little to do with knowing and loving Marion.

We shall all remember her smile: a very special smile, quick, warm, expressive. A smile which said without words: "It is well you have come to me - If its a heavy load you have, I'll share it, for I have learned to carry many loads. If its victory and success, tell me quickly so that we may rejoice together. If you bring sorrow, I'll comfort you - I too, have known much pain. She was tireless, she was brave; she was undefeated. Her assurance never wavered for she know that she held in her hands and in her heart the ultimate victory.

Her last days was a valiant affirmation of the words of the poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar:

When I am gone, say not my day is o'er
That through the night I seek a dimmer shore:
Say rather that the morn has just begun -
I greet the Dawn and not a setting sun,
When I am gone.

12.85

9 notebks for Rehgeous Social Studies
NY Nov 19, 1957

GHANA: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KWAME NKRUMAH. EDINBURGH, THOMAS N. NELSON & SONS, LTD., 1957. 310 pp., WITH MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND INDEX. 21 SHILLINGS.

"THIS BOOK STIRRED MY IMAGINATION!" [pp. 1-7 missing]

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

¶ THE TREATMENT OF THE GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA AT THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES DREW MY INTEREST. I WROTE WOODROW WILSON IN 1918 AND SUGGESTED THAT THESE COLONIES BE PUT UNDER INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP WITH AFRICANS REPRESENTED ON THE BOARD OF CONTROL. NATURALLY MY LETTER BROUGHT NO REPLY. BUT ELUDING THE VIGILANCE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, I APPEARED IN PARIS AND ASKED THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO HELP ME CALL A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS [redacted]. SO THAT AFRICANS COULD PLACE THEIR PLIGHT BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF VERSAILLES. I TALKED WITH COLONEL HOUSE, WALTER LIPPMANN AND OTHERS. ALL EXPRESSED REGRET BUT ASSURED ME THAT WITH PARIS UNDER MARTIAL LAW THE FRENCH

38-7-42

GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ALLOW SUCH A GATHERING. THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE HASTENED TO ASSURE AMERICAN NEGROES WHO INQUIRED THAT NO SUCH CONGRESS WOULD BE HELD. BUT I WENT TO THE BLACK FRENCH UNDER-SECRETARY OF WAR, BLAISE DIAGNE. HE HAD SAVED FRANCE BY SENDING 180,000 BLACK SENEGALESE AS SHOCK TROOPS AGAINST THE INITIAL GERMAN ONSLAUGHT. HE CONSULTED PRIME MINISTER GEORGES CLEMENCEAU AND WAS TOLD THE CONGRESS COULD CONVENE.

¶ THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS MET AT THE GRAND HOTEL, PARIS, IN MARCH 1919, BUT IT HAD FEW DELEGATES. BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES REFUSED TO GRANT VISAS TO THOSE WISHING TO ATTEND [redacted], AND IN ANY CASE FACILITIES FOR TRAVEL WERE FEW. NEVERTHELESS, THERE WERE NEGROES AND WHITES INTERESTED IN AFRICA ALREADY IN PARIS, AND FIFTY-SEVEN CAME TO THE SESSIONS. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD AN

38-7-42

UNDER-SECRETARY OF COLONIES/TO SIT BESIDE DIAGNE,/WHO PRESIDED.

¶ THIS WAS THE FIRST/OF FIVE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES/HELD IN 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, AND 1945,/IN LONDON, PARIS, BRUSSELS,/LISBON AND NEW YORK,/AND FINALLY IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.// THEIR OBJECTIVES WERE MODEST:/ THEY SOUGHT TO BRING THE [redacted] CHILDREN OF AFRICA,/LIVING STILL IN THE MOTHER CONTINENT/OR SCATTERED BY THE SLAVE TRADE/OVER AMERICA,/TO MEET TOGETHER/ GET ACQUAINTED, AND FIND SUCH COMMON GROUND/FOR THOUGHT AND ACTION/AS SEEMED FEASIBLE.// THEY PLANNED NO VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTION,/BUT SOUGHT FACT AND REASON/AS THEIR SUCCESSIVE DECLARATIONS PROVED.// HOWEVER, A WEST INDIAN MOVEMENT/AROSE ABOUT 1920/WHICH DEMANDED "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS"/AND GAVE THE IMPERIALIST GOVERNMENTS/A CHANCE TO THROW SUSPICION ON US.//WE MET BITTER OPPOSITION/AT OUR MEETING IN BRUSSELS/AND WHEN I

TRIED/TO CALL A CONGRESS IN TUNIS,/THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT REFUSED PERMISSION.// LATER I PLANNED TO CHARTER A STEAMSHIP/AND HOLD SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS/OF THE CONGRESS/IN THE WEST INDIES.// BUT NO AVAILABLE BOAT COULD BE FOUND.//A CONGRESS WAS CALLED IN 1927/IN NEW YORK/BY HELP OF AMERICAN NEGRO WOMEN.// THEN I GAVE UP/ BECAUSE OF THE DEPRESSION,/ THE EVIDENT ENMITY AND SUSPICION/OF THE WHITE WORLD/AND THE GROWING APATHY/OF BLACK FOLK IN AMERICA.// HOWEVER, IN AFRICA,/ THE IDEA OF AFRICAN CONGRESSES GREW/UNTIL TODAY THERE ARE [redacted] NATIONAL CONGRESSES/IN NEARLY EVERY AFRICAN PROVINCE.

¶ MEANWHILE,/I HAD SERVED THE N.A.A.C.P./ AND EDITED ITS OFFICIAL ORGAN/FOR TWENTY-THREE YEARS UNTIL IN 1934 IT CEASED TO BE SELF-SUPPORTING. I THEN WENT BACK TO TEACHING. I TAUGHT IN THE SOUTH TEN YEARS AND TRIED TO RE-BUILD MY PLAN OF

WIDE, CONTINUOUS STUDY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM UNDER THE CENTRAL CONTROL OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY WHERE I WAS TEACHING. JUST AS MY SCHEME WAS STARTED IN SEVENTEEN OR MORE NEGRO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES, I WAS RETIRED FOR AGE. I WAS GREATLY DISAPPOINTED BUT LATER ENCOURAGED BY THE UNEXPECTED OFFER TO RETURN TO THE N.A.A.C.P. WHICH I HAD HELPED FOUND IN 1910.

RETURN TO THE N.A.A.C.P. MEANT TO ME CONTINUATION OF MY PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES. THIS THE N.A.A.C.P. DID NOT OPPOSE, BUT THEY WERE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC AND EXPECTED ME AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-SEVEN TO BE PREPARING FOR DEATH RATHER THAN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIMENT. BEFORE THERE WAS TIME FOR MUCH DISCUSSION OF THIS POINT, THERE CAME AN URGENT CALL FOR A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. THE N.A.A.C.P. AFTER HESITATION PERMITTED ME TO ATTEND.

38-7-45

THIS CALL CAME FROM AFRICA ITSELF AND FROM TRADE UNION LEADERS RATHER THAN FROM THE EDUCATED INTELLIGENTSIA. THERE HAD MET IN PARIS IN 1945 THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, AND THE GROWING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN BLACK AFRICA WAS REPRESENTED. THESE UNIONS IN MANY CASES DUPLICATED SIMILAR UNIONS IN BRITAIN AND IN SUCH CASES THE BRITISH UNIONS SOUGHT TO SPEAK FOR THE NEGROES. THE NEGROES ASSERTED THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND WERE SUPPORTED BY THE FEDERATION.

FLUSHED BY THIS VICTORY, A NUMBER OF THESE AFRICAN UNIONISTS STARTED A DEMAND FOR A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. THEY HAD HEARD OF THE FORMER CONGRESSES AND MOST OF THEM HAD IN THEIR OWN PROVINCES NATIONAL CONGRESSES AND LOOKED TOWARD THIS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AS THE MOTHER INSTITUTION WHENCE NEW PLANS AND DIRECTIONS WOULD COME. I WAS HEAD OF THE SHADOW ORGANIZATION WHICH CALLED ITSELF THE

38-7-46

"PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS"/AND AS SUCH/JOINED IN THE CALL OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS.// THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN LONDON/CONNECTED WITH THE WAR/AND SUITABLE ACCOMODATIONS WERE NOT FOUND,/WHEN A GROUP OF NEGROES IN MANCHESTER/FORMED A PAN-AFRICAN ASSOCIATION/AND INVITED THE CONGRESS TO MEET THERE.// THE INVITATION WAS SECONDED BY THE MAYOR AND CITY OFFICIALS/AND WAS ACCEPTED.// THUS MANCHESTER, WHOSE PROSPERITY had been WAS BASED ON AFRICAN SLAVERY/ AND WHICH GAVE ITS NAME/TO A NEW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS/ NOW BECAME THE BIRTHPLACE OF AN INSURGENT COLONIALISM,/WHICH WAS SET TO FIGHT COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

AT THIS MEETING I MET KWAME NKRUMAH,/ FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF THE FIRST INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATION/IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.// THIS IS HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY,/ PUBLISHED THIS YEAR BY NELSON & SONS IN EDINBURGH,/ AND WHICH HAS

28-7-47

STIRRED MY IMAGINATION/MORE THAN ANY BOOK I HAVE READ IN THE LAST DECADE.

NKRUMAH WAS SO BUSY/ WITH THE DETAILS OF THIS MEETING/THAT I DID NOT SEE MUCH OF HIM/NOR GET CLOSELY ACQUAINTED.// HE WAS OF MEDIUM HEIGHT,/VERY DARK OF SKIN WITH CLOSE-CURLED HAIR/AND A DISTINCTLY AFRICAN/FULLNESS OF COUNTENANCE.// HE WAS COURTEOUS/ SPARING OF SPEECH,/ AND VERY EARNEST.// THERE WERE OTHER AFRICANS PRESENT: KOMO KENYATTA,/ NOW IN JAIL AND CHARGED WITH INCITING/THE MAU MAU REBELLION/ IN KENYA;// ASHIE NIKOE,/WHO REPRESENTED THE COCOA FARMERS;// WALLACE JOHNSON, LEADER OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF SIERRA LEONE;// AND GEORGE PADMORE,/ A WEST INDIAN JOURNALIST, LONG RESIDENT IN ENGLAND/AND ONE OF THE BEST STUDENTS OF MODERN AFRICA.

NKRUMAH, TO-DAY NOW A MAN OF 48 YEARS/ WAS BORN IN WEST AFRICA;// HIS FATHER WAS A GOLDSMITH/AND HAD SEVERAL WIVES/ACCORDING TO TRIBAL LAW.// KWAME WAS THE ONLY SON

22-7-48

HIS MOTHER, BUT THE WHOLE FAMILY WITH OTHER Wives CHILDREN AND RELATIVES MADE A GROUP OF ABOUT FOURTEEN. THE MOTHER WAS UNLETTERED BUT WANTED HER SON TO HAVE AN EDUCATION AND THE FATHER CONCURRED. HE WAS SENT TO MISSION SCHOOLS, BOTH PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC, BECAME A STUDENT INSTRUCTOR AT SEVENTEEN, AND THEN WENT TO THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL AT ACHIMOTO. THERE HE MET AGGREY, A WEST AFRICAN TRAINED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND FROM HIM NKRUMAH DECIDED TO SEEK FURTHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

IN 1933, NKRUMAH ARRIVED IN LONDON, BUT HAD SO LITTLE MONEY THAT HE WAS TEMPTED TO RETURN TO AFRICA UNTIL, AS HE WRITES:

"I HEARD AN EXCITED NEWSPAPER BOY SHOUTING SOMETHING UNINTELLIGIBLE AS HE GRABBED A BUNDLE OF THE LATEST EDITIONS FROM A MOTOR VAN, AND ON THE PLACARD I

38-7-49

READ: 'MUSSOLINI INVADES ETHIOPIA.' THAT WAS ALL I NEEDED. AT THAT MOMENT IT WAS ALMOST AS IF THE WHOLE OF LONDON HAD SUDDENLY DECLARED WAR ON ME PERSONALLY."

HE ARRIVED IN NEW YORK BY THE END OF OCTOBER (1933) AND PRESENTED HIMSELF AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, A NEGRO COLLEGE IN LOWER PENNSYLVANIA, WITH $120 IN HIS POCKET. HE HAD TO SUPPLEMENT THIS CASH WITH WORK, AND HE WORKED HARD. ~~H~~ during school terms & in vacation time he worked in New York

38-7-50

TOUGHENED, I HAD THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY IN TRYING NOT TO VOMIT THE WHOLE TIME."

HE SLEPT ON PARK BENCHES AND IN RAILWAY STATIONS UNTIL ROUTED BY THE POLICE; HE LODGED ON SUBWAY TRAINS; HE ATE SOMETIMES AT THE RESTAURANTS OF FATHER DIVINE, THE NEGRO EVANGELIST. HE WORKED AT SEA AS CABIN BOY UNTIL THE SECOND WORLD WAR BROKE OUT. AT LINCOLN HE WORKED IN THE LIBRARY AND AT TUTORING UNTIL HE RECEIVED HIS BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN 1939. HE WAS OFFERED AN INSTRUCTORSHIP IN THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL. THIS JOB HE ACCEPTED, READING KANT, HEGEL, DESCARTES, SCHOPENHAUER, NIETZSCHE, FREUD, AND KARL MARX. HE TOOK THE COURSE IN THEOLOGY, RECEIVING HIS BACHELOR OF THEOLOGY IN 1942 AND AT THE SAME TIME STUDYING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, FIFTY MILES AWAY, WHERE HE RECEIVED HIS MASTER'S DEGREE IN EDUCATION THE SAME YEAR. THIS CALLED FOR TRAVEL AND OUTSIDE WORK; HE PREACHED IN NEGRO CHURCHES, TAUGHT NEGRO HISTORY AT LINCOLN, AND EXPERIENCED AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. HE WRITES:

38-7-61

"I WAS TRAVELLING BY BUS ON ONE OF MY LECTURE TOURS FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON AND THE BUS STOPPED EN ROUTE AT BALTIMORE FOR THE PASSENGERS TO REFRESH THEMSELVES. I WAS PARCHED FROM THIRST AND I ENTERED THE REFRESHMENT ROOM AT THE TERMINAL AND ASKED THE WHITE AMERICAN WAITER IF I COULD HAVE A DRINK OF WATER. HE FROWNED AND LOOKED DOWN HIS NOSE AT ME AS IF I WAS SOMETHING UNCLEAN. 'THE PLACE FOR YOU, MY MAN, IS THE SPITTOON OUTSIDE,' HE DECLARED AS HE DISMISSED ME FROM HIS SIGHT."

NKRVM

HE BEGAN TO THINK CAREFULLY ABOUT AFRICA. HE VISITED AMERICAN NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS -- THE N.A.A.C.P., THE URBAN LEAGUE, THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

HE BEGAN PREPARING FOR HIS DOCTORATE IN PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AND COMPLETED EVERYTHING EXCEPT THE THESIS. THIS MEANT EXTRA WORK AND THE BEST HE COULD FIND, HE DECLARES, WAS "A JOB AS A COUNTER (IN THE SUN SHIPBUILDING YARD) AT CHESTER WHERE I

38-7-52

WORKED IN ALL WEATHERS/FROM TWELVE MIDNIGHT/UNTIL EIGHT THE FOLLOWING MORNING.// IT FROZE SO HARD/ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS/THAT MY HANDS ALMOST STUCK TO THE STEEL/AND ALTHOUGH I PUT ON ALL THE CLOTHES/THAT I POSSESSED,/I WAS CHILLED TO THE MARROW.// AT 8 A. M. I USED TO RETURN TO MY LODGINGS,/HAVE BREAKFAST,/SLEEP FOR A FEW HOURS/AND THEN BEGIN RESEARCH/FOR THE WRITING OF MY THESIS."

THIS LED TO PNEUMONIA,/FROM WHICH ~~HE~~ NKUMAH NEARLY DIED.// HE HAD TO RETURN HOME, AND ARRIVED IN LONDON/IN MAY 1945.// HE HAD LITTLE MONEY/BUT REGISTERED AT THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS/AND MET HAROLD LASKI;// HE ATTENDED MEETINGS OF THE LABOR PARTY/AND BECAME ASSOCIATED/WITH THE WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION.// HE WAS SOON BUSY WITH PADMORE,/PREPARING FOR THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS.

FINALLY NKRUMAH WAS ASKED/TO RETURN TO THE GOLD COAST/AS SECRETARY OF THE UNITED

38-7-53

GOLD COAST CONVENTION. HE AND HIS FRIENDS FORMED WHAT WAS CALLED "THE CIRCLE." ITS AIMS WERE:

Stet

"1. THE MAINTAIN OURSELVES AND THE CIRCLE AS THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR WEST AFRICAN UNITY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

"2. TO SUPPORT THE IDEA AND CLAIMS OF THE ALL WEST AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN ITS STRUGGLE TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN A UNION OF AFRICAN SOCIALIST REPUBLICS."

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION/WAS INTERESTING.// THERE WAS IN THIS COLONY IN 1844,/A BOND WHICH GAVE THE BRITISH/TRADING RIGHTS,/WHICH THEY EXTENDED TOWARD POLITICAL CONTROL.// THEN IN 1868,/THE FANTI CONFEDERATION/WAS FORMED TO DEFEND THE COAST/AGAINST THE ASHANTI,/WHO IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE BRITISH MERCHANTS/WERE GAINING POLITICAL CONTROL/OF THE COLONY.// THIS THE BRITISH DECLARED/A DANGEROUS

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CONSPIRACY AND ARRESTED THE LEADERS. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY, A BRANCH OF AN ENGLISH ORGANIZATION WHICH ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF THE NATIVES. AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, A NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA WAS FORMED, FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. THIS BROUGHT THE APPOINTMENT OF A FEW AFRICAN OFFICIALS AND A MINORITY VOICE IN COLONIAL LEGISLATION. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION WAS FORMED TO DEMAND GREATER VOICE OF NEGROES IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. THIS ORGANIZATION WAS COMPOSED OF THE MERCHANT AND PROFESSIONAL CLASS AMONG THE NATIVES AND MADE NO APPEAL TO THE MASS OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS. NKRUMAH REALIZED AT ONCE THAT THE WEAKNESS OF THIS ORGANIZATION LAY IN ITS LACK OF POPULAR APPEAL.

NKRUMAH LEFT LONDON FOR LIVERPOOL NOVEMBER 1947. AT LIVERPOOL HE WAS HELD UP ON

ACCOUNT OF HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, SINCE HE WAS SUSPECTED OF BEING A COMMUNIST. HE FINALLY CAME TO THE GOLD COAST WHERE HE WAS WELCOMED BY ~~THE BLACK CUSTOMS OFFICIALS,~~ AND SAW HIS MOTHER AGAIN AFTER TWELVE YEARS.

NKRUMAH ON ARRIVING AT THE GOLD COAST HASTENED TO MEET THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE U.G.C.C. HE FOUND THAT THE CONVENTION HAD NO FUNDS. BUT HE WAS OFFERED A SALARY OF 25 POUNDS A MONTH WITH BOARD AND LODGING. THIS NKRUMAH ACCEPTED AND BEGAN TO ORGANIZE AN OFFICE.

MEANTIME, NATIVES OF THE GA STATE ORGANIZED A BOYCOTT AGAINST EUROPEAN MERCHANTS TO REDUCE THE HIGH PRICES CHARGED FOR THEIR GOODS. COTTON PRINT, WHICH SOLD FOR $2.50 A YARD BEFORE THE WAR, ROSE TO $18.00; SHEET IRON FROM $1.00 to $20.00. THE BOYCOTT LASTED ABOUT A MONTH.

THEN CAME A DEMONSTRATION BY THE EX-SERVICEMEN'S UNION. THEY HAD LONG BEEN DISSATISFIED AND STARTED A MARCH ON THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR, WHEN THEY WERE HALTED BY THE POLICE, AND SEVERAL PEOPLE WERE KILLED, INCLUDING TWO POLICEMEN. THEREUPON THE AFRICANS IN ACCRA, WHO HAD BEGUN SHOPPING FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE BOYCOTT, STARTED TO ASSAULT EUROPEAN AND SYRIAN SHOPKEEPERS, AND RIOTING AND LOOTING FOLLOWED FOR DAYS. TWENTY-NINE NEGROES WERE KILLED AND 237 INJURED.

NEITHER NKRUMAH NOR HIS ORGANIZATION WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR EITHER THE BOYCOTT OR THE RIOT, BUT THEY WERE BLAMED FOR IT AND THEY PETITIONED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR A COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION.

IMMEDIATELY THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT ARRESTED NKRUMAH AND THE OTHER LEADERS OF THE U.G.G.C. THEY WERE IMPRISONED FOR SIX WEEKS IN ASHANTI, ~~WHERE NKRUMAH WAS PUT~~ SHORTLY THE OTHER LEADERS OF THE GOLD COAST CINVENTION DESERTED NKRUMAH, AND AFTER RELEASE KRUMAH

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ALONE IN A SMALL HUT. THEN HE WAS RETURNED TO ACCRA WHERE HE AND HIS COMPANIONS PUT THEIR CASE BEFORE A COMMISSION WHICH ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND IN APRIL 1948. THE COMMISSION REPORTED:

"MR. NKRUMAH HAS HAD A VARIED CAREER. HE HAD A VERY DIVERSIFIED EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN AND IN BOTH COUNTRIES APPEARS TO HAVE TAKEN A PROMINENT PART IN ALL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE A FORWARD ~~XXXXXX~~ AFRICAN POLICY. ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT MODEST IN HIS ADMISSIONS, HE APPEARS WHILE IN BRITAIN TO HAVE HAD COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS AND TO HAVE BECOME IMBUED WITH A COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY WHICH ONLY POLITICAL EXPEDIENCE HAS BLURRED. IN LONDON HE WAS IDENTIFIED PARTICULARLY WITH THE WEST AFRICAN NATIONAL SECRETARIAT, A BODY WHICH HAD FOR ITS MAIN OBJECTS THE UNION OF ALL WEST AFRICAN COLONIES AND WHICH STILL EXISTS. IT APPEARS TO BE THE PRECUSOR OF A

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UNION OF WEST AFRICAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS."

BY THE GRATUITOUS INSERTION OF THE WORD "SOVIET" NKRUMAH WAS ACCUSED OF COMMUNISM. MEANTIME, THE OTHER NEGRO LEADERS TURNED AGAINST HIM.

ALSO HE ESTABLISHED A YOUTH MOVEMENT WHICH BECAME A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. IN THIS YOUTH ORGANIZATION, THE SLOGAN "TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT" WAS LAUNCHED AND A CONFERENCE WAS PLANNED WHICH THE POLICE FORBADE. FINALLY, NKRUMAH DECIDED THAT THE YOUTH CONFERENCE BECOME A SEPARATE POLITICAL PARTY, WHICH IT WAS FIRST PROPOSED TO CALL THE GHANA PEOPLE'S PARTY, BUT THE NAME CONVENTION HAD BECOME SO POPULAR THAT FINALLY THE PARTY WAS CALLED THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY AND RESOLVED:

"TO FIGHT RELENTLESSLY BY ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FULL 'SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW' FOR THE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF THE GOLD COAST."

"TO SECURE AND MAINTAIN THE COMPLETE UNITY OF THE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF THE COLONY, ASHANTI, NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND TRANS-VOLTA.

"TO ASSIST AND FACILITATE IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE THE REALIZATION OF A UNITED AND SELF-GOVERNING WEST AFRICA."

THE PARTY WAS LAUNCHED JUNE 12, 1949, BEFORE 60,000 PEOPLE. NKRUMAH POINTED OUT THAT THIS WOULD BE A FAVORABLE TIME TO START, SINCE THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WAS IN POWER IN ENGLAND. EFFORT WAS MADE TO UNITE THIS MOVEMENT AGAIN WITH THE U.G.C.C. BUT NKRUMAH REFUSED. ON THIS HE WROTE IN HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY:

"THIS MARKED THE FINAL PARTING OF THE WAYS TO RIGHT AND LEFT OF GOLD COAST NATIONALISM; FROM THE SYSTEM OF INDIRECT RULE PROMULGATED BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM TO THE NEW POLITICAL AWARENESS OF THE PEOPLE. FROM NOW ON THE STRUGGLE WAS TO BE

THREE-SIDED, MADE UP BY THE REACTIONARY INTELLECTUALS AND CHIEFS, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICALLY AWAKENED MASSES WITH THEIR SLOGAN OF 'SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW.'"

NKRUMAH NOW BEGAN INTENSIVE EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE PEOPLE OF GHANA BEHIND HIS PARTY. IN NOVEMBER 1949 HE CALLED A PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY. OVER FIFTY ORGANIZATIONS SENT DELEGATES AND THEY DEMANDED IMMEDIATE SELF-GOVERNMENT. NKRUMAH THEN PUBLISHED A STIRRING ARTICLE AND WAS IMMEDIATELY PROSECUTED FOR CONTEMPT AND FINED 500 POUNDS OR FOUR MONTHS IMPRISONMENT. THE PEOPLE OF ACCRA PAID THE FINE. NKRUMAH FACED THE COLONIAL SECRETARY AND SAID:

"I MUST MAKE MYSELF QUITE PLAIN, MR. SALOWAY, IF I HAVE FAILED TO DO SO UP TO NOW. IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO CONSIDER THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GHANA PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY, THEN NO ALTERNATIVE REMAINS TO ME BUT TO KEEP

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MY WORD WITH THE PEOPLE AND TO DECLARE POSITIVE ACTION. ALL WE ARE ASKING FOR IS A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH NECESSITATES DIVIDING THE COUNTRY INTO CONSTITUENCIES, CALLING A GENERAL ELECTION."

NO POSITIVE ANSWER CAME. NKRUMAH LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN OF POSITIVE ACTION. HIS PARTY HEADQUARTERS WERE RAIDED AND IN THE STREETS OF ACCRA, BRITISH AND FOREIGN WHITE NATIONALS WERE APPOINTED AS SPECIAL CONSTABLES AND GIVEN CLUBS. WHEN NKRUMAH WENT TO HIS HEADQUARTERS HE FOUND THE POLICE WERE WAITING FOR HIM. HE COMPLIED QUIETLY, WAS SEARCHED AND TAKEN BEFORE A POLICE MAGISTRATE, AND THEN TO PRISON. HIS TRIAL OCCUPIED A WEEK AND COST 2,000 POUNDS, MOST OF WHICH HE BORROWED. THE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO CONVICT HIM FOR THE MURDER OF THE TWO POLICEMEN KILLED IN THE MARCH OF THE EX-SERVICEMEN. BUT THE CHIEF CHARGE PROVED TO BE TAKING PART IN AN ILLEGAL STRIKE. HE RECEIVED TWO SENTENCES OF ONE YEAR EACH AND

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further

ON A CHARGE OF SEDITION WAS HELD FOR A FURTHER TRIAL. HE WAS MADE TO CLIMB INTO AN OLD VAN, WITH HIS HANDS HANDCUFFED, AND TO RIDE FOR THREE HOURS PERCHED SIDEWAYS ON A HARD BENCH AND BALANCING HIS BODY ON A BAR PLACED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE VAN.

THAT NIGHT HE SLEPT ON A BLANKET ON THE FLOOR OF THE JAIL. NEXT DAY HE WAS GIVEN SENTENCE OF ANOTHER YEAR'S IMPRISONMENT, MAKING THREE YEARS IN ALL, EACH SENTENCE TO BE SERVED CONSECUTIVELY. HE WAS THEN TAKEN INTO A CELL WHERE TEN OTHER COMRADES WERE ALREADY JAILED.

"IT WAS SOMEWHAT OF A SHOCK TO ME," HE LATER WROTE, "TO DISCOVER THAT, AS A POLITICAL PRISONER, I WAS TREATED AS A CRIMINAL. SOMETIMES I USED TO SPECULATE AS TO WHAT MY LOT WOULD HAVE BEEN AS A HARDENED GAOL-BIRD. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THAT THERE COULD BE WORSE TREATMENT IF THE MINIMUM OF HEALTH AND SANITY OF THE INMATES WERE TO ~~BE PRESERVED~~

BE PRESERVED.

"FOR ELEVEN MEN WE WERE SUPPLIED WITH A BUCKET IN ONE CORNER OF THE ALREADY OVERCROWDED CELL TO SERVE AS A LATRINE. AFTER A FEW WEEKS MOST OF US MANAGED TO OVERCOME THE FEARFUL INDIGNITY OF USING THIS SO VERY PUBLIC CONVENIENCE. IF ONLY WE HAD BEEN PERMITTED THE FLIMSIEST OF STRAW MATS TO PARTITION THE THING OFF, IT WOULD AT LEAST HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO PRESERVE A SENSE OF DECENCY. BUT IT SEEMED THAT, LIKE ANIMALS IN A CAGE, WE HAD TO ACT OUR PART WITHOUT COMPLAINT."

THE FOOD WAS SCANTY AND POOR. FROM 7 UNTIL 11 THEY WERE LET OUT OF THE CELL TO EXERCISE OR WORK AND THEN FROM 1 TO 4. HE WAS FORBIDDEN TO HAVE PENCIL OR PAPER OR READ ANY NEWSPAPERS. HE COULD WRITE ONE LETTER A MONTH TO PARENTS UNDER THE EYE OF A WARDER. HE USED TOILET PAPER AT NIGHT TO WRITE HIS MESSAGES.

THE TIME FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION, FEBRUARY 8, 1951, APPROACHED, AND IT WAS VITAL THAT NKRUMAH'S PARTY WIN A MAJORITY IN THE NEW LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. HE URGED THE PARTY ORGANIZERS TO CONTEST EVERY SEAT AND SUCCEEDED IN HAVING HIS OWN NAME REGISTERED ON THE ELECTORAL ROLL. HIS FRIENDS OUTSIDE PAID HIS DEPOSIT AND SUBMITTED THE NECESSARY FORM FOR THE AUTHORITIES A FEW MINUTES BEFORE THE REGISTRATION PERIOD CLOSED. ON FEBRUARY 12, 1951, AT NOON, THE PRISON SUPERINTENDENT TOLD HIM TO BE READY TO LEAVE JAIL WITHIN THE NEXT HOUR. OF THIS EXPERIENCE, HE WRITES:

"AT ONE O'CLOCK WHEN THE PRISON GATES WERE CLOSED BEHIND ME I REALIZED WHY THE GOVERNMENT HAD TRIED TO KEEP THE NEWS TOP SECRET. I DON'T THINK I HAVE EVER SEEN SUCH A THICKLY PACKED CROWD IN THE WHOLE OF MY LIFE. I WAS TOO BEWILDERED TO DO ANYTHING BUT STAND AND STARE. ~~ANY EMOTION THAT I MIGHT HAVE FELT WAS COMPLETELY ARRESTED.~~"

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THE DAY AFTER HIS RELEASE, NKRUMAH WAS INVITED TO MEET THE GOVERNOR, WHO WELCOMED HIM. THE CONVENTION PARTY HAD WON THIRTY-FOUR OUT OF A POSSIBLE THIRTY-EIGHT ELECTED SEATS. HAVING WON SUCH A SWEEPING VICTORY, THE POST OF LEADER OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS WENT TO NKRUMAH. HE FACED TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS: THE PROBLEM OF REPLACING ENGLISHMEN WITH AFRICANS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, AND THE PROBLEM OF THE COCOA CROP.

He determined to establish a peaceful government

IN 1951, ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WERE AFRICANS AND THEY WERE MAINLY IN THE JUNIOR SERVICE. IT WOULD BE A LONG TIME BEFORE THEY WERE QUALIFIED AND EXPERIENCED ENOUGH TO TAKE OVER THE HIGHER RESPONSIBLE POSTS. "ON THE OTHER HAND," HE WRITES, "I WAS FACED WITH A ~~FAR MORE~~ SERIOUS PROBLEM IF THE OVERSEAS OFFICERS, REALIZING THAT AFRICANS WERE BEING TRAINED TO TAKE OVER FROM THEM AND

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THAT THEIR DAYS WERE THEREFORE NUMBERED, RESIGNED EN BLOC FROM THEIR POSTS. SOME OF THE EUROPEANS AT THAT TIME WERE VERY MUCH OF THE OLD COLONIAL TYPE. THE SIGHT OF AN AFRICAN IN ANY JOB ABOVE MESSENGER OR CLERK WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE THAN THEY COULD STAND AND THEY MIGHT WELL HAVE INSISTED ON HIS REMOVAL OR TENDERED THEIR OWN RESIGNATIONS ON THE SPOT."

NKRUMAH TOOK UP THIS PROBLEM AND MADE LIBERAL OFFERS TO RETAIN THE SERVICES OF NECESSARY WHITE OFFICIALS. HE SAID IN A STATEMENT IN THE ASSEMBLY IN 1953:

"WE SEEK TO AVOID ANY SUDDEN EXODUS OF OVERSEAS OFFICERS AND BY SAFEGUARDING THEIR FUTURE INDUCE THEM TO REMAIN. WHILE APPRECIATING THE NEED FOR ACCELERATED AFRICANIZATION, GOVERNMENT DO NOT PROPOSE THAT THIS SHOULD BE ACHIEVED AT THE EXPENSE OF EFFICIENCY, OR THAT PROMOTION IN THE SERCICE SHOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF COLOR. AT THAT OF 800 WHITE OFFICIALS INVOLVED, GHANA LOST ONLY 220.

NKRUMAH THEN TURNED TO ANOTHRER MATTER WHICH HAD LONG THREATENED THE COUNTRY, AT THE

THE SAME TIME, CHANGED CONDITIONS OF SERVICE WILL BE RECOGNIZED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF A SCHEME FOR COMPENSATION."

"NEARLY EIGHT HUNDRED OFFICERS WERE INVOLVED," HE WRITES, "AND AS THE MAJORITY OF THESE MEN AT THIS TIME FORMED THE BACKBONE OF THE SERVICE, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO RETAIN AS MANY AS POSSIBLE. IN ORDER TO BE DOUBLY SURE THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE A MASS EXODUS, I DEVISED A SO-CALLED 'FREEZING' PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS TO GIVE US A BREATHING SPACE. BY THIS MEANS THOSE CONCERNED COULD ELECT TO STAY IN THE GOLD COAST SERVICE FOR A PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS, AFTER WHICH THEY COULD TAKE THEIR COMPENSATION AND GO.

"WHEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE CAME, MANY CHOSE TO STAY. WE LOST ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY OFFICERS AND ANOTHER EIGHTY-THREE LATER ON."

THEN HE HAD TO TURN TO ANOTHER SUBJECT WHICH HAD LONG BOTHERED THE COLONY. AT THE

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PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AT MANCHESTER IN 1945, ONE OF THE MOST MOVING SPEECHES THAT I HEARD WAS MADE BY ASHIE-NIKOE, HEAD OF THE COCOA FARMERS ORGANIZATION AMONG THE NATIVES. THE STORY THAT EMERGED WAS FASCINATING. IN THE EARLY PART OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE BRITISH CAPITALISTS (like CADBURY) WHO CONTROLLED THE PROCESSING OF COCOA AND CHOCOLATE IN THE WORLD PROPOSED TO TRANSFER COCOA RAISING FROM SPANISH WEST AFRICA TO BRITISH WEST AFRICA. THEY CHARGED THE SPANIARDS WITH USING SLAVES, WHICH WAS TRUE, AND CALLED FOR A WORLD BOYCOTT OF SPANISH COCOA. SECRETLY, THEY PLANNED TO ESTABLISH COCOA RAISING ON PLANTATIONS IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA OWNED BY WHITE BRITISH INVESTORS. TWO THINGS HELD UP THIS PLAN: FIRST, THEY COULD NOT BUY THE LAND IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA, WHICH BRITISH COLONIALISM HAD NEVER BEEN ABLE TO WREST FROM THE NATIVES. AND SECONDLY AND MORE IMPORTANT, A NATIVE OF GHANA, TETTEH QUARSIE, HAD ALREADY BOUGHT COCOA

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PLANTS FROM SPANISH WEST AFRICA AND THE NATIVES HAD BEGUN TO RAISE COCOA ON THEIR OWN ONE-ACRE FARMS. WORLD CONSUMPTION OF COCOA INCREASED FROM 77,000 TONS IN 1895 TO ?00,000 TONS IN 1947. TWO-THIRDS OF THIS IS RAISED IN WEST AFRICA.

THE CROP HAD SPREAD AMAZINGLY, AND EUROPEAN MERCHANTS, [redacted] NOT BEING ABLE TO CONTROL THE PRODUCTION OF COCOA, [redacted] COMBINED IN THE COCOA MARKET TO KEEP THE PRICE PAID THE PEASANTS FROM EATING INTO EUROPEAN PROFITS. WHEN WAR RAISED THE PRICE OF COCOA, THE BUYERS EFFECTED DEFINITE UNDERSTANDING AND OFFERED BUT ONE PRICE, WHICH WAS VERY LOW COMPARED TO THE MARKET. THE RESULT WAS A BOYCOTT WHICH WAS SO EFFECTIVE THAT A COMMISSION CAME OUT FROM ENGLAND. THIS COMMISSION ARRANGED DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE OVER THE SELLING OF THE COCOA CROP. THEY SET A LOW PRICE TO BE PAID THE FARMERS BUT PROMISED THAT IF ANY PROFIT

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WERE MADE, THIS PROFIT SHOULD BE GIVEN BACK TO THE FARMERS. THEN THE GOVERNMENT BROKE ITS WORD, DESPITE THE FACT THAT IT MADE A PROFIT OF $25,000,000 IN FIVE YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT DECLARED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SELECT THE INDIVIDUAL FARMERS DUE A REFUND AND THAT ANYWAY THE COCOA TREES NEEDED INSPECTION TO KEEP DOWN THE RISING MENACE OF THE SWOLLEN-SHOOT DISEASE. THEY PROPOSED TO SEND WELL-PAID BRITISH EXPERTS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THIS WORK. THE COCOA FARMERS WERE FURIOUS AND THEIR CO-OPERATION HELPED NKRUMAH TO DEMAND INDEPENDENCE.

HOWEVER, THE SWOLLEN-SHOOT DISEASE WAS A MENACING FACT, AND ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS THAT NKRUMAH ~~HAD TO DO~~ D'D WAS TO TRAIN NEGRO EXPERTS AND FORCIBLY TO COMPEL THE PEASANTS TO RID THEMSELVES OF DISEASED COCOA-TREES. AS THE COCOA CROP CENTERED IN ASHANTI, WHERE THERE WAS ALREADY THE LARGEST OPPOSITION TO NKRUMAH, THIS INCREASED HIS

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DIFFICULTIES. AN EIGHT WEEKS' CAMPAIGN WAS ORGANIZED TO EXPLAIN THIS NEW DEAL. ON THE WHOLE THE RESPONSE WAS GOOD, BUT A MINORITY REFUSED TO ALLOW THEIR DISEASED TREES TO BE CUT DOWN; ~~AND~~ BUT NKRUMAH WAS ABLE TO MAKE COMPULSORY CUTTING DOWN SUCCESSFUL.

THERE CAME ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT MATTER AND THAT HAD TO DO WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COLONY. THE CHIEF PROBLEM OF ALL COLONISTS IS THAT THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES ARE PURCHASED AT LOW PRICES BY THE MOTHER COUNTRY, PROCESSED ABROAD, AND SOLD AT HIGH PRICES TO THE WORLD. GHANA HAS ALREADY BEGUN CERTAIN SMALL INDUSTRIES. BUT HER GREATEST INDUSTRIAL PROSPECT IS TO USE THE FALLS OF THE VOLTA RIVER TO PRODUCE ELECTRICITY SO AS TO PROCESS ONE OF THE WORID'S GREATEST DEPOSITS OF BAUXITE INTO ALUMINUM.

HERE THIS LITTLE NEW BLACK COUNTRY RUNS FACE TO FACE INTO THE WORLD'S BIG BUSINESS. FIRST, IT WILL REQUIRE FROM $300 TO $750 MILLIONS OF CAPITAL TO DAM THE RIVER, MAKE AN

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ARTIFICIAL LAKE, AND INSTALL MACHINERY. SECONDLY, THE ALUMINUM TRUSTS OF AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE WANT NO COMPETITION. ONE OF THE REASONS THAT FORTY GREAT NATIONS OF THE WORLD SENT DELEGATIONS TO THE INAUGURATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA WAS THAT THEY WERE LOOKING TO SEE ON WHAT TERMS THEY COULD MAKE INVESTMENTS IN THIS NEW INDUSTRY, AND WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIET UNION OR EVEN CHINA MIGHT NOT STAND READY TO HELP GHANA WITH CAPITAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF GHANA'S DECLARED SOCIALIST PROGRAM SHOULD SCARE PRIVATE WESTERN CAPITAL AND THREATEN THE FIFTY OR SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT OF PROFIT WHICH IT IS ACCUSTOMED TO MAKE IN COLONIAL COUNTRIES, THEN GHANA MIGHT FIND ITSELF WITHOUT CAPITAL AND WITH THE ENMITY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, THE UNITED STATES, AND ALL THE WESTERN WORLD.

ONE GREAT NEW PROBLEM NOW CONFRONTED NKRUMAH. AT THE LAST MOMENT BEFORE

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INDEPENDENCE, NKRUMAH'S OPPONENTS IN ASHANTI MADE HIM CALL ANOTHER ELECTION. THE CHIEFS AND LEADERS OF THIS POWERFUL PROVINCE ~~OF GHANA~~ REPRESENTED TO THE HOME GOVERNMENT THAT PUBLIC OPINION HAD CHANGED AND THAT NKRUMAH NO LONGER HAD A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE BACK OF HIM. NKRUMAH WAS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO ASSENT TO THIS AS HIS GOVERNMENT'S MANDATE DID NOT EXPIRE UNTIL 1958. THE OPPOSITION, LED BY WELL-EDUCATED LEADERS OF THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE HEREDITARY CHIEFTANSHIP AND ENCOURAGED BY THE DIE-HARD IMPERIALISTS OF BRITAIN, WAS SURE THAT NKRUMAH WOULD REFUSE ADVICE AND THAT RECOGNIZED INDEPENDENCE WOULD THUS FAIL. BUT NKRUMAH AT GREAT EXPENSE OF PHYSICAL ENDURANCE, MONEY, AND PLANNING, CALLED A NATIONAL ELECTION AND DESPITE VIOLENCE IN ASHANTI, WAS RE-ELECTED BY AN INCREASED MAJORITY. SO INDEPENDENCE COULD NO LONGER BE REFUSED AND THE TACTICS WHICH WORKED SO WELL IN INDIA AND MALAYA, FAILED IN GHANA. AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT.

BUT THE BRITISH TORIES AND THE AMERICAN PRESS ~~ARE~~ STILL HAVE HOPES. IGNORING THE FACT THAT IN FIVE YEARS THE CHILREN IN ~~GHANA~~ PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS HAVE INCREASED FROM 220,000 to 600,000; THAT A THOUSAND GHANA STUDENTS ARE ~~STUDENTS~~ ARE IN FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES: THAT HOSPITALS ARE DOUBLING IN NUMBER AND WELL-PAID EMPLOYMENT

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INCREASING - IGNORING SUCH MATTERS, THE PRESS IS GIVING PUBLICITY CHIEFLY TO THE CONTINUING EFFORTS OF THE FEUDAL CHIEFTAINCY SUPPORTED BY THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE AND BRITISH CAPITAL TO CHECK THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM OF NKRUMAH BY MEANS OF FOREIGN AGITATORS. THIS INNER STRUGGLE WILL LAST LONG. NKRUMAH SAYS: to his people:

"I APPEAL TO EVERY ONE - ~~THE MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE,~~ THE MEN AND WOMEN, YOUTH OF GHANA, OUR FARMERS, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, OUR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, OUR EX-SERVICEMEN, THE CHURCHES OF THE NATION, AND THOSE WHO REPRESENT THE LIVING HEART OF GHANA, TO WORK TOGETHER IN HARMONY FOR THE COMMON GOOD AND STABILITY OF OUR COUNTRY, AND OUR NEW STATE. THIS IS A TIME WHEN WE MUST DEMONSTRATE TO THE WORLD THAT NATIONAL UNITY, SENSE OF PURPOSE AND DETERMINATION WILL TRULY MAKE GHANA AN INDEPENDENT, STABLE AND HAPPY NATION."

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~~NKRUMAH WRITES:~~ On foreign policy, he says:

"FROM NOW ON IT MUST BE PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM, AND THE IDEOLOGY OF AFRICAN POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND AFRICAN POLITICAL EMANCIPATION MUST SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE CONTINENT, INTO EVERY NOOK AND CORNER OF IT."

I STOP HERE. I HAVE NOT BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH NKRUMAH RECENTLY SINCE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE REFUSED TO LET ME ATTEND THE CEREMONIES OF INDEPENDENCE. BUT I WROTE HIM ONE LETTER. I SAID:

"YOU ARE GOING TO LONDON TO MEET THE QUEEN. I SUGGEST THAT WHILE YOU ARE THERE YOU CONSULT THE BEST PHYSICIANS AND SEE WHAT YOUR PHYSICAL CONDITION IS AT THE AGE OF 48, AFTER THE hard WORK YOU HAVE RECENTLY DONE."

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Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. Edinburgh, Thomas N. Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1957. 310 pp., with maps, illustrations, and index. 21 shillings.

"This book stirred my imagination!"

By W. E. B. Du Bois

The central thread of American history and the one of which we are most ashamed and have made desperate and continuous effort to deny and forget, is the presence of African Negroes in the United States for three hundred years, forming from a quarter to a tenth of our population. We have despised, hated, murdered, lynched, and suppressed them, at the very time we pitied, patronized, and gave them charity, sanctuary, and schools. It is this dichotomy and contradiction in thought and action that has driven this nation to fury and frustration; to anguished prayer that these Negroes would migrate, die out, or give the nation cause to wipe them off the face of the earth. Scarce once in three hundred years have Negroes been regarded as an asset, a source of pride, or a people forming part of the nation's future hope and accomplishment. Under this treatment, the American Negroes have swung like a pendulum from hope to despair; they have grovelled in poverty, crime, and disease; they have done the nation's hardest work; made a large part of its wealth, helped fight its wars, striven for its democracy, sung its music, and been the basis of much of its literature.

America dislikes Negroes because their presence has contradicted nearly all ~~our~~ ideals and ridiculed ~~our~~ boasting. We tried to love God and succeeded in hating our fellow-men, so that too often our religion from Elder Brewster to Governor Faubus became a hypocritical contradiction which made the Golden Rule unthinkable in America. Americans planned a Democracy such as no other nation had attempted. They stood on the Fourth of July with bared heads and moist eyes before the whole world and declared in ringing tones: "We hold these truths to be self-evident,

that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

This the nation and its leaders said and signed: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Robert Treat Paine, and Benjamin Rush. Thousands of others stood behind and held their hands. Yet as they said these words, at that moment in the thirteen colonies stood 500,000 black slaves whose rights no white man was bound to respect; and we know that today there are sixteen million descendants of these slaves who are not yet full-fledged citizens and will not be if at least seven states have their way in the future, as they have in the past, and have the support of millions of white citizens in forty-one other states. Surely with all the unquestionable progress of our race relations, we have not in these one hundred and eighty years unduly rushed to solve this Negro problem. The paradox back of this fact has infuriated large portions of this nation from 1776 to 1957. We could have democracy; we could have law and order; we could treat our neighbor as we ourselves would be treated if only these black apes were not in our midst. For decades we hoped and prayed that these Negroes, deprived of the African slave trade and sinking in crime, would die out under the discrimination and insult which was poured upon them. Millions of Americans were sorry for these misfits, but could not rid themselves of the feeling that every ounce of help which raised Negroes only increased the impossibility of ever letting them become American citizens, to vote, live, and mingle as freely as other Americans. To be sure, they were here against their will and because of the greed of England and of the most revered fathers of present-day Americans. Still in frustration, we both taught and lynched Negroes; gave them the right to vote and took it from them; educated them and denied them work; passed laws for their benefit and broke them; congratulated Negroes on their progress and regarded that very progress as a threat to American homes and civilization. At the moment America boasted of its raising of the status of Negroes,

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it knew that this uplift was due more to Negro determination and unshakable demand than to white philanthropy and good will.

As a Negro, for the seventy years of my active life the chief thought of my life has been this mass of contradictory fact and my continued effort to find a way out. The helpless but never surrendering need of my own people has spurred me on, and the good will of white friends has often held me back, as when men like George Foster Peabody, the benefactor of the Melish church on Brooklyn Heights, said to me forty-five years ago: "Give up your fight; go to France; you can never win in the United States!"

39-IC-12

My stubborn plans included the training of Negro leaders; work and self-support by consumers' co-operatives and a group economy which would at once let us escape white exploitation of our labor and yet make our productive effort too valuable to be ignored by a money-mad nation. I planned to help the nation guide Negro development by the new social science of a new century, using the history and condition of the American Negro as a living experiment for study. For thirteen years we worked, and our little effort had no like in America. The world of science began to notice, but we failed because we could not raise five thousand dollars a year to carry on. Besides, race hate grew rather than abated. Negroes were being lynched at the rate of one a week and nine-tenths of the eligible Negroes were disfranchised. I laid down my science and turned to shrill propaganda. In the struggle to let the nation know what Negro prejudice meant to world democracy, world war erupted and turned my thought toward Africa.

American education at the first decade of the twentieth century took no notice of Africa . No American college had a course on African history. It had no history. It had small worth or meaning. Egypt? Egypt was not a part of Africa. It was "white" and so was everything else in Africa which had beauty, art, or worth. My little book "The Negro" published in 1915 in the Home University Library was almost completely ignored.

But the treatment of the German colonies in Africa at the Congress of Versailles

drew my interest. I wrote Woodrow Wilson in 1918 and suggested that these colonies be put under international trusteeship with Africans represented on the board of control. Naturally my letter brought no reply. But eluding the vigilance of the State Department, I appeared in Paris in 1918 and asked the American commission to help me call a Pan-African Congress in Paris, so that Africans could place their plight before the Congress of Versailles. I talked with Colonel House, Walter Lippman and others. All expressed regret but assured me that with Paris under martial law the French Government would not allow such a gathering. The American Secretary of State hastened to assure American Negroes who inquired that no such Congress would be held. But I went to the black French Under-Secretary of War, Blaise Diagne. He had saved France by sending 180,000 black Senegalese as shock troops against the initial German onslaught. He consulted Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau and was told the Congress could convene.

39-IC-13

The first Pan-African Congress met at the Grand Hotel, Paris, in March 1919, but it had few delegates. Britain, France, and the United States refused to grant visas to those wishing to attend from abroad, and in any case facilities for travel were few. Nevertheless, there were Negroes and whites interested in Africa already in Paris, and fifty-seven came to the sessions. The French government had an under-secretary of colonies to sit beside Diagne, who presided.

This was the first of five Pan-African Congresses held in 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945, in London, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon and New York, and finally in Manchester, England. Their objectives were modest: they sought to bring the widely scattered children of Africa, living still in the mother continent or scattered by the slave trade over America, to meet together, get acquainted, and find such common ground for thought and action as seemed feasible. They planned no violence or revolution, but sought fact and reason as their successive declarations proved. However, a West Indian movement arose about 1920 which demanded "Africa for the Africans" and gave the imperialist governments a chance to throw suspicion on us. We met bitter opposition at our meeting in Brussels and when I tried to call a Congress in Tunis, the French

government refused permission. Later I planned to charter a steamship and hold successive meetings of the Congress in the West Indies; but no available boat could be found. A Congress was called in 1927 in New York by help of American Negro women. Then I gave up, because of the depression, the evident enmity and suspicion of the white world and the growing apathy of black folk in America. However, in Africa, the idea of African Congresses grew until today there are African National Congresses in nearly every African province.

39-12-14

Meanwhile, I had served the N.A.A.C.P. and edited its official organ for twenty-three years until in 1934 it ceased to be self-supporting. I then went back to teaching. I taught in the South ten years and tried to re-build my plan of wide, continuous study of the Negro problem under the central control of Atlanta University where I was teaching. Just as my scheme was started in seventeen or more Negro Land-Grant Colleges, I was retired for age. I was greatly disappointed but later encouraged by the unexpected offer to return tot he N.A.A.C.P. which I had helped found in 1910.

Return to the N.A.A.C.P. meant to me continuation of my Pan-African Congresses. This the N.A.A.C.P. did not oppose, but they were not enthusiastic and expected me at the age of seventy-seven to be preparing for death rather than international experiment. Before there was time for much discussion of this point, there came an urgent call for a Fifth Pan-African Congress. The N.A.A.C.P. after hesitation permitted me to attend.

This call came from Africa itself and from trade union leaders rather than from the educated intelligentsia. There had met in Paris in 1945, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the growing trade union movement in black Africa was represented. These unions in many cases duplicated similar unions in Britain and in such cases the British unions sought to speak for the Negroes. The Negroes asserted their independence and were supported by the Federation.

Flushed by this victory, a number of these African unionists started a demand for a Fifth Pan-African Congress. They had heard of the former Congresses and most

of them had in their own provinces national congresses and looked toward this international Congress as the mother institution whence new plans and directions could come. I was head of the shadow organization which called itself the "Pan-African Congress" and as such joined in the call of the Fifth Congress. There were difficulties in London connected with the war and suitable accomodations were not found, when a group of Negroes in Manchester formed a Pan-African Association and invited the Congress to meet there. The invitation was seconded by the Mayor and city officials and was accepted. Thus Manchester, whose prosperity was based on African slavery, and which gave its name to a new school of economics, now became the birthplace of an insurgent colonialism, which was set to fight Colonial Imperialism.

39-1c-15

At this meeting I met Kwame Nkrumah, first Prime Minister of the first independent African nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations. This is his autobiography, published this year by Nelson & Sons in Edinburgh, and which has stirred my imagination more than any book I have read in the last decade.

I will let the author tell of that Manchester meeting. He writes in this book:

"The Congress took place as planned in October under the joint chairmanship of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, an Afro-American scholar and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Dr. Peter Milliard, a Negro physician from British Guiana, practising in Manchester. The Congress was a tremendous success and was attended by over 200 delegates from all over the world. We listened to reports of conditions in the colonial territories and both capitalist and reformist solutions to the African colonial problems were rejected. Instead the Congress unanimously endorsed the doctrine of African socialism based upon the tactics of positive action without violence. It also endorsed the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Human Rights and advised Africans and those of African descent wherever they might be to organize themselves into political parties, trade unions, co-operative societies and

and farmers' organizations in support of their struggle for political freedom and economic advancement.

The important declarations addressed to the imperialist powers of the world were adopted by the Congress, one written by Dr. Du Bois and the other written by myself. These declarations asserted the determination of colonial peoples to be free and condemned the monopoly of capital and the use of private wealth and industry for personal profits alone. They made a stand for economic democracy as being the only real democracy and appealed to colonial people everywhere -- the intellectuals, professional classes and the workers -- to awaken to their responsibilities in freeing themselves and saving the world from the clutches of imperialism.

39-K-16

Although this conference was the fifth of its kind that had taken place, it was quite distinct and different in tone, outlook and ideology from the four that had preceded it. While the four previous conferences were both promoted and supported mainly by middle-class intellectuals and bourgeois Negro reformists, this Fifth Pan African Congress was attended by workers, trade unionists, farmers, co-operative societies and by African and other colored students. As the preponderance of members attending the Congress were African, its ideology became African nationalism -- a revolt by African nationalism against colonialism, racialism, and imperialism in Africa -- and it adopted Marxist socialism as its philosophy.... It was this Fifth Pan African Congress that provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about the awakening of African political consciousness. It became, in fact, a mass movement of Africa for the Africans."

Nkrumah was so busy with the details of this meeting that I did not see much of him nor get closely acquainted. He was of medium height, very dark of skin with close-curled hair and a distinctly African fullness of countenance. He was courteous, sparing of speech, and very earnest. There were other Africans present: Komo Kenyatta, now in jail and charged with inciting the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya; Ashie Nikoe, who represented the Cocoa farmers; Wallace Johnson, leader of the trade unions of Sierra Leone; and George Padmore, a West Indian journalist, long resident in England and one of the best students of

modern Africa.

Nkrumah, now a man of 48 years, was born in West Africa; his father was a goldsmith and had several wives according to tribal law. Kwame was the only son of his mother, but the whole family with other children and relatives made a group of about fourteen. The mother was unlettered but wanted her son to have an education and the father concurred. He was sent to Mission schools, both Protestant and Catholic, became a student instructor at seventeen, and then went to the government school at Achimoto. There he met Aggrey, a West African trained in the United States, and from him Nkrumah decided to seek further education in America. Also he met Azikiwe, the leader of the Nigerian effort for independence, who had been trained in America; also Johnson, the trade union leader from Sierra Leone, who was arrested for writing in Azikiwe's newspaper:

"Personally, I believe the European has a god in whom he believes and whom he is representing in his churches all over Africa. He believes in the god whose name is spelt Deceit. He believes in the god whose law is 'Ye strong, you must weaken the weak. Ye "civilized" Europeans, you must "civilize" the "barbarous" Africans with machine guns. Ye Christian Europeans, you must "Christianize" the pagan Africans with bombs.' "

In 1933, Nkrumah arrived in London, but had so little money that he was tempted to return to Africa until, as he writes:

"I heard an excited newspaper boy shouting something unintelligible as he grabbed a bundle of the latest editions from a motor van, and on the placard I read: 'Mussolini Invades Ethiopia.' That was all I needed. At that moment it was almost as if the whole of London had suddenly declared war on me personally."

He arrived in New York by the end of October and presented himself at Lincoln University, a Negro college in lower Pennsylvania, with $120 in his pocket. He had to supplement this cash with work and he worked hard. During summers,

39-IC-17

he tried to sell fish in Harlem but could not make this pay. He found a job in a soap factory. "It turned out," he writes, "to be by far the filthiest and most unsavory job that I ever had. All the rotting entrails and lumps of fat of animals were dumped by lorries into a yard. Armed with a fork I had to load as much as I could of this reeking and utterly repulsive cargo into a wheelbarrow and then transport it, load after load, to the processing plant. As the days went by, instead of being steadily toughened, I had the greatest difficulty in trying not to vomit the whole time."

39-1C-18

He slept on park benches and in railway stations until routed by the police; he lodged on subway trains; he ate sometimes at the restaurants of Father Divine, the Negro evangelist. He worked at sea as cabin boy until the Second World War broke out. At Lincoln he worked in the library and at tutoring until he received his Bachelor's Degree in 1939. He was offered an instructorship in the Theological School. This job he accepted, reading Kant, Hegel, Descartes, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Freud, and others. He took the course in theology, receiving his Bachelor of Theology in 1942 and at the same time studying at the University of Pennsylvania, fifty miles away, where he received his [redacted] Master's Degree in Education the same year. This called for travel and outside work; he preached in Negro churches, taught Negro history at Lincoln, and experienced American democracy. He writes:

"I was travelling by bus on one of my lecture tours from Philadelphia to Washington and the bus stopped en route at Baltimore for the passengers to refresh themselves. I was parched from thirst and I entered the refreshment room at the terminal and asked the white American waiter if I could have a drink of water. He frowned and looked down his nose at me as if I was something unclean. 'The place for you, my man, is the spitoon outside,' he declared as he dismissed me from his sight."

He began to think carefully about Africa. He visited American Negro organizations -- the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Council on African Affairs.

"I knew," he writes, "that when I eventually returned to the Gold Coast I was going to be faced with this problem. I knew that whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organization adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved. I read Hegel, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mazzini. The writings of these men did much to influence me in my revolutionary ideas and activities, and Karl Marx and Lenin particularly impressed me as I felt sure that their philosophy was capable of solving these problems."

39-1c-19

He began preparing for his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania and completed everything except the thesis. This meant extra work and the best he could find was, he writes, "a job as a counter in the Sun Shipbuilding Yard at Chester where I worked in all weathers from twelve midnight until eight the following morning. It froze so hard on several occasions that my hands almost stuck to the steel and although I put on all the clothes that I possessed, I was chilled to the marrow. At 8 a. m. I used to return to my lodgings, have breakfast, sleep for a few hours and then begin research for the writing of my thesis."

This led to pneumonia, from which he nearly died. He had to return home, and arrived in London in May 1945. He had little money but registered at the London School of Economics and met Harold Laski; he attended meetings of the Labor Party and became associated with the West African Students Association. He was soon busy with Padmore, preparing for the Fifth Pan-African Congress. After that he became general secretary of the West African Association and struggled in cold and poverty to publish a paper called the "New African," which did not survive long. He met with the African members of the French Assembly and talked over a Union of "West African Socialist Republics." The victory of the Labor Party gave the West Africans much hope, but their hopes were soon dashed. Finally Nkrumah was asked to return to the Gold Coast as secretary of

the United Gold Coast Convention. He and his friends formed what was called "The Circle." Its aims were:

"1. To maintain ourselves and the Circle as the Revolutionary Vanguard of the struggle for West African Unity and National Independence.

"2. To support the idea and claims of the All West African National Congress in its struggle to create and maintain a Union of African Socialist Republics."

39-1c-20

The history of the United Gold Coast Convention was interesting. There was in this colony in 1844, a Bond which gave the British trading rights, which they extended toward political control. Then in 1868, the Fanti Confederation was formed to defend the Coast against the Ashanti, who in conjunction with the British merchants were gaining political control of the colony. This the British declared a dangerous conspiracy and arrested the leaders. This was followed by the Aborigines Protection Society, a branch of an English organization which advanced the cause of the natives. After the First World War, a National Congress of British West Africa was formed, following the lead of the First Pan-African Congress. This brought the appointment of a few African officials and a minority voice in colonial legislation. After the Second World War, the United Gold Coast Convention was formed to demand greater voice of Negroes in colonial government. This organization was composed of the merchant and professional class among the natives and made no appeal to the mass of peasants and workers. Nkrumah realized at once that the weakness of this organization lay in its lack of popular appeal. ~~It was~~ to

Nkrumah left London for Liverpool November 1947. At Liverpool he was held up on account of his political activities, since he was suspected of being a Communist. He finally came to the Gold Coast where he was welcomed by the black customs officials, and saw his mother again after twelve years.

The colony during Guggisberg's administration was ruled through chiefs nominated by the Governor and paid by the British. After Guggisberg left in 1927 there was a political awakening accentuated by the depression of the 1930's. Governor Burns in 1941 tried to institute reforms. He appointed some Africans to the Executive Council. This was not satisfactory and a constitutional memorandum was sent to England. A new constitution was approved called the Burns Constitution which did not follow the recommendations of the leaders of the colony. The intelligentsia therefore began opposition to acceptance of the Burns Constitution, and started a political movement to upset it. Thus the United Gold Coast Convention was organized December 29, 1947, "to ensure," as Nkrumah writes in his autobiography, "that by all legitimate and constitutional means the control and direction of the Government shall within the shortest time possible pass into the hands of the people and their Chiefs."

Nkrumah on arriving at the Gold Coast hastened to meet the working committee of the U.G.G.C. He found that the convention had no funds. But he was offered a salary of 25 pounds a month with board and lodging. This Nkrumah accepted and began to organize an office.

Meantime, natives of the Ga state organized a boycott against European merchants to reduce the high prices charged for their goods. Cotton print, which sold for $2.50 a yard before the war, rose to $18.00; sheet iron from $1 to $20.00. The boycott lasted about a month.

Then came a demonstration by the Ex-Servicemen's Union. They had long been dissatisfied and started a march on the official residence of the Governor, when they were halted by the police, and several people were killed, including two policemen. Thereupon the Africans in Accra, who had begun shopping for the first time since the boycott, started to assault European and Syrian shopkeepers, and rioting

and looting followed for days. Twenty-nine Negroes were killed and 237 injured.

Neither Nkrumah nor his organization were directly responsible for either the boycott or the riot, but they were blamed for it and they petitioned the British government for a commission of investigation.

Immediately the colonial governmented arrested Nkrumah and the other leaders of the U.G.G.C. They were imprisoned for six weeks in Ashanti, where Nkrumah was put alone in a small hut. Then he was returned to Accra where he and his companions put their case before a commission which arrived from England in April 1948. The commission reported:

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"Mr. Nkrumah has had a varied career. He had a very diversified education in the United States and Great Britain and in both countries appears to have taken a prominent part in all political institutions designed to promote a forward African policy. Although somewhat modest in his admissions, he appears while in Britain to have had Communist affiliations and to have become imbued with a Communist ideology which only political expedience has blurred. In London he was identified particularly with the West African National Secretariat, a body which had for its main objects the union of all West African Colonies and which still exists. It appears to be the precursor of a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics."

By the gratuitous insertion of the word "Soviet" Nkrumah was accused of Communism. Meantime, the other leaders turned against him.

Also he established a youth movement which became a national organization. In this youth organization, the slogan "Toward Self-Government" was launched and a conference was planned which the police forbade. Finally, Nkrumah decided that the youth conference become a separate political party, which it was first proposed to call the Ghana People's Party, but the name Convention had become so popular that finally the party was called the Convention People's Party and resolved:

"To fight relentlessly by all constitutional means for the achievement of full 'Self-Government now' for the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast.

"To secure and maintain the complete unity of the chiefs and people of the

Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories and Trans-Volta.

"To assist and facilitate in any way possible the realization of a united and self-governing West Africa."

The Party was launched June 12, 1949, before 60,000 people. Nkrumah pointed out that this would be a favorable time to start, since the Labor Government was in power in England. Effort was made to unite this movement again with the U.G.G.C. but Nkrumah refused. On this he wrote in his Autobiography:

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"This marked the final parting of the ways to right and left of Gold Coast nationalism; from the system of indirect rule promulgated by British imperialism to the new political awareness of the people. From now on the struggle was to be three-sided, made up by the reactionary intellectuals and chiefs, the British Government and the politically awakened masses with their slogan of 'Self-Government Now.'"

Nkrumah now began intensive effort to organize the people of Ghana behind his party. In November 1949 he called a People's Representative Assembly. Over fifty organizations sent delegates and they demanded immediate self-government. Nkrumah then published a stirring article and was immediately prosecuted for contempt and fined 300 pounds or four months imprisonment. The people of Accra paid the fine. Nkrumah faced the colonial secretary and said:

"I must make myself quite plain, Mr. Saloway, if I have failed to do so up to now. If the British Government refuses to consider the resolution adopted by the Ghana People's Representative Assembly, then no alternative remains to me but to keep my word with the people and to declare Positive Action. All we are asking for is a constituent assembly which necessitates dividing the country into constituencies, calling a general election."

No positive answer came. Nkrumah launched a campaign of Positive Action. His Party headquarters were raided and in the streets of Accra, British and foreign white nationals were appointed as special constables and given clubs. When Nkrumah went to his headquarters he found the police were waiting for him. He complied quietly, was searched and taken before a police magistrate, and then to prison. His trial occupied a week and cost 2,000 pounds, most of which he borrowed. The

Government tried to convict him for the murder of the two policemen killed in the march of the ex-servicemen. But the chief charge proved to be taking part in an illegal strike. He received two sentences of one year each and on a charge of sedition was held for a further trial. He was made to climb into an old van, with his hands handcuffed, and to ride for three hours perched sideways on a hard bench and balancing his body on a bar placed in the middle of the van.

That night he slept on a blanket on the floor of the jail. Next day he was given sentence of another year's imprisonment, making three years in all, each sentence to be served consecutively. He was then taken into a cell where ten other comrades were already jailed.

"It was somewhat of a shock to me," he later wrote, "to discover that, as a political prisoner, I was treated as a criminal. Sometimes I used to speculate as to what my lot would have been as a hardened gaol-bird. It was difficult to imagine that there could be worse treatment if the minimum of health and sanity of the inmates were to be preserved.

"For eleven men we were supplied with a bucket in one corner of the already over-crowded cell to serve as a latrine. After a few weeks most of us managed to overcome the fearful indignity of using this so very public convenience. If only we had been permitted the flimsiest of straw mats to partition the thing off, it would at least have been an attempt to preserve a sense of decency but it seemed that, like animals in a cage, we had to act our part without complaint."

The food was scanty and poor. From 7 until 11 they were let out of the cell to exercise or work and then from 1 to 4. He was forbidden to have pencil or paper or read any newspapers. He could write one letter a month to parents under the eye of a warder. He used toilet paper at night to write his messages.

The time for the general election, February 8, 1951, approached, and it was vital that Nkrumah's party win a majority in the new legislative assembly. He urged the party organizers to contest every seat and succeeded in having his own name registered on the electoral roll. His friends outside paid his deposit and

89-1c-24

submitted the necessary form for the authorities a few minutes before the registration period closed. On February 12, 1951, at noon, the prison superintendent told him to be ready to leave jail within the next hour. Of this experience, he writes:

"At one o'clock when the prison gates were closed behind me I realized why the Government had tried to keep the news top secret. I don't think I have ever seen such a thickly packed crowd in the whole of my life. I was too bewildered to do anything but stand and stare. Any emotion that I might have felt was completely arrested."

39-1c-25

The day after his release, Nkrumah was invited to meet the Governor, who welcomed him. The convention party had won thirty-four out of a possible thirty-eight elected seats. Having won such a sweeping victory, the post of Leader of Government Business went to Nkrumah. He faced two major problems: the problem of replacing Englishmen with Africans in the Civil Service, and the problem of the cocoa crop.

In 1951, only 20 percent of the government employees were Africans and they were mainly in the junior service. It would be a long time before they were qualified and experienced enough to take over the higher responsible posts. "On the other hand," he writes, "I was faced with a far more serious problem if the overseas officers, realizing that Africans were being trained to take over from them and that their days were therefore numbered, resigned en bloc from their posts. Some of the Europeans at that time were very much of the old colonial type. The sight of an African in any job above messenger or clerk would have been more than they could stand and they might well have insisted on his removal or tendered their own resignations on the spot."

Nkrumah took up this problem and made liberal offers to retain the services of necessary white officials. He said in a statement in the Assembly in 1953:

"We seek to avoid any sudden exodus of overseas officers and by safeguarding their future induce them to remain. While appreciating the need for accelerated Africanization, Government do not propose that this should be achieved at the expense of efficiency, or that promotion in the service should be on the basis of color. At the same time, changed conditions of service will be recognized by the

introduction of a scheme for compensation."

"Nearly eight hundred officers were involved," he writes, "and as the majority of these men at this time formed the backbone of the service, it was important that efforts should be made to retain as many as possible. In order to be doubly sure that there should not be a mass exodus, I devised a so-called 'freezing' period of four years to give us a breathing space. By this means those concerned could elect to stay in the Gold Coast Service for a period of four years, after which they could take their compensation and go.

"When the constitutional change came, many chose to stay. We lost one hundred and forty officers and another eighty-three later on."

Then he had to turn to another subject which had long bothered the colony. At the Pan-African Congress at Manchester in 1945, one of the most moving speeches that I heard was made by Ashie-Nikoi, head of the Cocoa Farmers organization among the natives. The story that emerged was fascinating. In the early part of the twentieth century, the British capitalists who controlled the processing of cocoa and chocolate in the world proposed to transfer cocoa raising from Spanish West Africa to British West Africa. They charged the Spaniards with using slaves, which was true, and called for a world boycott of Spanish cocoa. Secretly, they planned to establish cocoa raising on plantations in British West Africa owned by white/British investors. Two things held up this plan: First, they could not buy the land of British West Africa, which British colonialism had never been able to wrest from the natives. And secondly and more important, a native of Ghana, Tetteh Quarsie, had already bought cocoa plants from Spanish West Africa and the natives had begun to raise cocoa on their own one-acre farms. World consumption of cocoa increased from 77,000 tons in 1895 to 700,000 tons in 1947. Two-thirds of this was raised in West Africa.

The crop had spread amazingly, and European merchants, instead of being able to control the production of cocoa, were forced to combine in the cocoa market to keep the price paid by the peasants from eating into ~~their~~ European profits. When war raised the price of cocoa, the buyers effected definite understanding and offered but one price,

39-1c-26

which was very low compared to the market. The result was a boycott which was so effective that a commission came out from England. This commission ~~was~~ arranged during the Second World War that the Government should take over the selling of the cocoa crop. They set a low price to be paid the farmers but promised that if any profit were made, this profit should be given back to the farmers. Then the government broke its word, despite the fact that it made a profit of $25,000,000 in five years. The government declared that it would be impossible to select the individual farmers due a refund and that anyway the cocoa trees needed inspection to keep down the rising menace of the swollen-shoot disease. They proposed to send well-paid British experts to take charge of this work. The coca farmers were furious and their co-operation helped Nkrumah to demand independence.

39-1C-27

However, the swollen-shoot disease was a menacing fact, and one of the first things that Nkrumah had to do was to train Negro experts and forcibly to compel the peasants to rid themselves of diseased cocoa-trees. As the cocoa crop centered in Ashanti, where there was already the largest opposition to Nkrumah, this increased his difficulties. An eight weeks' campaign was organized to explain this New Deal. On the whole the response was good, but a minority refused to allow their diseased trees to be cut down; and Nkrumah was able to make compulsory cutting down successful.

There came another very important matter and that had to do with the industrialization of the colony. The chief problem of all colonists is that their natural resources are purchased at low prices by the mother country, processed abroad, and sold at high prices to the world. Ghana has already begun certain small industries. But her greatest industrial prospect is to use the falls of the Volta River to produce electricity so as to process one of the world's greatest deposits of bauxite into aluminum. Here this little new black country runs face to face into the world's Big Business. First, it will require from $300 to 750 million of capital to dam the river, make an artificial lake, and install machinery. Secondly, the aluminum trusts of America and elsewhere want no competition. One of the reasons that forty great nations of the world sent delegations to the inauguration of the independence of Ghana was that they were looking to see on what terms they could make investments

in this new industry, and whether or not the Soviet Union or even China might not stand ready to help Ghana with capital. On the other hand, if Ghana's declared socialist program should scare private western capital and threaten the fifty or seventy-five percent of profit which it is accustomed to make in colonial countries, then Ghana might find itself without capital and with the enmity of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, and all the Western World.

39-1c-28

Nkrumah has been trying here to take a firm but not too firm a stand. He ~~wikmx~~ writes:

"The warmth of our welcome to both publicly and privately owned enterprises would depend on the extent to which they provided for the training of African employees for eventual employment in senior technical, professional and managerial appointments. It was my firm intention that for the future there should be a steady increase in the number of qualified Africans to hold positions of responsibility and authority.

"With this vital fact in mind, the Government would, I said, encourage as much as possible the entry and investment in industry of foreign capital. The Gold Coast had reserve funds which could be made available for investment in large scale enterprises and, where it was approached, it would be willing to participate in those that could be shown to be economically sound. In such cases where the Government's participation was calculated to serve the national interest, the Government must reserve the right to insist on partnership. It was not intended, however, that foreign capital should be directly invested in public utilities, but apart from this, foreign capital should be free to invest in any form of new industrial enterprise."

One great new problem now confronted Nkrumah. At the last moment before independence, Nkrumah's opponents in Ashanti made him call another election. The chiefs and leaders of this powerful province of Ghana represented to the Home government that public opinion had changed and that Nkrumah no longer had a majority of the people back of him. Nkrumah was under no obligation to assent to this as his government's mandate did not expire until 1958. The opposition, led by well-educated leaders of the aristocracy of the hereditary chieftanship and encouraged by the die-hard imperialists of Britain, was sure that Nkrumah would refuse advice and that recognized

independence would thus fail. But Nkrumah at great expense of physical endurance, money, and planning, called a national election and despite violence in Ashanti, was re-elected by an increased majority. So independence could no longer be refused and the tactics which worked so well in India and Malaya, failed in Ghana. Nkrumah writes:

"From now on it must be Pan-African nationalism, and the ideology of African political consciousness and African political emancipation must spread throughout the whole continent, into every nook and corner of it.

"I have never regarded the struggle for the Independence of the Gold Coast as an isolated objective but always as a part of a general world historical pattern. The African in every territory of this vast continent has been awakened and the struggle for freedom will go on. It is our duty as the vanguard force to offer what assistance we can to those now engaged in the battles that we ourselves have fought and won. Our task is not done and our own safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa."

I stop here. I have not been in close touch with Nkrumah recently since the Department of State refused to let me attend the cermonies of independence. But I wrote him one letter. I said:

"You are going to London to meet the Queen. I suggest that while you are there you consult the best physicians and see what your physical condition is at the age of 48, after the work you have recently done."

39-1c-29

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN DINNER, NOVEMBER 21, 1957

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GENERATION, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE AWAKENED TO THE LONG-KNOWN FACT THAT WE HAVE NOT THE BEST PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE WORLD, BUT ARE IN FACT FALLING BEHIND THE LEADING NATIONS, AND NOTABLY behind THE SOVIET UNION. OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IS WORSE THAN IT USED TO BE; IT IS SENDING OUT PUPILS UNABLE TO READ, WRITE, OR REASON LOGICALLY, AND WITHOUT BASIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE SURROUNDING WORLD. THIS IS BEGINNING TO LOWER THE LEVEL OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ON WHICH OUR DEMOCRACY DEPENDS AND MAKES SHEER NONSENSE OF OUR BOAST OF LEADING THE FREE DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST.

MORE THAN THIS: THE LEVEL OF INTELLIGENCE AND CULTURAL PROGRESS IN THE

SOUTHERN REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IS, AS IT LONG HAS BEEN, ESPECIALLY LOW. YET THE SOUTH, BECAUSE OF ITS LOVELY CLIMATE, ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, ITS LABOR FORCE AND CAPITAL AVAILABLE FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOURCES, IS DESTINED TO BE ONE OF THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL CENTERS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. YET RIGHT HERE WE NOW STAND IN THE MIDST OF A MESS WHOSE CULTURAL STUPIDITY IS UNMATCHED EVEN IN ITS HISTORY OF HUMAN SLAVERY, CASTE, LYNCHING, LYING, AND STEALING.

LET ME ILLUSTRATE THIS BY CALLING ATTENTION TO ONE PHASE OF THE CURRENT DISCUSSION OF SCHOOL SEGREGATED BY COLOR. I KNOW THAT MANY WELL-INTENTIONED FOLK ARE A LITTLE UNEASY WHEN WHITE SOUTHERNERS PROTEST AT BEING ASKED IN THE MIDST OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TROUBLES WHICH THEY FACE, TO ADMIT TO

THEIR SCHOOLS TO MINGLE WITH THEIR CHILDREN, A MASS OF MORE OR LESS RETARDED PUPILS, DIFFERING FROM THEM IN APPEARANCE, HABITS, AND CULTURAL STANDARDS, INSTEAD OF LETTING THEM CONTINUE IN THEIR OWN SYSTEM OF GRADUALLY IMPROVING SCHOOLS. MANY AMERICANS ASK, IS NOT THIS ALMOST LIKE INVITING ONESELF TO DINNER IN A NEIGHBOR'S HOUSE WHEN THERE IS AT LEAST SUFFICIENT FOOD AT HOME.

NOTHING SHOWS BETTER THAN THIS OBJECTION, THE MUDDLE IN WHICH SOUTHERN LAWLESSNESS AND DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF FACTS HAS LANDED THIS NATION. NEGROES ARE NOT DEMANDING ENTRANCE INTO "WHITE" SCHOOLS. THEY DEMAND ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THEY KNOW THAT PUBLIC FREE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IS THE BEST AND SIMPLEST PATH TO DEMOCRACY. NO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM EVER EXISTED IN THE SOUTH BEFORE EMANCIPATION. NEGRO VOTERS FORCED PUBLIC SCHOOLS ON BITTERLY PROTESTING WHITE FOLK. WHEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE VOTED NEGROES POURED INTO

THEM. NEVER IN RECORDED HISTORY HAS A MASS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE SO THROWN THEMSELVES INTO PROFERRED EDUCATION. MEN AND WOMEN, OLD AND YOUNG, CROWDED INTO SHACKS, CELLARS, BARRACKS, AND CHURCHES. SCHOOL HOUSES COULD NOT BE BUILT FAST ENOUGH AND THE WHITE FOLK WHO OWNED LAND AND CAPITAL REFUSED TO PAY TAXES FOR SCHOOLS THE POOR WHITES DID NOT NEED AND NEGROES COULD NOT USE. THE POOR WHITES DID NOT WANT SCHOOLS. THEY WANTED LAND, MULES, AND "NIGGERS." AS NEGRO EDUCATION PROGRESSED, WHITES HAD TO BE BRIBED TO GO TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE BEST BRIBE WAS TO OFFER THEM SEPARATE SCHOOLS. THE NEGROES PROTESTED, BUT STATE LAWS AND LOCAL MOBS FORCED SEPARATION AND THE SUPREME COURT PERMITTED IT IF ACCOMODATIONS WERE "EQUAL." THE ACCOMODATIONS WERE NOT EQUAL AND NEVER WERE INTENDED TO BE. THE SOUTH DID NOT OBEY THE

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" DECISION AND WAS NOT EXPECTED TO. NEITHER THE COURTS NOR THE EXECUTIVES MADE ANY ATTEMPT TO SEE THAT THE DECISION WAS ENFORCED. THE SOUTH AS ALWAYS BEING ABOVE THE LAW, DID JUST AS IT PLEASED AND THUMBED ITS NOSE AT THE NATION. THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT MOST SOUTHERN STATES ARE DOING TODAY AND WILL DO TO THE END OF TIME SO LONG AS A COMPLACENT NATION PERMITS IT. AND DOES NOT HAVE SENSE ENOUGH TO SEE THE RESULTANT INJURY TO ALL AMERICANS.

IF THE SOUTH HAD EDUCATED NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE LAST NINETY YEARS AS THE SOVIET UNION HAS TRAINED RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE LAST FORTY, THERE WOULD HAVE REMAINED NO QUESTION OF LOWER RACIAL STANDARDS. THE NEGRO CHILDREN WOULD HAVE EQUALLED, IF NOT OUTSTRIPPED, THE WHITES, OR RUN THEM RAGGED IN TRYING TO KEEP UP THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE REAPED A HARVEST OF ABILITY AND GENIUS WHICH IT

33-7-40

SORELY NEEDS TODAY. INSTEAD THE SOUTH MADE ENORMOUS EFFORT TO KEEP NEGROES POOR AND IGNORANT AND SENT THEM TO JAIL INSTEAD OF TO SCHOOL. CONSISTENTLY AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH, THEY MADE THE WHITE SCHOOLS AN INSTITUTION FOR WHITE SUPREMACY. IN THE CITIES THE WHITE HIGH SCHOOL WAS PUT ON THE PUBLIC SQUARE AND GIVEN ELABORATE EQUIPMENT. A SCHOOL LIKE THE CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL AT LITTLE ROCK WAS A PLACE FOR DISPLAY. YOUNG BLADES AND OVERDRESSED GIRLS DRAPED THEMSELVES FOR THE PUBLIC TO REGARD AND REALIZE WHO OWNED OR WOULD INHERIT THE TOWN. POORER WHITES DID NOT ATTEND AND NEGROES WERE RELEGATED TO POOR AND ILL-EQUIPPED BUILDINGS IN THE SLUMS OR OUTSKIRTS. IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS THE WHITES HAD A GOOD LOCAL BUILDING OR A CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL WITH FREE TRANSPORTATION, WHILE OFTEN THE NEGROES HAD NO SCHOOL HOUSE, A SHORT

and no transportation

11-7-38

TERM AND AN UNEDUCATED TEACHER.

IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THE SOUTH NEVER ESTABLISHED A "NEGRO" PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM. IT SET UP A SEPARATE SYSTEM FOR NEGROES, COMPLETELY DOMINATED BY WHITES. WHITES LOCATED THE SCHOOL HOUSES AND DETERMINED WHAT THEY SHOULD COST AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE EQUIPPED; WHITES CHOSE THE TEACHERS AND DETERMINED THEIR TENURE AND SALARIES; WHITES CHOSE THE COURSES OF STUDY AND THE TEXTBOOKS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE WHITES FURNISHED A DELIBERATELY INFERIOR SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES AND FOR SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PERMITTED THIS. THE STATES OF THE UNITED STATES SPENT ON THE AVERAGE ALMOST $500 PER PUPIL FOR EACH CHILD IN ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE SOUTH WITH LESS WEALTH AND A DOUBLE SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS TO CARRY ON, EVEN IF ONE SYSTEM WAS NEGLECTED, SPENT $60 A YEAR FOR WHITES AND $13 FOR NEGROES.

7 1/2

9 more

AS SOON AS THE NAACP WAS ORGANIZED, IT BEGAN TO FIGHT FOR DECENT NEGRO SCHOOLS. IT BEGAN A STRUGGLE FOR SALARIES BASED ON TRAINING AND NOT ON RACE. IT HAD SOME SUCCESS, ALTHOUGH OFTEN THE TEACHERS WHO DARED COMPLAIN LOST THEIR JOBS. THEN THE NAACP BEGAN A CRUSADE FOR EQUAL SCHOOL FACILITIES. THE REPLY WAS THAT THE SOUTH COULD NOT AFFORD TWO EQUAL SYSTEMS OF SCHOOLS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS ASKED TO HELP. BUT THE SOUTH WANTED GOVERNMENT HELP ONLY IF THE WHITE SOUTH ALONE HANDLED THE MONEY WITHOUT INSPECTION OR INTERFERENCE. THE SOUTH, FOR INSTANCE, DIVIDED THE FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AT THE RATE OF THREE MILLION dollars FOR EACH WHITE COLLEGE AND$360,000 FOR EACH NEGRO COLLEGE. AT THIS IMPASSE, THE NAACP TOOK A RADICAL STEP. I MYSELF DOUBTED ITS CHANCE OF SUCCESS, BUT IT PROVED WISE. THE NAACP BASED ITS PLEA ON THE DICTUM THAT A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM COULD NOT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION SEPARATE PUPILS ON THE BASIS OF RACE. TO MY INTENSE SURPRISE, THE

COURT IN 1954 UNANIMOUSLY UPHELD THIS DOCTRINE.

WHY DID IT DO SO? BECAUSE IT REALIZED THAT THIS NATION WAS FACE TO FACE NOT SIMPLY WITH A COLORED MINORITY WITHIN ITS BOUNDS, GROWING IN EFFICIENCY, BUT WITH A XXXXX WORLD WHICH CONTAINED AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF RISING COLORED PEOPLES; THAT IF OUR FICTION OF DEMOCRACY WAS TO RETAIN ANY VALIDITY WHATSOEVER, IT MUST AT LEAST GIVE LIP-SERVICE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF AN UNSEGREGATED SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, NOT TO MENTION DISCRIMINATION IN TRAVEL, HOUSING, AND CIVIL RIGHTS. THUS THE PRINCIPLE OF CASTE CITIZENSHIP MUST BE SURRENDERED.

THE COURT ALSO KNEW THAT THERE HAD ARISEN IN THE WORLD A NEW POWER OF TREMENDOUS AND EVER-GROWING STRENGTH; IT KNEW THAT THE SOCIALISM of Europe AND THE COMMUNISM OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD ATTACKED CASTE AND WAS FIGHTING COLONIAL SERFDOM OF COLORED PEOPLES. IF THEN THE UNITED STATES COULD EXPECT TO CONVINCE CHINA, INDIA, AND

ALL ASIA, AFRICA AND AFRICA OVERSEAS OF THE SUPERIORITY OF OUR WAY OF LIFE, IT COULD NO LONGER UPHOLD COLOR CASTE.

IN ADDITION, THE SUPREME COURT ALSO KNEW THAT THE WHITE SOUTH NEVER HAD OBEYED FEDERAL LAW EITHER IN SLAVERY OR EMANCIPATION, OR IN THE CASE OF THE CIVIL WAR AMENDMENTS. IT WOULD NOT OBEY THIS DECISION, AND THE COURT PROCEEDED TO MAKE IT EASY FOR THE SOUTH TO PUT OFF THE INTEGRATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS LONG AS IT PLEASED AND THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT THE SOUTH IS DOING.

THESE FACTS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST KNOW AND CLEARLY UNDERSTAND. THE SOUTH CAN CONTINUE TO DISFRANCHISE THE MAJORITY OF NEGRO AMERICANS; IT CAN SEND NEGRO YOUTH TO JAIL INSTEAD OF TO SCHOOL. BUT IT CAN CONTINUE THIS POLICY ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF CITIZENS NORTH AND SOUTH. THESE CITIZENS CAN ONLY KNOW AND KEEP ABREAST OF THE FACTS BY READING WHAT IS PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN. ALMOST NO PERIODICAL

IN THE UNITED STATES OUTSIDE THE GUARDIAN WILL GIVE PUBLICITY TO SUCH FACTS AS I HAVE RECITED TONIGHT. IF WE WISH TO REALIZE THE DEMOCRACY OF WHICH WE BOAST, THE GUARDIAN MUST LIVE.

100-4-28

Carnegie Hall
Dec 19, 1957

Carnegie Hall
Dec 10 1957

PEACE WITH THE U.S.S.R.

By W.E.B. Du BOIS

THE DOMINANT FEELING/ IN THIS COUNTRY/ SEEMS TO BE/ THAT IF PEACE WITH DISARMAMENT/ CAN BE SECURED/ WITH THE SOVIET UNION// THEN FAITH AND FRIENDSHIP WILL FOLLOW/ / THIS IS INVERTED REASONING// FAITH DOES NOT FOLLOW PEACE — PEACE IS THE RESULT OF FAITH.// THE WORK OF OUR SOVIET FRIENDSHIP COUNCIL/ IS THEREFORE IN A SENSE/ MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THAT/ OF COMMITTEES ON DISARMAMENT. PARTICULARLY IS THIS TRUE/ WHEN THIS NATION APPROACHES SUCH CONFERENCES/ WITH LOUD PROTESTATIONS/ OF DISTRUST AND CONTEMPT/ FOR THE SOVIET UNION/ AND FEAR OF ITS EFFORT TO REACH COMMUNISM/ THROUGH SOCIALISM.// WE DO NOT STOP HERE,/ BUT FRANKLY CONFESS/ TO REGARD RUSSIANS AND THEIR FRIENDS/ AS LIARS AND CRIMINALS/ WHOSE OBJECT IS/ TO ATTACK IF NOT OVERTHROW/ THIS NATION AND TO ~~ERR~~ RUIN/ ITS

38-7-98

WAY OF LIFE.// IN THE LAST DECADE/ I DO NOT REMEMBER/ A SINGLE SPEECH/ BY THE HEAD OF OUR UNITED NATIONS DELEGATION/ WHICH DID NOT CASTIGATE/ IF NOT ACTUALLY INSULT/ THE SOVIET UNION.// FEW SPEECHES BY OUR SECRETARIES OF STATE/ HAVE NOT EMPHASIZED/ OUR [redacted] DISTRUST OF THE SOVIET UNION;// AND USUALLY BOTH TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER/ HAVE REITERATED IN PUBLIC ADDRESSES/ AND STATE PAPERS/ OUR SUSPICION/ OF ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES/ AND OUR BELIEF THAT ANY PROMISE/ THEY MAKE/ IS NOT SINCERE/ AND WILL NOT BE KEPT.

SURELY THIS IS NO WAY TO BUILD PEACE.// IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIPLOMACY/ SUCH LANGUAGE/ AS WE DAILY EMPLOY/ TOWARD COMMUNIST NATIONS/ WOULD HAVE MEANT IMMEDIATE SEVERANCE/ OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.// FOR A TIME/ THE SOVIET UNION WAS MILD IN ITS RETORTS;/ RECENTLY IT HAS BEGUN TO ANSWER US IN KIND.

38-7-99

IF ALL WE SAY WERE TRUE, THEN PEACE WOULD BE HOPELESS AND EFFORTS TO INSURE IT WOULD BE IN VAIN. // IN HUNTING WILD BEASTS AND POISONOUS SERPENTS, ONE DOES NOT SIT DOWN AND PARLEY, OR HURL BITTER EPITHETS. // ONE KILLS AT ONCE [illegible] // THIS HAS LONG BEEN ADVISED AS OUR DOMINANT STRATEGY. // "DROP A BOMB ON MOSCOW" WAS PROPOSED ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS. // SO LONG AS WE THOUGHT WE HAD SOLE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ATOM BOMB, // ASSUMING THAT ITS POSSESSION RESTED IN A "SECRET" AND NOT ON BRAINS AND WORK, WE CHASED SPIES AND JAILED AND MURDERED SUSPECTS. // WHEN IT WAS CLEAR THAT ANY NATION WITH ENOUGH MONEY AND ABILITY COULD ARM ITSELF WITH ATOMIC POWER, // WE ADOPTED A SUCCESSION OF SLOGANS TO EXPRESS OUR POLITICAL AIMS. // WE WERE GOING TO TALK "FROM STRENGTH," ARMING OURSELVES MEANTIME TO THE TEETH AND

38-7-100

FORTIFYING THE ENDS OF THE EARTH AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION; // THEN WE WERE GOING TO PUSH COMMUNISM BACK TO ITS ORIGINAL BORDERS. // THEN WE WERE GOING TO PREVENT ITS EXPANSION AND FINALLY WE WERE SET TO POUNCE ON COMMUNISM WHENEVER AND WHEREVER IT ATTACKED US OR OUR FRIENDS.

NONE OF THESE PLANS WORKED; WE ARMED TO THE TEETH AND SO DID THE SOVIET UNION. // WE Thought we SAW SOVIET ATTACK IN KOREA. BUT THE ATTACK PROVED TO BE CHINA DEFENDING ITSELF AND WE RETREATED IN WILD PANIC. // WE WAITED FOR OUR SUPERIOR BRAINS AND EDUCATION TO INVENT SUCH WEAPONS AND METHODS AS WOULD BRING THE SOVIETS TO THEIR KNEES AND INSTEAD HAVE RECENTLY REALIZED THAT RUSSIAN EDUCATION IS BETTER THAN OURS AND THAT HER SCIENCE IS OUTDISTANCING US. // MOREOVER OUR EXPENDITURE OF MEN AND MONEY IN THIS MAD RACE IS CAUSING THE ECONOMIC AND MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NATION TO TOTTER AND NO MATTER HOW LONG CATASTROPHE

38-7-101

MAY BE POSTPONED. NO NATION ON EARTH CAN CONTINUE INDEFINITELY TO WASTE ITS SUBSTANCE, EDUCATE ITS YOUTH FOR MURDER AND DESTRUCTION AND NOT FOR KNOWLEDGE, AND PROSTITUTE ITS ART AND LITERATURE TO PROPAGANDA WITHOUT SOMETIME PAYING THE ENORMOUS ACCUMULATED BILL.

IF THIS NATION HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE FACTS AND DISCUSS THEM OPENLY, IF WE COULD ONCE VOTE FOR PEACE OR WAR, WE WOULD SOON TURN BIG BUSINESS AND ADVERTISING OUT OF POWER AND PUT IN OFFICE MEN WHO COULD THINK STRAIGHT, DARE TELL THE TRUTH, AND ACT IN ACCORD WITH SOME RECOGNIZED STANDARD OF ETHICS. BUT WE HAVE NO CHANCE TO VOTE FOR ANYONE OR ANYTHING WHICH DOES NOT REPRESENT THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS PROGRAM OF LYING, STEALING, AND KILLING.

38-7-102

THERE WAS ONE RECOURSE UPON WHICH WE ONCE RELIED, AND THAT WAS THE TESTIMONY OF AMERICANS WHO WOULD VISIT THE SOVIET UNION AND TELL US WHAT THEY SAW AND LEARNED. FOR A LONG TIME IT WAS ALMOST AS DIFFICULT TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION AS IT IS FOR RUSSIANS TO VISIT US. THEN THE LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY KEPT US APART, FOR WHICH WE SEEMED TO BLAME RUSSIA. THEN INCREASING NUMBERS OF AMERICANS SAW THE SOVIET UNION. SOME COULD THEMSELVES SPEAK RUSSIAN, ALL HAD THE SERVICES OF GUIDES AND TRANSLATORS. NEVERTHELESS WHEN AMERICAN VISITORS RETURNED, THEIR VOICES WERE MUTED OR SILENT. MANY WHO TRIED TO TALK COULD GET NO PUBLICITY. AND YET DESPITE THIS UNIVERSAL ATTEMPT TO BLOT OUT OR DISTORT THE FACTS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION, SOME TRUTHS BEGAN TO EMERGE. ONCE WE BELIEVED ALL RUSSIAN WOMEN WERE PROSTITUTES, ONCE WE BELIEVED

38-7-103

MOST SOVIET WORKERS WERE SLAVES;/ ONCE WE ASSERTED /THAT ALL THAT WAS NEEDED / WAS OUR HELP/ AND RUSSIA WOULD RISE TO A MAN/ AND THROW OUT THE COMMUNISTS;// ONCE WE WERE SURE/ THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SO SUPPRESSED/ THAT THEY HAD NO WILL FOR FREEDOM/ AND THAT THEIR SCHOOLS/ WERE ONLY PROPAGANDA AGAINST AMERICA./ TODAY WITH DIFFICULTY/ WE ARE GRADUALLY/ AND DESPITE THE PROPAGANDA OF NEWSPAPERS/ AND ANTICS OF PUBLISHERS,/ BEGINNING TO SEE THE SOVIET UNION/ AS A GREAT AND PROGRESSIVE NATION,/ WHOSE CULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND BRAINS/ MAY SOON LEAD THE WORLD;// AND NO MATTER HOW FAR OFF/ THIS TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM MAY BE,/ ONLY A NATION OF FOOLS/ WILL CONTINUE TO BELIEVE AND ACT/ AS IF THE UNITED STATES/ IS EVER GOING TO BE ABLE/ BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE/ TO SWEEP THE SOVIET UNION,/ CHINA, AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST NATIONS/ FROM THE EARTH AND LEAVE AMERICANS/ TO OWN THE

38-7-104

WORLD AND RULE IT.// SELDOM IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD,/ ANCIENT OR MODERN,/ HAS A GREAT NATION/ DELIBERATELY SO FLOWN INTO THE FACE OF FACTS,/ COMMON SENSE, AND MORAL DECENCY/ AS THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.// YET THE REMEDY IS PLAIN.

THIS NATION HAS RECENTLY MADE/ A TREMENDOUS PROFESSION OF RELIGION./ / THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN TO CHURCH-GOING/ AND PUBLIC PRAYER;/ THOUSANDS HAVE LISTENED TO BILLY GRAHAM,/ SUNG LOUDLY, AND JOINED THE CHURCH./ / BUSINESS MEN, PROFESSIONAL MEN,/ STUDENTS AND ARTISANS/ HAVE PROFESSED RELIGION./ / THIS MEANS THAT THIS COUNTRY/ HAS DECLARED THAT IT PROPOSES/ TO FOLLOW THE ETHICAL PRECEPTS/ LAID DOWN BY JESUS OF NAZARETH.// IF THERE IS ANY SINCERITY/ BACK OF THIS PROFESSION,/ NOW IS THE TIME/ TO PUT IT TO THE TEST./ / NOW IS THE TIME TO "LOVE OUR ENEMIES," / "DO UNTO OTHERS/ AS WE WOULD THAT OTHERS DO UNTO US"/ AND "TURN THE OTHER CHEEK."

38-7-105

IN OTHER WORDS, WE HAVE TODAY A ~~CHANCE~~ opportunity AND A BURNING ~~CHANCE~~ opportunity TO ACCEPT THE PEACE OFFER OF THE SOVIET UNION. // BELIEVE IN THE HONESTY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, / EXPRESS THIS BELIEF / AND ACT IN ACCORD WITH IT. // REMEMBER THAT THE SOVIETS NEVER ATTACKED AMERICA / AND THAT AMERICA HAS THE SOVIET / RINGED WITH SOLDIERS AND ATOM BOMBS. // LET US BE MORE THAN HONEST. / LET US TAKE A CHANCE. // LET US BEGIN TO DISARM FIRST; / LET US FIRST STOP POISONING THE AIR / AND ~~HER~~ THE SEED OF OUR OFFSPRING. // LET US AT LEAST PRETEND TO FOLLOW / OUR MORAL BOASTING OF TWO THOUSAND YEARS. // IS IT POSSIBLE THAT WE DO NOT DARE?

EVEN IF WE GRANT / THAT AGREEMENT WOULD INVOLVE RISK, / WOULD IT IN TRUTH INVOLVE MORE RISK THAN WE ARE TAKING TODAY / IN SPENDING MORE OF OUR THOUGHT AND

38-7-106

EFFORT / FOR WAR AND DESTRUCTION / THAN FOR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS? // INSTEAD OF DICKERING AND PRETENDING / AND USING DECEPTION AT EVERY LEVEL, / ~~TOP, MIDDLE, AND BOTTOM,~~ / WHY NOT TAKE A MAGNIFICENT GAMBLE / WHICH WOULD PUT TO SHAME THE STOCK MARKET. // WE COULD STOP TESTING OF BOMBS FOR A YEAR / WITHOUT CONDITIONS. // NO BOMB CAN TODAY BE SET OFF / IN THE WORLD / WITHOUT ALL MEN KNOWING. // WE COULD IMMEDIATELY GIVE UP / THE SILLY DEMAND / FOR AIR INSPECTION / OVER EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY. // THIS, / IN ITSELF AN INCITEMENT TO WAR AND SUSPICION, / WAS NEVER MEANT TO BE ACCEPTED / AND NEVER WILL BE. // WE COULD CUT DOWN OUR ARMED FORCES / AND HAVE NO GREAT DIFFICULTY / IN ASCERTAINING HOW FAR OTHER NATIONS / FOLLOW IN NUMBERS AND EXPENSE; // AND FINALLY WE COULD BRING THE AMERICAN FORCES / NOW SCATTERED OVER THE EARTH / AND MAKING ALL SORTS OF TROUBLE, / FROM RAPE AND THEFT TO MURDER + WE COULD

38-7-107

BRING OUR FORCES HOME/AND GIVE UP OUR MILITARY BASES/AND BEGIN MINDING OUR OWN BUSINESS.// THIS NEED NOT MEAN/OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM MANKIND.// IT CAN AND OUGHT TO MEAN/THE END OF OUR ILL-STARRED EFFORT/TO RULE THE WORLD/BEFORE WE HAVE LEARNED TO RULE OURSELVES.// I AM DISTRESSED BEYOND WORDS/WHEN I THINK WHAT THE AMERICAN NEGRO/MIGHT BE TODAY/IF IN THE NINETY YEARS/SINCE EMANCIPATION,/HIS CHILDREN/ HAD RECEIVED THE TRAINING/ WHICH IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS/HAS BEEN GIVEN THE RUSSIAN PEASANTS.// WHAT A MASS/OF ABILITY AND GENIUS/WE HAVE FORCED INTO POVERTY, DISEASE AND CRIME/BECAUSE OF OUR REFUSAL/ YESTERDAY AS TODAY/ TO FACE THE TRUTH

32-7-108

PEACE WITH THE U.S.S.R.

by W.E.B. Du Bois
(Carnegie Hall
Dec. 10, 1957)

42-41A-9

The dominant feeling in America seems to be that if peace with disarmament can be secured with the Soviet Union then faith and friendship will follow. This is inverted reasoning. Faith does not follow peace -- peace is the result of faith. The work of the Soviet Friendship Council is therefore in a sense more fundamental than that of committees on disarmament.

Particularly is this true when this nation approaches such conferences with loud protestations of distrust and contempt for the Soviet Union and fear of its effort to reach communism through socialism. We do not stop here, but frankly confess to regard Russians and their friends as liars and criminals, whose object is to attack if not overthrow this nation ad to ruin its way of life. In the last decade I do not remember a single speech by the head of our United Nations delegation which did not castigate, if not actually insult, the Soviet Union. Few speeches by our Secretaries of State have not emphasized our distrust of the Soviet Union, and usually both Truman and Eisenhower have reiterated in public addresses and state papers our suspicion of all communist countries and our belief that any promise they make is not sincere and will not be kept.

Surely this is no way to build peace. In eighteenth century diplomacy such language as we daily employ toward communist nations would have meant immediate severance of diplomatic relations. For a time the Soviet Union was mild in its retorts; recently it has begun to answer us in kind.

If all we say were true, then peace would be hopeless and efforts to insure it would be in vain. In hunting wild beasts and poisonous serpents, one does not sit down and parley, or hurl bitter epithets. One kills at once. This has long been advised as our dominant strategy: "Drop a bomb on Moscow" was proposed on the floor of Congress so long as we thought we

42-44-10

had sole knowledge of the atom bomb. Assuming that its possession rested on a "secret" and not on brains and work, we chased spies and jailed and murdered suspects. When it was clear that any nation with enough money and ability could arm itself with atomic power, we adopted a succession of slogans to express our political aims: we were going to talk "from strength," arming ourselves meantime to the teeth and fortifying the ends of the earth against the Soviet Union; then we were going to push communism back to its original borders; then we were going to prevent its expansion, and finally we were set to pounce on communism whenever and wherever it attacked us or our friends.

None of these plans worked; we armed to the teeth and so didthe Soviet Union. We thought we saw Soviet attack in Korea, but the attack proved to be China defending itself and we retreated in wild panic. We waited for our superior brains and education to invent such weapons and methods as would bring the Soviets to their knees, and instead have recently realized that Russian education is better than American and that her science is outdistancing us. Moreover our expenditure of men and money in this mad race is causing the economic and moral foundations of our nation to totter and no matter how long catastrophe may be postponed, no nation on earth can continue indefinitely to waste its substance, educate its youth for murder and destruction and not for knowledge, and prostitute its art and literature to propaganda without sometime paying the enormous accumulated bill.

If this nation had the opportunity to know the facts and discuss them openly; if we could once vote for peace or war we would soon turn big business and advertising out of power and put in office men who could think straight, dare tell the truth, and act in accord with some recognized standard of ethics. But we have no chance to vote for anyone or anything which does not represent the so-called Democratic-Republican party and its program of lying, stealing, and killing.

There was one recourse upon which we once relied and that was the testimony of Americans who would visit the Soviet Union and tell us what they saw and learned. For a long timeit was almost as difficult to visit the Soviet Union as it is for Russians to visit us. Then the language difficulty kept us apart for which we seemed to blame Russia. Then increasing numbers of Americans saw the Soviet Union; some could themselves speak Russian, all had the services of guides and translators. Nevertheless, when American visitors returned their voices were muted or silent. Many who tried to talk could get no publicity. And yet despite this universal attempt to blot out or distort the facts about the Soviet Union, some truths began to emerge: once we believed all Russian women were prostitutes; once we believed most Soviet workers were slaves; once we asserted that all that was needed was our help and Russia would rise to a man and throw out the communists; once we were sure that the Russians were so suppressed that they had no will for freedom and that their schools were only propaganda against America.

Today with difficulty we are gradually and despite the propaganda of newspapers and antics of publishers, beginning to see the Soviet Union as a great and progressive nation whose culture, industry, and brains may soon lead the world; and no matter how far off this triumph of socialism may be only a nation of fools will continue to believe and act as if the United States is ever going to be able by force and violence to sweep the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist nations from the earth and leave Americans to own the world and rule it. Seldom in the history of the world, ancient or modern, has a great nation deliberately so flown into the face of facts, common sense, and moral decency as the United States of the present century.

Yet the remedy is plain. This nation has recently made a tremendous profession of religion. The President has taken to church-going and public prayer; thousands have listened to Billy Graham, sung loudly and joined the

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church. Business men, professional men, students and artisans have professed religion. This means that this country has declared that it proposes to follow the ethical precepts laid down by Jesus of Nazareth. If there is any sincerity back of this profession, now is the time to put it to the test. Now is the time to "love our enemies," "do unto others as we would that others do unto us" and "turn the other cheek."

In other words, we have today an opportunity and a burning opportunity to accept the peace offer of the Soviet Union, believe in the honesty of the Soviet government, express this belief and act in accord with it. Remember that the Soviets never attacked America and that America has the Soviets ringed with soldiers and atom bombs. Let us/be more than honest, let us take a chance. Let us begin to disarm first; let us first stop poisoning the air and the seed of our offspring. Let us at least pretend to follow our moral boasting of two thousand years. Is it possible that we do not dare?

Even if we grant that agreement would involve risk, would it in truth involve more risk than we are taking today in spending more of our thought and effort for war and destruction than for education and social progress? Instead of dickering and pretending and using deception at every level why not take a magnificent gamble which would put to shame the stock market. We could stop testing of bombs for a year, without conditions. No bomb can today be set off in the world without all men knowing. We could immediately give up the silly demand for air inspection over each other's territory. This, in itself an incitement to war and suspicion, was never meant to be accepted and never will be. We could cut down our armed forces and have no great difficulty in ascertaining how far other nations follow in numbers and expense; and finally we could bring home the American forces now scattered over the earth and making

43-44-13

all sorts of trouble, from rape and theft to murder -- we could bring our forces home and give up our military bases and begin minding our own business. This need not mean our withdrawal from mankind. It can and ought to mean the end of our ill-starred effort to rule the world before we have learned to rule ourselves. I am distressed beyond words when I think what the American Negro might be today if in the ninety years since emancipation, his children had received the training which in the last forty years has been given the Russian peasants. What a mass of ability and genius have been forced into poverty, disease and crime because of American refusal yesterday as today to face the truth.

38-9-293

[INCOMPLETE]

Student

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND [redacted] PEOPLES

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, OR IN THE TIME FOLLOWING THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, THOSE FOLK WHO WERE AWARE OF THE SHORTCOMINGS AND FAILURES OF CIVILIZATION HAD VARIOUS PLANS FOR IMPROVING THE WORLD THROUGH SOCIALISM; BUT THEY WERE NOT IN AGREEMENT AS TO WHAT PLAN WOULD BE BEST AND ABOVE ALL THEY COULD POINT TO NO PLAN IN MODERN LIFE THAT HAD WORKED OR WAS WORKING. THIS WAS AN ALMOST FATAL LACK, AND FOR NEAR A CENTURY IT HELD BACK MUCH REAL ADVANCE TOWARD SOCIALISM. WE HAD SOCIALIST THINKERS AND PLANNERS; WE HAD STUDENTS CULMINATING WITH THE GREATEST WORKER IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL RESEARCH OF MODERN TIMES, KARL MARX; AND WE PROCEEDED THROUGH THE AGE OF LASSALLE AND PLEKHANOV, KINGSLEY AND MORRIS, THE CHARTISTS AND THE FABIANS, BUT STILL HAD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOCIALISM REMAINED A DREAM OR AT BEST A SERIES OF UNHAPPY AND ABORTIVE EFFORTS.

TODAY WE HAVE REACHED NO MILLENIUM, BUT WE CAN LOOK ABOUT WITH SINCERE RE-

38-9-294

JOICING TO SEE SOCIALISM OVER MOST OF THE WORLD ADVANCING AND IN MUCH OF THE WORLD TRIUMPHANT. OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THIS PROGRESS WILL BE TEMPERED BY OUR OWN DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM. WHEN I WAS A STUDENT IN A NEW ENGLAND HIGH SCHOOL IN 1885, WE WERE WARNED AGAINST "SOCIALISM" AND BY THAT WAS MEANT MAINLY THE INTRUSION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PRIVATE BUSINESS. OUR TOWN OWNED ITS WATERWORKS, BUILT ITS OWN ROADS AND FINANCED ITS SCHOOLS; THE STATE HAD NO POWER OVER RAILROADS OR TELEGRAPHS AND ALL ORDINARY BUSINESS WAS PRIVATE. TODAY EVEN IN THAT TOWN, THE TOWN OWNS THE WATERWORKS, THE STATE HELPS FINANCE EDUCATION AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REGULATES THE RAILROADS AND TELEPHONES AND TELEGRAPHS WHICH SERVE THE TOWN.

BUT THIS IS BUT A NARROW DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM. IN A BROADER SENSE, SOCIALISM MEANS THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL BY THE STATE; THE REGULATION OF ALL INDUSTRY IN THE INTERESTS OF CITIZENS AND NOT FOR PRIVATE PROFIT OF THE FEW; AND THE BUILDING

OF A WELFARE STATE WHERE ALL MEN WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND SHARE INCOME ACCORDING TO NEED. THIS COMPLETE SOCIALISM HAS BEEN REACHED BY NO NATION; BUT THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, WITH THEIR 800,000,000 PEOPLE, ARE WITHIN SIGHT OF THIS GOAL; POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EAST GERMANY AND YUGOSLAVIA ARE STRIVING TOWARD IT; WHILE INDIA, ALL WEST EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA ARE ADOPTING PROGRAMS OF GOVERNMENT WHICH ARE WIDELY SOCIALISTIC. IN FINE, MOST CIVILIZED STATES OF THE WORLD TODAY TO A GREAT EXTENT REGULATE PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND THE USE OF PROPERTY; OWN CAPITAL IN RAILROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS; OWN SOME CAPITAL IN INDUSTRY; LARGELY CONTROL EDUCATION, DIRECT AND AID MEDICINE AND HOSPITALIZATION, AND PROFESS THAT THE WELFARE STATE IS THEIR ULTIMATE OBJECT. EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS THE MOST VOCAL ENEMY OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD, THE ADVANCE TOWARD SOCIALISM IN THE CURRENT CENTURY HAS BEEN MARKED. WE ARE STILL

38-9-25S

THE ONLY CIVILIZED STATE WHICH DOES NOT OWN OUTRIGHT ITS RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, AND TELEPHONES; NEVERTHELESS WE STRICTLY AND INCREASINGLY REGULATE THEM; WE OWN INCREASING CAPITAL IN INDUSTRY, IN THE SHAPE OF DAMS AND WATERWAYS, FORESTS, LANDS, AND IRRIGATION PROJECTS; VAST STRETCHES OF HIGHWAY; PARKS, PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PRIVATE HOMES; WE ENGAGE IN INSURANCE, MEDICAL SERVICE, RECREATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH; AND WE PROCESS RAW MATERIALS, MANUFACTURE GOODS, AND ENGAGE IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TRADE. THE WORLD OF MY YOUTH WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE CALLED THIS UNITED STATES "SOCIALISTIC" EVEN BEFORE THE NEW DEAL AND FAR ON THE ROAD TOWARD SOCIALISM AFTER IT. WE CAN ONLY CALL OUR PRESENT ECONOMY "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE" TODAY BECAUSE IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OUR CONCEPTION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC CONTROL HAS BEEN SO VASTLY WIDENED BY THE PHENOMENAL SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA.

38-9-25C

(P. 5 MISSING)

MAIN INTEREST BEGAN TO CENTER IN ECONOMIC CHANGE AS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE RISE OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

JAMES WARBASSE JUST DIED. HE WAS LITTLE KNOWN BUT DESERVES NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN. HE WAS LONG THE CHAMPION OF WHAT WAS CALLED CONSUMERS CO-OPERATION; THAT IS, OF AN ECONOMIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY WHICH INVOLVED NO VIOLENCE AND LITTLE CHANGE OF LAW, BUT ONLY UNITED EFFORT OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE WHO BOUGHT AND USED GOODS.

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IN AUGUST, 1918, I HELD A MEETING OF THOSE PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE IDEA OF CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATION AND ITS SPREAD AND ADOPTION AMONG COLORED PEOPLE. AMONG THOSE PRESENT WAS B. M. RODDY OF MEMPHIS, TENN., WHO RETURNED HOME AND ENTERED UPON AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF CO-OPERATION THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH. BY FEBRUARY, 1919, A CHARTER OF INCORPORATION FOR THE STATE OF TENNESSEE WAS SECURED AND A CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION FOUNDED. WITHIN NINETY DAYS

AFTER RECEIVING THE CHARTER THE ORGANIZATION HAD SOLD THE ENTIRE $5,000 WORTH OF STOCK AND WAS OBLIGED TO AMEND THE CHARTER AND CAPITALIZE ANEW AT $15,000. BY AUGUST 30, 1919, $10,000 WORTH OF THIS STOCK HAD BEEN SOLD AND FIVE STORES WITH MEAT MARKETS WERE OPERATING.

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BUT IN THE END THIS AND SOME FIFTY OTHER EFFORTS FAILED BECAUSE THEY WERE TEMPTED TO TURN INTO PRIVATE INVESTMENT ENTERPRISES AND THEN BIG BUSINESS FROZE THEM OUT.

TEN YEARS LATER, A YOUNG NEGRO TEACHER IN WEST VIRGINIA, STARTED TO CORRECT THIS WEAK POINT. HE FOLLOWED A WORD OF MINE WRITTEN IN 1929;

"IF SIX YOUNG PERSONS START OUT UPON THEIR CAREER, WHAT IS THE OBJECT WHICH THEY SEEK? HERE IS A SINGER. HE SEEKS, OF COURSE, TO SING SONGS WELL, OR A MINISTER. HE SEEKS TO ADVANCE RELIGIOUS IDEALS. A TEACHER IMPARTS TRUTH AND SEARCHES FOR IT. A PHYSICIAN TRIES TO HEAL AND PRESERVE HEALTH. A LAWYER CONTENDS FOR

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LAW AND JUSTICE. ALL THIS IS CLEAR FOR FIVE OF OUR BOYS; BUT WHEN IT COMES, FOR INSTANCE, TO THE GROCER, WE ALL SAY FRANKLY THE GROCER SEEKS PROFIT. WE DO NOT VISUALIZE, INDEED MANY OF US DO NOT CLEARLY KNOW, OF ANY SERVICE OR IDEAL AIM WHICH THE GROCER FOLLOWS, EXCEPT THAT OF PERSONAL PROFIT. OF NONE OF THE OTHER FIVE EMPLOYMENTS MENTIONED DO WE FOR A MOMENT MAKE SO NARROW AN OBJECT. THE SINGER MAY RECEIVE HIGH FEES, BUT HE PROTESTS THAT MUSIC IS HIS LIFE WORK. THERE MAY BE PHYSICIANS WHO WILL NOT SOIL THEIR KNIGHT'S REST FOR A CALL THAT INVOLVES NO CASH RETURN; BUT THEY DO NOT ADVERTISE THIS FACT AND CONTINUALLY WE SEE PHYSICIANS GIVING TIME AND TALENT FOR NOTHING BECAUSE THEY ARE 'INTERESTED.' IF A MINISTER IS CALLED TO A CHURCH THAT OFFERS A HIGHER SALARY, HE HASTENS TO DENY THAT THE SALARY IN ITSELF WAS THE MAIN REASON OF HIS DECISION. NO LAWYER OPENLY ADVERTISES

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FOR THE HIGHEST PAYING CLIENT OR OPENLY NEGLECTS THE CAUSE OF A POOR UNFORTUNATE CLIENT.

"ONLY THE GROCER OF THIS GROUP SAYS FRANKLY THAT HE IS TRYING TO MAKE MONEY AND THAT THE MORE MONEY HE MAKES OUT OF THE GROCERY BUSINESS THE MORE SUCCESSFUL HE IS. IF HE LEAVES THE GROCERY STORE FOR THE DRYGOODS BUSINESS HE IS REGARDED AS HAVING GIVEN FULL EXPLANATION WHEN HE SAYS THAT HE CAN 'MAKE MORE' IN DRYGOODS."

WILLIAM MATNEY, WHO WAS TEACHING BUSINESS IN A NEGRO STATE SCHOOL, ORGANIZED A STUDENT CO-OPERATIVE. IN 1927 HE WROTE:

"THE STORE IS OWNED BY STUDENT STOCKHOLDERS. THE CAPITAL OF THE STORE WAS RAISED BY SELLING STOCK IN THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY AT A PRICE LESS THAN ONE DOLLAR PER SHARE. THE STORE CARRIES SCHOOL BOOKS AND SCHOOL SUPPLIES, ATHLETIC GOODS, KODAKS, TOILET ARTICLES, SOME PASTRIES MADE BY THE DOMESTIC SCIENCE DEPARTMENT,

CONFECTIONS AND SUNDRIES, ALL OF WHICH ARE SOLD AT THE CURRENT PRICES IN THE CITY. ONLY STOCKHOLDERS RECEIVE SALES TICKETS WITH PURCHASES AND OF COURSE ONLY STOCKHOLDERS PARTICIPATE IN DIVIDENDS. DIVIDENDS ARE PAID OUT OF NET PROFITS AT THE END OF THE FISCAL PERIOD ON THE BASIS OF THE STOCKHOLDER'S PURCHASES AND NOT ON THE SHARE OF STOCK."

A TEACHER IN THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION SAID:

"I AM CONVINCED THAT YOU ARE DOING A SPLENDID PIECE OF WORK WITH THIS ENTERPRISE. . . . I HAVE SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VIRGINIA, AND FROM MY KNOWLEDGE OF THAT INSTITUTION I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IN YOUR SCHOOLS THE CO-OPERATIVE STORE OFFERS THE BEST TYPE OF PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE FOR YOUR STUDENTS."

BUT THE PROJECT FAILED. THE WHOLE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, WHEN IT

DID NOT ACTUALLY FAIL, EKED OUT AN EXISTENCE WHICH TURNED IT INTO AN INVESTMENT DEPENDENT ON PRIVATE PROFIT OR ON ALLIANCE WITH BIG BUSINESS. THE DIFFICULTY WITH THIS BRILLIANT AND STILL VALID IDEA WAS THAT WITHOUT STATE SUPPORT AND PROTECTION IT COULD NOT LIVE NOR DEVELOP. OR IN OTHER WORDS, WITHOUT A SOCIALIST STATE, CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATION FAILS; WITH SOCIALISM, CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATION CAN BECOME THE DEMOCRATIC TOOL OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS. THE FAILURE OF CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES SPELLS THE FAILURE OF OUR SOCIALISM TO ADVANCE MORE SWIFTLY THAN IT HAS. IT SHOWS HOW WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR IS HOLDING UP THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

MEANTIME, I BEGAN AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION TO SEEK A WAY OF ADVANCE FOR AMERICAN NEGROES. I REPUDIATED THE IDEA THAT NEGROES WERE IN DANGER OF INNER CLASS DIVISION BASED IN INCOME AND EXPLOITATION. I SAID IN 1931:

MOVEMENT AND BEGINS TO RECOGNIZE BLACK BUSINESS EXPLOITATION. BUT THE MAIN MASSES OF AMERICAN LABOR ARE AT PRESENT IN CONSERVATIVE UNIONS UNDER REACTIONARIES LIKE MEANY. SO FAR AS THESE UNIONS ADMIT NEGROES, THE NEGROES FOLLOW THE REACTIONARY PHILOSOPHY OF THE WHITE.

"HERE THE BLACK, LIKE THE WHITE, IS RESTRAINED BY CHARGES OF SUBVERSION AND FEAR OF LOSS OF JOBS."

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AFRICA

BY W. E. B. DU BOIS

January 22, 1958

NO PART OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN KNOWN MORE WIDELY DURING THE COURSE OF RECORDED HISTORY THAN THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. FROM EARLIEST TIMES ASIA WAS IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH AFRICA. THE GREEKS TALKED AND WROTE OF AFRICA, TRADED WITH IT, AND TRAVELED THERE. TWO OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS GREEK WRITERS WERE AFRICAN, AESOP AND SAPPHO. EURYBIATES OF HOMERIC LEGENDS HAD WOOLLY HAIR AND BLACK SKIN. AS WINWOOD READE WRITES, "OF ALL CLASSICAL COUNTRIES, ETHIOPIA, LAND OF THE BLACKS, WAS THE MOST ROMANTIC. . . ITS INHABITANTS WERE THE MOST JUST OF MEN AND JUPITER DINED WITH THEM TWICE A YEAR."

WHEN GREEK POETS ENUMERATED THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH, IT WAS NATURAL TO

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MENTION MEMNON, KING OF ETHIOPIA, AS LEADER OF ONE OF THE GREAT ARMIES THAT BESIEGED TROY. WHEN HERODOTUS WANTED TO VISIT THE WORLD, HE WENT TO EGYPT AS NATURALLY AS AMERICANS GO TO PARIS. HE DESCRIBED THE EGYPTIANS AS "BLACK AND CURLY-HAIRED." AFRICA WAS A PART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND IN AFRICA THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH HAD ITS EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT.

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES, AFRICA WAS REGARDED AS ONE OF THE CENTERS OF CIVILIZATION. IN AFRICA AND SOUTH OF THE SAHARA, AROSE SOME OF THE GREATEST KINGDOMS OF THE ERA, LIKE GHANA, THE MELLISTINE, THE SONGHAI, ETHIOPIA, AND NUBIA.

NEVERTHELESS, AFTER THE RENAISSANCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, THE KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICA, ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE, HAS BEEN SO PUSHED INTO THE BACKGROUND THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TODAY TO BE A PERSON OF LEARNING AND YET TO KNOW ALMOST

NOTHING OF AFRICA. // DESPITE THIS, A NEW UNREST AND UPSURGE IS OCCURRING IN AFRICA TODAY WHICH IS AFFECTING THE WHOLE WORLD AND WILL AFFECT IT MORE AND MORE // AND YET THIS UNREST CANNOT BE UNDERSTOOD WITHOUT SOME KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICA'S PAST.

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¶ THERE ARE THREE REASONS FOR OUR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA: (1) THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF AFRICA, (2) THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA, (3) THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN EUROPE. // I SHALL SPEAK TONIGHT OF THESE THREE POINTS, THAT IS, OF AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY, OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE, AND THE RELATION OF THE EUROPEAN LABOR MOVEMENT TO THESE FACTS.

AS HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID, ONE MUST THINK OF THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AS AN INVERTED PLATE, OR, PERHAPS BETTER, AS AN ELONGATED PLATTER, // SO TILTED THAT THE HIGHEST PART IS IN THE SOUTH AROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND THEN SLOPING DOWN TOWARD THE NORTH UNTIL THE SAHARA DESERT IS ACTUALLY LOWER THAN THE SEA.

THERE ARE ONLY TWO EXCEPTIONS TO THIS DOWNWARD SLANT AND THAT IS IN THE HIGHLANDS OF ETHIOPIA, AND IN THE GREAT LAKE REGION WITH THE ~~GREAT~~ PEAKS OF KENYA AND TANGANYIKA. // FINALLY THE SAHARA LOWLAND IS DEFENDED NORTH FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE ATLANTIC OCEAN BY THE ATLAS MOUNTAINS OF MOROCCO AND ALGERIA.

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¶ FROM THE GREAT CENTRAL PLATEAU WHICH REACHES FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO THE SAHARA DESERT, THERE FLOW FOUR GREAT RIVERS OR RIVER SYSTEMS -- THE NILE NORTHWARD FROM THE HIGHLANDS OF ETHIOPIA AND THE GREAT LAKES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA; // THE CONGO IN CENTRAL AFRICA, WHICH WHIRLS UPON ITSELF NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST TO THE ATLANTIC; // THE ZAMBEZI, WHICH FLOWS SOUTHEAST FROM CENTRAL AFRICA TO THE INDIAN OCEAN; // AND THE NIGER IN NORTHWEST AFRICA, WHICH FLOWS EAST AND NORTH FROM THE SEA AND THEN SOUTH AND ~~EAST~~ WEST INTO THE GULF OF GUINEA.

EACH OF THESE RIVERS/ FALLS FROM THE EDGE OF THE CENTRAL PLATEAU/ AND IN RAPIDS AND WATERFALLS/ REACHES THE SEA/ THROUGH A LOW, HOT BORDERLAND,/ WHICH IS WIDE AND LONG/ IN THE CASE OF THE NILE,/ NARROW IN THE CASE OF THE ZAMBEZI,/ AND BROAD/ IN THE CASE OF THE CONGO AND THE NIGER.// ENTRANCE, THEREFORE, INTO CENTRAL AFRICA,/ HAS ALWAYS BEEN MADE DIFFICULT/ BY RAPIDS AND WATERFALLS./ AND ON THE OTHER HAND/ WITHIN THE WHOLE AREA/ MOVEMENT OF VAST NATIONS/ HAS BEEN EASY/ FROM THE SAHARA TO THE SOUTH SEA.

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¶ THESE PECULIAR PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS HAVE MADE AFRICA MAINLY A HOT COUNTRY WITH VARIED AND ABUNDANT VEGETATION/ AND FLOODS OF WATER/ WHICH IN TURN HAVE DEVELOPED/ GREAT STRETCHES OF DESERT/ IN THE VAST SAHARA TO THE NORTH/ AND IN KALAHARI IN THE SOUTH.// WITH HEAT, WATER, AND DESERT,/ HAVE GONE RICH MINERAL DEPOSITS OF ALL SORTS,/ FROM THE GOLD WHICH POURED/ FROM AFRICA INTO EGYPT/ AND

INDIA BEFORE/ THE CHRISTIAN ERA// TO THE DIAMONDS/ WHICH FEED EUROPEAN LUXURY, AND THE URANIUM/ ON WHICH THE ATOMIC AGE/ FEEDS AND KILLS.// TODAY AFRICA IS FURNISHING THE WORLD/ WITH COTTON, SISAL, AND HEMP,/ WITH FLOODS OF VEGETABLE OIL/ USED FOR MARGARINE, SOAP, AND LUBRICATION,// WITH COCOA AND ITS DERIVATIVE CHOCOLATE,/ COFFEE, AND RUBBER;/ CLOVES, PEPPER, AND OTHER SPICES/ AND FRUITS,/ CATTLE AND SHEEP,/ GOLD, DIAMONDS,/ IRON AND COAL,/ MANGANESE, TIN,/ LEAD, AND ZINC,/ TOBACCO AND TIMBER.

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¶ EUROPE,/ WHICH IS COMPARATIVELY POOR/ IN NATURAL MATERIALS,/ AND WHICH IN CONTRAST HAS ABUNDANT WATERWAYS,/ UNHAMPERED BY FALLS AND RAPIDS, EARLY TOOK TO TRADING/ WITH ITS OWN COUNTRIES/ AND WITH ASIA,// AND INCREASINGLY WITH AFRICA.

¶ SCIENCE, ~~THEN~~ AND TECHNIQUE/ ENABLED EUROPE TO OFFER AFRICA/ VARIOUS SORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS/ THROUGH WHICH THEY SECURED/ GOLD, SPICES, FOOD, AND MINERALS.

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¶ THEN CAME A NEW AND QUITE UNEXPECTED DEMAND FOR LABOR OUTSIDE THE KNOWN WORLD. // UNDER THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, EUROPEAN LABOR WAS FULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE AND WAR. // THEN IT WAS USED IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY. // WHEN A NEW WORLD WAS DISCOVERED TO THE WEST IN AMERICA, NEW LAND AND NEW MATERIALS CALLED FOR LABOR. THIS LABOR WAS SUPPLIED IN PART BY EUROPE. // BUT THIS SUPPLY WAS LIMITED. // ON THE OTHER HAND, EUROPEAN TRADE TO WEST AFRICA, WHICH WAS SUPPLYING GOLD AND SPICES TO EUROPE, // ALSO AND INCIDENTALLY SUPPLIED HUMAN LABOR. // FIRST TO SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, THEN TO THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA AND FINALLY TO NORTH AMERICA. ¶ THIS TRADE BEGAN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND BY THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, UNDER THE BRITISH, BECAME THE MOST LUCRATIVE TRADE IN THE WORLD. // IT BECAME LUCRATIVE BECAUSE WHITE LABOR INCREASED IN PRICE DUE TO ~~ITS~~ Capitalist ORGANIZATION IN EUROPE, WHILE BLACK LABOR BECAME ~~MORE ABUNDANT~~ dear BECAUSE OF WAR AND RELIGIOUS

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CONTROVERSY.

SCIENCE AND PHILANTHROPY GREW IN EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. // BY THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AN ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT BEGAN TO APPEAR. THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS UNITED IN GUILDS, THE FARM LABORERS REVOLTED, AND RAN AWAY TO CITIES. // MANY OF THESE WORKERS WERE SEIZED AND TRANSPORTED TO AMERICA AS SOLDIERS AND INDENTED SERVANTS AND OTHERS CAME VOLUNTARILY. // BUT INCREASING PHILANTHROPY AND LABOR ORGANIZATION MADE THIS LABOR SUPPLY LIMITED AND ~~DEAR~~. Expensive

ON THE OTHER HAND, TREMENDOUS MOVEMENTS WERE TAKING PLACE IN AFRICA AND NOT SIMPLY NORTH OF THE SAHARA AND IN EGYPT, BUT ESPECIALLY SOUTH OF SAHARA. ¶ WITH THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASION ACROSS NORTH AFRICA, WE ARE MORE OR LESS FAMILIAR, BUT THE GREAT BATTLE OF AFRICA TOOK PLACE SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. THERE THE

NEGROES WHO HAD ADOPTED THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION AND THE ARAB LANGUAGE, BEGAN TO PRESS DOWN UPON THE NEGROES OF THE WEST COAST.

THAT WEST COAST WAS THE PART OF AFRICA BORDERING THE GULF OF GUINEA, AND THE SEAT OF MODERN GHANA, LIBERIA, AND NIGERIA. IT HAS AN EXTRAORDINARY HISTORY. IT HAS AN INDIGENOUS CULTURE. ITS ART, ARCHITECTURE, ITS VARIOUS CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS, ITS INTRICATE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, HAVE INFLUENCED THE WORLD. EGYPTIANS, GREEKS, PHOENICIANS, ROMANS, AND MODERN EUROPEANS CAME IN CONTACT WITH THIS WEST COAST. THE CLASH BETWEEN THIS CULTURE AND THAT OF THE MOHAMMEDAN NEGROES NORTH AND EAST LED TO VAST MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION AND CONTINUAL WAR. WHEN TO THIS THE CHRISTIAN SLAVE TRADE WAS ADDED, WARS ~~WHICH~~ Which PRODUCED A SUPPLY OF CHEAP HUMAN LABOR FED THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

38-7-123

BEGINNING EARLY IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA, MASSES OF NEGRO TRIBES BEGAN TO MOVE

EAST AND SOUTH OF THE GREAT AFRICAN PLATEAU. THESE TRIBES WERE EVENTUALLY KNOWN AS THE BANTU, AND THEIR MIGRATION COVERS A THOUSAND YEARS AND MORE OF AFRICAN HISTORY, LEADING UP TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION TODAY.

THE WORLD SAW, THEREFORE, EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, A STRANGE DICHOTOMY - ON THE ONE HAND A NEW SENSITIVENESS IN EUROPE TO WIDESPREAD POVERTY, IGNORANCE, AND DISEASE, AND AN ATTEMPT TO CURE THIS BY POPULAR EDUCATION AND WIDENING OF ~~THE RIGHT TO VOTE~~ DEMOCRACY. ON THE OTHER HAND, HUMAN SLAVERY ~~STILL EXISTED~~ IN AMERICA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD AND WHERE THERE WAS NOT ACTUAL SLAVERY, THERE WAS CASTE AND A WIDESPREAD BELIEF AMONG WHITES THAT MOST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WERE NOT CAPABLE OF SHARING DEMOCRACY OR PROFITING BY EDUCATION.

38-7-124

IN ORDER TO RECONCILE SLAVERY AND CASTE, FOR MOST PEOPLE AND THE PROGRESS OF THE WHITE WORKERS, THERE AROSE IN RELIGION, SUPPORTED BY SCIENCE, A THEORY OF

RACE DIFFERENCES/WHICH EXCUSED SLAVERY AND,/AS TECHNIQUE INCREASED WEALTH, MADE THIS PROGRESS/A MEANS OF INDUCING THE WHITE LABORERS/TO BECOME PARTNERS WITH THE EMPLOYERS/IN THE PRESERVATION OF SLAVERY AND SUBORDINATION.// WHITE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS/HELPED TO EXTEND THE CONTROL OF EUROPE/OVER THE SO-CALLED INFERIOR PEOPLE.// AND EMPLOYERS/RAISED THE TECHNIQUE OF TRADE AND MANUFACTURE TO HITHERTO UNHEARD OF EFFICIENCY.//

38-7-125

BETWEEN 1850 and 1900,/ BOTH SCHOOL AND CHURCH/WERE TEACHING WHITE EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA/THAT THE EARTH WAS THEIRS BY RIGHT,/ THAT CIVILIZATION WAS THEIR INVENTION,/AND ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THIS/WAS IN ESSENCE/A REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION.// THIS THEORY WAS ATTACKED BY WHITE AND BLACK ABOLITIONISTS IN AMERICA, WHICH RESULTED IN A CIVIL WAR. IN EUROPE THE FREEING OF AMERICAN SLAVES WAS APPLAUDED BY SOME, BUT A LARGE NUMBER OF RESPECTABLE WELL-TO-DO

38-7-126 which resulted the armed forces of the West = blood + blands

CITIZENS,/ESPECIALLY INVESTORS AND EMPLOYERS,/REGARDED THIS AS AN ATTEMPT TO RAISE THE STATUS/OF PERSONS/WHO WERE NOT READY FOR CHANGE/AND PERHAPS NEVER WOULD BE.// THEY STILL BELIEVED THAT CIVILIZATION/HAD TO BE BUILT UPON THE FORCED LABOR/AND SOCIAL DEGRADATION/OF THE COLORED WORKERS OF THE WORLD.// THIS THESIS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/SUFFERED A SEVERE SETBACK/WHEN THE LEADING NATIONS OF EUROPE/DISAGREED AS TO THE WAY/IN WHICH WEALTH AND POWER/ PRODUCED BY THE OWNERSHIP OF COLONIES/WAS TO BE DISTRIBUTED/~~AMONG THEM~~, AND PARTICULARLY/BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE ON THE ONE HAND,/AND GERMANY AND ITALY ON THE OTHER.

THIS RESULTED IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND IN THAT WAR/THE ALLIED NATIONS OF FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND EVENTUALLY THE UNITED STATES/HAD TO RELY LARGELY ON THE COLONIES.// THESE COLONIES, ESPECIALLY INDIA AND ~~WEST~~ AFRICA, DEMANDED AS Compensation/ increased autonomy/ & in the middle of the War Capitalism collapsed/ as the world's first Socialist state was founded/ & then the war for colonies was renewed

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COMPENSATION INCREASED INDEPENDENCE AND AUTONOMY. MEANTIME WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR WAS INCREASINGLY DISSATISFIED WITH ITS SHARE OF THE WEALTH CURRENTLY PRODUCED. THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF THE WHITE WORLD BEGAN TO FIND COMMON GROUND WITH THE COLONISTS IN THEIR DEMAND. THIS UNION AND UNDERSTANDING WAS NOT COMPLETE. WHITE LABOR WAS STILL PREJUDICED AGAINST COLORED LABOR AND COLORED LABOR SUSPICIOUS OF WHITE LABOR. THE SECOND WORLD WAR RESULTED FROM THE DEPRESSION WHICH THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAUSED AND FROM THE DETERMINATION OF FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND AMERICA TO PREVENT ANY ESSENTIAL CHANGE IN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND ESPECIALLY TO OPPOSE THE NEW ATTEMPT AT SOCIALISM WHICH HAD ARISEN IN THE SOVIET UNION.

HERE HITLER, LEADING A DEFEATED GERMANY, INTERVENED AND JOINED WITH ITALY TO DRIVE A HARDER BARGAIN WITH WESTERN EUROPE FOR THE DIVISION OF COLONIAL PROFITS. WEST EUROPE WAS UNWILLING TO PAY HIS PRICE BUT MORE THAN WILLING TO

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HAVE HIM CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION. BY UNDERTAKING HIMSELF TO STOP SOCIALISM IN EAST EUROPE HE INDUCED WEST EUROPE TO GIVE HIM A FREE HAND IN THE CONQUEST OF EAST EUROPE. THE UNITED STATES AND WEST EUROPE, THEREFORE, RELUCTANTLY, AFTER A YEAR'S HESITATION, JOINED THE SOVIET UNION IN THE WAR. WHERE NOW DID THIS LEAVE THE COLONIES, AND PARTICULARLY THOSE IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA DESERT?

THIS IS WHAT HAS BEEN KNOWN AS NEGRO AFRICA. IT CONSISTS TODAY OF EIGHT PARTS, ALL OF THEM IN ACTIVE UNREST. THEY ARE FRENCH AFRICA, THE SUDAN, KENYA, AND UGANDA; THE BRITISH WEST COAST, INCLUDING LIBERIA; THE BELGIAN CONGO; TANGANYIKA, FORMERLY GERMAN EAST AFRICA; THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND; PORTUGUESE AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA. HERE ARE EIGHT AFRICAN UNITS, DIFFERING WIDELY IN HISTORY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THE PEOPLES DIFFER, AND YET ALL ARE TODAY GRIPPED BY A COMMON UNREST EXHIBITING VARIOUS KINDS OF REVOLT AND SUFFERING FROM

IGNORANCE OF THEIR PLIGHT IN WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA; A LACK OF SYMPATHY; AND A LARGE MEASURE OF CONTEMPT.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA BEGAN AS A CONSOLATION PRIZE GIVEN FRANCE BY BISMARCK AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR -- ALGERIA IN 1830 AND TUNIS IN 1881. DURING THE PARTITION OF AFRICA, FRANCE SEIZED FOUR MILLION SQUARE MILES WITH 42 MILLION PEOPLE.

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THE EFFORT OF FRANCE SINCE THEN HAS BEEN TO CONDUCT THESE TERRITORIES MAINLY FOR THE PRIVATE PROFIT OF INDIVIDUAL INVESTORS, AND WITH LITTLE ATTENTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE MASS OF AFRICANS. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, HOWEVER, SHE HAS MADE CAREFUL EFFORT TO GIVE THOSE AFRICANS OF ABILITY AND WEALTH WHO COME TO HER NOTICE A CHANCE TO RECEIVE EDUCATION AND FRENCH CITIZENSHIP, AND ESPECIALLY TO SHARE WITH WHITE FRENCHMEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLOIT AFRICAN LAND AND LABOR. THIS IN EFFECT HAS DEPRIVED BLACK FRENCH AFRICA OF LEADERSHIP FROM ITS OWN PEOPLE, AND YET HELPED SUPPRESS UNREST BECAUSE NO ABSOLUTE COLOR LINE WAS DRAWN.

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HOWEVER, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EDUCATED AFRICANS AND OF THOSE WHO ACQUIRED WEALTH AND RECEIVED FRENCH CITIZENSHIP WAS SMALL, WHILE THE REVOLT AMONG THE MASSES ARISING FROM FORCED LABOR AND DISEASE CONTINUED TO INCREASE.

TODAY REVOLT ON A WIDE SCALE IS EVIDENT, AND THE THREE MILLION BLACKS LIVING SOUTH OF SAHARA ARE BECOMING ORGANIZED FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL REFORM. THIS BEGAN WHEN THE FEDERAL FRENCH UNION WAS ORGANIZED AND IT HAS CONTINUED EVEN THOUGH THE FRENCH UNION HAS NOT YET REALLY FUNCTIONED. THIS IS GOING TO BE A CENTER OF FUTURE AFRICAN UNREST. ALSO IN MADAGASCAR, WHICH BECAME FRENCH IN 1885, REVOLT AND OPEN REBELLION HAVE SEVERAL TIMES BECOME WIDELY EFFECTIVE.

FRENCH AFRICA IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT CURLS AROUND BRITISH WEST AFRICA, AND BETWEEN THEM THERE IS INCREASING UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION. IN BRITISH WEST

AFRICA TODAY LIVE OVER FORTY MILLION NEGROES ON 400,000 SQUARE MILES OF LAND. THEY FORM AN EXTRAORDINARY GROUP. THEY INHERIT THE ART, ARCHITECTURE, TECHNIQUE, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FROM THE WEST AFRICA OF THE MIDDLE AGES. MUCH OF MODERN EUROPEAN ART HAS BEEN LEARNED FROM THIS ATLANTIS, AS FROBENIUS CALLED THIS REGION.

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IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND MILITARY POWER, BRITISH WEST AFRICA LONG HELD THE MIGHT OF EUROPE AT BAY AND BOASTS EVEN TODAY THAT IT HAS NEVER BEEN CONQUERED. ASHANTI IN THE NORTHERN PART OF GHANA FOUGHT SIX WARS WITH THE ENGLISH BEFORE IT WAS COMPELLED TO SIGN A BINDING TREATY. HERE AND IN FRENCH AFRICA COMMERCE WITH EUROPE BEGAN, AND LATER THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE DEVELOPED. IT WAS NOT THE KIDNAPPING OF BLACKS BY WHITES BUT AN ORGANIZED TRADE BETWEEN

COMMERCIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WHITES AND RULING BLACK CHIEFS WHO SECURED XXXXX SLAVES FROM EVER-WIDENING TERRITORIES IN THE INTERIOR. THIS LABOR FROM CENTRAL AFRICA, ALONG WITH GOLD AND SPICES, WAS EXCHANGED FOR EUROPEAN GOODS. IT GREATLY MODIFIED AFRICAN CULTURE, AND ENCOURAGED CENTRALIZED POWER AND MARAUDING TRIBES WITH LUST FOR CONTROL OF SURROUNDING TERRITORY.

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WHEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE SLAVE TRADE DECLINED, EFFORTS BEGAN FOR INDEPENDENT AFRICANSTATES IN BRITISH SIERRA LEONE AND AMERICAN LIBERIA. THESE EFFORTS WERE RETARDED BY THE ECONOMIC POWER OF WHITE INVESTMENT WHICH STILL HAS LARGE CONTROL, AS IS SHOWN BY LIBERIA. IN OUR DAY, TRADE UNIONS AND HEREDITARY SOCIALISM COMBINED IN GHANA TO FORCE THE EMERGENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE. ANOTHER AUTONOMOUS STATE IS PENDING IN THE LARGEST REMAINING COLONY, NIGERIA.

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LET US NOW TURN EASTWARD TO THE SUDAN. THIS LAND OF NINE MILLION PEOPLE, LIVING ON A MILLION SQUARE MILES, IS THE LAND WHENCE CAME ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION, BECAUSE IT IS THE SOURCE OF THE WATERS OF THE VAST NILE RIVER WHICH FLOWS A THOUSAND MILES FROM THE GREAT LAKES OF CENTRAL AFRICA TO THE SEA. FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS LOWER EGYPT USED MUCH OF ITS STRENGTH IN HOLDING BACK THE ONCOMING HORDES OF BLACKS FROM CENTRAL AFRICA. LATER WHEN ATTACKED BY ASIA, THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF TOOK REFUGE IN THE SUDAN, AND A SERIES OF NATIONS AROSE THERE WHICH AT ONE ERA THREATENED EUROPE. THE CRUSADES FORCED AFRICA TO RETREAT BEFORE ASIA AND FINALLY IN MODERN TIMES GREAT BRITAIN SEIZED THE NILE VALLEY. IN OUR DAY, EGYPT ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BLACK SUDAN GAINED ITS AUTONOMY AT THE EXPENSE OF BOTH.

GOVERNING THE SUDAN TODAY IS A BLACK CIVIL SERVICE TRAINED BY THE BRITISH

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WHO HAVE OUSTED THE BRITISH AND TODAY THE SUDAN HESITATES BETWEEN ITS TIES TO EGYPT AND TO WEST AFRICA. THE GREAT ECONOMIC POWER THERE IS THE VALUE OF THE WATERS OF THE NILE. MOREOVER, JUST BELOW THE SUDAN, AND GEOGRAPHICALLY PART OF IT, LIE THREE TERRITORIES, CURLING AROUND THE RAMPARTS OF ETHIOPIA. THEY ARE KENYA, WHOSE SIX MILLION NEGROES HAVE LOST NEARLY ALL THEIR BEST LAND TO THE BRITISH AND WHO BEGAN A FEW YEARS AGO A BLOODY UPRISING. THEN COMES UGANDA, WHERE CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND MOHAMMEDANS FOUGHT A FIERCE CIVIL WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER AND ONE OF THE MOST ADVANCED PEOPLE OF AFRICA. THE BRITISH WON, AND NOW THE PEOPLE OF UGANDA ARE STRUGGLING TO REGAIN AUTONOMY. TO THE EASTWARD EXTENDS THE SOMALI COAST, WHICH NATURALLY BELONGS TO ETHIOPIA, BUT IS NOW IN BRITISH, ITALIAN, AND FRENCH CONTROL. THE ITALIAN PART IS A MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND EXPECTS INDEPENDENCE IN A FEW YEARS.

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ETHIOPIA WITH ITS TWENTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IS PERCHED ON THE HIGHEST RAMPARTS OF THE CONTINENT AND IS ONE OF THE OLDEST GOVERNMENTS OF AFRICA. IT IS RULED TODAY BY AN ENLIGHTENED DESPOT AND COURTED BY EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN INVESTORS FOR CONTROL OF ITS MINERAL WEALTH, ITS COFFEE AND SPICES, AND ITS LABOR. THE RESULT IS NOT YET CERTAIN.

FRENCH AFRICA ON THE WEST AND THE SUDAN ON THE EAST, TOGETHER WITH FORMER GERMAN EAST AFRICA, THE RHODESIAS, AND PORTUGUESE ANGOLA, CIRCLE AROUND THE HEART OF AFRICA WHICH IS THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT CONGO RIVER. NINE MILLION WHITE EUROPEANS LIVING IN BELGIUM CLAIM THE RIGHT TO RULE TWELVE MILLION BLACK FOLK IN A RICH TERRITORY WHICH IS SEVENTY-FIVE TIMES THE SIZE OF BELGIUM. THIS HAPPENED WHEN UNITED CHRISTIANITY PROMISED TO ORGANIZE THE CONGO AS AN INTER-NATIONAL CENTER FOR DEVELOPING CIVILIZATION. THOUSANDS OF FAKE TREATIES WITH

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CHIEFS WERE MADE AND THEN THE NATIONS TURNED OVER THE WHOLE TERRITORY TO A HEARTLESS AND GRASPING BELGIAN KING. BACK OF THIS SURRENDER WERE THE RIVAL CLAIMS OF GERMANY, FRANCE, AND BRITAIN WHO EXPECTED EVENTUALLY TO TAKE OVER THIS TERRITORY. MEANWHILE LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM EXPLOITED IT. BY FORCE OF ARMS HE SEIZED TITLE TO ALL THE LAND, COLLECTED IVORY, DUG MINERALS, AND DROVE LABOR BY BLOODY METHODS UNTIL THE WORLD PROTESTED. THE BELGIAN NATION TOOK CONTROL. IT TRIED TO SET UP A BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM BUT INVESTORS FROM BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND AMERICA ARE TODAY THE CONTROLLING FORCE. THE NATIVES HAD BEEN GIVEN A CONSIDERABLE KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN TECHNIQUE AND SOME TRIBAL AUTONOMY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT. IN THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT THEY HAVE NO CONTROL, AND THEIR EDUCATION IS CONFINED TO THE ELEMENTARY GRADES AND CONTROLLED LARGELY BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. IT WAS THOUGHT IN THIS WAY THAT REVOLT AND UNREST WOULD BE REPRESSED IN

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THE CONGO. BUT THIS IS NOT PROVING TRUE. A WIDE DEMAND IS EMERGING NOT SIMPLY FOR A SHARE IN GOVERNMENT, BUT FOR INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNTY AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL TRAINING. THE INTERNATIONAL POWER OF INVESTORS MAY NOT LONG BE ABLE TO STEM THIS DEMAND.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA, SEIZED BY THE BRITISH BY USE OF NEGRO SOLDIERS AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, IS RICH IN MINERALS AND LAND. THE BRITISH TRIED DESPERATELY TO EXPLOIT ITS LABOR BY RAISING GROUND NUTS. BUT ITS AGENT LEVER BROTHERS MADE A SAD MESS OF THIS EFFORT. TODAY ALTHOUGH THE TERRITORY IS A UNITED NATIONS MANDATE AND IS PROMISED AUTONOMY WITHIN TEN YEARS OR LESS, EUROPEANS ARE TRYING DESPERATELY TO KEEP IT IN COLONIAL STATUS.

PORTUGAL WAS THE FIRST GREAT EUROPEAN DISCOVERER AND EXPLOITER OF AFRICA. SHE SETTLED IN WEST AND SOUTHEAST AFRICA; ROUNDED THE CAPE; WENT UP THE EAST

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COAST AND EXPLORED ETHIOPIA. THIS VAST TERRITORY WAS NEVER CONSOLIDATED BUT PORTUGUESE RULE WAS SET UP IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA AND ETHIOPIA. GRADUALLY, HOWEVER, THE PORTUGUESE THEMSELVES CAME UNDER THE ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF GREAT BRITAIN. IT WAS FORCED OUT OF CENTRAL AFRICA WHEN THE BRITISH DROVE THEIR CAPE TO CAIRO RULE SO AS TO DIVIDE PORTUGUESE AFRICA INTO TWO DISCONNECTED PARTS: MOZAMBIQUE WITH SIX MILLION PEOPLE ON THE EAST COAST, WHICH IS A LABOR RESERVE FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA; AND ANGOLA ON THE WEST COAST WITH FOUR MILLION PEOPLE. HERE LABOR CONDITIONS HAVE LONG BEEN THE WORST IN AFRICA. BUT PORTUGAL, BY LETTING MULATTOES ALONG WITH THE WHITES EXPLOIT LABOR WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM GOVERNMENT AND BY MAKING NO LEGAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATIVE AND PORTUGUESE CITIZENSHIP, HAS AVOIDED RACIAL REVOLT. BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES, LIE THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND WHERE 200,000 WHITES ARE DETERMINED TO

CONTROL SIX AND A HALF MILLION NEGROES UNDER A CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION AS PART OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. THE AFRICANS ARE STRIVING FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BUT THE BRITISH ARE YIELDING TO THE WHITE COLONISTS.

SOUTH OF THIS FEDERATION AND BOUNDED BY THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, PORTUGUESE MOZAMBIQUE AND FORMER GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA LIES A BLOCK OF THREE SO-CALLED BRITISH PROTECTORATES WHICH ARE COLONIES WHICH HAVE BEEN ANNEXED BUT NEVER CONQUERED. HERE ARE A MILLION NEGROES, GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN CHIEFS BUT WITH A BRITISH VETO ON MOST MATTERS AND UNDER COMPLETE ECONOMIC CONTROL BY THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA WAS FIRST SETTLED BY A VAST MIGRATION OF BLACK PEOPLE FROM NORTH CENTRAL AFRICA CALLED FOR THE MOST PART THE BANTU. OVER A

PERIOD OF PERHAPS A THOUSAND YEARS THESE PEOPLE WERE PUSHED OUT OF NORTH CENTRAL AFRICA BY THE EXPANSION OF MOHAMMEDANISM. A CLASH OF RELIGIONS AND CULTURES GAVE RISE TO THE SOUTHWARD MOVEMENT OF THE BANTU. THIS MIGRATION WAS SLOW AND PAUSED IN MANY REGIONS TO FOUND AND DEVELOP NEW CULTURES. AMONG THE KITWARA AROSE A KINGDOM OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE: FROM THE EAST CAME ASIATIC ELEMENTS, WHICH JOINED IN DEVELOPING ETHIOPIA AND AN INTRICATE NUMBER OF HIGHLY DEVELOPED BLACK NATIONS LIKE THE MONOTOPA IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA.

THEN CAME THE CLASH OF NEGRO MOHAMMEDANS AND WEST AFRICAN PRIMITIVES IN THE WEST WHICH WITH INVADING CHRISTIAN TRADE GAVE RISE TO THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE AND A NEW WAVE OF BANTU MIGRATION SOUTH. THEY POURED OVER THE ESTABLISHED NEGRO CULTURES AND FINALLY BETWEEN THE SIXTEENTH AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES BEGAN TO INVADE THE SOUTHERN TRIANGLE OF AFRICA AND TO DISPLACE THE BUSHMEN AND

HOTTENTOTS WHO REPRESENTED AN ANCIENT MIGRATION FROM CENTRAL AFRICA. THEN IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CAME THE DUTCH AND FRENCH AND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE ENGLISH ALONG WITH NEW MIGRATIONS OF THE BANTU. THERE FOLLOWED A BATTLE OF RACES: THE DUTCH FOUGHT THE HOTTENTOTS AND BUSHMEN; THE ENGLISH FOUGHT THE DUTCH; THE BANTU FOUGHT THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH AND THE DUTCH MOVED INLAND TO FOUND AN INDEPENDENT STATE. BUT IN THEIR NEW LAND GOLD AND DIAMONDS IN GREAT ABUNDANCE WERE DISCOVERED. THEREUPON THE BRITISH MOVED IN AND SEIZED THEIR LAND, AND MONOPOLIZED THE PRECIOUS STONES AND MINERALS. THE BOERS REVOLTED BUT FINALLY THE BRITISH CONQUERED, LEAVING THE DUTCH IN POLITICAL CONTROL BUT THE BRITISH OWNING THE MINES. THE DUTCH OR BOERS THEN PROCEEDED TO MAKE THE BLACKS AND MULATTOES A COLOR CASTE OF LABORERS WITH NO POLITICAL RIGHTS, WITH HIGHLY PAID WHITE LABOR FORMING A SMALL UPPER CLASS OF WORKERS. TODAY THREE MILLION WHITES

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ARE IN ABSOLUTE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTROL OF ELEVEN MILLION BLACK AND COLORED FOLK. IN ADDITION, THE UNION HAS SEIZED FORMER GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA WITH 300,000 SQUARE MILES AND 425,000 NEGROES RULED BY 50,000 WHITES.

IN MOST OF THIS PART OF AFRICA, A HANDFUL OF WHITES ARE IN CONTROL OF THE MASS OF BLACKS AND USING THEIR LABOR AND LAND FOR THE PROFIT OF INVESTORS. THESE INVESTORS, LIVING MOSTLY IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, DEMAND ONLY INCOME FROM THEIR INVESTMENTS AND EXERCISE NO OVERSIGHT OVER THE METHODS OF WORK. THE NATIVES ARE STRIVING FOR POLITICAL POWER TO CONTROL INDUSTRY. THEY HAVE GAINED THIS IN GHANA AND THE SUDAN; THEY ARE BEGINNING TO GET IT IN WEST COAST BRITISH COLONIES AND PARTLY IN EAST AFRICA. THEY ARE MAKING INEFFECTIVE DEMANDS IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND BEING REDUCED TO SERFDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE BLACK PEOPLES ARE HUMAN BEINGS IN VARIOUS DEGREES OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT.

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THE UNITED STATES DERIVES A LARGE PART OF ITS WEALTH FROM AFRICAN MATERIALS AND FROM LOW-PAID AFRICAN LABOR. THIS LABOR IN COMPETITION WITH WHITE LABOR MUST MAKE IN THE END A UNITED WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT.

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~~the most distinguished guest on this next festive occasion is un-avoidably detained~~

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED GUEAST ON THIS FESTIVE OCCASION ~~IS UNFORTUNATELY NOT PRESENT.~~ HE IS NONE OTHER THAN MY GREATGRANDSON, ARTHUR EDWARD Mc FARLANE II WHO WAS BORN THIS LAST CHRISTMAS DAY. ~~HE INFORMS ME THAT HIS COMMITMENTS ARE SUCH THAT HE IS UNAVOIDABLY DETAINED. BUT~~ HE HAS KINDLY CONSENTED TO PERMIT ME TO READ TO YOU A BIT OF ADVICE WHICH AS HE REMARKED WITH A SIGH OF RESIGNATION GREATGRANDPARENTS ARE SUPPOSED USUALLY TO INFLICT ON THE HELPLESS YOUNG

¶ THIS THEN IS MY WORD OF ADVICE. AS MEN GO, I HAVE HAD A REASONABLY HAPPY AND SUCESSFUL LIFE. I HAVE HAD ENOUGH TO EAT AND DRINK, HAVE BEEN SUITABLY CLOTHED AND AS YOU SEE HAVE ~~HAD~~ MANY FRIENDS

¶ BUT THE THING WHICH HAS BEEN THE SECRET OF WHATEVER I HAVE DONE IS THE FACT THAT I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EARN A LIVING BY DOING THE WORK WHICH I WANTED TO DO AND ~~THAT GREAT WORK~~ which WAS WHAT THE WORLD NEEDED ~~DONE~~. I WANT TO STRESS THIS. YOU WILL SOON LEARN, MY DEAR YOUNG MAN, THAT MOST HUMAN BEINGS SPEND THEIR LIVES DOING WORK WHICH THEY HATE AND WORK WHICH THE WORLD DOES NOT NEED. IT IS THEREFOR OF PRIME IMPORTANCE THAT YOU EARLY LEARN WHAT YOU WANT TO DO; ~~HOW FAR~~ what YOU Care ~~ARE FIT TO~~ DO IT AND WHETHER OR NOT THE WORLD NEEDS THIS SERVICE. ¶ HERE IN THE NEXT TWENTY YARS YOUR PARENTS CAN BE OF USE TO YOU. YOU WILL SOON BEGIN TO WONDER JUST WHAT PARENTS ARE for, BE-

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SIDE INTERFERING WITH YOUR NATURAL WISHES. LET ME THEREFOR TELL YOU: PARENTS AND THEIR PARENTS ARE INFLICTED UPON YOU IN ORDER TO SHOW YOU WHAT KIND OF A PERSON YOU ARE, WHAT SORT OF WORLD YOU LIVE IN, AND WHAT THE PERSONS WHO DWELL HERE NEED FOR THEIR HAPPINESS AND WELL-BEING. IT WAS MY UNUSUAL GOOD FORTUNE IN THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MY LIFE, TO LEARN BY EFFORT AND HARD COMPETITION ~~WHAT I COULD DO. THEN TO GET A FAIRY GOOD IDEA OF WHAT THE WORLD WAS IN WHICH I MUST WORK.~~ IN THESE YEARS I HAD SEEN THE UNITED STATES, NORTH AND SOUTH; I HAD LIVED IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY; I HAD LISTENED TO THE ADVICE OF SOME OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST MINDS AND I HAD HEARD FROM THE LIPS OF HUMAN BEINGS JUST WHAT THEIR PROBLEMS WERE. BESIDE THIS I HAD SEEN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, THE HIGH ALPS AT BERNE, THE VENUS OF MILO AND SISTINE MADONNA. THEN I CAME HOME PREPARED AND WILLING TO WORK. IT WAS THEN IN THE SUMMER OF 1892, SIXTY-SIX YEARS AGO, THAT I MADE A QUITE UNCONSCIOUS CHOICE. I CHOSE TO BEGIN MY LIFE WORK FOR THE SATISFACTION OF DOING IT AND THE NEED OF ITS BEING DONE AND NOT FOR THE MONEY I WAS GOING TO BE PAID FOR DOING IT. THIS WAS NO GREAT AND ADVERTISED OCCASION; I ASKED NO ADVICE AND WAS PROFFERED NONE. YET I CHOSE WITHOUT HESITANCY OR QUESTION. IT WAS IN THIS WISE: AFTER BORROWING MONEY TO PAY FOR POSTAGE STAMPS, I WROTE AROUND THE NATION AND OFFERED MY SERVICES. THE RESPONSE WAS SLOW AND UNENTHUSIASTIC. BUT AT LAST THREE OFFERS CAME. ~~A NEGRO COLLEGE~~ IN OHIO OFFERED ME $750 A YEAR, ~~A STATE SCHOOL FOR N-~~

Wilberforce University

as a teacher

who I was; what I wanted to do; and what the world needed done and what part of this I could do.

I had heard the Ninth Symphony and the shriek of the Valkyrs.

3) Tuskeegee Institute asked me what I would charge to teach there; and a State school

IN MISSOURI OFFERED ME $1050. I WENT TO WILBERFORCE, NOT BECAUSE OF ANY MARTYR COMPLEX BUT BECAUSE I KNEW SOMETHING ABOUT WILBERFORCE. I KNEW THAT IN 1787, WHEN THIS NATION WAS DECLARING ALL MEN EQUAL, TWO BLACK MEN WERE ON THEIR KNEES PRAYING TO GOD IN THE CHURCH OF ST.GEORGES IN PHILADELPHIA. WHILE ST GEORGES WAS GLAD TO SEE NEGROES PRACTICE THE TRUE RELIGION, THEY DID NOT LIKE THEM TO CLUTTER UP THE AISLES OF THIS fashionable CHURCH AND TO ASSAIL GOD WITH SUCH VEHEMENCE. TWO DEACONS THEREFORE APPROACHED THESE BLACK MEN AND WHISPERED GENTLY THAT IT WOULD BE MORE SEEMLY IF THEY WOULD FINISH THEIR PRAYERS IN THE BALCONY. THE BALCONY WAS MUCH NEARER HEAVEN THAN THE MAIN FLOOR. BUT THESE NEGROES WERE STUBBORN. THEY SAID "NO WE ARE GOING TO FINISH OUR PRAYERS RIGHT HERE AND NOW. THEN WE ARE GOING TO GET UP AND LEAVE THIS CHURCH AND WE ARE NEVER COMING BACK." SO ONE OF THESE MEN, RICHARD ALLEN LEFT THE WHITE METHODIST CHURCH AND FOUNDED THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH WHICH TO DAY IS ONE OF THE LARGEST NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WORLD. AND ONE OF ALLEN'S SUCESSORS, BISHOP Daniel PAYNE BOUGHT A SITE IN SOUTHERN OHIO AND FOUNDED A COLLEGE CALLED WILBERFORCE AND WILBERFORCE IN 1892 OFFERED ME A JOB OF TEACHING WHICH I HASTENED TO ACCEPT BECAUSE AT WILBERFORCE I PLANED TO DEVELOPE there A UNIVERSITY LIKE THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN FOR THE UPLIFT OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA WHICH THE WORLD NEEDED. QUITE INCIDENTLY WILBERFORCE OFFERED ME ENOUGH TO LIVE ON DURING

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utterly ignored the extra $300 offered by Missouri and [redacted]

because Wilberforce was near the center of the Negro population of this nation and because I immediately I

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THIS WORK. // THE FACT THAT ~~THE~~ MISSOURI ~~STATE SCHOOL~~ OFFERED ME THREE HUNDRED DOLARS MORE / SEEMED TO ME / ~~THEN~~ Then / (Whatever) OF NO IMPORTANCE. // P RIGHT HERE / MY ESTEMMED GREAT-GRANDSON, / MAY I ASK YOU TO / STICK A PI N. // YOU WILL FIND IT / THE FASHION IN THE AMERICA / WHERE EVENTUALLY YOU WILL LIVE / AND WORK / TO JUDGE THAT LIFE WORK / BY THE AMOUNT OF MONEY IT BRINGS YOU. // THIS IS A GRAVE MISTAKE THE RETURN FROM YOUR WORK / MUST BE THE SATISFACTION WHICH THAT WORK BRINGS YOU / AND THE WORLD'S NEED OF THAT WORK. // WITH THIS, LIFE IS HEAVEN OR AS NEAR HEAVEN AS YOU CAN GET. // WITHOUT THIS WITH WORK WHICH YOU DESPISE, / WHICH BORES YOU / AND / WHICH THE WORLD DOES NOT NEED ~~THIS~~ / Life IS HELL / AND BELIEVE ME / MANY A $25,000 A YEAR EXECUTIVE / IS LIVING IN JUST SUCH A HELL TODAY. // IN COME IS NOT GREENBACKS / IT IS SATISFEACTION: / IT IS CREATION: IT IS BEAUTY; IT IS THE SUPREME SENSE OF A WORLD OF MEN / GOING FORWARD / LURCH AND STAGGER TH OUGH IT MAY / BUT SLOWLY / INEVITABLY GOING FORWARD. // AND YOU, YOU YOURSELF / standing WITH YOUR HAND ON THE WHEELS // MAKE THIS CHOICE THEN / MY SON / NEVER HESITATE, NEVER FALTER.

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AND NOW COMES THE WORD OF WARNING: / THE SATISFACTION ~~WHICH YOU~~ / EVEN AT BEST / WILL NEVER BE COMPLETE, SINCE NOTHING ON EARTH / CAN BE PERFECT. / THE FORWARD PACE OF THE WORLD / WHICH YOU ARE PUSHING / WILL BE PAINFULLY SLOW. / BUT WHAT OF THAT: / THE DIFEERCE BETWEEN A HUNDRED AND A THOUSAND YEARS / IS LESS THAN YOU NOW THINK. // BUT DOING WHAT MUST BE DONE, / THAT IS ETERNAL — EVEN WHEN IT WALKS WITH POVERTY and Pain.

indeed lets face it, it may for a day even fall backward

AND I CARE NOT TO GARNER WHILE OTHERS
KNOW ONLY TO HARVEST AND REAP
FOR MINE IS THE REAPING OF SOWING
TILL THE SPIRIT OF REST GIVES ME SLEEP

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MARCH SECOND, 1958

By W. E. B. Du Bois

The most distinguished guest on this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward Mc Farlane II, who was born this last Christmas day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice, which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young.

This then is my word of advice. As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life. I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed, and, as you see, have many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and work which the world needed. I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn think what you want to do, what you can do, and whether or not the world needs this service.

Here in the next twenty years your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for, beside interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show you what kind of a person you are; what sort of world you live in, and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

It was my unusual good fortune in the first twenty-five years of

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my life, to learn by effort and hard competition who I was; what I wanted to do; what the world needed done; and what part of this I could do. In these years I had seen the United States, North and South; I had lived in England, Holland, France, Germany, and Italy; I had listened to the advice of some of the world's greatest minds and I had heard from the lips of human beings just what their problems were. Beside this I had seen the Atlantic Ocean, the high Alps at Berne, the Venus of Milo and the Sistine Madonna. I had heard the Ninth Symphony and the shriek of the Valkyrs. Then I came home prepared and willing to work.

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It was then, in the summer of 1892, sixty-six years ago, that I made a quite unconscious choice. I chose to begin my life work for the satisfaction of doing it and the need of its being done, and not for the money I was going to be paid for doing it. This was no great and advertised occasion; I asked no advice and none was proffered. Yet I chose without hesitancy or question. It was in this wise: after borrowing money to pay for postage stamps, I wrote around the nation and offered my services. The response was slow and unenthusiastic. But at last three offers came. Wilberforce University in Ohio offered me $750 a year as a teacher. Tuskegee Institute asked me what I would charge to teach there; and a state school in Missouri offered me $1,050. I utterly ignored the extra $300 offered by Missouri . I went to Wilberforce not because of any martyr complex, but because I knew something about Wilberforce. I knew that in 1787, eleven years after the nation had declared that "all men are created equal," two black men were on their knees praying to God in the Church of St. George's in Philadelphia. While St. George's was glad to see Negroes practise the true religion, it did not like them to clutter

up the aisles of this fashionable church and to assail God with such vehemence. Two deacons therefore approached these black men and whispered gently that it would be more seemly if they would finish their prayers in the balcony. The balcony was much nearer heaven than the main floor. But these Negroes were stubborn. They said: "No, we are going to finish our prayers right here and now. Then we are going to get up and leave this church and we are never coming back." So one of these men, Richard Allen, left the white Methodist church and founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church which today is one of the largest Negro organizations in the world. And one of Allen's successors, Bishop Daniel Payne, bought a site in Southern Ohio and founded a college called Wilberforce and Wilberforce in 1892 offered me a job of teaching which I hastened to accept because Wilberforce was near the center of the Negro population of this nation and because I immediately planned to develop there a university like the University of Berlin for the uplift of the Negro race in America, a job which the world needed. Quite incidentally, Wilberforce offered me enough to live on during this work. The fact that Missouri offered me $300 more seemed to me then of no importance whatsoever.

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Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work, to judge that life work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake. The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven or as near heaven as you can get. Without this -- with work which you despise, which bores you, and

which the world does not need -- life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000 a year executive is living in just such a hell today. Income is not greenbacks. It is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty; it is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably, going forward, and you, yourself, standing with your hand on the wheels, make this choice. Then, my son, never hesitate, never falter.

And now comes a word of warning. This satisfaction, even at best, will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect. The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. Indeed, let's face it, it may for a day even fall backward. But what of that? The difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, thatis eternal, even when it walks with poverty and pain.

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"And I care not to garner while others
Know only to harvest and reap,
For mine is the reaping of sowing,
Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep."

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Howard U

March 31, 1958

A HISTORY OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS

by W. E. B. DuBOIS

THE YEARS FROM 1917 TO 1957 HAVE BEEN OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE. SO MUCH SO THAT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THOSE LIVING DURING THIS PERIOD EASILY TO EVALUATE THEIR HISTORY. MOREOVER IT HAPPENS THAT IN THESE DAYS THE EMOTIONS OF MEN HAVE BEEN SO STIRRED THAT THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY HAS DELIBERATELY BEEN USED TO PAINT AS HISTORY WHAT MEN WISH TO HAVE BELIEVED RATHER THAN WHAT ACTUALLY HAS HAPPENED.

HAVING DURING THESE FORTY YEARS LIVED MY ADULT WORKING YEARS, I SAW SOME PART OF THE EVENTS OF THIS TIME. I AM VENTURING THEREFORE TO PUT MY INTERPRETATION OF THEIR MEANING BEFORE THEY FADE OR ARE DISTORTED.

I RISK THEN THE MYOPIA OF CURRENT EXPERIENCE IN ORDER TO RELATE

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MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS. IT IS NOT WHAT MOST OF YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT. IT IS NOT WHAT MANY OF YOU BELIEVE. IT IS WHAT I BELIEVE.

DURING THE 19TH CENTURY THERE GREW UP A WORLD ORGANIZATION BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE CONTROLLED MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND BUILT ITS CIVILIZATION ON THEIR MATERIALS AND LABOR. THIS CONTROL RESTED ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WAS EXCUSED BY A THEORY OF THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF NORDIC PEOPLES OVER THE DARKER VARIETIES OF MANKIND.

THE CHIEF BENEFICIARIES OF THIS CULTURE WERE THE RICH AND PRIVILEGED EUROPEANS, WHILE THE MASS OF WHITE WORKERS SHARE POVERTY AND IGNORANCE WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. BUT BY ORGANIZATION AND PHILANTHROPY THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE GRADUALLY IN THE 19TH CENTURY GOT HIGHER WAGES

AND THEIR EMPLOYERS AND OWNERS OF CAPITAL REIMBURSED THEMSELVES BY SECURING MORE MATERIALS AND CHEAP LABOR FROM THE COLONIES. THIS INVOLVED INCREASED USE OF WHITE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS TO KEEP COLORED LABOR IN CONTROL.

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC CONTROLLED THE RICHER PARTS OF THE WORLD'S COLONIES AND WERE THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. THIS AROUSED THE ENVY OF THE GROWING GERMAN EMPIRE AND LED TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR WHICH WAS AN ATTEMPT TO REARRANGE THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLONIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA FOUGHT AGAINST BRITAIN AND FRANCE. RUSSIA, ITSELF A COLONY, RULED BY AN OLIGARCHY, WAS CONTROLLED BY FRENCH AND BRITISH INVESTORS. IT ENTERED THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND TO THE BITTER DISTRESS OF THE MASS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE. BRITAIN PROMISED ITALY COLONIAL EXPANSION IN AFRICA AND SECURED HER ALLIANCE. THE UNITED STATES WAS DETERMINED NOT

TO TAKE PART IN THIS FOREIGN WAR AND SO VOTED IN 1916. BUT THE CHANCE OF EXTRAORDINARY GAIN WHICH TRADE WITH THE ALLIES OFFERED, LED THE NATION TO WAR IN 1917, FORCED BY BIG BUSINESS AND HELPED BY THE THEORY THAT GERMANY STARTED THE WAR.

THE WAR BEGAN WITH SO MIGHTY A GERMAN ONSLAUGHT THAT ONLY BY THE AID OF BLACK AFRICANS WAS FRANCE SAVED FROM IMMEDIATE COLLAPSE. SHE WAS THEN PROPPED UP BY AMERICAN SUPPLIES AND NEGRO STEVEDORES. IN 1917 THE WRETCHED RUSSIAN PEOPLE, STARVED AND UNARMED, REVOLTED AND GAINED WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT SOON OUR ATTITUDE CHANGED. WE WERE GETTING RICH BY WAR. WE GAINED 23,000 MILLIONAIRES DURING THE HOSTILITIES. WE DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN AS BANKER OF THE WORLD AND BECAME THE CHIEF FIGURE IN WORLD TRADE AND INVESTMENT. MANY LEADERS BEGAN TO BOAST THAT THIS WAS

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THE AMERICAN CENTURY AND THAT WE WOULD RULE THE WORLD BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

OUR NEW WEALTH AND POWER CHANGED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA. OUR INVESTMENTS WERE THREATENED BY WHAT WE BEGAN TO REGARD AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION." BY THIS WE MEANT REVOLT AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH COULD BE EXTENDED THROUGH RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS TO ASIA. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION RESULTED IN AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST STATE. SUCH A STATE HAD OFTEN BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES BUT NO ATTEMPT TO REALIZE IT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL, AND MOST MEN REGARDED IT AS A DREAM BOUND TO FAIL.....THEY TRIED TO ERECT IN RUSSIA A STATE CONTROLLED BY LOCAL CAPITALISTS AND WESTERN INVESTORS. TO THEIR DISGUST LENIN AND HIS FOLLOWERS ESTABLISHED A COMMUNIST STATE WHICH STAGGERED TO ITS FEET.

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THE LEADING POWERS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, IMMEDIATELY STARTED TO OVERTHROW THE NEW SOVIET UNION AND FOR TEN YEARS, 1918 TO 1928, WAGED EVERY SPECIES OF WAR, MURDER, RAPE, THEFT, BRIBERY AND CHEATING ON RUSSIAN SOIL. FINALLY WESTERN EUROPE GIRDED ITSELF FOR A FINAL BLOW, WITH AN ARMY COMPOSED OF FRENCH AND POLISH SOLDIERS BACKED BY RUSSIAN, GERMAN AND BRITISH MONEY.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES SUDDENLY STOPPED THIS VENTURE. DRIVEN MONEY-MAD BY OUR GAINS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR WE BEGAN GAMBLING, INVESTING AND EXPENDING UNTIL IN 1929 THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND COLONIAL IMPERIALISM STAGGERED AND NEARLY COLLAPSED. THE BANKING SYSTEM OF THE WORLD FELL, THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED, AND

INTERNATIONAL TRADE WAS DISRUPTED.....IN THE SOVIET UNION, CONSPIRACY, INSTIGATED BY THE WEST, CONTINUED, BUT THE GOVERNMENT BURNING FIERCELY, ARRESTED AND PUNISHED THE LEADERS AND DROVE TROTSKY ABROAD. BUT COMMUNISM HAD ENTERED CHINA, AND JAPAN CONTINUED THE FIGHT AGAINST IT AND PLANNED TO CONTROL COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN ASIA.

STALIN RULED, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY A NEW STATE FOUNDED ON SOCIALISTIC PRINCIPLES WAS ESTABLISHED, ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND THREATENING THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION, FOUR LEADERS APPEARED AS THE WORLD STAGGERED TO ITS FEET: CHURCHILL IN BRITAIN AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY; WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM 1933 TO 1945, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT RULED THE UNITED STATES

AND ADOLF HITLER RULED GERMANY. SOCIALISM BEGAN TO SPREAD FROM RUSSIA TO SCANDINAVIA; TO BRITAIN, GERMANY AND ITALY; TO FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE UNITED STATES, ROOSEVELT FACED A CONDITION, NOT A THEORY. HE WAS NOT A CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST, BUT THERE WERE 14 MILLION AMERICANS UNEMPLOYED, FARMING WAS RUINED, BANKS WERE CLOSED AND INDUSTRY DISRUPTED. ROOSEVELT ADOPTED THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF HARRY HOPKINS AND STARTED PUBLIC ALMSGIVING; WORK RELIEF; LOANS TO BANKS, SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS; CONTROL OF POWER PRODUCTION, ORGANIZATION OF LABOR, WAGE AND PRICE CONTROL AND REORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY. THE SUPREME COURT CURTAILED THIS PROGRAM, BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED AND THE NEW DEAL BECAME A DISTINCT STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM.

HITLER IN GERMANY AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY, FACING CONDITIONS AS

BAD OR WORSE THAN AMERICA, ALSO TURNED TOWARD SOCIALISM FOR REMEDY. BUT IN THEIR HANDS SOCIAL CONTROL WAS USED TO SERVE CAPITAL RATHER THAN LABOR. AS DICTATORS THEY SEIZED THE GOVERNMENT; PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN CONTROL OF CAPITAL AND THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL THUS IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT. HITLER SURGED AHEAD; HE SECURED THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE WORKERS AND SHOPKEEPERS BY MURDERING SIX MILLION JEWS AND PLANNED FIRST TO SUBDUE WEST EUROPE AND THEN THE SOVIET UNION. WITH ITALY AND JAPAN HE FORMED AN ALLIANCE TO SEIZE ASIA AND AFRICA.

THUS A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WOULD MOVE INTO CONTROL OF THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND DIRECT A THOUSAND MILLION CHEAP LABORERS. AS SOON AS THE WEST FAILED IN 1930 TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIET UNION, JAPAN HAD SEIZED MANCHURIA.

MEANTIME THE COLONIAL PEOPLES, WHO AS SOLDIERS AND LABORERS HAD TAKEN PART IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND WHOSE SALE OF MATERIALS TO EUROPE HAD CHANGED THE WORLD PATTERN, PUT EUROPE IN THEIR DEBT, BEGAN TO DEMAND INCREASED FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY. BRITAIN WAS COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF EGYPT; INDIA UNDER GHANDI FOUGHT FOR AUTONOMY FROM 1917 to 1937. INDO-CHINA REVOLTED AGAINST FRANCE AND INDONESIA AGAINST HOLLAND. EVEN MEXICO OUSTED AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES AND THE WHOLE COLONIAL WORLD BEGAN ITS MARCH TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WHITE RULE.

IN EUROPE HITLER BEGAN HIS CAMPAIGN. HE SEIZED AUSTRIA, HELPED FRANCO SUPPRESS THE SPANISH REBELLION, ENCOURAGED ITALY TO ANNEX ETHIOPIA AND STRENGTHENED HIS ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN IN ASIA. GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, FIGHTING SOCIALISM AT HOME, WANTED TO MAKE ALLIANCE WITH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

FOR RESTORING COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

IN DISPUTE WAS ONLY THE QUESTION OF DIVIDING THE COLONIAL SPOILS; AT THE MUNICH CONFERENCES A COMPROMISE WAS SOUGHT WHICH WOULD LEAVE THEM FREE TO PURSUE THEIR EXPLOITATION OF POLAND AND OF RUSSIA WHEN COMMUNISM FAILED, WHILE GERMANY COULD EXPLOIT THE BALKANS AND ITALY MOVE TOWARD THE NEAR EAST. HITLER AGREED AND PROMPTLY BROKE HIS WORD BY INVADING POLAND. THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN.

IT WAS NOT, AS OFTEN ADVERTISED, A FIGHT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM, OR BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. IT WAS AN ATTEMPT OF EUROPE TO RESTORE ITS CONTROL OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, WITH RUSSIA AS PART OF THEEXPLOITED AREA, AND WITH GERMANY AND ITALY DISPLACING FRANCE AND BRITAIN AS THE CHIEF DIRECTORS OF WORLD WEALTH AND LABOR. THERE WAS A NERVE-WRACKING PERIOD OF HESITATION AND THEN GERMANY ATTACKED

WITH THE MIGHTIEST WAR MACHINE THE WORLD EVER SAW. SHE SEIZED NORWAY, DENMARK, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND. BRITAIN RETREATED AND FRANCE SURRENDERED. FOR SIX MONTHS BRITAIN WAS FLAYED WITH FIERY HAIL.

IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS HALTED IN MID-FLIGHT. ROOSEVELT WAS THOROUGHLY BRITISH BY CULTURE. HE SAW IN THE FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE THE END OF HIS WORLD. ON THE OTHER HAND BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES WAS WILLING TO DEFEND FRANCE AND BRITAIN ONLY ON ITS OWN TERMS, WHICH WERE THE DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL AND THE PASSING OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA.

WITH THEIR CLEAR OBJECTS NEITHER IN BRITAIN NOR AMERICA, COULD BIG BUSINESS ALLY ITSELF WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ON THE OTHER HAND HITLER HAD NO SUCH QUALMS. HE PROPOSED TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION, AND FROM THIS

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"HEARTLAND" IN ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN, OR DESPITE HER, TO MOVE ON ASIA AND AFRICA. FOR THIS OBJECT DID HE DARE LEAVE AN UNCONQUERED BRITAIN AND ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION. MEANTIME THE UNION HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT AT HITLER'S HAND A PORTION OF POLAND AS BUFFER STATE WHILE HITLER HAMMERED THE WEST. HITLER HESITATED. THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF BRITAIN WOULD BE LONG AND COSTLY, ESPECIALLY IF AMERICA CAME TO HER AID. IF, HOWEVER, HE TURNED TO THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND IF AMERICA COULD BE DISTRACTED BY JAPAN, THE RISK WAS WORTH TAKING. HITLER WAITED 22 MONTHS, THEN HE INVADED RUSSIA IN JUNE; JAPAN ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES AT PEARL HARBOR IN DECEMBER.

THERE WAS OPEN A CLEAR PATH FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. THEY COULD LEAP ON HITLER'S BACK WHILE RUSSIA HAMMERED HIS FRONT AND DESTROY HIM. BUT THAT WOULD LEAVE SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND READY TO

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JOIN RISING SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE WESTERN WORLD DID NOTHING, HITLER'S UNPARALLELED WAR MACHINE WOULD SMASH THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN A MONTH, WHICH WOULD RID THE WESTERN WORLD OF THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM FOREVER. BUT IT WOULD INCREASE THE MENACE OF A TRIUMPHANT HITLER! THEN CAME A NEW POSSIBILITY: HITLER DID NOT PROGRESS WITH THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION AS FAST AS THE WORLD EXPECTED. IF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES UNITED TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION, THE CONFLICT MIGHT BE PROLONGED. IT SEEMED, THEREFORE, GOOD POLITICS FOR BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE, EVEN IF THE HELP WAS TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE FOR THE SOVIETS TO WIN THE WAR.

CHURCHILL NOW TOOK THE LEAD, AND AFTER DELAYING ACTION FOR A YEAR, PROPOSED TO IGNORE HITLER'S EXPOSED REAR IN EUROPE AND ATTACK IN NORTH AFRICA,

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SO AS TO PROTECT BRITAIN'S COLONIES IN THE EAST. ROOSEVELT DID NOT WHOLLY AGREE WITH CHURCHILL'S PROGRAM IN THEORY. ON PAPER HE RESCUED THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS; BUT IN PRACTICE BRITAIN PREVAILED: HITLER WAS NOT ATTACKED AND THE BURDEN OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. FROM 20 TO 25 MILLION RUSSIANS DIED AND 11 MILLION WERE CRIPPLED. THE PROPERTY DAMAGE WAS THREE TIMES THAT OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM COMBINED AND REACHED $125 BILLION DOLLARS. THE WEST HELPED TARDILY WITH SORELY NEEDED MATERIAL --- PLANES, TANKS, CLOTHES AND SHOES. BUT THE AMOUNT OF THIS HELP COMPARED WITH THE NEED WAS SMALL. THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, SENT 11 MILLION PAIRS OF SHOES. THIS WAS FIVE PER CENT OF WHAT THE RUSSIANS NEEDED.

THEN IN 1943 CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF THE

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SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THAT SAVED MODERN CULTURE. HER LOSSES IN DEAD AND CRIPPLED WERE GREATER THAN ALL THE REST OF THE WESTERN WORLD PUT TOGETHER. HALF OF THE MAGNIFICENT PUBLIC WORKS, FACTORIES, AND SCHOOLS, FOR WHICH FOR A QUARTER CENTURY THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAD STARVED THEIR BODIES AND STRIPPED THEIR SOULS, LAY IN SMOKING RUINS WHILE ALL THE WESTERN WORLD BOASTED OF CONQUERING HITLER.

THE NEXT YEAR AFTER STALINGRAD BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH ON HITLER'S REAR, RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY. ROOSEVELT BEGGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ATTACK JAPAN AND END THE WAR, AND ASKED FOR A UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945, THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WOULD BE DIFFERENT. BUT HARRY TRUMAN, A HALF-EDUCATED HABERDASHER TURNED POLITICIAN, BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND BOND-SERVANT OF BIG BUSINESS

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NOW SET TO RULE THE WORLD.

SOCIALISM INCREASED IN EUROPE WHILE BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES USED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO BEAT IT BACK BY HELPING CAPITAL TO SUBDUE LABOR AND THE ATOM BOMB WAS PERFECTED AND USED TO FRIGHTEN JAPAN.

JAPAN SURRENDERED. THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN, NOW COMPLETELY IN THE HANDS OF BIG BUSINESS, THAT THE UNITED STATES NOW HAD THE POWER IN ITS HANDS TO STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD. AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN OF FULTON, CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN. TRUMAN STOPPED ALL AID TO THE SORELY STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE "GOT TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA, DELAYED REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES, "LOST" ITS PLEA FOR A LOAN, WHILE IT GAVE MILLIONS TO

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FRANCE AND BRITAIN AND DEMANDED QUICK PAYMENT OF LEND-LEASE DEBTS.

ESPECIALLY DID WE RAISE AGAIN AN ISSUE WHICH CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT HAD NOT PUSHED BECAUSE THEY KNEW THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER LET FRANCE AND ENGLAND OCCUPY THEIR BORDERS AS THEY HAD AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WHEN THEY SOUGHT A CHANCE AGAIN TO ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION AT THE FIRST SIGN OF WEAKNESS OR BAILURE. THIS QUESTION STALINGRAD SETTLED SO LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION STOOD. BUT TRUMAN FATUOUSLY REOPENED IT AND ACCUSED THE SOVIET UNION OF BREAKING TREATIES WHEN IT REFUSED TO PERMIT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO RE-ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRO-HUNGARY IN THE NAME OF WHAT THEY CALLED DEMOCRACY.

THEN CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE. THE UNITED STATES LOST CHINA. THE UNITED STATES, ABOUT TO OWN AND FATTEN

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ON THE COLONIAL WORLD OF "DARKIES", LOST THE LARGEST AND RICHEST PART OF THAT WORLD. THE MOON FELL OUT OF THE HEAVEN OF BIG BUSINESS. WE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF-BILLION CHEAP, DOCILE CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES. WHEN JAPAN HAD SEIZED CHINA, AMERICA WAS READY TO SMASH JAPAN AND USED THE MURDERER CHIANG KAI-SHECK WITH MONEY AND ARMS AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, AFTER IMPOSSIBLE AND LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES, DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR OUT OF CHINA.

THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTLED AND ALARMED. IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED OUT OF CHINA BY TRICKERY. IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948 AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON AND FOREWARNING OF REVOLUTION AT HOME. WHEN TRUMAN WON THE

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ELECTION, THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, REMINGTON, AND THE ROSENBERGS. TRUMAN, WITH JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN THE FRONT TRENCHES, STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM BY A "POLICE ACTION" WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR, WHICH KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS AND WHICH MACARTHUR TRIED DESPERATELY TO TURN INTO A WAR TO CONQUER CHINA. THE CHINESE WITHSTOOD GERM WARFARE AND CHASED THE AMERICAN ARMY THREE HUNDRED MILES UNTIL THEY NEARLY FELL INTO THE YELLOW SEA. MACARTHUR WAS RECALLED.

BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO UPHOLD THE PRISON SENTENCES OF ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS, BECAUSE IT BELIEVED THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED AND WAS IMMINENT. THE NATION THEN TURNED TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS WHICH CURTAILED

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CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL CITIZENS. WHEN WE LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB WE EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS FOR BETRAYING THE SECRET WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED, AND IF IT HAD EXISTED, THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY OF KNOWING IT. MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS, McCARTHY RAGED IN THE LAND. HE CALLED THE NEW DEAL "TWENTY YEARS OF TREASON", BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE, PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE, THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION, FASTENED TWO BELIEFS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND ON YOU: FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY; SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

UP UNTIL YESTERDAY, AMERICANS WERE TOLD THAT COMMUNISM WAS A FAILURE AND EVEN TODAY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IS AWAITING ITS COLLAPSE.

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YET THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE WORLD, SOVIET AND CHINESE AGRICULTURE ARE LEADING CIVILIZATION IN METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT, COMMUNIST SCIENCE IS TEACHING EUROPE, COMMUNIST MEDICINE IS FAR AHEAD OF OURS. IN MUSIC AND DANCE THE WORLD IS RUSHING TO SEE AND HEAR RUSSIAN ARTISTS, AND THE NEW CRITICISM OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND DRAMA IS BEING MISINTERPRETED AS COLLAPSE INSTEAD OF FLOWERING, WHILE SOVIET CULTURE, ALONE OF MODERN COUNTRIES, HAS FORBIDDEN TELLING CHILDREN LIES AND FAIRY TALES IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

HERE WE STAND IN 1958. THE NATION IS HEADED WRONG. IT IS NOT THE FIRST TIME A NATION HAS BEEN WRONG, BUT IT MAY BE THE LAST. TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING WORLD PROGRESS; PROGRESS WHICH MUST BE TOWARD SOCIALISM AND AGAINST COLONIALISM AND WAR. OUR PREPARATION FOR WAR IS

48-7-23

GREATER THAN ANY THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. WE ARE NOT LEADING DEMOCRACY. WE ARE ALLIED WITH EVERY DICTATORSHIP IN THE WORLD. WE ARE STIFLING OUR OWN DEMOCRACY AND ARE RULED BY MONOPOLY AND CORPORATE WEALTH. SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE, AND COMMUNISM IS ONE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT. BUT WHETHER IT IS ACHIEVED BY DICTATORSHIP OR BY DEMOCRACY, ITS AIM OF GIVING TO EACH WHAT HE NEEDS AND DEMANDING FROM EACH WHAT BEST HE CAN GIVE IS THE INEVITABLE AIM OF CIVILIZATION AND SOONER OR LATER WILL TRIUMPH.

COMMUNISM IS NOT A CONSPIRACY AND COMMUNISTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS. WHERE NOW DO WE NEGROES STAND? IF WE AIM TO BE AMERICANS, WILLING TO DO ONLY WHAT AMERICA DOES, THINK AS IT THINKS AND SAY WHAT IT SAYS, WE ARE LOST. IF ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REACH THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF THE WORLD AND BROADEN AND LIFT THOSE STANDARDS BY DEVELOPING THE BEST PARTS OF

48-7-24

OUR OWN AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE CLEANSED BY BLOOD AND SLAVERY, POVERTY AND INSULT, WE MAY SAVE THE WORLD. IF ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE BRIBED BY HIGH SALARIES TO OUR GIFTED WHILE OUR MASSES STARVE; BY PRIVILEGE TO OUR RICH WHILE OUR MILLIONS CRAWL; BY PUBLICITY FOR OUR FOOLS WHILE OUR LEADERS AND OUR YOUTH ROT IN JAIL, THEN WE ARE LOST. THIS NATION BY ITS MADE PLUNGE INTO LYING, STEALING AND MURDER WILL DRAG YOU AS PART OF IT DOWN TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER

..... STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT;
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT;
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL;
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN AN ETERNAL NIGHT.

Gilpin speech @ Howard Univ

A HISTORY OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS

by W. E. B. DuBOIS

40-1-210

THE YEARS FROM 1917 TO 1957 HAVE BEEN OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE. SO MUCH SO THAT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THOSE LIVING DURING THIS PERIOD EASILY TO EVALUATE THEIR HISTORY. MOREOVER IT HAPPENS THAT IN THESE DAYS THE EMOTIONS OF MEN HAVE BEEN SO STIRRED THAT THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY HAS DELIBERATELY BEEN USED TO PAINT AS HISTORY WHAT MEN WISH TO HAVE BELIEVED RATHER THAN WHAT ACTUALLY HAS HAPPENED.

HAVING DURING THESE FORTY YEARS LIVED MY ADULT WORKING TIME, I SAW SOME PART OF THE EVENTS OF THIS ERA. I AM VENTURING THEREFORE TO PUT MY INTERPRETATION OF THEIR MEANING BEFORE THEY FADE OR ARE DISTORTED. I RISK THEN THE MYOPIA OF CURRENT EXPERIENCE IN ORDER TO RELATE

40-1-211

MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS. [redacted] HAVE BEEN TAUGHT. IT IS NOT WHAT MANY OF YOU BELIEVE. IT IS WHAT I BELIEVE.

IP DURING THE 19TH CENTURY THERE GREW UP A WORLD ORGANIZATION BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE CONTROLLED MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND BUILT ITS CIVILIZATION ON THEIR MATERIALS AND LABOR. THIS CONTROL RESTED ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WAS EXCUSED BY A THEORY OF THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF NORDIC PEOPLES OVER THE DARKER VARIETIES OF MANKIND.

THE CHIEF BENEFICIARIES OF THIS CULTURE WERE THE RICH AND PRIVILEGED EUROPEANS WHILE THE MASS OF WHITE WORKERS SHARED POVERTY AND IGNORANCE WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES BUT BY ORGANIZATION AND PHILANTHROPY THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE GRADUALLY IN THE 19TH CENTURY GOT HIGHER WAGES

AND THEIR EMPLOYERS/ AND OWNERS OF CAPITAL/ REIMBURSED THEMSELVES/ BY SECURING MORE MATERIALS/ AND CHEAPER LABOR/ FROM THE COLONIES.// THIS INVOLVED INCREASED USE/ OF WHITE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS/ TO KEEP COLORED LABOR under control.

212-1-04

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY,/ THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC/ CONTROLLED THE RICHER PARTS/ OF THE WORLD'S COLONIES/ AND WERE THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS/ OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.// THIS AROUSED THE ENVY/ OF THE GROWING GERMAN EMPIRE/ AND LED TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ WHICH WAS AN ATTEMPT/ TO REARRANGE THE DISTRIBUTION/ OF THE COLONIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA/ FOUGHT AGAINST BRITAIN AND FRANCE.// RUSSIA,/ ITSELF A quasi-COLONY/ RULED BY AN OLIGARCHY,/ WAS CONTROLLED/ BY FRENCH AND BRITISH INVESTORS./ IT ENTERED THE WAR/ ON THE SIDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND/ TO THE BITTER DISTRESS OF THE MASS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE.// BRITAIN PROMISED ITALY/ COLONIAL EXPANSION IN AFRICA/ AND SECURED HER ALLIANCE.// THE UNITED STATES WAS DETERMINED/ NOT

212-1-04

TO TAKE PART/ IN THIS FOREIGN WAR/ AND SO VOTED IN 1916,/ BUT THE CHANCE OF EXTRAORDINARY GAIN/ WHICH TRADE WITH THE ALLIES OFFERED,/ LED THE NATION TO WAR IN 1917.// FORCED BY BIG BUSINESS/ AND HELPED BY THE THEORY/ THAT GERMANY was to blame for STARTED THE WAR.

THE WAR BEGAN/ WITH SO MIGHTY A GERMAN ONSLAUGHT/ THAT ONLY BY THE AID OF BLACK AFRICANS/ WAS FRANCE SAVED FROM IMMEDIATE COLLAPSE.// SHE WAS THEN PROPPED UP/ BY AMERICAN SUPPLIES/ AND AMERICAN NEGRO STEVEDORES.// IN 1917 THE WRETCHED RUSSIAN PEOPLE,/ STARVED AND UNARMED,// REVOLTED AND GAINED WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY/ IN THE UNITED STATES.// BUT [redacted] WE WERE GETTING RICH BY WAR./ WE GAINED 23,000 MILLIONAIRES/ DURING THE HOSTILITIES./ WE DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN AS BANKER OF THE WORLD/ AND BECAME THE CHIEF FIGURE IN WORLD TRADE AND INVESTMENT.// MANY LEADERS/ BEGAN TO BOAST/ THAT THIS WAS

412-1-04

THE AMERICAN CENTURY/ AND THAT WE WOULD RULE THE WORLD/BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

OUR NEW WEALTH AND POWER/CHANGED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA./ OUR INVESTMENTS WERE THREATENED/ BY WHAT WE BEGAN TO REGARD/AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION."// BY THIS WE MEANT/ REVOLT AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH COULD BE EXTENDED/THROUGH RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS/TO ASIA.// THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/RESULTED IN AN ATTEMPT/TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST STATE.// SUCH A STATE/HAD OFTEN BEEN DISCUSSED/DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES/BUT NO ATTEMPT TO REALIZE IT/HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL// AND MOST MEN REGARDED IT/AS A DREAM/BOUND TO FAIL.// THEY TRIED TO ERECT IN RUSSIA/A STATE CONTROLLED BY LOCAL CAPITALISTS/AND WESTERN INVESTORS// TO THEIR DISGUST/LENIN AND STALIN ~~HIS FOLLOWERS~~ ESTABLISHED A COMMUNIST STATE/WHICH STAGGERED TO ITS FEET.

That is a state whose object is not private profit but public welfare

412-1-04

THE LEADING POWERS OF THE WORLD/ INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES/AND JAPAN/ IMMEDIATELY STARTED/TO OVERTHROW THE NEW SOVIET UNION/AND FOR TEN YEARS/ 1918 TO 1928/ WAGED EVERY SPECIES OF WAR/ MURDER, RAPE, THEFT, BRIBERY AND CHEATING/ON RUSSIAN SOIL.// FINALLY WESTERN EUROPE/GIRDED ITSELF FOR A ~~FINAL~~ last BLOW/ WITH AN ARMY COMPOSED OF ~~FRENCH AND POLISH~~ Eastern European SOLDIERS/BACKED BY ~~RUSSIAN/GERMAN AND BRITISH~~ Western European MONEY.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES/ SUDDENLY STOPPED THIS VENTURE.// DRIVEN MONEY-MAD BY OUR GAINS/IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR/WE BEGAN GAMBLING, INVESTING AND EXPANDING/ UNTIL IN 1929/ THE BOTTOM FELL OUT/OF THE private CAPITALIST SYSTEM/ AND COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/ ~~STAGGERED AND~~ NEARLY COLLAPSED.// THE BANKING SYSTEM/ OF THE WORLD FELL./ THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED,/AND

and has never been fully restored

40-1-216

INTERNATIONAL TRADE/ WAS DISRUPTED.// IN THE SOVIET UNION/ CONSPIRACY, INSTIGATED BY THE WEST,/ CONTINUED,/ BUT THE GOVERNMENT TURNING FIERCELY, ARRESTED AND PUNISHED THE LEADERS/ AND DROVE TROTSKY ABROAD.// ~~BUT~~ Also COMMUNISM HAD ENTERED CHINA,/ AND JAPAN CONTINUED THE FIGHT AGAINST IT/ AND PLANNED TO CONTROL COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN ASIA.

Despite the effort, STALIN RULED,/ AND FOR THE FIRST TIME/ IN MODERN HISTORY/ A NEW STATE/ FOUNDED ON SOCIALISTIC PRINCIPLES/ WAS ESTABLISHED// ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WORLD/ AND THREATENING, ~~effective to RE-ESTABLISH~~ The future of COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, the world over

AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION/ FOUR LEADERS APPEARED/ AS THE WORLD ~~STAGGERED~~ struggled TO ITS FEET:// CHURCHILL IN BRITAIN/ AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY;// WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY/ FROM 1933 TO 1945,/ FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT RULED THE UNITED STATES

40-1-217

AND ADOLF HITLER RULED GERMANY.// SOCIALISM BEGAN TO SPREAD/ FROM RUSSIA TO SCANDINAVIA;/ TO BRITAIN, GERMANY AND ITALY;/ TO FRANCE/ AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE UNITED STATES,/ ROOSEVELT FACED A CONDITION,/ NOT A THEORY.// HE WAS NOT A CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST,/ BUT THERE WERE 14 MILLION AMERICANS UNEMPLOYED,/ FARMING WAS RUINED/ BANKS WERE CLOSED/ AND INDUSTRY DISRUPTED. ROOSEVELT ADOPTED THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM/ OF HARRY HOPKINS/ AND STARTED PUBLIC ALMSGIVING;/ WORK RELIEF;/ LOANS TO BANKS/ SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS;/ CONTROL OF POWER PRODUCTION,/ ORGANIZATION OF LABOR,/ WAGE AND PRICE CONTROL/ AND REORGANIZATION/ OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.// THE SUPREME COURT CURTAILED THIS PROGRAM/ BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED/ AND THE NEW DEAL/ BECAME A DISTINCT STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM.

HITLER IN GERMANY AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY,/ FACING CONDITIONS AS

40-1-218

BAD OR WORSE/ THAN AMERICA,/ ALSO TURNED TOWARD SOCIALISM/ FOR REMEDY.// BUT IN THEIR HANDS/ SOCIAL CONTROL WAS USED/ TO SERVE CAPITAL RATHER THAN LABOR. AS DICTATORS/ THEY SEIZED THE GOVERNMENT;/ [redacted] Accepted the directing/ CAPITAL/ AND thus THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL came into/ [redacted] CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.// [redacted]

Hitler used every weapon: he tried to make race prejudice a science and used it to kill six million Jews, thus securing the ~~allegience~~ following of German small [redacted] shop-keepers; he received into alliance that same ambitious Japan whom the West had spurned and [redacted] split American aid to Britain by encouraging Japan to attack at Pearl Harbor. He knew this would catapult America into war but war with the yellow race rather than war for white Europe. The Axis of German Germany , Italy and Japan was formed to found a new Colonial Imperialism

To [redacted] WOULD MOVE INTO CONTROL/ OF THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD/ AND DIRECT A THOUSAND MILLION CHEAP LABORERS./

MEANTIME/ THE COLONIAL PEOPLES,/ WHO AS SOLDIERS AND LABORERS/ HAD TAKEN PART IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ AND WHOSE SALE OF MATERIALS/ TO EUROPE HAD CHANGED THE WORLD PATTERN,/ AND PUT EUROPE IN THEIR DEBT.// BEGAN TO DEMAND/ INCREASED FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY.// BRITAIN WAS COMPELLED/ TO RECOGNIZE THE eventual INDEPENDENCE OF EGYPT,/ INDIA UNDER GHANDI FOUGHT FOR AUTONOMY ~~FROM 1917 TO 1937~~. INDO-CHINA REVOLTED AGAINST FRANCE/ AND INDONESIA AGAINST HOLLAND. EVEN MEXICO OUSTED AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES// AND THE WHOLE COLONIAL WORLD/ BEGAN ITS MARCH/ TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WHITE RULE.

40-1-219

[CONTINUED] IN EUROPE HITLER [redacted] HIS CAMPAIGN./ [redacted] HE SEIZED AUSTRIA,/ HELPED FRANCO SUPPRESS THE SPANISH REBELLION,/ ENCOURAGED ITALY TO ANNEX ETHIOPIA/ AND ~~STRENGTHENED HIS ALLIANCE/ WITH~~ JAPAN to work with China ~~IN ASIA~~,/ LEADERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,/ We willing to ~~FIGHTING SOCIALISM AT HOME,/ WANTED~~ TO MAKE ALLIANCE/ WITH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI/

11

The only matter in dispute was just how colonial territory would be divided between the Allies and the Axis. Britain and France, still sure of the eventual collapse of Communism wanted to preserve their former hold on Russia and Poland, but were willing to grant Hitler predominance in ~~share~~ Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. ~~Britain and France~~ They thought they had secured understanding at the Munich conferences in 1938; but Hitler was determined not only to seize all Eastern Europe including Russia, but to conquer Britain and France if they resisted. They resisted when he attacked Poland in 1939 and the Second World War began

~~THE WAR BEGAN.~~

40-1-220

THIS WAR WAS NOT, AS OFTEN ADVERTISED, A FIGHT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM, OR BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. IT WAS AN ATTEMPT OF EUROPE TO RESTORE ITS CONTROL OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WITH RUSSIA AS PART OF THE EXPLOITED AREA AND WITH GERMANY AND ITALY DISPLACING FRANCE AND BRITAIN AS THE CHIEF DIRECTORS OF WORLD WEALTH AND LABOR. THERE WAS A NERVE-WRACKING PERIOD OF HESITATION AND THEN GERMANY ATTACKED

with Germany and Italy fighting to displace France and Britain as senior partners Japan

12

Neither West Europe nor Hitler offered The Soviet Union alliance. She was not invited to Munich; but when war opened, Germany afraid of war on two fronts offered the Soviets a part of Poland which she had to accept or face a German attack on her own ~~territory.~~ borders Germany then turned to hostilities

40-1-221

WITH THE MIGHTIEST WAR MACHINE THE WORLD EVER SAW, SHE SEIZED NORWAY, DENMARK, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND. BRITAIN (IN PANIC) RETREATED AND FRANCE SURRENDERED. FOR SIX MONTHS BRITAIN WAS FLAYED WITH FIERY HAIL.

IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS HALTED IN MID-FLIGHT.

ROOSEVELT WAS THOROUGHLY BRITISH BY CULTURE. HE SAW IN THE FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE THE END OF HIS WORLD. ON THE OTHER HAND BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES WAS WILLING TO DEFEND FRANCE AND BRITAIN ONLY ON ITS OWN TERMS, WHICH WERE THE DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL AND THE PASSING OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM EUROPE (CONTROL OF) TO AMERICA.

WITH THESE CLEAR OBJECTS NEITHER IN BRITAIN NOR AMERICA COULD BIG BUSINESS ALLY ITSELF WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ON THE OTHER HAND HITLER HAD NO SUCH QUALMS. HE PROPOSED TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION, AND FROM THIS

222-1-VB

"HEARTLAND" IN ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN, OR DESPITE HER, TO MOVE ON ASIA AND AFRICA. // ~~FOR THIS OBJECT DID HE DARE LEAVE AN UNCONQUERED BRITAIN AND ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION.~~ MEANTIME THE SOVIET UNION HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT AT HITLER'S HAND A PORTION OF POLAND AS BUFFER STATE WHILE HITLER HAMMERED THE WEST. ~~HITLER RESISTED.~~ THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF BRITAIN WOULD BE LONG AND COSTLY, ESPECIALLY IF AMERICA CAME TO HER AID. // IF, HOWEVER, HITLER (while he perfected a new ~~weapon~~ WEAPON) THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND IF AMERICA COULD BE DISTRACTED BY JAPAN, THE RISK WAS WORTH TAKING. // HITLER WAITED 22 MONTHS, THEN HE INVADED RUSSIA IN JUNE; JAPAN ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES AT PEARL HARBOR IN DECEMBER.

THERE WAS OPEN A CLEAR PATH FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. // THEY COULD LEAP ON HITLER'S BACK WHILE RUSSIA HAMMERED HIS FRONT AND DESTROY HIM. BUT THAT WOULD LEAVE SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND READY TO

40-1-223

JOIN RISING SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE. // ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE WESTERN WORLD DID NOTHING, HITLER'S UNPARALLELED WAR MACHINE WOULD SMASH THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN A MONTH. // WHICH WOULD RID THE WESTERN WORLD OF THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM ~~FOREVER~~. // BUT IT WOULD INCREASE THE MENACE OF A TRIUMPHANT HITLER! // THEN CAME A ~~NEW~~ THIRD POSSIBILITY. // HITLER DID NOT PROGRESS WITH THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION AS FAST AS THE WORLD EXPECTED. // IF BRITAIN AND ~~THE UNITED STATES~~ America UNITED TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION, THE CONFLICT MIGHT BE PROLONGED. // IT SEEMED, THEREFORE, GOOD POLITICS FOR BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE, EVEN IF THE HELP WAS TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE FOR THE SOVIETS TO WIN THE WAR.

CHURCHILL NOW TOOK THE LEAD, AND AFTER DELAYING ACTION FOR A YEAR, PROPOSED TO IGNORE HITLER'S EXPOSED REAR IN EUROPE AND ATTACK IN NORTH AFRICA,

SO AS TO PROTECT BRITAIN'S ~~COLONIES~~ INTERESTS IN THE EAST. // ROOSEVELT DID NOT WHOLLY AGREE WITH CHURCHILL'S PROGRAM IN THEORY // ON PAPER HE RESCUED THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS; BUT IN PRACTICE BRITAIN PREVAILED: // HITLER WAS NOT ATTACKED AND THE BURDEN OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. // FROM 20 TO 25 MILLION RUSSIANS DIED AND 11 MILLION WERE CRIPPLED. // THE PROPERTY DAMAGE WAS THREE TIMES THAT OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM COMBINED AND REACHED $125 ~~BILLION~~ THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS. // THE WEST HELPED TARDILY WITH SORELY NEEDED MATERIAL --- PLANES, TANKS, CLOTHES AND SHOES. BUT THE AMOUNT OF THIS HELP COMPARED WITH THE NEED WAS SMALL. // THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, SENT 11 MILLION PAIRS OF SHOES. THIS WAS FIVE PER CENT OF WHAT THE RUSSIANS NEEDED.

for 2 years

40-1-224

THEN IN 1943 CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF THE

HITLER'S DEFEAT WAS CERTAIN

SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD. // IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THAT SAVED MODERN ~~CULTURE~~ culture from THEN Hitler. // HER LOSSES IN DEAD AND CRIPPLED WERE GREATER THAN ALL THE REST OF THE WESTERN WORLD ~~PUT TOGETHER~~ combined. // HALF OF ~~THE~~ HER MAGNIFICENT PUBLIC WORKS, FACTORIES, AND SCHOOLS, FOR WHICH FOR A QUARTER CENTURY THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAD STARVED THEIR BODIES AND STRIPPED THEIR SOULS, LAY IN SMOKING RUINS // WHILE ALL THE WESTERN WORLD BOASTED OF CONQUERING HITLER.

40-1-225

THE NEXT YEAR AFTER STALINGRAD BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH ON HITLER'S REAR, RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY. ROOSEVELT BEGGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ATTACK JAPAN AND END THE WAR, AND ASKED FOR A UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. // IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945, THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WOULD ~~BE~~ HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. // BUT HARRY TRUMAN, [redacted] BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND BOND-SERVANT OF BIG BUSINESS. #

STALIN Agreed

40-1-226

NOW SET TO RULE THE WORLD.

SOCIALISM INCREASED IN EUROPE/WHILE BIG BUSINESS/IN THE UNITED STATES/USED THE MARSHALL PLAN/TO BEAT IT BACK/BY HELPING CAPITAL/TO SUBDUE LABOR//AND THE ATOM BOMB WAS PERFECTED/AND USED TO MURDER JAPAN. Women & Children

JAPAN SURRENDERED.//THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN,/~~NOW COMPLETELY IN THE HANDS OF BIG BUSINESS,~~/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/~~NOW~~ HAD THE POWER/~~IN ITS HANDS~~ TO STOP THE SPREAD/OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD.//AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN/ OF FULTON,/CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN/ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN.// TRUMAN STOPPED ALL AID/TO THE SORELY STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE/ WITH THE ASSISTANCE/OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA,/THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE/ "GOT TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA,/ DELAYED promised REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION/ FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES,/ "LOST" ITS PLEA FOR A LOAN,/ WHILE We GAVE MILLIONS TO

FRANCE AND BRITAIN AND DEMANDED QUICK PAYMENT OF Soviet LEND-LEASE DEBTS.

ESPECIALLY DID WE RAISE AGAIN AN ISSUE WHICH CHURCHILL

40-1-227

and Roosevelt had avoided, and that was the question of the states bordering on the Soviet Union to the West. These, after the First World War, had been ~~use~~ occupiee by the West as starting places for another attack on Russia when Communisism collapsed. Communism did not collapse but conquered Hitler. Roosevelt and Churchill knew that after Stalingrad, the Soviet Union would never surrender Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans to western ~~control~~ capital. They did ask, and the Soviets agreed, that these peoples would be ruled according their own choice.. But by "people" the West mant the landlords and investors, while the Soviets meant the working masses freed of the control of the rich This basic dispute still stands; but ~~it is untrue~~ was rejected by Truman & Dewey its settlement in accord with the demands of the West ~~a "breaking of treaties."~~ and call the Soviet response and

ACCUSED THE SOVIET UNION OF BREAKING TREATIES WHEN IT REFUSED TO PERMIT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO RE-ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRO-HUNGARY IN THE NAME OF WHAT THEY CALLED DEMOCRACY.

THEN CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE.

THE UNITED STATES LOST CHINA. THE UNITED STATES, ABOUT TO OWN AND FATTEN

ON THE COLONIAL WORLD OF "DARKIES", LOST THE LARGEST AND RICHEST PART OF THAT WORLD. THE MOON FELL OUT OF THE HEAVEN OF BIG BUSINESS. WE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF-BILLION CHEAP, DOCILE CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES. WHEN JAPAN HAD SEIZED CHINA, AMERICA WAS READY TO SMASH JAPAN AND helped USED THE MURDERER CHIANG KAI-SHECK WITH MONEY AND ARMS. AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, AFTER IMPOSSIBLE AND LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES, DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR OUT OF CHINA, and used American weapons to keep America at bay.

40-1-228

THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTLED AND ALARMED. IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED OUT OF CHINA BY TRICKERY. IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948 AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON AND FOREWARNING OF REVOLUTION AT HOME. WHEN TRUMAN WON THE

40-1-229

ELECTION, THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, REMINGTON, AND THE ROSENBERGS. TRUMAN, WITH JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN THE FRONT TRENCHES, STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM BY A "POLICE ACTION" WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR, and ~~WHICH~~ KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS. ~~AND WHICH~~ MACARTHUR TRIED DESPERATELY TO TURN the war INTO A WAR TO CONQUER CHINA. THE CHINESE WITHSTOOD GERM WARFARE AND CHASED THE AMERICAN ARMY THREE HUNDRED MILES UNTIL THEY NEARLY FELL INTO THE YELLOW SEA. MACARTHUR ~~WAS~~ started back but was RECALLED.

BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO UPHOLD THE PRISON SENTENCES OF ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS, BECAUSE IT said it BELIEVED THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED AND WAS IMMINENT. THE NATION THEN TURNED TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS WHICH CURTAILED

40-1-230

CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL CITIZENS. WHEN WE LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB WE EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS FOR BETRAYING THE SECRET WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED. AND IF IT HAD EXISTED, THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY OF KNOWING IT. MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS, McCARTHY and NIXON RAGED IN THE LAND. HE CALLED THE NEW DEAL "TWENTY YEARS OF TREASON". He BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE, He PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE, THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION, FASTENED TWO BELIEFS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND ON YOU: FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY; SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

UP UNTIL YESTERDAY, AMERICANS WERE TOLD THAT COMMUNISM WAS A FAILURE AND EVEN TODAY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IS AWAITING ITS COLLAPSE,

40-1-231

YET THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE WORLD. SOVIET AND CHINESE AGRICULTURE ARE LEADING CIVILIZATION IN METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT. COMMUNIST SCIENCE IS TEACHING EUROPE & America. COMMUNIST MEDICINE IS FAR AHEAD OF OURS. IN MUSIC AND DANCE THE WORLD IS RUSHING TO SEE AND HEAR ~~RUSSIAN~~ Soviet ARTISTS, AND THE NEW CRITICISM OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND DRAMA IS BEING MISINTERPRETED AS COLLAPSE INSTEAD OF FLOWERING. WHILE SOVIET CULTURE, ALONE OF MODERN COUNTRIES, HAS FORBIDDEN TELLING CHILDREN LIES AND FAIRY TALES IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

HERE WE STAND IN 1958. THE NATION IS HEADED WRONG. IT IS NOT THE FIRST TIME A NATION HAS BEEN WRONG, BUT IT MAY BE THE LAST. TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING WORLD PROGRESS; PROGRESS WHICH MUST BE TOWARD SOCIALISM AND AGAINST COLONIALISM AND WAR. OUR PREPARATION FOR WAR IS

GREATER THAN ANY THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. // WE ARE NOT LEADING DEMOCRACY. / WE ARE ALLIED WITH nearly EVERY DICTATORSHIP IN THE WORLD. // WE ARE STIFLING OUR OWN DEMOCRACY AND ARE RULED BY MONOPOLY AND CORPORATE WEALTH. // SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE, AND COMMUNISM IS ONE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT. // BUT WHETHER IT IS ACHIEVED BY DICTATORSHIP OR BY DEMOCRACY, ITS AIM OF GIVING TO EACH WHAT HE NEEDS AND DEMANDING FROM EACH WHAT BEST HE CAN GIVE IS THE INEVITABLE AIM OF CIVILIZATION AND SOONER OR LATER WILL TRIUMPH.

~~COMMUNISM IS NOT A CONSPIRACY AND COMMUNISTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS.~~

WHERE NOW DO WE NEGROES STAND? IF WE AIM TO BE AMERICANS, WILLING TO DO ONLY WHAT AMERICA DOES, THINK AS IT THINKS AND SAY WHAT IT SAYS, WE ARE ~~LOST~~ STUPID. IF ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REACH THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF THE WORLD AND BROADEN AND LIFT THOSE STANDARDS BY DEVELOPING THE BEST PARTS OF

40-1-232

40-1-233

OUR OWN AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE/ ~~CLEANSED~~ wrenched from our souls BY BLOOD AND SLAVERY/ POVERTY AND INSULT,/ WE MAY SAVE THE WORLD.// IF ON THE OTHER HAND/ WE ARE BRIBED BY HIGH SALARIES/ TO OUR GIFTED/ WHILE OUR MASSES STARVE// BY PRIVILEGE TO OUR RICH/ WHILE OUR MILLIONS CRAWL// BY PUBLICITY FOR OUR FOOLS/ WHILE OUR LEADERS AND OUR YOUTH/ ROT IN JAIL,/ THEN WE ARE LOST.// THIS NATION BY ITS MAD/ PLUNGE/ INTO LYING, STEALING AND MURDER/ WILL DRAG ~~YOU~~ US/ AS PART OF IT/ DOWN TO A DAY/ WHEN NEITHER

..... STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT:
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTRY LEAVES/ NOR VERNAL
NOR DAYS/ NOR THINGS DIURNAL;
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN AN ETERNAL NIGHT.

Howard Univ
Mch 31, 1958

A HISTORY OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

38-7-1420

THE YEARS FROM 1917 TO 1957 HAVE BEEN OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE. SO MUCH SO THAT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THOSE LIVING DURING THIS PERIOD EASILY TO EVALUATE THEIR HISTORY. MOREOVER IT HAPPENS THAT IN THESE DAYS THE EMOTIONS OF MEN HAVE BEEN SO STIRRED THAT THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY HAS DELIBERATELY BEEN USED TO PAINT AS HISTORY WHAT MEN WISH TO HAVE BELIEVED RATHER THAN WHAT ACTUALLY HAS HAPPENED.

HAVING DURING THESE FORTY YEARS LIVED MY ADULT WORKING TIME, I SAW SOME PART OF THE EVENTS OF THIS ERA. I AM VENTURING THEREFORE TO PUT MY INTERPRETATION OF THEIR MEANING BEFORE THEY FADE OR ARE DISTORTED. I RISK THEN THE MYOPIA OF CURRENT EXPERIENCE IN ORDER TO RELATE

38-7-1430

MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS. IT IS NOT WHAT MANY OF YOU BELIEVE. IT IS WHAT I BELIEVE.

DURING THE 19TH CENTURY THERE GREW UP A WORLD ORGANIZATION BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE CONTROLLED MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND BUILT ITS CIVILIZATION ON THEIR MATERIALS AND LABOR. THIS CONTROL RESTED ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WAS EXCUSED BY A THEORY OF THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF NORDIC PEOPLES OVER THE DARKER VARIETIES OF MANKIND.

THE CHIEF BENEFICIARIES OF THIS CULTURE WERE THE RICH AND PRIVILEGED EUROPEANS, WHILE THE MASS OF WHITE WORKERS SHARED POVERTY AND IGNORANCE WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. BUT BY ORGANIZATION AND PHILANTHROPY THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE GRADUALLY IN THE 19TH CENTURY GOT HIGHER WAGES

AND THEIR EMPLOYERS AND OWNERS OF CAPITAL REIMBURSED THEMSELVES BY SECURING MORE MATERIALS AND CHEAPER LABOR FROM THE COLONIES. THIS INVOLVED INCREASED USE OF WHITE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS TO KEEP COLORED LABOR UNDER CONTROL.

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC CONTROLLED THE RICHER PARTS OF THE WORLD'S COLONIES AND WERE THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. THIS AROUSED THE ENVY OF THE GROWING GERMAN EMPIRE AND LED TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR WHICH WAS AN ATTEMPT TO REARRANGE THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLONIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA FOUGHT AGAINST BRITAIN AND FRANCE. RUSSIA ITSELF A QUASI-COLONY RULED BY AN OLOGARCHY, WAS CONTROLLED BY FRENCH AND BRITISH INVESTORS. IT ENTERED THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND TO THE BITTER DISTRESS OF THE MASS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE. BRITAIN PROMISED ITALY COLONIAL EXPANSION IN AFRICA AND SECURED HER ALLIANCE. THE UNITED STATES WAS DETERMINED NOT

38-7-144

TO TAKE PART IN THIS FOREIGN WAR AND SO VOTED IN 1916 BY A MAJORITY OF OVER A MILLION VOTES. BUT THE CHANCE OF EXTRAORDINARY GAIN WHICH TRADE WITH THE ALLIES OFFERED, LED THE NATION TO WAR IN 1917, FORCED BY BIG BUSINESS AND HELPED BY THE THEORY THAT GERMANY WAS TO BLAME FOR THE WAR.

THE WAR BEGAN WITH SO MIGHTY A GERMAN ONSLAUGHT THAT ONLY BY THE AID OF BLACK AFRICANS WAS FRANCE SAVED FROM IMMEDIATE COLLAPSE. SHE WAS THEN PROPPED UP BY AMERICAN SUPPLIES AND AMERICAN NEGRO STEVEDORES. IN 1917 THE WRETCHED RUSSIAN PEOPLE, STARVED AND UNARMED, REVOLTED AND GAINED WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT WE WERE GETTING RICH BY WAR. WE GAINED 23,000 MILLIONAIRES DURING THE HOSTILITIES. WE DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN AS BANKER OF THE WORLD AND BECAME THE CHIEF FIGURE IN WORLD TRADE AND INVESTMENT. MANY LEADERS BEGAN TO BOAST THAT THIS WAS THE AMERICAN CENTURY AND THAT WE WOULD RULE THE WORLD

38-7-145

BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

OUR NEW WALTH AND POWER CHANGED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA. OUR INVESTMENTS WERE THREATENED BY WHAT WE BEGAN TO REGARD AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION." BY THIS WE MEANT REVOLT AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH COULD BE EXTENDED THROUGH RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS TO ASIA. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION RESULTED IN AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST STATE. THAT IS, A STATE WHOSE OBJECT IS NOT PRIVATE PROFIT BUT PUBLIC WELFARE. SUCH A STATE HAD OFTEN BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES BUT NO ATTEMPT TO REALIZE IT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL, AND MOST MEN REGARDED IT AS A DREAM BOUND TO FAIL.... The West TRIED TO ERECT IN RUSSIA A STATE CONTROLLED BY LOCAL CAPITALISTS AND WESTERN INVESTORS. TO THEIR DISGUST LENIN AND STALIN ESTABLISHED A COMMUNIST STATE WHICH STAGGERED TO ITS FEET.

88-7-1416

THE LEADING POWERS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, IMMEDIATELY STARTED TO OVERTHROW THE NEW SOVIET UNION AND FOR [redacted] TEN YEARS, 1918 to 1928, WAGED EVERY SPECIES OF WAR, MURDER, RAPE, THEFT, BRIBERY AND CHEATING ON RUSSIAN SOIL. FINALLY WESTERN EUROPE GIRDED ITSELF FOR A LAST BLOW, WITH AN ARMY COMPOSED OF EASTERN EUROPEAN SOLDIERS BACKED BY WESTERN EUROPEAN MONEY.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES SUDDENLY STOPPED THIS VENTURE. DRIVEN MONEY-MAD BY OUR GAINS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR WE BEGAN GAMBLING, INVESTING AND EXPANDING UNTIL IN 1928 THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF THE PRIVATE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND HAS NEVER BEEN FULLY RESTORED. COLONIAL IMPERIALISM NEARLY COLLAPSED. THE BANKING SYSTEM OF THE WORLD FELL, THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED, AND INTERNATIONAL

88-7-1417

TRADE WAS DISRUPTED.....IN THE SOVIET UNION, CONSPIRACY, INSTIGATED BY THE WEST, CONTINUED, BUT THE GOVERNMENT TURNING FIERCELY, ARRESTED AND PUNISHED THE LEADERS AND DROVE TROTSKY ABROAD. ALSO COMMUNISM HAD ENTERED CHINA, AND JAPAN CONTINUED THE FIGHT AGAINST IT AND PLANNED TO CONTROL COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN ASIA.

38-7-148

DESPITE THE EFFORT, STALIN RULED, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY A NEW STATE FOUNDED ON SOCIALISTIC PRINCIPLES WAS ESTABLISHED, ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND THREATENED THE FUTURE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, THE WORLD OVER.

AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION FOUR LEADERS APPEARED AS THE WORLD STRUGGLED TO ITS FEET, CHURCHILL IN BRITAIN AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM 1933 TO 1945, FRANKLIN ROSSEVELT RULED THE UNITED STATES AND ADOLF HITLER

RULED GERMANY. SOCIALISM BEGAN TO SPREAD FROM RUSSIA TO SCANDINAVIA, TO BRITAIN, GERMANY AND ITALY, TO FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

38-7-149

IN THE UNITED STATES, ROOSEVELT FACED A CONDITION, NOT A THEORY. HE WAS NOT A CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST, BUT THERE WERE 14 MILLION AMERICANS UNEMPLOYED, FARMING WAS RUINED, BANKS WERE CLOSED AND INDUSTRY DISRUPTED. ROOSEVELT ADOPTED THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF HARRY HOPKINS AND STARTED PUBLIC ALMSGIVING, WORK RELIEF: LOANS TO BANKS, SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS, CONTROL OF POWER PRODUCTION, ORGANIZATION OF LABOR, WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS AND REORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY. THE SUPREME COURT CURTAILED THIS PROGRAM, BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED AND THE NEW DEAL BECAME A DISTINCT STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM.

HITLER IN GERMANY AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY, FACING CONDITIONS AS

BAD OR WORSE THAN AMERICA, ~~bad or worse than america~~, also TURNED TOWARD SOCIALISM FOR REMEDY. BUT IN THEIR HANDS SOCIAL CONTROL WAS USED TO SERVE CAPITAL RATHER THAN LABOR. AS DICTATORS THEY SEIZED THE GOVERNMENT, ACCEPTED THE DICTATION OF CAPITAL AND THUS THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL CAME INTO CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.

38-7-150

HITLER USED EVERY WEAPON: HE TRIED TO MAKE RACE PREJUDICE A SCIENCE AND USED IT TO KILL SIX MILLION JEWS, THUS SECURING THE FOLLOWING OF GERMAN SMALL SHOP-KEEPERS: HE RECEIVED INTO ALLIANCE THAT SAME AMBITIOUS JAPAN WHOM THE WEST HAD SPURNED AND ~~HE SPLIT~~ reduced AMERICAN AID TO BRITAIN BY ENCOURAGING JAPAN TO ATTACK AT PEARL HARBOR. HE KNEW THIS WOULD CATAPULT AMERICA INTO WAR BUT WAR WITH THE YELLOW RACE RATHER THAN WAR FOR WHITE EUROPE. THE AXIS OF GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN WAS FORMED TO FOUND A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM TO MOVE INTO CONTROL OF THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND DIRECT A THOUSAND

MILLION CHEAP LABORERS.

28-7-151

MEANTIME THE COLONIAL PEOPLES WHO AS SOLDIERS AND LABORERS HAD TAKEN PART IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND WHOSE SALE OF MATERIALS TO EUROPE HAD CHANGED THE WORLD PATTERN, AND PUT EUROPE IN THEIR DEBT, BEGAN TO DEMAND INCREASED FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY. BRITAIN WAS COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE THE EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE OF EGYPT, INDIA UNDER GHANDI FOUGHT FOR AUTONOMY, INDO-CHINA REVOLTED AGAINST FRANCE, AND INDONESIA AGAINST HOLLAND. EVEN MEXICO OUSTED AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES AND THE WHOLE COLONIAL WORLD BEGAN ITS MARCH TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WHITE RULE.

IN EUROPE HITLER CONTINUED HIS CAMPAIGN. HE SEIZED AUSTRIA, HELPED FRANCO SUPPRESS THE SPANISH REBELLION, ENCOURAGED ITALY TO ANNEX ETHIOPIA AND JAPAN TO INVADE CHINA. LEADERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE WILLING TO MAKE ALLIANCE WITH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. THE ONLY MATTER IN DISPUTE WAS JUST

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NOW COLONIAL TERRITORY WOULD BE DIVIDED BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE AXIS. BRITAIN AND FRANCE, STILL SURE OF THE EVENTUAL COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM WANTED TO PRESERVE THEIR FORMER HOLD ON RUSSIA AND POLAND, BUT WERE WILLING TO GRANT HITLER PREDOMINANCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS. THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD SECURED UNDERSTANDING AT THE MUNICH CONFERENCES IN 1938; BUT HITLER WAS DETERMINED NOT ONLY TO SEIZE ALL EASTERN EUROPE INCLUDING RUSSIA, BUT TO CONQUER BRITAIN AND FRANCE IF THEY RESISTED. THEY RESISTED WHEN HE ATTACKED POLAND IN 1939 AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN.

THIS WAR WAS NOT, AS OFTEN ADVERTISED, A FIGHT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM, OR BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. IT WAS AN ATTEMPT OF EUROPE TO RESTORE ITS CONTROL OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WITH GERMANY, JAPAN AND ITALY FIGHTING TO DISPLACE FRANCE AND BRITAIN AS SENIOR PARTNERS. NEITHER WEST EUROPE NOR HITLER OFFERED, THE SOVIET UNION ALLIANCE. SHE WAS NOT INVITED

38-7-153

TO MUNICH; BUT WHEN WAR OPENED, GERMANY AFRAID OF WAR ON TWO FRONTS OFFERED THE SOVIETS A PART OF POLAND WHICH SHE HAD TO ACCEPT OR FACE A GERMAN ATTACK ON HER OWN BORDERS. GERMANY THEN TURNED TO HOSTILITIES WITH THE MIGHTIEST WAR MACHINE THE WORLD EVER SAW. SHE SEIZED NORWAY, DENMARK, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND. BRITAIN IN PANIC RETREATED AND FRANCE SURRENDERED. FOR SIX MONTHS BRITAIN WAS FLAYED WITH FIERY HAIL. IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS HALTED IN MID-FLIGHT.

ROOSEVELT WAS THOROUGHLY BRITISH BY CULTURE. HE SAW IN THE FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE THE END OF HIS WORLD. ON THE OTHER HAND, BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES WAS WILLING TO DEFEND FRANCE AND BRITAIN ONLY ON ITS OWN TERMS, WHICH WERE THE DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL AND THE PASSING OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM EUROPE TO CONTROL OF AMERICA.

WITH THESE CLEAR OBJECTS, NEITHER IN BRITAIN NOR AMERICA COULD BIG BUSINESS

38-7-154

HE PROPOSED TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION, AND FROM THIS "HEARTLAND" IN ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN, OR DESPITE HER, TO MOVE ON ASIA AND AFRICA. THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF BRITAIN WOULD BE LONG AND COSTLY, ESPECIALLY IF AMERICA CAME TO HER AID. IF, HOWEVER, HITLER TURNED TO THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION WHILE HE PERFECTED A NEW WEAPON AND IF AMERICA COULD BE DISTRACTED BY JAPAN, THE RISK WAS WORTH TAKING. HITLER WAITED 22 MONTHS, THEN HE INVADED RUSSIA IN JUNE: JAPAN ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES AT PERRL HARBOR IN DECEMBER.

THERE WAS OPEN A CLEAR PATH FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. THEY COULD LEAP ON HITLER'S BACK while RUSSIA HAMMERED HIS FRONT AND DESTROY. HIM.

BUT THAT WOULD LEAVE SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND READY TO JOIN RISING SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE WESTERN WORLD DID NOTHING, HITLER'S UNPARALLELED WAR MACHINE WOULD they were sure SMASH THE

38-7-155

SOVIET UNION WITHIN A MONTH, WHICH WOULD RID THE WESTERN WORLD OF THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM. BUT IT WOULD INCREASE THE MENACE OF A TRIUMPHANT HITLER. THEN CAME A THIRD POSSIBILITY. HITLER DID NOT PROGRESS WITH THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION AS FAST AS THE WORLD EXPECTED. IF BRITAIN AND AMERICA UNITED TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION THE CONFLICT MIGHT BE PROLONGED. IT SEEMED THEREFORE, GOOD POLITICS FOR BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE, EVEN IF THE HELP WAS TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE FOR THE SOVIETS TO WIN THE WAR.

CHURCHILL NOW TOOK THE LEAD, AND AFTER DELAYING ACTION FOR A YEAR, PROPOSED TO IGNORE HITLER'S EXPOSED REAR IN EUROPE, AND ATTACK IN NORTH AFRICA, SO AS TO PROTECT BRITAIN'S INTERESTS IN THE EAST. ROOSEVELT DID NOT WHOLLY AGREE WITH CHURCHILL'S PROGRAM IN THEORY. ON PAPER HE RESCUED THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS: BUT IN PRACTICE BRITAIN PREVAILED. HITLER WAS NOT ATTACKED FOR 2 YEARS AND THE BURDEN OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE ON THE

SOVIET UNION. FROM 20 TO 25 MILLION RUSSIANS DIED AND 11 MILLION WERE CRIPPLED. THE PROPERTY DAMAGE WAS THREE TIMES THAT OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM COMBINED AND REACHED $125 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS. THE WEST HELPED TARDILY WITH SORELY NEEDED MATERIAL --- PLANES, TANKS, CLOTHES AND SHOES. BUT THE AMOUNT OF THIS HELP COMPARED WITH THE NEED WAS SMALL. THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, SENT 11 MILLION PAIRS OF SHOES. THIS WAS FIVE PER CENT OF WHAT THE RUSSIANS NEEDED.

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THEN IN 1943 CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD. HITLER'S DEFEAT WAS CERTAIN. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THEN THAT SAVED MODERN CULTURE FROM HITLER. HER LOSSES IN DEAD AND CRIPPLED WERE GREATER THAN ALL THE REST OF THE WESTERN WORLD COMBINED. HALF OF HER MAGNIFICENT PUBLIC WORKS, FACTORIES AND SCHOOLS, FOR WHICH FOR A QUARTER CENTURY THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAD STARVED THEIR BODIES AND STRIPPED THEIR SOULS, LAY IN SMOKING RUINS, WHILE ALL THE WESTERN WORLD BOASTED OF CONQUERING HITLER.

THE NEXT YEAR AFTER STALINGRAD BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH ON HITLER'S REAR, RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY. ROOSEVELT BEGGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ATTACK JAPAN AND END THE WAR AND ASKED FOR A UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. STALIN AGREED. IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945, THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. BUT HARRY TRUMAN BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND BOND-SERVANT OF BIG BUSINESS NOW SET TO RULE THE WORLD.

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SOCIALISM INCREASED IN DUROPE WHILE BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES USED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO BEAT IT BACK, BY HELPING CAPITAL TO SUBDUE LABOR, AND THE ATOM BOMB WAS PERFECTED AND USED TO MURDER JAPANESE WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

JAPAN SURRENDERED. THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD THE POWER TO STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD. AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN OF FULTON, CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN. TRUMAN STOPPED ALL AID TO

THE SORELY STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, "GOT TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA, DELAYED PROMISED REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES, "LOST" ITS PLEA FOR A LOAN, WHILE WE GAVE MILLIONS TO FRANCE AND BRITAIN AND DEMANDED QUICK PAYMENT OF SOVIET LEND-LEASE DEBTS.

38-7-158

ESPECIALLY DID WE RAISE AGAIN AN ISSUE WHICH CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT HAD AVOIDED AND THAT WAS THE QUESTION OF THE STATES BORDERING ON THE SOVIET UNION TO THE WEST. THESE, AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY THE WEST AS STARTING PLACES FOR ANOTHER ATTACK ON RUSSIA WHEN COMMUNISISM COLLAPSE. COMMUNISM DID NOT COLLAPSE BUT CONQUERED HITLER. ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL KNEW THAT AFTER STALINGRAD THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER SURRENDER POLAND, CZECHOSLOKAKIA AND THE BALKANS TO WESTERN CAPITAL. THEY DID ASK, AND THE SOVIETS AGREE, THAT THESE PEOPLED WOULD BE RULED ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN CHOICE .. BUT BY "PEOPLE" THE WEST MEANT THE LANDLORDS

AND INVESTORS, WHILE THE SOVIETS MEANT THE WORKING MASSES FREED OF THE CONTROL OF THE RICH. THIS BASIC DISPUTE STILL STANDS: BUT IT WAS RIDICULOUS FOR TRUMAN TO DEMAND ITS SETTLEMENT IN ACCORD WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE WEST AND ACCUSE THE SOVIET UNION OF "BREAKING TREATIES" WHEN IT REFUSED TO PERMIT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO RE-ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRO-HUNGARY IN THE NAME OF WHAT THEY CALLED "DEMOCRACY".

38-7-159

THEN CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE. THE UNITED STATES LOST CHINA. THE UNITED STATES, ABOUT TO OWN AND FATTEN ON THE COLONIAL WORLD OF "DARKIES", LOST THE LARGEST AND RICHEST PART OF THAT WORLD. THE MOON FELL OUT OF THE HEAVEN OF BIG BUSINESS. WE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF-BILLION CHEAP, DOCILE CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES.

WHEN JAPAN HAD SEIZED CHINA,

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AMERICA WAS READY TO SMASH JAPAN AND HELPED THE MURDERER CHIAN KAI-SHECK WITH MONEY AND ARMS, AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, AFTER IMPOSSIBLE AND LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES, DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR OUT OF CHINA AND USED AMERICAN WEAPONS TO KEEP AMERICA AT BAY.

THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTLED AND ALARMED. IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED OUT OF CHINA BY TRICKERY. IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948 AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON AND FORE-WARNING OF REVOLUTION AT HOME. WHEN TRUMAN WON THE ELECTION, THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, REMINGTON, AND THE ROSENBERGS. TRUMAN WITH JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN THE FRONT TRENCHES, STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM BY A "POLICE ACTION" WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR, AND KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS. MACARTHUR TRIED DESPERATELY TO TURN THE WAR INTO A

38-7-161

WAR TO CONQUER CHINA. THE CHINESE WITHSTOOD GERM WARFARE AND CHASED THE AMERICAN ARMY THREE HUNDRED MILES UNTIL THEY NEARLY FELL INTO THE YELLOW SEA. MACARTHUR STARTED BACK BUT WAS RECALLED.

BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED TO UPHOLD THE PRISON SENTENCES OF ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS, BECAUSE IT SAID IT BELIEVED THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED AND WAS IMMINENT. THE NATION THEN TURNED TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS WHICH CURTAILED CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL CITIZENS. WHEN WE LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB WE EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS FOR BETRAYING THE SECRET WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED, AND IF IT HAD EXISTED, THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY OF KNOWING IT. MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS, MCCARTHY RAGED IN THE LAND. HE AND NIXON CALLED THE NEW DEAL "TWENTY YEARS OF TREASON". HE BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE, HE PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE,

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THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION, FASTENED TWO BELIEFS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND ON YOU: FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY: SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

UP UNTIL YESTERDAY, AMERICANS WERE TOLD THAT COMMUNISM WAS A FAILURE, AND EVEN TODAY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IS AWAITING ITS COLLAPSE. YET THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE WORLD,' SOVIET AND CHINESE AGRICULTURE ARE LEADING CIVILIZATION IN METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT,' COMMUNIST SCIENCE IS TEACHING EUROPE AND AMERICA,' COMMUNIST MEDICINE IS FAR AHEAD OF OURS,' IN MUSIC AND DANCE THE WORLD IS RUSHING TO SEE AND HEAR SOVIET ARTISTS,' AND THE NEW CRITICISM IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND DRAMA IS BEING MISINTERPRETED AS COLLAPSE, INSTEAD OF FLOWERING,' WHILE SOVIET CULTURE, ALONE OF MODERN COUNTRIES, HAS FORBIDDEN TELLING CHILDREN LIES AND FAIRY TALES IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

HERE WE STAND IN 1958. THE NATION IS HEADED WRONG. IT IS NOT THE FIRST

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TIME A NATION HAS BEEN WRONG. BUT IT MAY BE THE LAST. TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING WORLD PROGRESS: PROGRESS WHICH MUST BE TOWARD SOCIALISM AND AGAINST COLONIALISM AND WAR. OUR PREPARATION FOR WAR IS GREATER THAN ANY THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. WE ARE NOT LEADING DEMOCRACY. WE ARE ALLIED WITH NEARLY EVERY DICTATORSHIP IN THE WORLD. WE ARE STIFLING OUR OWN DEMOCRACY AND ARE RULED BY MONOPOLY AND CORPORATE WEALTH. SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE, AND COMMUNISM IS ONE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT. BUT WHETHER IT IS ACHIEVED BY COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP OR BY DEMOCRACY, ITS AIM OF GIVING TO EACH WHAT HE NEEDS AND DEMANDING FROM EACH WHAT BEST HE CAN GIVE IS THE INEVITABLE AIM OF CIVILIZATION AND SOONER OR LATER WILL TRIUMPH.

WHERE NOW DO WE NEGROES STAND? IF WE AIM TO BE AMERICANS, WILLING TO DO ONLY WHAT AMERICA DOES, THINK AS IT THINKS AND SAY WHAT IT SAYS, WE ARE STUPID. IF ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REACH THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF

WORLD AND BROADEN AND LIFT THOSE STANDARDS
~~world and broaden and lift those standards~~ BY DEVELOPING THE BEST PARTS OF OUR OWN AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE, WRENCHED FROM OUR SOULS BY BLOOD AND SLAVERY, POVERTY AND INSULT, WE MAY SAVE THE WORLD. IF ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE BRIBED BY HIGH SALARIES TO OUR GIFTED, WHILE OUR MASSES STARVE; BY PRIVILEGE TO OUR RICH WHILE OUR MILLIONS CRAWL, BY PUBLICITY FOR OUR FOOLS WHILE OUR LEADERS AND OUR YOUTH ROT IN JAIL, THEN WE ARE LOST. THIS NATION BY ITS MAD PLUNGE INTO LYING, STEALING AND MURDER, WILL DRAG US AS PART OF IT, DOWN TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER

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40-1-255

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I am going

MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED ~~IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS.~~ IT IS NOT WHAT MANY OF YOU BELIEVE. // IT IS WHAT I BELIEVE.

¶ DURING THE 19TH CENTURY THERE GREW UP A WORLD ORGANIZATION BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE CONTROLLED MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD AND BUILT ITS CIVILIZATION ON THEIR MATERIALS AND LABOR. // THIS CONTROL RESTED ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE // AND WAS EXCUSED BY A THEORY OF THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF NORDIC PEOPLES OVER THE DARKER VARIETIES OF MANKIND.

40-1-258

¶ THE CHIEF BENEFICIARIES OF THIS CULTURE WERE THE RICH AND PRIVILEGED EUROPEANS. // WHILE THE MASS OF WHITE WORKERS SHARED POVERTY AND IGNORANCE WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. // BUT BY ORGANIZATION AND PHILANTHROPY THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE GRADUALLY IN THE 19TH CENTURY GOT HIGHER WAGES //

AND THEIR EMPLOYERS [~~AND OWNERS OF CAPITAL~~] REIMBURSED THEMSELVES [BY SECURING MORE MATERIALS [AND CHEAPER LABOR [FROM THE COLONIES.// THIS INVOLVED INCREASED USE OF WHITE WORKERS [AS SOLDIERS [TO KEEP COLORED LABOR [UNDER CONTROL.

40-1-257

¶ BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY,[THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC [CONTROLLED THE RICHER PARTS [OF THE WORLD'S COLONIES [AND WERE THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS [OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.// THIS AROUSED THE ENVY [OF THE GROWING GERMAN EMPIRE [AND LED TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR [WHICH WAS AN ATTEMPT [TO ~~REARRANGE THE DISTRIBUTION OF~~ re-distribute THE COLONIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD.

¶ GERMANY AND AUSTRIA [FOUGHT AGAINST BRITAIN AND FRANCE.// RUSSIA [ITSELF A QUASI-COLONY [RULED BY AN OLOGARCHY,[WAS CONTROLLED BY FRENCH AND BRITISH INVESTORS.// ¶ IT ENTERED THE WAR [ON THE SIDE OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND [TO THE BITTER DISTRESS OF THE MASS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE.// BRITAIN PROMISED ITALY [COLONIAL EXPANSION IN AFRICA [AND SECURED HER ALLIANCE.// THE UNITED STATES WAS DETERMINED NOT

TO TAKE PART IN THIS FOREIGN WAR [AND SO VOTED IN 1916 [BY A MAJORITY OF OVER A MILLION VOTES.// BUT THE CHANCE OF EXTRAORDINARY GAIN [WHICH TRADE WITH THE ALLIES OFFERED,[LED THE NATION TO WAR IN 1917,[FORCED BY BIG BUSINESS [AND HELPED BY THE THEORY [THAT GERMANY WAS TO BLAME FOR THE WAR.

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¶ THE WAR BEGAN [WITH SO MIGHTY A GERMAN ONSLAUGHT [THAT ONLY BY THE AID OF BLACK AFRICANS [WAS FRANCE SAVED FROM IMMEDIATE COLLAPSE.// SHE WAS THEN PROPPED UP [BY AMERICAN SUPPLIES [AND AMERICAN NEGRO STEVEDORES.// IN 1917 THE WRETCHED RUSSIAN PEOPLE,[STARVED AND UNARMED,[REVOLTED AND GAINED WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY [IN THE UNITED STATES.// BUT WE WERE GETTING RICH BY WAR.[WE GAINED 23,000 MILLIONAIRES [DURING THE HOSTILITIES.// WE DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN [AS BANKER OF THE WORLD [AND BECAME THE CHIEF FIGURE [IN WORLD TRADE AND INVESTMENT.// MANY LEADERS BEGAN TO BOAST [THAT THIS WAS THE AMERICAN CENTURY [AND THAT WE WOULD RULE THE WORLD [

40-1-259

BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

¶ OUR NEW WEALTH AND POWER CHANGED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA. // OUR INVESTMENTS WERE THREATENED BY WHAT WE BEGAN TO REGARD AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION." // BY THIS WE MEANT REVOLT AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH COULD BE EXTENDED THROUGH RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS TO ASIA. // THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION RESULTED IN AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST STATE. // THAT IS A STATE WHOSE OBJECT IS NOT PRIVATE PROFIT BUT PUBLIC WELFARE. // SUCH A STATE HAD OFTEN BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES BUT NO ATTEMPT TO REALIZE IT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL. // AND MOST MEN REGARDED IT AS A DREAM BOUND TO FAIL. // .... THEY TRIED TO ERECT IN RUSSIA A STATE CONTROLLED BY LOCAL CAPITALISTS AND WESTERN INVESTORS. // TO THEIR DISGUST LENIN AND STALIN ESTABLISHED A COMMUNIST STATE WHICH STAGGERED TO ITS FEET.

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THE LEADING POWERS OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, IMMEDIATELY STARTED TO OVERTHROW THE NEW SOVIET UNION AND FOR TEN YEARS, 1918 to 1928, WAGED EVERY SPECIES OF WAR, MURDER, RAPE, THEFT, BRIBERY AND CHEATING ON RUSSIAN SOIL. // FINALLY WESTERN EUROPE GIRDED ITSELF FOR A LAST BLOW, WITH AN ARMY COMPOSED OF EASTERN EUROPEAN SOLDIERS BACKED BY WESTERN EUROPEAN MONEY.

¶ EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES SUDDENLY STOPPED THIS VENTURE. // DRIVEN MONEY-MAD BY OUR GAINS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR WE BEGAN GAMBLING, INVESTING AND EXPANDING UNTIL IN 1929 THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF OUR PRIVATE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND HAS NEVER BEEN FULLY RESTORED. // COLONIAL IMPERIALISM NEARLY COLLAPSED. // THE BANKING SYSTEM OF THE WORLD FELL, THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED, AND INTERNATIONAL

40-1-261

TRADE WAS DISRUPTED.// ....IN THE SOVIET UNION(CONSPIRACY,| INSTIGATED BY THE WEST(CONTINUED,| BUT THE GOVERNMENT TURNING FIERCELY,| ARRESTED AND PUNISHED THE LEADERS |AND DROVE TROTSKY ABROAD.// ALSO COMMUNISM HAD ENTERED CHINA,// AND JAPAN CONTINUED THE FIGHT AGAINST IT |AND PLANNED TO CONTROL COLONIAL IMPERIALISM / IN ASIA.

¶ DESPITE THE EFFORT, STALIN RULED,| AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY |A NEW STATE |FOUNDED ON SOCIALISTIC PRINCIPLES |WAS ESTABLISHED,(ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF |AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WORLD| AND THREATENED THE FUTURE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM,| THE WORLD OVER.

¶ AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION |FOUR LEADERS APPEARED |AS THE WORLD STRUGGLED TO ITS FEET.// |CHURCHILL IN BRITAIN |AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY.// WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM 1933 TO 1945,(FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT RULED THE UNITED STATES |AND ADOLF HITLER

40-1-262

RULED GERMANY.| |SOCIALISM BEGAN TO SPREAD |FROM RUSSIA TO SCANDINAVIA,| TO BRITAIN, GERMANY AND ITALY,| TO FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

¶ IN THE UNITED STATES,| ROOSEVELT FACED A CONDITION, |NOT A THEORY.// HE WAS NOT A CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST,| BUT THERE WERE 14 MILLION AMERICANS UNEMPLOYED,| FARMING WAS RUINED,| BANKS WERE CLOSED |AND INDUSTRY DISRUPTED.// ROOSEVELT ADOPTED |THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM |OF HARRY HOPKINS |AND STARTED PUBLIC ALMSGIVING,| WORK RELIEF;| LOANS TO BANKS,| SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS,| CONTROL OF POWER PRODUCTION,| ORGANIZATION OF LABOR,| WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS |AND REORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.// THE SUPREME COURT |CURTAILED THIS PROGRAM,| BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED |AND THE NEW DEAL BECAME |A DISTINCT STEP TOWARD SOCIALISM.

¶ HITLER IN GERMANY |AND MUSSOLINI IN ITALY,| FACING CONDITIONS AS

40-1-263

BAD OR WORSE THAN AMERICA, ~~but no worse than america,~~ also TURNED TOWARD SOCIALISM FOR REMEDY. // BUT IN THEIR HANDS SOCIAL CONTROL WAS USED TO SERVE CAPITAL RATHER THAN LABOR. // AS DICTATORS THEY SEIZED THE GOVERNMENT, ACCEPTED THE DICTATION OF CAPITAL AND THUS THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL CAME INTO CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.

¶ HITLER USED EVERY WEAPON. // HE TRIED TO MAKE RACE PREJUDICE A SCIENCE AND USED IT TO KILL SIX MILLION JEWS. // THUS SECURING THE FOLLOWING OF GERMAN SMALL SHOP-KEEPERS: // HE RECEIVED INTO ALLIANCE THAT SAME AMBITIOUS JAPAN WHOM THE WEST HAD SPURNED // AND HE SPLIT AMERICAN AID TO BRITAIN BY ENCOURAGING JAPAN TO ATTACK AT PEARL HARBOR. // HE KNEW THIS Because of Color Prejudice WOULD CATAPULT AMERICA INTO WAR BUT WAR WITH THE YELLOW RACE more RATHER THAN WAR FOR WHITE EUROPE. // THE AXIS OF GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN WAS FORMED TO FOUND A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM and TO MOVE INTO CONTROL OF THE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND DIRECT A THOUSAND

MILLION CHEAP LABORERS.

¶ MEANTIME THE COLONIAL PEOPLES WHO AS SOLDIERS AND LABORERS HAD TAKEN PART IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND WHOSE SALE OF MATERIALS TO EUROPE HAD CHANGED THE WORLD PATTERN AND PUT EUROPE IN THEIR DEBT BEGAN TO DEMAND INCREASED FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY. // BRITAIN WAS COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE THE EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE OF EGYPT, INDIA UNDER GHANDI FOUGHT FOR AUTONOMY. // INDO-CHINA ~~Would Obtain~~ REVOLTED AGAINST FRANCE, AND INDONESIA AGAINST HOLLAND. // EVEN MEXICO OUSTED AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES AND THE WHOLE COLONIAL WORLD BEGAN ITS MARCH TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WHITE RULE. PAN-AFRICA EMERGED

40-1-264

¶ IN EUROPE HITLER ~~CONTINUED~~ DEVELOPED HIS CAMPAIGN. // HE SEIZED AUSTRIA, HELPED FRANCO SUPPRESS THE SPANISH REBELLION, ENCOURAGED ITALY TO ANNEX ETHIOPIA AND JAPAN TO INVADE CHINA. // LEADERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE WILLING TO MAKE ALLIANCE WITH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. // THE ONLY MATTER IN DISPUTE WAS JUST TO RULE COLONIES

HOW COLONIAL TERRITORY/WOULD BE DIVIDED/BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE AXIS.// BRITAIN AND FRANCE,/STILL SURE OF THE EVENTUAL COLLAPSE/OF COMMUNISM/WANTED TO PRESERVE/THEIR FORMER HOLD/ON RUSSIA AND POLAND,/BUT WERE WILLING TO GRANT HITLER/PREDOMINANCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS.// THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD SECURED UNDERSTANDING/AT THE MUNICH CONFERENCES IN 1938.// BUT HITLER WAS DETERMINED/NOT ONLY/TO SEIZE ALL EASTERN EUROPE/INCLUDING RUSSIA.// BUT TO CONQUER BRITAIN AND FRANCE/IF THEY RESISTED.// THEY RESISTED/WHEN HE ATTACKED POLAND IN 1939/AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN.

¶ THIS WAR WAS NOT/ AS OFTEN ADVERTISED,/A FIGHT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM,/OR BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE.// IT WAS AN ATTEMPT OF EUROPE/ TO RESTORE ITS CONTROL/OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES/OF THE WORLD// WITH GERMANY, JAPAN AND ITALY/FIGHTING TO DISPLACE FRANCE AND BRITAIN AS SENIOR PARTNERS.// NEITHER WEST EUROPE/NOR HITLER/OFFERED THE SOVIET UNION ALLIANCE.// SHE WAS NOT INVITED (She was not recognized as a Nation

TO MUNICH:// BUT WHEN WAR OPENED,/GERMANY AFRAID OF WAR ON TWO FRONTS/OFFERED THE SOVIETS/A PART OF POLAND/WHICH SHE HAD TO ACCEPT/OR FACE A GERMAN ATTACK ON HER OWN BORDERS.// GERMANY THEN TURNED TO HOSTILITIES/WITH THE MIGHTIEST WAR MACHINE/THE WORLD EVER SAW.// SHE SEIZED NORWAY, DENMARK, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.// BRITAIN IN PANIC RETREATED/AND FRANCE SURRENDERED.// FOR SIX MONTHS BRITAIN WAS FLAYED/WITH FIERY HAIL.// IN THE UNITED STATES/THE NEW DEAL WAS HALTED/IN MID-FLIGHT.

¶ ROOSEVELT/WAS THOROUGHLY BRITISH BY CULTURE.// HE SAW IN THE FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE/THE END OF HIS WORLD.// ON THE OTHER HAND, BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES/WAS WILLING/TO DEFEND FRANCE AND BRITAIN/ONLY ON ITS OWN TERMS,/ WHICH WERE/THE DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL/AND THE PASSING OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/FROM (in Africa + Asia) Control of EUROPE/TO CONTROL OF AMERICA.

¶ WITH THESE CLEAR OBJECTS/NEITHER IN BRITAIN NOR AMERICA/COULD BIG BUSINESS ALLY ITSELF WITH THE SOVIET UNION.// ON THE OTHER HAND/HITLER HAD NO SUCH QUALMS.//

HE PROPOSED TO CONQUER/ THE SOVIET UNION,/ AND FROM THIS "HEARTLAND" /IN ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN,/ OR DESPITE HER,/ TO MOVE ON ASIA AND AFRICA.// THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF BRITAIN ~~WOULD BE~~ moved LONG AND COSTLY/ ~~ESPECIALLY~~ and longer IF AMERICA CAME TO HER AID.// IF, HOWEVER,/ HITLER TURNED TO THE CONQUEST/ OF THE SOVIET UNION/ WHILE HE PERFECTED A NEW WEAPON/ AND IF AMERICA/ COULD BE DISTRACTED BY JAPAN,/ THE RISK WAS WORTH TAKING.// HITLER WAITED 22 MONTHS./ THEN HE INVADED RUSSIA IN JUNE:/ JAPAN ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES ~~AT PEARL HARBOR~~ IN DECEMBER.

21-1-04

¶ THERE WAS OPEN now /A CLEAR PATH FOR THE WESTERN WORLD.// THEY COULD LEAP ON HITLER'S BACK/ WHILE RUSSIA HAMMERED HIS FRONT/ AND DESTROY. HIM.

¶ BUT THAT WOULD LEAVE SOCIALISM/ TRIUMPHANT IN THE SOVIET UNION/ AND READY TO JOIN RISING SOCIALISM/ IN AMERICA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE.// ON THE OTHER HAND,/ IF THE WESTERN WORLD DID NOTHING,/ HITLER'S UNPARALLELED WAR MACHINE/ WOULD SMASH THE

SOVIET UNION WITHIN A MONTH,/ WHICH WOULD RID THE WESTERN WORLD/ OF THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM./ BUT IT WOULD INCREASE THE MENACE/ OF A TRIUMPHANT HITLER:// THEN CAME/ A THIRD POSSIBILITY.// HITLER DID NOT PROGRESS/ WITH THE CONQUEST OF THE SOVIET UNION/ AS FAST/ AS THE WORLD EXPECTED./ IF BRITAIN AND AMERICA/ UNITED TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION/ THE CONFLICT MIGHT BE PROLONGED.// IT SEEMED THEREFORE,/ GOOD POLITICS FOR BRITAIN AND AMERICA/ TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION/ ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE,/ EVEN IF THE HELP/ WAS TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE/ FOR THE SOVIETS TO WIN THE WAR.

21-1-04

¶ CHURCHILL NOW TOOK THE LEAD,/ AND AFTER DELAYING ACTION FOR A YEAR, PROPOSED/ TO IGNORE HITLER'S EXPOSED REAR/ IN EUROPE/ AND ATTACK IN NORTH AFRICA,/ SO AS TO PROTECT/ BRITAIN'S INTERESTS IN THE EAST.// ROOSEVELT DID NOT WHOLLY AGREE/ WITH CHURCHILL'S PROGRAM IN THEORY// ON PAPER/ HE RESCUED THE ATLANTIC CHARTER/ AND THE FOUR FREEDOMS:/ BUT IN PRACTICE BRITAIN PREVAILED.// HITLER WAS NOT ATTACKED FOR 2 YEARS/ AND THE BURDEN OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE/ ON THE

40-1-14

SOVIET UNION.// FROM 20 TO 25 MILLION RUSSIANS DIED/AND 11 MILLION WERE CRIPPLED.// THE PROPERTY DAMAGE/WAS THREE TIMES/THAT OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM COMBINED/AND REACHED $125 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS.// THE WEST HELPED TARDILY/WITH SORELY NEEDED MATERIAL/--- PLANES, TANKS, CLOTHES AND SHOES.//BUT THE AMOUNT OF THIS HELP/ COMPARED WITH THE NEED/WAS SMALL.//THE UNITED STATES, FOR EXAMPLE,/ SENT 11 MILLION PAIRS OF SHOES.// THIS WAS FIVE PER CENT/OF WHAT THE RUSSIANS NEEDED.

¶ THEN IN 1943/CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY/AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY/OF THE SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD.// HITLER'S DEFEAT WAS CERTAIN.//IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THEN/THAT SAVED MODERN CULTURE FROM HITLER.//HER LOSSES IN DEAD AND CRIPPLED/WERE GREATER/THAN ALL THE REST/OF THE WESTERN WORLD COMBINED.//HALF OF HER MAGNIFICENT PUBLIC WORKS,/ FACTORIES AND SCHOOLS,/ FOR WHICH FOR A QUARTER CENTURY/THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE/HAD STARVED THEIR BODIES/AND STRIPPED THEIR SOULS,/ LAY IN SMOKING RUINS/WHILE ALL THE WESTERN WORLD/BOASTED OF CONQUERING HITLER.//

91-1-04

THE NEXT YEAR AFTER STALINGRAD/BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS/STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH/ON HITLER'S REAR,/ RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY.//ROOSEVELT BEGGED THE SOVIET UNION/TO ATTACK JAPAN/AND END THE WAR//AND ASKED FOR A UNITED NATIONS/TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR.//STALIN AGREED.//IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT/HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945,/THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD/WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT.//BUT HARRY TRUMAN/BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/AND BOND-SERVANT OF BIG BUSINESS NOW SET TO RULE THE WORLD.

¶ SOCIALISM INCREASED IN DUROPE/WHILE BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES/ USED THE MARSHALL PLAN/TO BEAT IT BACK/BY HELPING CAPITAL TO SUBDUE LABOR//AND THE ATOM BOMB/WAS PERFECTED/AND USED TO MURDER/JAPANESE WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

¶ JAPAN SURRENDERED.//THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN/THAT THE UNITED STATES/NOW/HAD THE POWER/TO STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM/IN THE WORLD./ /AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN OF FULTON,/CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN.//TRUMAN STOPPED ALL AID TO

40-1-17

an extract on Democracy as practised in - 17 -

THE SORELY STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ~~THE NEW~~ and now SECRETARY OF STATE "GOT TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA. DELAYED PROMISED REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES, "LOST" ITS PLEA FOR A LOAN, WHILE WE GAVE MILLIONS TO FRANCE AND BRITAIN AND DEMANDED QUICK PAYMENT OF SOVIET LEND-LEASE DEBTS.

¶ ESPECIALLY DID WE RAISE AGAIN AN ISSUE WHICH CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT HAD AVOIDED AND THAT WAS THE QUESTION OF THE STATES BORDERING ON THE SOVIET UNION TO THE WEST. THESE, AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY THE WEST AS STARTING PLACES FOR ANOTHER ATTACK ON RUSSIA WHEN COMMUNISISM COLLAPSED. COMMUNISM DID NOT COLLAPSE BUT CONQUERED HITLER. ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL KNEW THAT AFTER STALINGRAD THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER SURRENDER POLAND, CZECHOSLOKAKIA AND THE BALKANS TO WESTERN CAPITAL. THEY DID ASK, AND THE SOVIETS AGREED, THAT THESE PEOPLES WOULD BE RULED ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN CHOICE. BUT BY "PEOPLE" THE WEST MEANT THE LANDLORDS

40-1-18

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EDUCATED ✓

AND INVESTORS, WHILE THE SOVIETS MEANT THE WORKING MASSES FREED OF THE CONTROL OF THE RICH. THIS BASIC DISPUTE STILL STANDS. BUT IT WAS RIDICULOUS FOR TRUMAN TO DEMAND ITS SETTLEMENT IN ACCORD WITH THE ~~DESIRES~~ wishes OF THE WEST AND ACCUSE THE SOVIET UNION OF "BREAKING TREATIES" WHEN IT REFUSED TO PERMIT BRITAIN AND THE France UNITED STATES TO RE-ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRO-HUNGARY IN THE NAME OF WHAT THEY CALLED DEMOCRACY. ✓ which was rule of the Rich, by any method of force, bribery + cheating which was available.

¶ THEN CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE. THE UNITED STATES LOST CHINA. THE UNITED STATES, ABOUT TO OWN AND FATTEN ON THE COLONIAL WORLD OF "DARKIES", LOST THE LARGEST AND RICHEST PART OF THAT WORLD. THE MOON FELL OUT OF THE HEAVEN OF BIG BUSINESS. WE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF-BILLION CHEAP, DOCILE CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES.

WHEN JAPAN HAD SEIZED CHINA,

61-1-04

AMERICA WAS READY TO SMASH JAPAN/AND HELPED THE MURDERER/CHIANG KAI-SHECK/WITH MONEY AND ARMS//AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, TURNED COMMUNIST/ AFTER IMPOSSIBLE/AND LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES,/DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR/OUT OF CHINA/AND USED AMERICAN WEAPONS/ TO KEEP AMERICA AT BAY.

¶ THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTLED AND ALARMED.// IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED/OUT OF CHINA BY TRICKERY.// IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS/IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948/AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON/AND FORE-WARNING OF REVOLUTION AT HOME.// WHEN TRUMAN WON THE ELECTION,/THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER/ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, REMINGTON, AND THE ROSENBERGS.// TRUMAN/WITH JOHN FOSTER DULLES/IN THE FRONT TRENCHES,/STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM/BY A "POLICE ACTION"/WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR,/AND KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS.// MACARTHUR TRIED DESPERATELY/TO TURN THE WAR INTO A

WAR TO CONQUER CHINA.// THE CHINESE/WITHSTOOD GERM WARFARE/AND CHARRED THE AMERICAN ARMY/THREE HUNDRED MILES/UNTIL THEY NEARLY FELL/INTO THE YELLOW SEA.// MACARTHUR STARTED BACK/BUT WAS RECALLED. THE Soviet Union had the atom bomb

And invaded China again

40-1-20

¶ BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION/OF THE LAW,/THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED/TO UPHOLD THE PRISON SENTENCES/OF ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS/BECAUSE IT SAID IT BELIEVED/THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED/AND WAS IMMINENT.// THE NATION THEN TURNED/TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS/WHICH CURTAILED CIVIL LIBERTIES/ FOR ALL CITIZENS.// WHEN WE LEARNED/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB/WE EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS/FOR BETRAYING THE SECRET/WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN/THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED.//AND IF IT HAD EXISTED/ THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY/OF KNOWING IT.// MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS/ MCCARTHY RAGED IN THE LAND./ HE AND NIXON/CALLED THE NEW DEAL "TWENTY YEARS OF TREASON".// HE BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE./ HE PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS/ AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE,

(m 2 falsehoods

THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS,/ RADIO AND TELEVISION,/ FASTENED TWO BELIEFS/ ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC/ AND ON YOU:// FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY:/ SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS/ PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

40-1-266

¶ UP UNTIL YESTERDAY,/ AMERICANS WERE TOLD/ THAT COMMUNISM WAS A FAILURE,// AND EVEN TODAY/ JOHN FOSTER DULLES/ IS AWAITING ITS COLLAPSE.// YET THE SOVIET UNION/ HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION/ IN THE WORLD.// SOVIET AND CHINESE AGRICULTURE/ ARE LEADING CIVILIZATION/ IN METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT.// COMMUNIST SCIENCE IS TEACHING EUROPE AND AMERICA.// COMMUNIST MEDICINE/ IS FAR AHEAD OF OURS.// IN MUSIC AND DANCE/ THE WORLD/ IS RUSHING TO SEE AND HEAR/ SOVIET ARTISTS.// AND THE NEW CRITICISM IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND DRAMA/ IS BEING MISINTERPRETED/ AS COLLAPSE/ INSTEAD OF fore-telling a FLOWERING.// WHILE SOVIET CULTURE,/ ALONE OF MODERN COUNTRIES,/ HAS FORBIDDEN TELLING CHILDREN/ LIES AND FAIRY TALES/ IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

¶ HERE WE STAND IN 1958.// THE NATION IS HEADED WRONG.// IT IS NOT THE FIRST

40-1-267

TIME A NATION HAS BEEN WRONG,/ BUT IT MAY BE THE LAST.// TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING WORLD PROGRESS:/ PROGRESS WHICH MUST BE TOWARD SOCIALISM/ AND AGAINST COLONIALISM AND WAR.// OUR PREPARATION FOR WAR/ IS GREATER THAN ANY/ THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN./ WE ARE NOT LEADING DEMOCRACY.// WE ARE ALLIED/ WITH NEARLY EVERY re-actionary DICTATORSHIP IN THE WORLD.// WE ARE STIFLING OUR OWN DEMOCRACY/ AND ARE RULED BY MONOPOLY AND CORPORATE WEALTH.// SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE,/ AND COMMUNISM IS ONE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT.// BUT WHETHER IT IS ACHIEVED/ BY COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP/ OR BY DEMOCRACY,/ ITS AIM/ OF GIVING TO EACH/ WHAT HE NEEDS// AND DEMANDING FROM EACH/ WHAT BEST HE CAN GIVE/ IS THE INEVITABLE AIM/ OF CIVILIZATION/ AND SOONER OR LATER/ WILL TRIUMPH.

¶ WHERE NOW DO WE NEGROES STAND? / IF WE AIM TO BE AMERICANS/ WILLING TO DO ONLY WHAT AMERICA DOES,/ THINK AS IT THINKS/ AND SAY WHAT IT SAYS, WE ARE STUPID./ / IF ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE DETERMINED TO REACH THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF

WHERE NOW DOES THIS LEAVE AFRICA AND HER CHILD REN IT LEAVES THEM CFACING THIEVES IN AFRICA WHO HOLD LAND AND MATERIALS AND WANT SLAVES TO WORK THEM. IT LEAVES AFRICANS FACE TO FACE WITH INVESTORS WHO ARE RTYING TO TRADE POLITICAL MIRAGE OF POWER FOR THE REAL RULE OF CAPITAL AND THE FOREMOST DISTRIBUTOR OF CAPITAL IS THE UNITED STATES. IT IS AMERICAN CAPITAL WHICH OWNS SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS RACE SEGREGATION AND DISFRANCHISEMENT. IT IS AMERI CAPITAL WHICH RULES IN ~~XXXXXXXX~~ NORTH AFRICA, IN THE CONGO AND IS MAKING DESPATE EFFORT TO GET FOOTHOLD IN EMERGANT WEST AFRICA . WITH THIS PLAN TO RULE BLACK AFRICA THROUGH I NVEST MENT AMERICA IS PRETENDING AT HOME TO LEAD FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. THIS CLAIM IS FALSE. THIS NATION IS HEADED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION. OUR MAD PLUNGE INTO LYING, STEALING AND KILLING IF PERSISTED IN WILL DRAG US DOWN TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN NOR ANY SOUND NOR SIGHT
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL IN AN ETERNAL NIGHT

descent into lying, stealing, ~~and killing~~ murder; with every

WE ARE MEETING THIS GREAT CHALLENG E OF CIVILIZATION WITH AN HYSTERICAL EFFORT TO PREVENT THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM BY BRUTE FORCE AND TO EXTEND OUR OWNERSHIP OF COLONIAL MATERIALS AND SLAVE LABOR IN ASIA AND AFRICA BY CONTRIVING MACHINES WHICH WILL DESTROY THE WORLD AND ITS CULTURES; ~~WHICH WILL~~ and BRING US TO A DAY WHEN NEITHER

STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND NOR SIGHT
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN AN ETERNAL NIGHT

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A HISTORY OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS

By W. E.B. Du Bois.

The years from 1917 to 1957 have been of unprecedented change. So much so, that it is difficult for those living during this period easily to evaluate their history. Moreover, it happens that in these days the emotions of men have been so stirred that the new psychology has deliberately been used to paint as history what men wish to have believed, rather than what actually has happened.

Having during these forty years lived my adult working time, I saw some part of the events of this era. I am venturing therefore, to put my interpretation of their meaning before they fade or are distorted.

I risk then the myopia of current experience in order to relate my understanding of what has happened in the last forty years. It is not what many of you believe. It is what I believe.

During the 19th Century there grew up a world organization by which Western Europe controlled most of the rest of the world and built its civilization on their materials and labor. This control rested on scientific knowledge and marvelous technique and was excused by a theory of the natural superiority of Nordic Peoples over tye Darker varieties of mankind.

The chief beneficiaries of this culture were the rich and privileged Europeans, while the mass of White workers shared poverty and ignorance with the Colonial Peoples. But by organization and philanthropy the working classes of Europe

gradually in the 19th Century got higher wages and their employers and owners of capital reimbursed themselved by securing more materials and cheaper labor from the Colonies. This involved increased use of White workers as soldiers to keep Colored labor under control.

By the beginning of the 20th Century, The British Empire and the French Republic controlled the richer parts of the world's colonies, and were the most powerful nations of modern civilization. This aroused the envy of the growing German Empire and led to the First World War which was an attempt to rearrange the distribution of the Colonial areas of the world. Germany and Austria fought against Britain and France. Russia, itself a quasi-colony, ruled by an oligarchy, was controlled by French and British investors. It entered the War on the side of France and England, to the bitter distress of the mass of Russian people. Britain promised Italy colonial expansion in Africa and secured her alliance. The United States was determined not to take part in this foreign War and so voted in 1916, by a majority of over a million votes. But the chance of extraordinary gain which trade with the Allies offered, led the Nation to War in 1917, forced by Big Business and helped by the theory that Germany was to blame for the War.

The War began with so mighty a German onslaught that only by the aid of Black Africans was France saved from immediate collapse. She was then propped up by American supplies and American Negro stevedores. In 1917, the wretched Russian People, starved and unarmed, revolted and gained widespread sympathy in the United States. But we were getting rich by War. We gained 23,000 millionaires during the hostilities. We displaced

Great Britain as banker of the world and became the chief figure in world trade and investment. Many leaders began to boast that this was the American Century and that we would rule the world before the year Two Thousand.

Our new wealth and power changed our attitude toward Russia. Our investments were threatened by what we began to regard as a "Revolt Against Civilization." By this we meant revolt against Colonial Imperialism which could be extended through Russia and the Balkans to Asia. The Russian Revolution resulted in an attempt to establish a Socialist State; that is - a State whose object is not private profit, but public welfare. Such a State had often been discussed during the 18th and 19th Centuries, but no attempt to realize it had been successful, and most men regarded it as a dream bound to fail...The West tried to erect in Russia a State controlled by local capitalists and Western investors. To their disgust, Lenin and Stalin established a Communist State which staggered to its feet.

The leading powers of the world, including the United States and Japan, immediately started to overthrow the New Soviet Union and for ten years - 1918 to 1928, waged every species of War, murder, rape, theft, bribery and cheating on Russian soil. Finally, Western Europe girded itself for a last blow, with and army composed of Eastern European soldiers, backed by Western European money.

Events in the United States suddenly stopped this venture. Driven money-made by our gains in the First World War, We began gambling, investing and expanding until in 1928, the bottom fell out of the Private Capitalist System and has never been fully restored. Colonial Imperialism nearly col-

lapsed. The banking system of the world fell, the gold standard could not be maintained, and international trade was disrupted..... In the Soviet Union, conspiracy, instigated by the West, continued, but the Government turning fiercely, arrested and punished the leaders and drove Trotsky abroad. Also, Communism had entered China, and Japan continued the fight against it and planned to control Colonial Imperialism in Asia.

Despite the effort, Stalin ruled, and for the first time in modern history, a new State founded on socialistic principles was established, able to defend itself against the capitalist world and threatened the future of colonial imperialism, the world over. After the great depression four leaders appeared as the world struggled to its feet - Churchill in Britain, and Mussolini in Italy; while simultaneously, from 1933 to 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt ruled the United States,and Adolf Hitler ruled Germany. Socialism began to spread from Russia to Scandinavia, to Britain, Germany and Italy, to France and the United States. In the United States, Roosevelt faced a condition, not a theory. He was not a conscious socialist, but there were 14 million Americans unemployed, farming was ruined, banks were closed and industry disrupted. Roosevelt adopted the Socialist program of Harry Hopkins and started public almsgiving, work relief: loans to banks, subsidies to farmers, control of power production, organization of labor, wage and price controls and reorganization of business and industry. The Supreme Court curtailed this program, but most of it prevailed and the New Deal became a distinct step toward Socialism.

Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, facing conditions as bad or worse than America, also turned toward Socialism for remedy

But in their hands social control was used to serve capital rather than labor. As dictators they seized the government, accepted the dictation of capital and thus the owners of capital came into control of government.

Hitler used every weapon: He tried to make Race prejudice a science and used it to kill six million Jews, thus securing the following of German small shop-keepers: He received into alliance that same ambitious Japan whom the West had spurned, and he reduced American aid to Britain by encouraging Japan to attack at Pearl Harbor.. He knew this would catapult America into War, but War with the Yellow Race, rather than War for White Europe. The Axis of Germany, Italy and Japan was formed to found a new Colonial Imperialims to move into control of the raw material of the World and direct a thousand million cheap laborers.

Meantime, the Colonial Peoples who as soldiers and laborers had taken part in the First World War and whose sale of materials to Europe had changed the world pattern and put Europe in their debt, began to demand increased freedom and autonomy. Britain was compelled to recognize the eventual independence of Egypt; India under Ghandi fought for autonomy; Indo-China revolted against France, and Indonesia against Holland. Even Mexico ousted American Oil Companies and the whole Colonial World began its march toward freedom from White Rule.

In Europe Hitler continued his campaign. He seized Austria, helped Franco suppress the Spanish Rebellion, encouraged Italy to annex Ethiopia, and Japan to invade China. Leaders in Great Britain and France were willing to make alliance with Hitler and Mussolini. The only matter in dispute was just how colonial

territory would be divided between the Allies and the Axis. Britain and France, still sure of the eventual collapse of Communism, wanted to preserve their former hold on Russia and Poland, but were willing to grant Hitler predominance in Czechoslovakia and The Balkans. They thought they had secured understanding at the Munich Conference in 1938; but Hitler was determined not only seize all Eastern Europe, including Russia, but to conquer Britain and France if they resisted. They resisted when he attacked Poland in 1939, and the Second World War began. This War was not, as often advertised, a fight between Democracy and Fascism, or between Socialism and free Enterprise. It was an attempt of Europe to restore its control of the Colonial Peoples of the World with Germany, Japan and Italy fighting to displace France and Britain as senior partners. Neither West Europe nor Hitler offered alliance to The Soviet Union. She was not invited to Munich: But when War opened, Germany, afraid of War on two fronts, offered the Soviets a part of Poland which she had to accept or face a German attack on her own borders. Germany then turned to hostilities with the mightiest War machine the world ever saw. She seized Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland. Britain in panic retreated and France surrendered. For six months Bri tain was blayed with fiery hail. In the United States the New Deal was halted in Mid-flight.

Roosevelt was thoroughly British by culture. He saw in the fall of the British Empire the end of the world. On the other hand, Big Business in the United States was willing to defend France and Britain only on its own terms, which were the death of the New Deal and the passing of Colonial Imperialism from Europe to control of America.

With these clear objects, neither in Britain nor America could

Big Business ally itself with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Hitler had no such qualms. He proposed to conquer the Soviet Union, and from this "Heartland" in alliance with Japan, or despite her, to move on Asia and Africa. The complete subjugation of Britain would be long and costly, especially if America came to her aid. If, however, Hitler turned to the conquest of the Soviet Union while he perfected a new weapon, and if America could be distracted by Japan, the risk was worth taking. Hitler waited 22 months, then he invaded Russia in June: Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor in December.

There was open a clear path for the Western World: They could leap on Hitler's back, while Russia hammered his front and destroyed him. But that would leave Socialism triumphant in the Soviet Union and ready to join rising Socialism in America, Britain and France. On the other hand, if the Western World did nothing, Hitler's unparalleled war machine would they were sure, smash the Soviet Union within a month, which would rid the Western World of the menace of Communism. But it would increase the menace of a triumphant Hitler.

Then came a third possibility. Hitler did not progress with the conquest of the Soviet Union as fast as the world expected. If Britain and America united to help the Soviet Union, the convliot might be prolonged. It seemed therefore, good politics for Britain and America to help the Soviet Union enough to prolong the struggle, even if the help was too little and too late for the Soviets to win the War.

Churchill now took the lead, and after delaying action for a year, proposed to ignore Hitler's exposed rear in Europe, and

attack in North Africa, so as to protect Britain's interests in the East. Roosevelt did not wholly agree with Churchill's program in theory. On paper he rescued the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms; but in practice Britain prevailed. Hitler was not attacked for 2 years and the burden of the Second World War fell with crusing force on the Soviet Union. From 20 to 25 million Russians died and 11 million were crippled. The property damage was three times that of France and Belgium combined and reached $125 thousand million dollars. The West helped tardily with sorely needed material -- planes, tanks, clothess and shoes. But the amount of this help compared with the need was small. The United States, for example, sent 11 million pairs of shoes. This was five per cent. of what the Russians needed.

Then, in 1943, came the extraordinary and unexpected victory of the Soviet Union at Stalingrad. Hitler's defeat was certain. It was the Soviet Union then that saved modern culture from Hitler. Her losses in dead and crippled were greated than all the rest of the Western World combined. Half of her magnificant Public Works, factories and schools, for which a quarter century the Russian People had starved their bodies and stripped their souls, lay in smoking ruins, while all the Western World boasted of conquering Hitler.

The next year afterStalingram British and American Troops started their long-delayed march on Hitler's rear, rescuing France by the way. Roosevelt begged the Soviet Union to attack Japan and end the War and asked for a United Nations to prevent another World War. Stalin agreed. If Franklin Roosevelt had not died early in 1945, the future of the world would have been

different. But Harry Truman became President of the United States and Bond-Servant of Big Business now set to rule the world. Socialism increased in Europe while Big Business in the United States used the Marshall Plan to beat it back, by helping capital to subdue labor; and the Atom Bomb was perfected and used to murder Japanes women and children.

Japan surrendered. This convinced Truman that the United States had the power to stop the spread of Socialism in the "orld. At the little Missouri town of Fulton, Churchill and Truman announced this post-War plan. Truman stopped all aid to the sorely stricken Soviet Union, and at the Potsdam Conference, with the assistance of Byrnes of South Caroline, the new Secretary of State, "Got Tough" with Russia, delayed promised reparations to the Soviet Union for its endless losses, "lost" its plea for a loan, while we gave millions to France and Britain and demanded quick payment of Soviet land-lease debts.

Especially did we raise again an issue which Churchill and Roosevelt had avoided and that was the question of the States bordering on the Soviet Union to the West. These, after the First World War, had been occupied by the West as starting places for another attack on Russia when Communism collapsed. Communism did not collapse but conquered Hitler. Roosevelt and Churchill knew that after Stalingram the Soviet Union would never surrender Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans to Western Capitalists. They did ask, and the Soviets agreed, that these Peoples would be ruled according to their own choice.. But by "People" the West meant the landlords and investors, while the Soviets meant the working masses freed of the control of the rich. This basic dispute still stands: But it was ridiculous for Truman

to demand its settlement in accord with the demands of the West and accuse the Soviet Union of "breaking treaties" when it refused to permit Britain and the United States to re-establish themselves in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austro-Hungary in the name of what they called "Democracy."

Then came an astonishing and entirely unawaited occurrence. The United States lost China. The United States, about to own and fatten on the Colonial World of "Darkies," lost the largest and richest part of that World. The moon fell out of the Heaven of Big Business. We had long counted on succeeding Great Britain as virtual master of a half-billion cheap, docile Chinese laborers and a vast land full of all sorts of rich resources. When Japan had seized China, America was ready to smash Japan and helped the murderer Chiang Kai-Chek with money and arms, and then the Chinese peasants, after impossible and long-continued struggles, drove this demagogue and traitor out of China and used American weapons to keep America at bay. The United States was startled and alarmed. It believed that it had been cheated out of China by trickery. It regarded the political Union of Progressives and Communists in the American Campaign of 1948 as evidence of treason and forewarning of revolution at home. When Truman won the election, the Nation was led to discover alleged traitors like Alger Hiss, Judith Coplon, Remington, and the Rosenbergs. Truman with John Foster Dulles in the front trenches, started to push back Communism by a "Police Action" which resulted in the Korean War, and killed fifty thousand American boys. MacArthur tried desperately to turn the War into a War to conquer China. The Chinese withstood germ warfare and chased the American Army

three hundred miles, until they nearly fell into the Yellow Sea. MacArthur started back but was recalled.

By an admittedly strained interpretation of the Law, the Supreme Court decided to uphold the prison sentences of eleven Communists leaders, because it said it believed that a Revolution had been planned and was imminent. The Nation then turned to enacting eight anti-Communist Acts which curtailed Civil Liberties for all citizens. When we learned that the Soviet Union had the Atomic Bomb we executed the Rosenbergs for betraying the secret when it was certain that no such secret existed, and if it had existed, these victims had no opportunity of knowing it. Meantime, for five years, McCarthy raged in the land. He and Nixon called the New Deal "Twenty Years of Treason." He broke all Rules of Evidence, he persecuted accused persons, and with the help of the Secret Police, the monopolized press, radio and television, fastened two beliefs on the American Public and on you: First, that Communism was a Conspiracy: Second, that Communists were criminals plotting against the United States. Up until yesterday, Americans were told that Communism was a failure, and even tody John Foster Dulles is awaiting its collapse. Yet the Soviet Union has the best system of education in the world; Soviet and Chinese agriculture are leading civilication in methods of improvement; Communist science is teaching Europe and America; Communist medicine is far ahead of ours; in music and dance the world is rushing to see and hear Soviet artists; and the new criticism in Russian literature and drams is being misinterpreted as collapse, instead of flowering; while Soviet Culture, alone of modern countries, has forbidden telling

children lies and fairy tales in the name of Religion.
Here we stand in 1958: The Nation is headed wrong. It is not the first time this Nation has been wrong, but it may be the last. Today the United States is fighing world progress - Progress which must be toward Socialism and against Colonialism and War. Our preparation for War is greater than any the world has ever known. We are not leading Democracy. We are allied with nearly every Dictatorship in the World. We are stifling our own Democracy and are ruled by monopoly and corporate wealth. Socialsim is inevitable, and Communism is on the way to achieve it. But whether it is achieved by Communist Dictatorship or by Democracy, its aim of giving to each what he needs and demanding from each what best he can give is the inevitable aim of Civilization and sooner or later will triumph.

Where now do we Negroes stand: If we aim to be Americans, willing to do only what America does, think as it thinks and say what it says, we are stupid. If on the other hand we are determined to reach the highest standards of the world and broaden and lift those standards by developing the best parts of our own American Negro culture, wrenched from our sould by blood and slavery, poverty and insult, we may save the world. If on the other hand we are bribed by high salaries to our gifted, while our masses starve: By privilege to our rich while our millions crawl; by publicity for our fools while our leaders and our youth rot in jail, then we are lost. This Nation by its

mad plunge into lying, stealing and murder, will drag us as part of it, down to a day when neither

.....STAR NOR SUN SHALL WAKEN
NOR ANY CHANGE OF LIGHT:
NOR SOUND OF WATERS SHAKEN
NOR ANY SOUND OR SIGHT:
NOR WINTRY LEAVES NOR VERNAL
NOR DAYS NOR THINGS DIURNAL:
ONLY THE SLEEP ETERNAL
IN AN ETERNAL NIGHT.

Chicago, May 21, 1958.

About 50 years ago, in 1908, I spoke to a Colored group in Chicago on the Negro in business. I remember the occasion especially because it was at the start of my custom of reading my talks from manuscript, instead of speaking voice to face. I was gratified when at the end of the talk, among others, a woman came from the audience and told me how much she had enjoyed the speech. Later that same summer, I read the same speech in Detroit and the same woman again came out of the audience and again told me how much she enjoyed that same talk. I felt a bit embarrassed but also gratified at this tribute, at least to the soundness of my ideas. Later that very summer I went to Ann Arbor with the same manuscript, and unbelievable as it may seem, looking out on my audience I saw the same woman beaming up at me expectantly, and the life went out of my voice. I recall these passing incidents not to examine the advisability of manuscripts for lectures but rather to fix more firmly in my mind the massive changes which have in this half century modified my line of thinking. Then, as now, the central problem of the life of my People was poverty. Today, poverty is still central, but is is a vastly vroader matter, more intense, despite wealth and technique, and covering not merely American Negros but also a large part of mankind. In 1908, I was trying to express simply and clearly the phylosophies of world and wage, of wealth and want which I had learned in New England, in Europe and in the State of Georgia. If a man worked he received income according to the value of his work and his wage enabled him to live decently and to exist in some comfort, until he died. When this formula failed, the cause was mainly laziness or ignorance among workers. Accidents could be prevented by forethought, misfortune met by charity,-- amount and value of product and distribution of income were matters of natural law to be studied and explained by science.

Today, large numbers of intelligent and well-intentioned people still believe

this philosophy which I enunciated in 1908. But the majority of thinking men and the overwhelming mass of people of good will have looked on the contradictions of civilized life and work and raised increasing protest. Despite hard work and advanced production, in the face of science and miraculous technique, most people in the world are still poor, ignorant and sick, and a fair inquiry into the causes does not indicate that the world's workers are chiefly to blame for this condition.

For the last 150 years, the thinkers and profits of manking have delcared and reiterated that our paradox of progress and poverty is unnecessary and even criminal. For a long time we disputed this. The Middle Ages regarded poverty and degradation as the act of God, to punish and redeem manking. The awakening 18 Century demanded only freedom to allow man to find redemption by his own individual effott and not by help of the State. The great 19th Century with its development of triumph and capitalism looked forward to the emancipation of mankind through private trade and industry.

Today, in the mid 20th Century we hace command of the forces of nature and the world's abundance which with thought and cooperation can abolish poverty, despair, ignorance and conquer disease. There is not the slightest doubt of this, and gradually it is being proven daily before our eyes. There are no slums in Denmark, there are no children out of school in the Soviet Union, there is no unemployment in Czechoslovakia. A british scientist said to me in April, that the work being doen on the Chinese Rivers today is of greater impoort than the building of the pyramids. Every English child gets a glass of orange juice each day. Every British mother gets free hospital care in child birth.

The rape of India, the salvery of the American cotton kingdom, insuccession to the slave trade of the sugar empire, brought a revolution in industry which meant that those who owned the toold and machinery could limit the income

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of those working for consumers' goods, and with the help science, direct labor and production. The result was wealth and power for the ruling rich; wage slavery for the mass of European workers, and slavery and serfdom of the rest of the world. Revolt followed. The mass of those who did the world's work began to differentiate. The workers of Britain and France organized and secured a voice in Government and public elementary education. Some skilled and educated workers shared in profits and management. Other workers in Eastern and Southern Europe sunk toward the level of Colonial workers. White workers acted as soldiers to keep Colored workers down while profits arose from the depressed wage of Colored workers.

From the earliest stages of mankind down to our own time, has come the belief that since to live one must work, if someone else works for you, you need not work. The young may work for the old and this may be filial duty. The weak or unfortunate may work for the strong or luckilly -- this is slavery; the poor may work for the rich -- that is capitalism. It is clear that all who can should work, and all who need should have what is available. That is socialism and today, toward this, the world moves.

Socialism thus increased the power of the State to own, organize and guide industry, to increase production; to distribute human services and to regulate wealth and income. It is, as I have said, growing daily in the civilized world and influencing and changing the efforts and ideals of the backward Peoples.

Of all modern nations, the U.S. Alone, is putting its major effort into resisting this tide of socialism and turning it back, just as in the 19th C. it resisted the emancipation of Negro slaves. By far, the greater part of our wealth and effort today is being expressed on War and preparation of War. It is no treason to our fatherland to proclaim this awful truth from the hilltop.

The survival, comfort and progress of the minority of manking during the 19th C. came to be organized as empires, which by the accumulation of capital and knowledge of science and technique, ruled the Colored world. This Colored Imperialism was marvellously successful. It built wwwith, London, Paris and New York as centers of knowledge and luxuryand leaders of civilisation, but it developed two weak spots - the White Imperial Peoples themselves divided into a mass of poor workers, and the privileged group of persons ruling by wealth and education. The workers began to rebel and organize and to gain a voice in government and the beginning of education. Also, by consenting to act as soldiers, to conquer and hold colonies, they gained higher wages and better conditions in work. This was the situation at the beginning of the 20th C. when a second difficulty arose. Growing nations like Germany and Italy, demanded a larger share of colonies in Africa and Asia and went to war to force a redivision of colonial wealth among White empires; also, Japan xxxxxxxx determined to become one of these Colonial Empires.

This world war had two results - a great depression which nearly overthrew world industry; and also it induced xxx White workers to demand more freedom and income. This showed itself first in Scandinavia, Britain and France, xxx but finally even in Russia, where a small educated group attempted to establish a complete Socialist State, in 1917.

The old Imperialist world tried to stop this effort, and for 10 years, attacked the new Soviet Union with every weapon of war, villification and treason. They failed and Communish was established there and spread to China.

The workers in other lands organized and tried various ways of achieving greater freedom and democracy. This resulted in the New Deal in the U.S., in Fascish in Italy, in Mx Marxism Natzism in Germany, and in the labof rule in Great Britain. In Germany and Italy the workers fxiled fell under the domination of dictators who had the same aims as Britain and France and emphasized the question as to how the colonies were to be shared.

This question was settled in 1945, at the hands of the Soviet Uniton

in alliance with Britain and the U.S., but this alliance was to be broken after the War.

Britain and America were still determined to restore the colonial system and to overthrow Communism, and the Soviet Union was pledged to maintain and spread Socialism.

Where in this struggle do American Negros stand? Th is is not a question of treason or patriotism - of crime or virtue. A group of willful and irresponsible men, ~~ex~~ chiefly Americans, but also partly French and British, have spread the ideaand hammered it home that Communism is a dirty word, Communists are criminals, and that Socialism is either a mistake or a crime. This is not true. We face facts in slander. The women of the Soviet Union are not prostitutes; the workers of the Soviet Union are not slaves; Russian children are not driven cattle; and Soviet statesmen are not scoundrels.

The Soviet Union ~~x~~ has the best system of free ~~pumpkx~~ popular education in the world; its system of medicine and hospitalization surpasses ours by far. Soviet science leads mankind and shows the world new ways of thought and calculation. Soviet citizens do not have as many ~~x~~ clothes and household comforts, as good homes, as many of our best-paid workers. Soviet citizens work under stronger discipline, but on the other hand, they need never fear unemployment or look forward to a helpless old age, or see ~~thkix~~ their children uneducated and uncared for.

All the world is aiming at what Russia has accomplished, but not ~~x~~ necessarily is it going to accomplish this the same way, because it did not face the same circumstances. The ~~Rx~~ Soviet Union was compelled to use revolt because the Western world gave them no other alternative. Today, we of the West, could well adopt Socialism by peace, democratic means, if we preserve peace and if we protect democracy. This, unfortunately, the U.S. is apparently determined not to try. We are forcing war on the world and ruining what democracy has left.

Ninety-five per cent. of the Soviet citizens vote because voting seems to them worth while. Half of our workers never vote because we see little use in voting.

seeking the welfare of the mass of people, instead of the wealth and power of the few, then that object may be accomplished in many ways

(a) It might be accomplished by a dictator;

(b) By an oligarchy

(c) by a majority of the people voting.

Some persons wish to confine the concept of socialism wholly to the Welfare State which is accomplished by democratic means , but that is too narrow a definition. Even if in a Democratic State the best welfare of the mass is going to made certain and continues, that is only possible if the best education of all the citizens is accomplished.

Particularly we, as Negroes, whose toil built this land, whose arms defended it and whose music set its souls to singing and its feet to dancing, have it as our bounden duty to hold this country back from lying, stealing and killing.

And yet what are we to do? Most of our intelligencia are well-to-do, and thinkers; have no idea of what has happened in the world since the First World War. We have been deliberately misled to thinking of Socialism as one of the greatest evils of manking, and of Communists as criminals when not fools . We believe that British social medicine, for instance, is a failure, that Russian labor is slavery, that Soviet education is propaganda, and that Chinese Communism is a failure. This, most Negroes believe, and this they teach their children. Yet it is false and its falsehood was easily proven to those who dare know. There are no slaves in Russia. The schools of Moscow are far better than those in Chicago. There is no unemployment

unemployed class in Communist States. Socialism has fewer luxuries but also it has fewer fears; the sick havephysicians and hospitals and the old need not starve. There is a school for every child.

I have just come from the West Indies. I have seen the Red House and the mx New Federation. I have seen the birthplace of a Black Nation where a peasantry is striving up, led by White big business, which hopes to use Black businessmen to do their exploitation, while Black labor rides between. I do not know what will result or when but at least the strife has started. What are we offering these folk? Are we, as citizens of a great free Democracy, bringing democracy and freedom to them? No - we are trying to help the White world influence a new slavery and a new dictator, on the places where the old slavery and tyrrany bore hardest. I have been to nearly all the West Indian Islands and I never go without the impact of their contradiction upon me; their heavenly beauty and hellish poverty , sickness and ignorance. I used to dream of the help we American Northerners would eventually bring them - we, who form one of the dark realms of the world from Virginia and the Carolinas to South America. In these Islands of the Blessed, Spain and France brought hell and dmanation in every place and form. That same slave trade and slavery spread North, where this Nation was born, with itc dream of an equal free democratic state, despite Race, Class and Belief. This dream the slaveholders fought from 1776 to 1876. Its slaves raised sugar and cotton, added to loot from India, raised in Europe, and Britain and France, -- Empires built on wealth.

None could eat or wear, but men who knew science and technique could use them to conquer the world, and conquer they did and own it from Napolean to the first World War. Then we Negroes helped free ourselves and re-establish democracy in this land, but were beaten back by dis-

franshisement. Thereupon corporate wealth took over and on the ashes

of democracy built a ~~hm~~ powerful concentration of wealth and ~~kmx~~ ~~yxxkmiw~~ technique, which we would propose would take over the treatment of the British Empire.

Then, in the first quarter of the 20th Century the world went crazy. The fight against capitalist monopoly and private profit spread into every civilised land, led by the workers. The employers hired White workers to drive the Black workers of the world into subjection, and take in turn, high wages from what the los-paid colonists did not get. This made millions for the White colonial imperialists and they fought a world war in two parts, to divide the spoils. For that War they had to use Colored workers w o demanded as pay more wages and more freedom. Then, the White workers, led by Russia, revolted and Yellow China joined them.

America arose to rescue the old order, to keep the Coloredworld in subjection and to beat back Socialism among the White workers, now led so largely by Communists.

Thus, Communists worked to build a world where all the world would do what they could do best and receive a wage which they need to live decently.

At what then, should we, as American Negroes, aim --

To have equal rights with other Americans;

To follow ideals which are true, good and beautiful because of what they are and not because other Americans follow them that lead.

To realize the good in Socialist even as big business fights it and tries to bribe us to fight with them - we must work but not exploit workers - by fair wages,and recognize union organization and wishes; we must encourage employment and cooperation in housing and buying; we should see that Colored children are in school and assume responsibility for their work.

We should encourage Negro art and history, not to antagonize but to inspire and teach. We should publish Negro books and encourage Negro Art. We should regard Negroes as our own People - those here in Chicago not those in the South - those in the West Indies and those in Africa.

We should seek friends in Moscow and resent enemies in New York. We should

We should seek revolution not by war and force but by truth and reason.

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W. E. B. Du Bois

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HO! EVERYONE THAT THIRSTETH!

(FISK UNIVERSITY, MAY 26, 1958)

WHEN I ENTERED THE SOPHOMORE CLASS OF FISK UNIVERSITY IN THE FALL OF 1885, I CAME WITH A THIRST FOR LEARNING OF THE WORLD AND ITS MEANING. IT WAS IN A DAY WHEN A PHENOMENAL INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD WAS INSPIRING MANKIND. THE LITTLE NEW ENGLAND TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN AND WHERE MY FATHERS HAD LIVED FOR TWO CENTURIES, WAS NOT REMARKABLE FOR ANYTHING MORE THAN THAT AGAINST CONSIDERABLE LOCAL OPPOSITION IT KEPT OPEN A GOOD HIGH SCHOOL. THUS IN THE DAYS WHEN JOHN STUART MILL WAS WRITING: WHEN CHARLES DARWIN WAS STUDYING EVOLUTION AND KARL MARX WRITING HIS "CAPITAL": AS LOUIS PASTEUR EXAMINED GERMS, WATT INVENTED HIS STEAM ENGINE AND BELL HIS TELEPHONE: WHEN DE LESSEPS OPENED THE SUEZ CANAL, WHEN DICKENS WAS WRITING FASCINATING STORIES, I HEARD OF THESE THINGS. I READ THE WORDS OF

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THESE PROPHETS AND SAW THEIR MIRACLES, IN OUR STAUNCH, LITTLE WELL-TAUGHT HIGH SCHOOL.

MY CALL TO COLLEGE THEN WAS A DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE WORD OF ISAIAH: "HO! EVERYONE THAT THIRSTETH, COME YE TO THE WATERS: AND HE THAT HATH NO MONEY COME YE BUY AND EAT; YEA COME, BUY WINE AND MILK, WITHOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE." I WAS A PERFECT CASE. I HAD A THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE, I HAD NO MONEY SAVE MY TRAIN-FARE FROM MASSACHUSETTS AND FISK UNIVERSITY ASKED NO MORE. FOUR CHURCHES NEAR MY HOME SENT THE COLLEGE $100 A YEAR TO BE USED TOWARD MY BOARD AND LODGING. THIS COMPLETED ALL MY FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

I DID NOT HAVE TO BE COAXED TO GO TO COLLEGE. I NOT ONLY WANTED TO COME BUT COULD NOT EASILY HAVE BEEN HELD BACK EVEN THOUGH COMING MEANT ENTERING A COUNTRY WHICH HAD CARRIED ON SLAVERY OF MY PEOPLE AND FOUGHT DESPERATELY TO KEEP IT; AND WHICH EVEN TO THIS DAY RETAINS AS MUCH OF IT AS IT CAN. THERE WERE AT

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THIS TIME, MANY COLLEGE STUDENTS, NORTH AND SOUTH, BLACK AND WHITE WHO HAD NO THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE AND WOULD NOT GO TO COLLEGE WHEN THEY COULD [illegible]; THE NUMBER OF THESE INCREASED AS YEARS PASSED AND AS THIS NATION BECAME RICHER AND MORE PROSPEROUS AS ONE RESULT OF A FEARFUL CIVIL WAR WHICH KILLED 500,000 OF ITS YOUNG MEN. SO THAT IN THE YEARS OF MY YOUNG MANHOOD AFTER GRADUATION FROM 20 TO 30 YEARS OF AGE, IT BECAME THE FASHION TO LURE YOUNG FOLK TO COLLEGE BY TELLING THEM THAT A COLLEGE EDUCATION WAS A SOUND INVESTMENT AND WOULD BRING THE YOUNG BACHELOR OF ARTS MORE MONEY THAN A CARPENTER'S APPRENTICE COULD GET. TO THIS ARGUMENT WAS ADDED THE INDUCEMENT OF CERTAIN SOCIAL ADVANTAGES WHICH COME TO COLLEGE GRADUATES.

ALL I WANTED WAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY: I WANTED TO READ HISTORY AND SCAN THE STARS; TO LEARN MORE OF MATHEMATICS; TO EXPERIMENT IN PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY; TO USE LANGUAGES. ALSO, OUTSIDE MY STUDIES, I ELECTED TO GO INTO THE COUNTRY ON VACATIONS AND LEARN OF WORK AND WAGE, AND HOW WHITE SOUTHERNERS

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TREATED "NIGGERS".

THE COLLEGE DID NOT HAVE PERFECT FACILITIES FOR TEACHING OR MANY TEACHERS. IT HAD ONE OF THE GREATEST MASTERS OF THE INIMITABLE GREEK TONGUE IN ALL AMERICA. IT HAD A GOOD PROFESSOR OF GERMAN, WHOSE TEACHING I USED AT HARVARD AND IN GERMANY. ITS EQUIPMENT FOR PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY WAS RIDICULOUS: BUT THE MEN BACK OF THE PITIFUL LABORATORY WERE MAGNIFICENT AND SUBSTITUTED WHAT THEY KNEW OF LIFE, FOR WHAT THEY LACKED OF INSTRUMENTS. ONE OTHER ADVANTAGE WE HAD IN THOSE EARLY DAYS AND THAT WAS SMALL NUMBERS AND CLOSE FELLOWSHIP. MY CLASS HAD FIVE MEMBERS AND THE WHOLE OF FISK COLLEGE DEPARTMENT DID NOT EXCEED IN MY DAY 25. LAST MONTH I WAS TALKING TO THE PRESIDENT OF NORTHWESTERN. I SAID "I SUPPOSE YOU HAVE SEVERAL THOUSAND MORE STUDENTS THAN WHEN SINCE I WAS LAST ON YOUR CAMPUS?" "WE HAVE 10,000," HE ANSWERED; I'M SORRY FOR THEM, I THOUGHT SILENTLY. I SHOULD HATE TO SEE THE AVERAGE PROFESSOR'S HEAD DIVIDED INTO 10,000 PARTS.

FROM 1888 TO 1894, I WAS A STUDENT IN NEW ENGLAND AND EUROPE. THESE WERE

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THE CULMINATING DAYS OF THE GREAT 19TH CENTURY - OF THE COTTON KINGDOM AND THE TRUSTS; OF HIGH TARIFFS AND LABOR UNIONS. THIS WAS THE DAY WHEN INDEED AMERICANS WENT TO COLLEGE BECAUSE THE INVESTMENT PAID IN CASH AND SOCIAL POSITION. OUR WHOLE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY BEGAN TO PIVOT ON WEALTH. WE WERE BECOMING A NATION EXISTING FOR WEALTH AND RULED BY WEALTH FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING MORE WEALTH; WE ANNEXED COLONIES FOR THEIR CHEAP LABOR TO INCREASE OUR WEALTH; WE FOUGHT WARS FOR WEALTH; AND WE USED WEALTH TO BUY ELECTIONS SO AS TO KEEP THE POPULIST AND LABOR LEADERS OUT OF POWER.

AT THE END OF THIS ERA I CAME OUT OF SCHOOL AT LAST, AND CLINGING TO MY OLD BELIEF IN SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE, TRIED TO BUILD AN IDEAL COLLEGE FOR TRAINING NEGRO STUDENTS. I FAILED, BUT DID GET AN OPPORTUNITY TO START STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, WHICH I SOON REALIZED WAS THE LOGICAL BEGINNING OF THE WISDEOM I WANTED. FROM 1896 TO 1910, I STUDIED THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AMERICA SYSTEMATICALLY AS IT HAD

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NEVER BEEN STUDIED BEFORE, WORKING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AND AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. I FOUND TO MY DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE AMERICAN NATION WAS NOT INTERESTED IN SUPPORTING THE SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE FOR KNOWLEDGE' SAKE. IF THE STUDY COULD BE MADE TO PAY INCOME THAT WAS DIFFERENT. BUT JUST FOR KNOWING? THAT WAS NONSENSE. A NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE WAS BUILT ON ONE OF MY STUDIES. BUT I REMEMBER ONCE ASKING A WELL-TRAINED COLORED TEACHER ABOUT HER BROTHER WHO COULD NOT GET WORK AS AN ENGINEER AND HAD TO WAIT TABLE FOR HIS WHITE CLASSMATES. "WHAT WILL YOU DO WITH THESE FACTS IF I FURNISH THEM?" SHE ASKED. "NOTHING BUT MAKE THEM KNOWN," I REPLIED. "I AM NOT INTERESTED" SHE ANSWERED.

THUS THE NATION ANSWERED ATLANTA UNIVERSITY WHEN WE ASKED FOR $5000 A YEAR TO CARRY ON OUR STUDY. IT WOULD NOT GIVE THIS PITTANCE DESPITE THE FACT THAT FROM 1900 TO THIS DAY, NO BOOK OF IMPORTANCE HAS BEEN PUBLISHED ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEMS WHICH HAS NOT DEPENDED IN SOME DEGREE ON OUR WORK AT ATLANTA FROM 1896 TO

1914.

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I TURNED THEREFORE FROM STUDY TO PROPAGANDA; FROM ASCERTAINING SCIENTIFIC FACT, TO MAKING THE WORLD KNOW WHAT SOCIAL FACTS MEAN. FROM 1910 to 1934, NEAR A QUARTER CENTURY, I EDITED A MAGAZINE, LECTURED TO POPULAR AUDIENCES AND TO COLLEGES, WROTE BOOKS AND ARTICLES. BUT I WAS TALKING TO A WORLD AT WAR AND A WORLD AT WAR IS A WORLD INSANE WHICH WILL NOT UNDERSTAND BECAUSE IT CANNOT LISTEN TO REASON. THE MORE REASONABLE MY ARGUMENTS WERE THE MORE ILLOGICAL THEY SOUNDED.

WHITES INSISTED AND NEGROES ASSENTED THAT COLLEGES WERE INSTITUTIONS WHERE YOUTH LEARNED TO WORK; SOUTHERN WHITES DECLARED THAT NEGRO COLLEGES SHOULD BE PLACED WHERE NEGRO YOUTH LEARNED TO WORK FOR WHITES AT LOWER WAGES THAN WHITE LABOR DEMANDED. COLORED COLLEGES WERE GRADUALLY FORCED TO GIVE UP THE MAIN PART OF THEIR CURRICULUM THAT HAD FIRST ATTRACTED ME. I WAS TWICE ASKED TO RETURN TO FISK AND FIGHT TO KEEP ITS STANDARDS FROM FALLING BELOW THE HIGH IDEALS WHERE THEY RESTED.

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DESPITE ALL THAT I AND OTHERS COULD DO, THE FACE OF FISK CHANGED. IT BECAME IN PART A REFUGE FOR SPOILED CHILDREN AND ESPECIALLY FOR OVERDRESSED GIRLS WHOSE FATHERS HAD MONEY, AND FOR SMART BOYS WHO WANTED TO MAKE MONEY; AND FOR TEACHERS WHO WANTED TO EARN MONEY. FOR YEARS ITS BOOKS, POEMS AND SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTION DWINDLED. IT DID NOT FALL BEHIND THE COLLEGES OF THE LAND, BLACK AND WHITE: IT KEPT ABREAST AND THAT WAS WORSE.

WHAT OUR WAR INSANITY WAS ACCOMPLISHING IN THE YEARS FROM CRASH OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IN 1929 DOWN TO OUR DAY, WAS THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR SYSTEM OF EDUCATION; THE OVERTHROW OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE RUIN OF OUR SCIENCE. FROM OUR EDUCATION THE MAINSPRING OF CURIOSITY, OUR THIRST TO KNOW DISAPPEARED. I HAVE DISCUSSED THE WORLD DURING THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY AT SEVERAL INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING, AMONG THEM PRINCETON, CHICAGO UNIVERSITY, BOTH UNIVERSITIES OF CALIFORNIA, YALE AND VASSAR. TO ME THE MOST STRIKING PHENOMENON WAS THE GRADUAL DISAPPEARANCE OF THE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY AMONG STUDENTS; ALMOST THE

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[redacted] FEAR OF DISCUSSION. THE STUDENTS DID NOT WANT TO INQUIRE OR DISCUSS. THEY WANTED TO GET A SAFE JOB IN A NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY. THIS NEW SOCIETY HAD SMALL BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY. IT WAS ADJUSTING ITSELF TO GOVERNMENT BY GREAT CORPORATIONS WHERE AUTHORITY WIELDED BY POWER WAS SUPREME AND INCOME DEPENDED ON THE BIG BOSS SELECTED BY BIG BUSINESS.

ORGANIZED BUSINESS USED SCIENCE BUT IT FOLLOWED AND PROMOTED IT ONLY FOR ITS OWN PROFIT. OF THE GREAT REVOLUTION THROUGH WHICH THE WORLD TODAY IS PASSING, FROM THE ANARCHY OF PRIVATE BUSINESS ENTERPRISE TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, NOT ONLY ARE COLLEGES TODAY TEACHING LITTLE, BUT CITIZENS DARE NOT LISTEN AND SCHOLARS DARE NOT TALK. LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND PUBLICATION HAVE LARGELY DISAPPEARED.

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO I WAS SURE THAT MY PROPAGANDA FOR NEGRO EQUALITY HAD ACCOMPLISHED ALL THAT I WAS ABLE TO DO. I TURNED BACK TO TEACHING AND STUDY; TO MY IVORY TOWER TO WORK WITH JOHN HOPE, FOR A NEW UNIVERSITY TO LEAD AND TEACH THE SOUTH, BOTH WHITE AND BLACK. BUT HOPE, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

DIED BEFORE HIS DAY AND MEANTIME THE WHOLE AIM OF AMERICAN EDUCATION CHANGED. BIG BUSINESS FASTENED ITS GRIP TIGHTER ON OUR SCHOOLS AND THE RATE OF PROFIT DETERMINED WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT AND WHO SHOULD TEACH IT. IN SUCH A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION I OF COURSE HAD NO PART.

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FIFTEEN YEARS AGO I WAS SUMMARILY RETIRED FOR AGE WITH THE FERVENT PRAYER THAT I WOULD SOON STARVE TO DEATH. SINCE THEN I HAVE TRIED TO TALK THROUGH THE GAGS IMPOSED UPON ME BY THE GOVERNMENT AND MY FELLOW MEN. I HAVE TRIED TO SAY WHAT A COLLEGE SHOULD BE. I SAW THE START OF SOVIET EDUCATION THIRTY YEARS AGO AND SAID THEN THAT NO NATION WITH SUCH A SYSTEM COULD FAIL, NO MATTER WHAT MISTAKES IT MAKE; NO MATTER WHO ATTACKED OR WHY. TODAY ALL INTELLIGENT MEN KNOW THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE FINEST SYSTEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE WORLD. SOVIET SCIENCE IS LEADING THE HUMAN RACE AND SHOWING US THAT THE FUTURE COLLEGE MUST TEACH POPULAR INTELLIGENCE; FORWARD SCIENCE AND PLAN THE WORLD'S WORK. THE SOVIETS LEAD CIVILIZATION IN MUSIC AND ARE ADVANCING IN ALL VARIETIES OF ART.

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If this be true then what is the future of FISK UNIVERSITY? IT MUST FIRST WORK WITHIN ITS ENVIRONMENT OF WHITE FOLK WITH BACKWARD SOCIAL IDEAS; WITH A RELIGION WHICH THEY DELIBERATELY IGNORE AND WITH SOCIAL PATTERNS WHICH REST ON EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE. THE WHITE SOUTH IS THE MOST REACTIONARY MODERN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH EXISTS TODAY IN THE CIVILIZED AREAS OF THE WORLD. FOR THE COOPERATION OF THIS WHITE SOUTH WITH NEGRO EDUCATION THERE IS REQUIRED THE SELECTION OF ITS BEST AND MOST FORWARD-LOOKING ELEMENTS AND NOT MERELY MERCHANTS WHOSE PRESENCE ON NEGRO BOARDS OF TRUSTEES IS BUT THE MEASURE OF THE MONEY THEY EXPECT TO MAKE BY THIS VENTURE.

THIS LEAVES FOR THE LEADERS OF NEGRO HIGHER TRAINING A FEARSOME TASK, PARTICULARLY FOR AN INSTITUTION LIKE FISK UNIVERSITY WITH A GREAT TRADITION. FOR IF THEY CHOOSE FROM THE WHITE SOUTH AS COLLABORATORS, THE MEN OF LIGHT AND LEADING, THEY WILL NOT BE TEXAS MILLIONAIRES. THEY WILL NOT BRING TO FISK

THE ENDOWMENT WHICH SHE NEEDS. ALMS FROM THE NORTH FISK MAY GET BUT SHE WILL PAY FOR THEM WITH SLAVERY TO BIG BUSINESS.

THE DILEMMA THEN THAT THIS AND SIMILAR INSTITUTIONS FACE, BOTH AMONG WHITE AND BLACK IS PERFECT. PRIVATE INCOMES ARE TOO SMALL TO SUPPORT PUBLIC EDUCATION. ONLY THE STATE CAN SUPPORT THE UNIVERSITY AND ONLY A SOCIALIST STATE WILL UNDERTAKE THIS TASK.

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MEANTIME WHAT CAN WE DO? OUR STATE, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH, NOT ONLY REJECTS SOCIALISM, IT OVERTHROWS AND SUPPRESSES DEMOCRACY, SO THAT NO PART OF THE NATION SUFFERS SO FROM MISGOVERNMENT AS THE FORMER SLAVE SOUTH. OUR ONLY CURRENT RECOURSE IS TO LIMIT AND SIFT OUR GIFTS FROM BIG BUSINESS AND AT THE SAME TIME REDUCE COLLEGE EXPENSES WITH LESS SHOWY BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT AND EVEN LOWER SALARIES FOR TEACHERS ALREADY PAID FAR TOO LITTLE. THE IDEAL OF MARK HOPKINS ON ONE END OF A LOG AND A REAL STUDENT ON THE OTHER, STILL STANDS.

THE OBJECT OF NEGRO EDUCATION MUST BE NEGRO CULTURE; TO LET NO PART OF

OUR RICH EXPERIENCE IN THIS LAND BE LOST OR DIE; TO PRESERVE OUR HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE; OUR POETRY, SONG AND RYTHYM; OUR BIOGRAPHY AND ART; OUR ANCIENT FOLKWAYS. THIS IS NOT IN ~~XXX~~ OPPOSITION TO WHITES, RATHER IN SYMPATHY AND FULFILLMENT. NOR CAN THEY BE PRESERVED BY BEING THROWN AWAY AND NEGLECTED. WORLD CULTURES DO NOT SURVIVE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF HATE AND ENVY BUT RATHER OF ENLARGEMENT AND COMPLETION. WE FACE THEN THE PRESERVATION AND CULTIVATION OF NEGRO TALENT NOT SIMPLY AMONG OUR RICH AND WELL-TO-DO, BUT EVEN MORE AMONG THE VAST NUMBERS OF OUR POOR AND OUTCAST; AMONG THOSE LOCKED BY THE THOUSANDS IN OUR JAILS AND PENITENTIARIES. WE NEED TEACHERS OF LEARNING, BUT FAR MORE MEN AND WOMEN OF IDEALS AND SACRIFICE; ~~XXXX~~ WILLING TO FACE STARVATION FOR A GREAT CAUSE.

MY WORDS AND ADVICE MAY AT FIRST STRIKE YOU AS CONTRADICTORY AND LACKING IN UNITY. YET I THINK THEIR ABIDING LOGIC AND COHERENCE LIE IN THE WORD OF ISAIAH: THE DEMAND FOR FREEDOM OF KNOWLEDGE

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"HO! EVERYONE THAT THIRSTETH, COME YE TO THE WATERS: AND HE THAT HATH NO MONEY COME YE BUY AND EAT; YEA COME, BUY WINE AND MILK, WITHOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE."

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HO! EVERYONE THAT THIRSTETH!

THE THRIST FOR KNOWLEDGE IN I880-I 888

HO, EVERYONE THAT THIRSTETH COME YE TO THE WATERS, AND HE THAT HATH NO MONEY COME YE BUY AND EAT; YEA COME, BUY WINE AND MILK, WITOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE

I848-I895 MILL, BESSEMER, DARWIN, MARX, WATT, DE LESSEPS, PASTEUR, BELL, FREUD

I WANTED KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY, STARS, PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, LANGUAGE,

WORK &WAGE PEOPLE

NOT FOR INCOME OR PLACE BUT FOR THEMSELVES

TRAVEL & STUDY, I888- I892-- COTTON, TRUSTS, LYNCHING, HARRISON, FORCE BILL, MC KINLEY TARIF, POPULISTS, HOMESTRICKE (Stead), 93 CLEVELAND 97 McKINLEY, SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, BOXERS, BRYANT,

THE COLLEGE, I894-I896 STUDY

I897-I9I0 I90I-9 T. Roosevelt JAPANESE

THE COLLEGE, I9I0- I934 N.M & NAACP, CRISIS

COLLEGE AS INVESTMENT TEACHING AS INCOME

I909-I3 TAFT FORD

I9I2, BULL-MOOSE, WILSON

I9^{1}4, PANAMA CANAL HAITI

FIRST WORLD WAR

I929, STOCK MARKET CRASH

I933 - 45 ROOSEVELT NEW DEAL

Dashing sketches
" democracy
" scene
The federal Negro college
in South
~~Knowledge~~ college
courses &
long week work

48
32

THE EARLY BIGINNINGS OF THE PAN*AFRICAN MOVEMENT AS NARATED BY DR. W.E.B.DUBOIS

From a speech delivered in Chicago (University of Chicago) on June 20th 1958 at the Sixth Annual Conference of the All African Students Union of the Americas .

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Ladies and Gentlemen ,

In the last part of the Nineteenth Century , when my active life began , Asia and Africa had passed almost completely under European control . Various groups of African descent were distributed all over Africa itself , in the West Indies , in South and Central America , in Asia and in the United States . They had little knowledge of each other , no organs of communication , no common language ; they did not belong to any one race nor were they of one colour of skin , nor similar physical characteristics . One thing , however , they did share was the contempt of and mistreatment of the white folk who were ruling the world .

The reason for this was as I came to understand , as a boy , was the fact that coloured people were poor and ignorant and thus unable to compete with the white world . This , however , was only partia - lly true in my home surroundings , and thus I as a youth was sure it could be remedied by schools and hard work , and saving money . I therefore studied hard in school , was studying late and hardly absent and usually did as good a work as my white fellow students . When I entered college in 1885 , I was supposed to learn there was a new reason for the degradation of the coloured people that was because they had inferior brains to whites . This I immediately challenged . I knew by experience that my own brains and body were not inferior to the average of my white fellow students . Moreover , I grew ---------(applause) moreover , I grew suspicious when it became clear that treating Negroes as inferior , whether they were or not was profitable to the people who hired their labour . I early , therefore , started on a personal life crusade to prove Negro equality and to induce Negroes to demand it .

In the United States by the time of the First World War , the Negroes had for the most part united in a strong fight for recognition as American citizens . The fight had not been won but it had c certainly been began . We had a literature , a distinct art in music and drama . We were still far from free but we had began to secure recognition in the courts as having the rights of other Americans .

Then I began to understand the partition of Africa which began when I was 8 years old and which when at the age of 43 I was speaking in the Great Hall of the University of London , was threatening the world with war . This war was over the distribution of the profits of Colonies . I was convinced that the descendants of Africa must therefore Unite in common action in order to make their freedom possible in the modern world . How this was to be done I did not know. But the experience of meeting at a world conference of races members of Africa from Africa itself , as well as descendants of Africans long settled in the West Indies , South and Central America , inspired me to try it . Coloured persons from Asia whose problems , so similar to ours , I had not been conscious of , hitherto , encouraged me .

But at last the races congress died a'borning when the world war burst in 1914 . For three years the United States was not involved . I was hesitating during these fatal years as to what stand American negroes should take if we entered the war . When we did enter we Negroes suffered all sorts of discrimination, even to the questioning of

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our legal status as Americans . But , finally , the United States had to recognize our citizenship ; they even had to admit a thousand Negro Officers into its army . This persuaded me to support the war to end war which became for America the war to make money . [redacted]

One matter from the first intrigued me and that was the distribution or the disposition of the German Colonies in Africa . I wrote the President of the United States suggesting in 1918 that the Peace Congress assign these colonies covering over a million square miles and over 12.5 million inhabitants to International control . These colonies have been taken from Germans chiefly by Negro troops in Africa . France has been saved by Negro troops . Would this not be an opportunity to establish a free autonomous Africa and to add to a sorely beset Liberia and an insecure Ethiopia ? I suggested therefore that the coming Peace Congress consider shutting up these colonies under an International Board of Control on which the Africans themselves should have representation . The President was too busy to reply to this note but he went to his commission of peace and I believe it had some influence in establishing the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations .

Meantime American Negro troops were receiving hard treatment at the hands of the American army in Europe . The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P) considered sending me abroad after the armistice in November 1918 to investigate . I suggested that we also hold a Pan African Congress in Paris to influence the Congress of Versailles . Negroes in Phildelphia and elsewhere supported me in this request but the directors of the N.A.A.C.P were unwilling . As a prominent member of the board put it ' haven't we enough troubles of our own without trying to settle the problems of Africa? '. In other words the mass of American Negroes had been subjected to a long propaganda against Africa . They did not really understand African problems , and knew few Africans personally . They particularly resented the effort covering a hundred years or more to induce or force American Negroes to go to Africa . This contradicted the insistence in College and Church at that time that Africa had no history and that its inhabitants were the lowest of barbarians . Thus the average American negro at the beginning of the century had a dim view of any connection with Africa . On the other hand , personally , I knew something of Africa . I had written in 1915 a book on the Negro in the home University of Liberia . The publishers at first hesitated about bringing it out since its conclusions were so at variance with all standard authorities. At that time -------- (applause) ---- at that time there was not in this nation a single University which gave a course of study on Africa . However , I knew some Africans . I have met Kango Javago , Dr. Ruby Sanna and Ak'baby in London . I had taught the Dubi's and Charlotte Monya at Wilberforce . So finally the N.A.A.C.P permitted me to call the Congress in Paris provided I took all responsibility . The United States Government had arranged to have Milton who succeeded before Washington at Tuskegee to go [redacted] to Paris on the special Creolo boat for newspapermen in order that Milton might pacify the unhappy American Negro soldiers . They all were displeased when I appeared on the same boat as a Magazine editor . For at that time the United States was still a Democracy and they could not legally send me back . When I arrived in Paris , I immediately approached the American Peace Commission with my scheme . All members discouraged me , they pointed out that Paris was still under martial law and allow no such meeting . My attempt to see President Wilson got me an interview with Colonel House , his representative . Col. House appeared sympathetic but he took no action .

Then I took the war into Africa . I went to Blaise D'Anye , the French Colonial Undersecretary . He was a black Senegalese and he was at the time incensed at what Americans were asking France to do in the treatment of American Negro troops . He went directly to Prime Minister Quemansol ?? . Quemansol ?? was deeply indebted to D'Anye . D'Anye had brought a hundred thousand black troops to save France at the first onslaught of the Germans . They were mowed down by the German artillery but France lived . Quemansol ?? also , incidentally , disliked the United States . He hesitated but finally growled ' Go ahead with

your congress but don't make too much noise about it ' -- (applause)-- Meanwhile , Negroes in America applied for visas to come to the meeting . They were told that France had forbidden it . In Britain both coloured and white Africans were refused visas . Africans were similarly turned back . Apparently , I was to have a congress with no one attending ; but frantic search in France and Paris brought results . ...(name ?) . a coloured man who had long been a popular American Consul there came and brought friends . A number of coloured American Army officers and white soldiers on leave were picked up . British and [redacted] African soldiers and civilians were found here and there . In all 57 persons mostly of African descent met at the Grand Hotel in Paris in February 1919 , for THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. ; 12 were from Africa , 16 from the United States , and 20 from the West Indies . D'Anye presided and I was secretary . The French Foreign office was represented and Dutch and Belgians looked in . Americans kept the weary eye on us . Back of this meeting there was no plot and too few planners . In my own mind there was but one idea to let persons of African [redacted] descent through their friends meet together and get acquainted , to discuss their situation in various parts of the world , and to ask what united action could be taken and how we could arrange to meet regularly in future with larger representation .

(*) continue where marked.

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THE EARLY BEGINNINGS OF THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT
AS NARRATED BY DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the last part of the Nineteenth Century, when my active life began, Asia and Africa had passed almost completely under European control. Various groups of African descent were distributed all over Africa itself, in the West Indies, in South and Central America, in Asia and in the United States. They had little knowledge of each other, no organs of communication, no common language; they did not belong to any one race nor were they of one colour of skin, nor similar physical characteristics. One thing, however, they did share was the contempt of and mistreatment of the white folk who were ruling the world.

The reason for this was as I came to understand, as a boy, was the fact that coloured people were poor and ignorant and thus unable to compete with the white world. This, however, was only partially true in my home surroundings, and thus I as a youth was sure it could be remedied by schools and hard work, and saving money. I therefore studied hard in school, was studying late and hardly absent and usually did as good work as my white fellow students. When I entered college in 1885, I was supposed to learn there was a new reason for the degradation of the coloured people that was because they had inferior brains to whites. This I immediately challenged. I knew by experience that my own brains and body were not inferior to the average of my white fellow students. Moreover, I grew . . . (applause) . . . moreover, I grew suspicious when it became clear that treating Negroes as inferior, whether they were or not was profitable to the people who hired their labour. I early, therefore, started on a personal life crusade to prove Negro equality and to induce Negroes to demand it.

In the United States by the time of the First World War, the Negroes had for the most part united in a strong fight for recognition as American citizens. The fight had not been won but it had certainly been begun. We had a literature, a distinct art in music and drama. We were still far from free but we had begun to secure recognition in the courts as having the rights of other Americans.

Then I began to understand the partition of Africa which began when I was 8 years old and which when at the age of 43 I was speaking in the Great Hall of the University of London, was threatening the world with war. This war was over the distribution of the profits of Colonies. I was convinced that the descendants of Africa must therefore unitee in common action in order to make their freedom possible in the modern world. How this was to be done I did not know. But the experience of meeting a world conference of races members of Africa from Africa itself, as well as descendants of Africans long settled in the West Indies, South and

Central America, inspired me to try it. Coloured persons from Asia whose problems, so similar to ours, I had not been conscious of, hitherto, encouraged me.

But at last the races congress died a'borning when the world war burst in 1954. For three years the United States was not involved. I was hesitating during these fatal years as to what stand American negroes should take if we entered the war. When we did enter we Negroes suffered all sorts of discrimination, even to the questioning of our legal status as Americans. But, finally, the United States had to recognise our citizenship; they even had to admit a thousand Negro Officers into its army. This persuaded me to support the war to end - war which became for America the war to make money.

One matter from the first intrigued me and that was the distribution or the disposition of the German Colonies in Africa. I wrote the President of the United States suggesting in 1918 that the Peace Congress assign these colonies covering over a million square miles and over 12.5 million inhabitants to International control. These colonies have been taken from Germans chiefly by Negro troops in Africa. France has been saved by Negro troops. Would this not be an opportunity to establish a free autonomous Africa and to add to a sorely beset Liberia and an insecure Ethiopia? I suggested therefore that the coming Peace Congress consider shutting up these colonies under an International Board of Control on which the Africans themselves should have representation. The President was too busy to reply to this note but he went to his commission of peace and I believe it had some influence in establishing the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Meantime American Negro troops were receiving hard treatment at the hands of the American army in Europe. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) considered sending me abroad after the armistice in November 1918 to investigate. I suggested that we also hold a Pan African Congress in Paris to influence the Congress of Versailles. Negroes in Philadelphia and elsewhere supported me in this request but the directors of the NAACP were unwilling. As a prominent member of the board put it "haven't we enough troubles of our own without trying to settle the problems of Africa?". In other words, the mass of American Negroes had been subjected to a long propaganda against Africa. They did not really understand African problems, and knew few Africans personally. They particularly resented the effort covering a hundred years or more to induce or force American Negroes to go to Africa. This contradicted the insistence in College and Church at that time that Africa had no history and that its inhabitants were the lowest of barbarians. Thus, the average American negro at the beginning of the century had a dim view of any connection with Africa. On the other hand, personally, I knew something of Africa. I had written in 1915 a book on the Negro in the home University of Liberia. The publishers at first hesitated about

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bringing it out since its conclusions were so at variance with all standard authorities. At that time . . . (applause) . . . at that time, there was not in this nation a single University which gave a course of study on Africa. However, I knew some Africans. I have met Kango Javago, Dr. Ruby Sanna and Ak'baby in London. I had taught the Dubi's and Charlotte Monya at Wilberforce. So, finally, the NAACP permitted me to call the Congress in Paris provided I took all responsibility. The United States Government had arranged to have Milton who succeeded before Washington at Tuskegee to go to Paris on the special Creolo boat for newspapermen in order that Milton might pacify the unhappy American Negro soldiers. They all were displeased when I appeared on the same boat as a Magazine editor. For at that time, the United States was still a Democracy and they could not legally send me back. When I srrived in Paris, I immediately approached the American Peace Commission with my scheme. All members discouraged me, they pointed out that Paris was still under martial law and allow no such meeting. My attempt to see President Wilson got me an interview with Colonel House, his representative. Colonel House appeared sysmpathetic but he took no action.

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Then I took the war into Africa. I went to Bleise D'Anye, the French Colonial Undersecretary. He was a black Senegalese and he was at the time incensed at what Americans were asking France to do in the treatment of American Negro troops. He went directly to Prime Minister Quemansol ??. Quemansol ?? was deeply indebted to D'Anye. D'Anye had brought a hundred thousand black troops to save France at the first onslaught of the Germans. They were mowed down by the German artillery but France lived. Quemansol ?? also, incidentally, disliked the United States. He hesitated but finally growled "Go ahead with your congress but don't make too much noise about it" -- (applause) . . . Meanwhile, Negroes in America applied for visas to come to the meeting. They were told that France had forbidden it. In Britain both coloured and white Africans were refused visas. Africans were similarly turned back. Apparently, I was to have a congress with no one attending; but frantic search in France and Paris brought results. . . . (name?). a coloured man who had long been a popular American Consul there came and brought friends. A number of coloured American Army officers and white soldiers on leave were picked up. British and African soldiers and civilians were found here and there. In all 57 persons mostly of African descent met at the Grand Hotel in Paris in February 1919, for the FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS -- 12 were from Africa, 16 from the United States, and 20 from the West Indies. D'Anye presided and I was secretary. The French Foreign office was represented and Dutch and Belgians looked in. Americans kept their the weary eye on us. Back of this meeting, there was no plot and too few planners. In my own mind there was but one idea to let persons of African descent through their friends meet together and get acquainted, ~~with~~ to discuss their situation in various parts of the world, and to ask what united action could be taken and how we could arrange to meet regularly in future with larger representation. In Europe, this congress was treated

with respect and its declarations were read and commented on. I was convinced that I was on the right track. I started, therefore, to organize a larger and more representative Pan African Congress. The NAACP was still not disposed to take part officially although willing that I should go ahead. It had found a path toward emancipation which consisted of opposing, lynching and mob violence, of demanding Political rights, and securing court decisions which could establish the status of Negroes as American citizens. In this path they were making notable advance. They had beaten down the Booker Washington Plan of educating negroes mainly as servants and cheap labour for the exploiters. It was pretty difficult, however, to induce them to add to their work the problems of Africa. However, I was convinced that as long as black folks were oppressed anywhere because of race and colour the problem of American Negroes would never be settled. I went ahead, therefore, with the second Pan African Congress with voluntary and largely individual help. I called this Congress to meet successively in London, Brussels and Paris from August 29, to September 6, 1921. I believed that by bringing together the white rulers of the world and the Negroes of Africa and the world, that we might induce the white masters to consider our complaints and demands. There attended these meetings 113 accredited delegates from 26 Negro groups, including 39 delegates from the Continent of Africa. Besides, these, there were hundreds of visitors -- European, Asiatic and American -- present at our sessions. We secured the speakers not only Africans and coloured Americans and West Indians, but white leaders like Lord Ahviers Vingry, Paul Oakley and Senator Fontaine of Belgium, General Suelass of Spain and Florence Kelley of the United States. In publicity the meetings were a pronounced success. Our declarations were discussed by the press of all Europe and our demands won warm sympathy and some bitter opposition. There can be no doubt that the second Pan African Congress stirred the world. I was encouraged to attempt a World organization with a central office in Paris and a permanent executive. On the other hand, opposition increased, not only from the Imperial Powers but among the scattered groups which would eventually compose of this official organization. For instance, in the West Indies came Marous Garvey, leading there the oppressed and poverty-striken black peasantry against exploitation by white and mulatto capitalists. He formed an organisation to take over control of trade and capital not only in the West Indies but in Africa itself, and violently to supplant white control with black. It was an idea which spread widely in America and in Africa and grew into a larger organisation. But its realisation was far beyond any powers which negroes possessed. It led Garvey to antagonize Liberia, and to break the law of the United States for which he went to jail. After release, he was deported to the West Indies and there general colonial machinations made rebuilding his organisation impossible. He attempted again in London and failed and died in neglect in 1940. His ideas of

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African Nationalism, however, took root and inspired many Africans. On the other hand, the Garvey Movement made the Pan African movement more difficult. We were pushing slowly within the Law, for consultation and understanding. The Imperialists thought or pretended to think, that we with Garvey were demanding revolution. The Imperial powers therefore began to oppose us and to warn colonial peoples against American Negro hot-heads. But Pan African Congresses met in 1923 and 1927 in London, Lisbon and New York and had considerable and distinguished backing. Nevertheless, these never reached the importance of the Second Congress, and that chiefly because they failed to secure and consolidate a solid Negro mass backing. We especially failed to secure a meeting on the Continent of Africa itself and a permanent organisation. However, our basic idea of periodic meetings and organisation for progress persisted. In West Africa soon after the First Pan African Congress a group of forceful leaders united in a West African Congress in Accra; they carefully avoided all official connection with us but their declarations concerning democracy in Africa were of the highest significance. Later, from 1920 to 1945, African Congresses were formed in Nigeria, in the Union of South Africa, in the Rhodesias, in Nyasaland, in Kenya, Uganda, and other colonies. Few of these had any direct connection with the Pan African movement but all were influenced by it in some degree. White South Africa even under Smuts tried to appropriate the name Pan Africa but failed. And slowly in this way the idea of the Pan African movement survived even when the great depression stopped efforts to assemble another congress.

Then after the Second World War the Trade Unions of the world met in Paris. For the first time Black Trade Unionists met white trade unionists face to face. In the case of the British Unions, attempt was made to allow the whites to speak for all the blacks. The blacks protested fiercely and won their battle in the assembly. This difference along with other disagreements split the organisation into western and communist groups. Before this division occurred, the African Unionists demanded another Pan African Congress. George Padmore, a West Indian Negro educated in the United States and long resident in Europe, took the lead and communicated with me. I was but the figure head at the time and by that I mean the Pan African Congress was on paper and the minds of men. But ideas are powerful things. My own fortunes have been at a low ebb, the depression had made me to give up editing the Crisis, I had returned to teaching and study for ten years. When I was recalled to the NAACP my first demand was to revive the Pan African movement. The NAACP accented, and a brisk call for a fifth Pan African Congress in 1945 gave me my chance.

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

The ensuing congress in Manchester, England, was different from the previous congresses. First, it was called by Africans and dominated by them; my role was purely historical. Theirs was to build for the future an active, effective organisation. Padmore, a negro writer of long experience in historical research and practical organisation, was the guiding spirit. The younger men present are, in many cases, already historical figures -- Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, and others from all parts of Africa. Their work was to reorganize the movement and base it on Africa, to restate demands and plan for future meetings. This brings the history of the Pan African Movement to date. It only really leaves for me to say a word as to its possible future. First and foremost, we face a world far different now from 1919. This is a world of war and preparation for war, and it has been such for over 50 years. Yesterday, the American Congress appropriated $3,800,000,000 for war. That sum, together with what other civilized lands are devoting for preparing for murder and destruction could, if the world would do away with curable disease, leave no hungry mouths unnursed, give every human being at least a high school education, put every man to needed work for which he was prepared and build something nearer heaven on earth. The fact that we are not willing to do this is proof that humanity today is not sane. Yet in the midst of this hysteria you and I must work. Moreover, it is my lot to work and yours to learn in the United States of America. To many wise people, the hysteria current here seems worse than anywhere else on earth. Perhaps this is not so much because of what we are actually doing, as because of what men once dreamed America would do. The United States in 1776 declared before God and this world that all men were born equal and then for 182 years since this nation has fought to make negroes slaves, serfs and secondary citizens and is still largely striving to do the same thing. This is one of the reasons that this nation has become a country of the rich, ruled by the rich, ruled for the rich. It is also the reason that you have not been welcomed here by descendants of Africa eager to join in your efforts for Education and Autonomy.

Believe me, this is not because we had not tried, striving in the midst of slavery, poverty, ignorance and insult, we American negroes have for 300 years sacrificed our bodies and our souls for a chance to rise to manhood. Our toil and tears have made this land, our songs and sorrows has been poured on it in endless libation. We gain much by our efforts and by the sacrifice of our friends but we are still niggers, most of us do not vote either because we cannot or see no reason for voting. In the regions where most of us live, our children still, despite the law, have no decent schools. We are excluded for work we are fitted to do and are paid less than we earn in the work we do. We are not welcome in most Christian Churches yet we fight on and will continue to fight if it takes another 300 years or more to achieve equality [Big and long applause] Meantime, we

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THE UNITED STATES AND WAR

AMSTERDAM, SEPTEMBER II, 1958, by W.E.B.Du BOIS.

THE GREATEST PARODOX OF TODAY IS THE SIGHT OF THE ~~GREATEST~~ first DEMOCRACY OF OUR TIME BEING THE foremost LEADER ~~OF~~ in PREPARATION FOR WORLD WAR. // MY COUNTRY HAS JUST APPROPRIATED 60 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS FOR NEXT YEAR ~~PREPARATION~~ TO DESTROY PROPERTY AND KILL HUMAN BEINGS. // IT IS DRAFTING THE MAIN BODY OF ITS YOUTH TO PREPARE FOR FIGHTING AND HAS AN ARRAY OF ARMED FORCES SUCH AS THE WORLD NEVER BEFORE ~~SAW. DREAM~~ has seen.

WHY IS THIS? IT SURELY NOT BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM YOU. THEY ARE INTELLIGENT, KIND-HEARTED AND PHILANTHROPIC. They want Peace // BUT THE FACT THAT PEOPLE ARE WELL-MEANING HAS NEVER IN HUMAN HISTORY HINDERED THEM FROM DOING EVIL IN THIS CASE WE ARE SEEING A VAST AND POWERFUL NAION OF 170 MILLIONS DELIBERATELY MISLED. // AMERICANS SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY THREATENED WITH OVERWHELMING ATTACK AT ANY INSTANT BY A CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY ~~DIRECTED AT THEM AND~~ LED BY THE SOVIET UNION. // THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS SECRET

PLOT ~~ORGANIZATION~~ DEPRIVED AMERICAN BUSINESS OF THE TRADE OF CHINA, SECURED KNOWLEDGE of the atom bomb by bribery AND THROUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS ~~ARE~~ READY TO TO START VIOLENT REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. // I DO NOT THINK THAT I EXAGGERATE THIS BELIEF AND ATTITUDE OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN CITIZEN TODAY. // YET EVERY INTELLIGENT EUROPEAN KNOWS THAT THIS BELIEF IS ~~AT LEAST~~ A GROSS EXAGGERATION OF THE FACTS ~~PERHAPS~~. IT IS OF COURSE TRUE THAT AS SOCIALISM SPREADS AND AS THE GOALS OF COMMUNISM COME NEARER REALIZATION ~~POSSIBLE ACHIEVEMENT, THAT~~ THE POSSIBILITY OF LARGE ~~EXXXXX~~ PROFIT FROM PRIVATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT WILL BECOME LESS AND LESS. // BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN WAR UNLESS PRIVETE CAPITAL MAKES WAR TO SAVE ITSELF. // SOCIALISM HAS NO NEED TO DESTROY AND KILL in order to TRIUMPH. // THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT WANT WAR. // IT KNOWS THE HORROR, CRUETY AND FUTILITY OF WAR AS NO OTHER NATION ON EARTH KNOWS AND AS THE UNITED STATES ESPECIALLY IS PITIFULLY IGNORANT. // MOREOVER THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT NEED WAR TO ACCOMPLISH THE ~~GREAT~~ GOALS AT WHICH SHE AIMS. // WHY SHOULD SHE FIGHT AND DIE FOR THE PROGRESS SHE IS ALREADY MAKING IN INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND HUMAN CONTENTMENT? // IF THIS BE TRUE AND IF MOST INTELLIGENT EUROPEANS KNOW IT TO BE TRUE, WHY DOES AMERICA CLING SO FRANTICALLY TO ITS MISTAKEN BELIEFS AND PURSUE ITS FATAL PATH TOWARD WORLD WAR AND THE SUICIDE OF MODERN CULTURE?

IT IS BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DO NOT KNOW THE FACTS WHICH ARE CLEAR TO MOST EUROPEANS // BY THE DELIBERATE MACHINATION OF ORGANIZED BUSINESS IN AMERICA, BY ITS MONOPOLY AND CONTROL OF THE GATHERING, DISTRIBUTION AND INTERPRETATION OF NEWS THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT TODAY REALIZE THE TRUTH. ~~AMERICA ITSELF DOES NOT REALIZE THIS~~ AND THE REST OF THE WORLD DOES NOT SEE HOW THIS CAN HAPPEN IN AN INTELLIGENT NATION // IT CAN HAPPEN AND HAS HAPPENED. THE UNITED STATES TOO OFTEN HAS ~~TOO OFTEN~~ DELIBERATELY TAMPERED WITH THE TRUTH FOR TEMPORY ADVANTAGE // THE FIRST TIME WAS ~~WHEN~~ IN REGARD TO THE SLAVERY OF NEGROES // AMERICA WAS SINCERE WHEN IN 1776 IT DECLARED THAT "ALL MEN ARE EQUAL" // BUT THIS YOUNG AND EAGER LAND

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NEEDED LABOR TO GATHER ~~THE~~ do BOUNDING WEALTH ~~ABOUT~~ AND IT COULD NOT GET ENOUGH LABOR FROM EUROPE // IT COULD HOWEVER GET CHEAP LABOR FROM AFRICA AND THIS LABOR IN THE EIGTHEENTH CENTURY GREAT BRITAIN ~~FURTHER UPON AMERICA~~ hastened to furnish at the lowest prices MEN WHO THEMSELVES AND THEIR FATHERS HAD LONG KNOW THE BITTER STING OF POVERTY SAW BLAZING WEALTH IN THE SUNRISE // WEALTH AND DIGNITY, SERVICE AND OBEISANCE AND SO WITHOUT (too much) THOUGHT AND IN SPITE OF WARNING THE FIRST GREAT FREE DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD BECAME A LAND OF SLAVERY // BUT IT NEVER WAS ~~WILLING~~ TO REMAIN SO // WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON ALL WERE DETERMINED TO SEE AMERICA A FREE NATION // BUT THEN CAME MODERN TRADE AND INDUSTRY // THEN SLAVE-RAISED COTTON BECAME ONE OF THE FOUNDING STONES OF A NEW AND SINGULARLY EFFICIENT WAY OF ACCUMULATING WEALTH // HOW COULD SLAVE GROWN (capital) ~~WEALTH~~ BE TRANSMUTED TO FREE DEMOCRATIC INDUSTRY? IT COULD NOT WITHOUT TREMENDOUS SACRIFICE AND THIS SACRIFICE AMERICA REFUSED TO MAKE FOR EIGHTY LONG AND TROUBLED YEARS UNTIL IN 1863, IT TRIED THE OLD RESORT TO WAR AND KILLED 500,000 OF ITS BEST YOUTH TO FREE FOUR MILLION BLACK SLAVES ~~BUT COSTLY AS IT WAS~~ IT thought was THE DEED WAS DONE IT SANG "MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE GLORY OF THE COMING OF THE LORD; HE IS TRAMPING OUT THE VINTAGE WHERE THE GRAPES OF WRATH WERE STORED; HE HATH LOOSED THE FATEFUL LIGHNING OF HIS TERRIBLE QUICK SWORD HIS TRUTH IS MARCHING ON. "

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BUT HERE AGAIN THIS POETIC REJOICING WAS NOT A REFLECTION OF THE whole TRUTH. AMERICA DID NOT FIGHT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT ONLY TO PREVENT ITS EXPANSION WEST TO THE PACIFIC AND SOUTH OVER THE CARIBBEAN. IT WAS UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH EVEN THIS WITHOUT FREEING THE SLAVES AND USING THEM AS WORKERS AND SOLDERS. THE CIVIL WAR ENDED THEREFOR WITH AN EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION: FOUR MILLION ILLITERATE FREEDMEN, EVEN MORE POOR WHITE SOUTHERNERS DISINHERITED BY BLACK SLAVERY, and A MASS OF WHITES, NORTH AND SOUTH, DISLOCATED BY WAR AND FACING A WORLD DEMANDING IMMEDIATELY AND IN LARGE AMOUNTS THE RAW MATERIAL WHICH AMERICA COULD FURNISH ONCE IT WAS REORGANIZED FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY. NATURALLY THE YEARS FROM EMANCIPATION TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW AND ORDER, FROM 1866TO 1876, WERE DAYS OF ANARCHY. AND NATURALLY TOO THE ASPERSION OF the quiet of THIS CONFUSION AND LAWLESSNES TO THE FREED SLAVE WAS ABSOLUTELY unfair FALSE. YET THIS WAS WHAT THE WORLD AND AMERICA ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION DID AND STILL DOES.

IN TRUTH THE UNITED STATES IN 1866, FOUND ITSELF IN SCIENCE AND MORALS TOTALLY UNEQUIPPED FOR DEALING WITH THE SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH IT FACED. IN EUROPE THIS WAS THE HEYDEY OF FREE INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE UNDER PRIVATE CAPITAL STARTING TO BUILD A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF EUROPE WOULD RULE THE WORLD. IN AMERICA THE COUNTERPART OF THIS

WAS TO EXPLOIT A FERTILE CONTINENT WITH RICH RESOURSES AND A LARGE SUPPLY OF LABOR. THE PROBLEM HOWEVER OF ORGANIZING THIS LABOR WAS BAFFLING: IT CONSISTED OF WHITE IMMIGRANTS LARGELY ILLITERATE: BLACK FREEDMEN, 75% ILLITERATEAND NATIVE LABOR, INTELLIGENT, RUTHLESS AND HIGHLY INDIVIDUALISTIC. THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE INTELLIGENT FREE NEGROES DEMANDED A SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF FREE LAND, POPULAR EDUCATION, WORK AT FAIR WAGE, PROTECTION IN COURTS, SOCIAL MEDICINE AND ADULT ,MALE SUFFRAGE, REGARDLESS OF RACE. THIS WAS ATTEMPTED IN 1868, WITH THE BITTER OPPOSITION OF THE IMPOVERISHED PLANTERS AND THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH. THE PLANTERS REFUSED TO PAY THE INCREASED TAXES, PUT EVERY OBSTACLE IN FRONT OF THE NEWLY REORGANIZED GOVERNMENTS AND EXPECTED UTTER FAILURE OF THE NEGRO AND POOR WHITE GOVERNMENTS, HELPED BY NORTHERN MIGRANTS. THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. DURING THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS, DESPITE MOB VIOLENCE, NEW CONSTITUWERE SDOPTED. A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS STARTED, NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION BEGAN AND ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO SUB-DIVIDE THE LARGE LAND-HOLDINGS. IT IS A FAIR CONCLUSION THAT WITH LAW AND ORDER THESE RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNMENTS HAD A GOOD CHANCE OF SUCCESS. BUT THE PLANTERS CONSPIRED TO INTIMIDATE THE NEGROES WITH MOB VI

OLENCE / AND THEY APPEALED TO THE NORTH / FOR SYMPATHY. // NORTHERN INDUSTRY IN 1870 / WAS GROWING / WITH THE HELP OF HIGH TARIFS, / CHEAP IMMIGRANT LABOR, / FREE WESTERN LAND / AND RAPID BUILDING OF RAILROADS. / IT NEEDED THE COTTON AND LABOR OF THE SOUTH / TO MAKE PROFITABLE COOPERATION / WITH EUROPE IN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. // IT RUSHED SO TUMULTUOUSLY / INTO TRADE AND NEW INDUSTRY / THAT THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE CAPITAL TOTTERED DANGEROUSLY IN 1873. / Dishonesty AND CRIME SPREAD. // REFORM STARTED AND TO THIS REFORM MOVEMENT / THE SOUTHERN PLANTERS, shortly after, / THEY PORTRAYED THE NEGRO GOVERNMENTS OF THE SOUTH / AS SIMILAR TO THE DISHONEST POLITICAL GROUPS OF THE NORTH // THEY THREATENED TO JOIN THE WEST / IN REPUDIATING THE INFLATED PUBLIC DEBT / AND IN LOWERING THE TARIF RATES. // NORTHERN INDUSTRY, / HARD-PRESSED BY THE CRISIS / AND SEEING RENEWAL OF PROSPERITY / IN THE REESTABLISMENT / OF WORK AND ORDER IN THE SOUTH, / OFFERED A COMPROMISE: // THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE BLACK FREEDMEN / AND THE PLACING OF THE FORMER SLAVE STATES / UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WHITE PLANTERS // THIS COMPROMISE WAS ACCEPTED IN 1876 / AND ~~SICE~~ since THEN / THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT BE BEEN A DEMOCRACY //

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~~FROM THOSE NORTHERNERS WHO THEMSELVES FACED~~ A TREMENDOUS SURGE TOWARD THE SEIZURE OF FREE PUBLIC LAND FOR PRIVATE USE; MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURSES IN MINERALS, TIMBER AND WATERPOWER AND IN VAST AND RAPID BUILDING OF RAILROADS. EXPLOITation of immigrant labor AND ~~VIOLENT~~CRIMES OF VIOLENCE , STEALING AND CHEATING ACCOMPANIED THIS TERRIBLE EXPANSION OF NATIONAL POWER. WHEN THE SOUTHERN PLANTER COMPLAINED OF DISHONEST GOVERNMENT , THE NORTHERN LIBERAL SYMPATHIZED; WHEN THE SOUTHERN ~~PLANTER~~, THREATENED TO JOIN THE EXPLOITED WEST AND REFUSE TO PAY THE ~~WARDE~~ ~~DEBT~~ INFLATED WAR DEBT AND REDUCE THE HIGH TARIF WHICH MADE INCREASING PROFITS FOR THE NEW INDUSTRY, A COMPROMISE WAS OFFERED IN 1876. IT WAS AN UNFAIR COMPROMISE BECAUSE IT PLACED THE CHIEF BURDEN OF BLAME / FOR VIOLENCE AND DISORDER / IN THE SOUTH / ON THE BLACK VICTIM OF THAT DISORDER / AND BY ALLOWING HIS DISFRANCHISEMENT / MAKE HIM A LANDLESS SERF / INSTEAD OF A VOTING FREEMAN

38-7-186

A NEW ERA THUS BEGAN / FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY / AND TODAY WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF EFFORTS / TO SOLVE THE ENSUING PROBLEMS. // THEY INTERTWINE THEMSELVES WITH PROBLEMS OF WORLD WAR.

THREE SOCIAL PHASES HAVE DEVELOPED IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1876: // FROM 1876 TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR, / WHEN THE IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY / WAS HELD LESS STRONGLY THAN ~~THAN~~ AT ANY TIME SINCE 1850 // THE ONLY GROUP WHICH FOUGHT UNSWERVINGLY / FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE / AND EQ AL REPRESENTATION / WAS THE AMERICAN NEGRO // THE CHIEF THOUGHT AND EFFORT OF THE NATION / WAS THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH / AND IN THIS THE SUCCESS WAS TREMENDOUS // RICH INDIVIDUALS MULTIPLIED / AND THEIR POWER INCREASED. // COMPETITION DISSAPEARED / IN GREAT TRUSTS // THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE WAS AROUSED / AND MEN ASKED / WHAT WERE THE MORAL RULES / OF MONEY-MAKING. // BUT POLITICAL EFFORTS / TO CURB INDIVIDUAL POWER THROUGH WEALTH / WERE NOT SUCESSFUL / BECAUSE OF THE POWER OF THE SOUTH / BASED ON NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT / AND THE POWER OF GREAT CITIES / BASED ON BRIBERY AND INDIRECT FORCE // IN THE NEXT ERA FROM 1914 / TO AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR / THE NATION WAS FORCED / INTO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS // THE OLD FEELING AGAINST MINGling in European affairs / was still strong / and was based ON THE COLONIAL REACTION / WHICH SEVERED AMERICA FROM ENGLAND // DESPITE THE SPANISH WAR / AND ANNEXATION OF HAWAII, / ANTI*IMPERIALISM WAS STRONG IN AMERICA IN 1914 // but ~~despite~~ in fact an overwheLMING VOTE / THE NATION WAS SWEPT INTO WAR // AND MORE THAN THAT / THE NATION MADE MONEY OUT OF THE WORLD'S DISASTER // MILLIONAIRES MULTIPLIED / AND CORPORATIONS GREW IN NUMBER

AND POWER // A HYSTERIA OF MONEY-MAKING / SWEPT THE NATION / AND EVERYBODY BEGAN TO GAMBLE / UNTIL THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE CAPITAL COLLAPSED / AND VERY NEAR CARRIED THE WORLD WITH IT IN ~~1929~~ 1929.

THEN AMERICA / TURNED TO SOCIALISM. // IT IS THE FASHION IN AMERICA / TO DENY THIS / ~~AND TO~~ AND POINT OUT / THAT ROOSEVELT WAS NOT A SOCIALIST / AND THAT NO GROUP OF HIS ADVISERS CONSCIOUSLY PLANNED A WELFARE STATE // NEVERTHELESS IT IS TRUE / THAT THE UNITED STATES FROM 1932 TO 1945 / ADOPTED A PLANNED ECONOMY / WITH GOVERNMENT ~~CONTROL~~ relief OF POVERTY / control of Capital and ~~AND NATIONAL~~ SUBVENTION OF ART. // IT WAS THE VAST MISFORTUNE OF THE NATION / THAT ANOTHER WORLD WAR / BASED AGAIN ON European CONTROL OF LAND AND LABOR / IN ASIA AND AFRICA / STOPPED THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM / IN THE UNITED STATES / AND USHERED IN A REACTION / SO TREMENDOUS IN POWER AND EFFECT / AS TO THREATEN THE WORLD WITH FINAL WAR TODAY //

THIS REACTION / WAS GUIDED BY THE GREAT CORPORATIONS / WHOSE PRICE FOR RESCUING THE BRITISH EMPIRE / IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR / WAS AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN COLONIAL IMPERIALISM / AFTER THE WAR. // THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AFTER THE WAR / USHERED THE AMERICAN CORPORATION INTO WORLD ~~CONTROL~~ POWER. // SOME SIXTY GREAT SELF-GOVERNING AND AUTOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS / TOOK CONTROL OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT /

11 2 Method

HEBPED AGAIN BY THAT PARALYSIS OF THE DEMOCRATIC WHICH BDGAN BY DISFRANCHISING THE MASS OF NEGRO VOTERS IN 1876 AND PUTTING THE POLITICAL POWER OF THEIR REPRESE SENTATION IN THE ~~POWER~~ hands OF WHITE SOUTHERN POLIGITIANS // THIS FACILITATED A MANIPUL ATION OF NORTHERN POLITICAL POWER WHICH MADE A THIRD PARTY ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE AND CONSOLIDATED POLITICAL POWER INTO THE HANDS OF T OF ONE PARTY USING TWO NAMES // WHICH INDICATED NO REAL DIFFERENCE IN POLICY. // IN CHARGE OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA SAT BIG BUSINESS ORGANIZATION, ABLE TO HIRE THE BEST BRAINS OF THE LAND AND TO THREATEN THE ~~VERY EXISTENCE AND CERTAINLY THE~~ CAREER AND GOOD NAME OF ANY PERSON WHO VOICED OPPOSITION. // THE FIRST WORK OF THIS SUPER-GOVERNMENT WAS TO MAKE SURE OF THE BACKING OF THE NATION OR AT LEAST OF NO OPENLY VOICED OPPOSITION.

38-7-189

THE NEW SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY SO EFFECTIVDLY AND FATALLY USED BY ADOLF HITLER TO MAKE GERMANY ATTRIBUTE ALL ITS WOES TO JEWS HAS BEEN USED BY BIG BUSINESS IN AMERICA TO MAKE AMERICA PREPARE FOR ~~TOTAL WAR AGAINST~~ THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM TOGETHER WITH IT FEEDER SOCIALISM.

THIS MAY ~~BE~~ SOUND TO FOREIGNERS LIKE AN OVERSTATEMENT; MANY AMERICANS ARE NOT AWARE OF IT. ~~I assume you~~

#0 12

I THINK MY PICTURE OF THR TRUTH IS NOT OVERDRAWN AND CAN BE EASILY VERIFIED BY ~~CARTEIL~~ INVESTIGAYION. // THE RESULT OF TEN YEARS OF LEADERSHIP BY AMERICAN BUSINESS HAS BEEN TO MAKE THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FEAR WAR AND PREPARE FOR IT ON AN UNPRECCEDENTED SCALE. // FOR THIS _____ WE ARE NEGLECTING EDUCATION / and SOCIAL MEDICINE, AND THE REASONABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. //

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WE ARE PERMITTING THE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE AND STOPPING FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND HONEST EXPRESSION OF OPINION // WE ARE FASIFYING HISTORY TEMPTING OUR YOUTH TO CRIME AND DEPRIVING THEM OF THE INSPIRATION OF THAT VIRTUE AND SACRIFICE ON WHICH TRUE CIVILIZATION DEPENDS

38-7-190

THE AMOUNT AND KINDAND QUALITY OF CONSUMTPTION GOODS IS NO LONGER LEFT TO THE NATURAL OR EDUCATED CHOICE OF CITIZENS BUT IS BY VAST EXPENDITURE OF ~~THE MANUFACTURERS~~ FUNDS SO DIRECTED , ENCOURAGED AND NARROWED AS TO RESULT IN THE LARGEST PROFIT TO INDUSTRY OFTEN IN DEFIANCEOF HEALTH AND ART // ADVERTISING HAS BECOME THE ART OF MAKING PEOPLE BUY WHAT THEY DO NOT NEED OR EVEN DO NOT WANT. // BUT IT HAS BECOME ONE OF THE GREATEST OF AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS /

IT HAS ALSO RESULTED IN WIDE AMERICAN CONTROL OF EUROPEAN BUSINESS UNDER AMERICAN INVESTMENT. IT HAS TRANSFORMED AMERICAN INDUSTRY, REPLACING THE PERSONAL SERVICE OF THE SHOP WITH MECHANICAL MASS PRODUCTION, SUBSTITUTING REPAIR WITH REPLACEMENT AND WASTE AND ENCOURAGING THE INDIVIDUAL TO BELIEVE THAT HIS PERSONAL COMFORT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN HIS NATION'S WELFARE. AND CONCENTRATING ALMOST ALL THE VAST POWER OF THE STATE BACKED BY UNPRECEDENTED MILITARY MIGHT IN THE HANDS OF 60 GREAT CORPORATINS RUN BY AUTOCRATIC NEPOTISM.

38-7-191

WHAT NOW SHOULD WE DO, WE WHO ARE JUST PLAIN CITIZENS, WHO SEEK NEITH PLACE NOR POWER! BUT ONLY THE GOOD OF MA KIND. ESPECIALLY DOES THIS PUT MY PEOPLE, THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN A DIFFICULT POS TION. WE CANNOT BE ASKED EXACTLY TO TO LOVE THE UNITED STATES AS OUR COUNTRY BECAUSE IT HAS SORELY WRONGED US EVEN THOUGH AS WE ARE EAGER TO ADMIT IT HAS GIVEN US SOME ADVANTAGES. BUT WE DO BELIEVE IN AMERICA IN ITS FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY AND BASIC BELIEF OF FREEDOM. TODAY AMERICA IS DOUBTLESS LOOSENING THE CHAINS OF OUR BONDAGE TO SOME

EXTENT. IN RETURN FOR THIS AMERICA WANTS US TO TESTIFY TO THE CORRECTNESS OF ITS P PRESENT POLICIES. THIS NO HONEST NEGRO CAN DO AND FOR THIS REASON I HAVE been INDICTED FOR THE CRIME OF ADVOCATING PEACE AND FOR ELEVEN YEARS REFUSED THE RIGHT OF TRAVEL ABROAD. ON THIS FIRST TRIP SINCE 1951, I AM GOING TO SAY WHAT I BELIEVE. I AM NOT GOING TO EXAGGERATE OR BE IN THE LEAST UNFAIR. BUT I AM ASKING EUROPE TO POINT OUT TO AMERICA THAT ONLY THE TRUTH WILL RESTORE HER FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. THAT HER FIRST DUTY IS TO RESCUE HER PRESS AND PUBLISHING BUSINESS FROM THE DEAD HAND OF PRIVATE MONOPOLY. LET THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM BE FREELY ARGUED AND LET THE WHOLE NATION DECIDE IF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE SOVIET UNION, HER ALLIED STATES AND CHINA CAN BE BE STOPPED BY FORCE OR THAT THE EFFORT TO DO THIS IS WORTH WORLD SUICIDE

38-7-192

October 23, 1958.

Address of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois following the ceremony in which he was invested with the Degree of Doctor of Historical Science, honoris causa, by Charles University, Prague

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND COMMUNISM

One hundred years ago, or in the time following the Communist Manifesto, those folk who were aware of the shortcomings and failures of civilization had various plans for improving the world through socialism; but they were not in agreement as to what plan would be best and above all they could point to no plan in modern life that had worked or was working. This was an almost fatal lack, and for near a century it held back much real advance toward socialism. We had socialist thinkers and planners, we had students culminating with the greatest work in social research of modern times, Karl Marx; and we proceeded through the age of Lassalle and Plekhanov, Kingsley and Morris, the Chartists and the Fabians, but still had to acknowledge that socialism remained a dream or at best a series of unhappy and abortive efforts.

Today we have reached no millenium, but we can look about with a sincere rejoicing to see socialism over most of the world advancing and in much of the world triumphant. Our attitude toward this progress will be tempered by our own definition of socialism. When I was a student in a New England high school in 1885, we were warned against "socialism" and by that was meant mainly the intrusion of the government in private business. Today the town owns the waterworks, the state helps finance education and the federal government regulates the railroads, telephones and telegraph which serve the town.

But this is but a narrow definition of socialism. In a broader sense, socialism means the ownership of capital by the

41-11C-6

state; the regulation of all industry in the interests of citizens and not for private profit of the few; and the building of a welfare state where all men work according to ability and share income according to need. The complete socialism called communism has been reached by no nation; but the Soviet Union and China, with their 800,000,000 people, are within sight of this goal; Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Yugoslavia are striving toward it; while India, all West Europe and Scandinavia are adopting programs of government which are widely socialistic. In fine, most civilized states of the world today to a great extent regulate private industry and the use of property; own capital in railroads and communications; own some capital in industry, largely control education, direct and aid medicine and hospitalization, and profess that the welfare state is their ultimate object. Even in the United States, which is the most vocal enemy of socialism in the world, the advance toward socialism in the current century has been marked. We are still the only civilized state which does not own outright its railroads, telegraph, and telephones; nevertheless we strictly and increasingly regulate them; we own increasing capital in industry, in the shape of dams and waterways, forests, lands, and irrigation projects, vast stretches of highway parks, public buildings and private homes; we engage in insurance, medical service, recreation and scientific research; and we process raw materials, manufacture goods, and engage in domestic and foreign trade. The world of my youth would undoubtedly have called this United States "socialistic" even before the New Deal and far on the road toward socialism after it. We can only call our present economy "private enterprise" today because in the last fifty years and especially since the Russian revolution our conception of the possibilities of public control has been so vastly widened by the phenomenal success of socialism in the Soviet Union and China.

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If now we turn to the place which Americans of Negro descent must seek to occupy in the future, conclusions are difficult. Problems of race, class, income and education cross each other and complicate decisions. I have in the last fifty years found myself repeatedly changing my point of view, not so much because of the change in the facts as in the importance of the facts and the consequent necessity for change of emphasis. For instance, as a boy under sixteen, my anxiety was to prove that in the past, despite the teaching of text books and despite then present surroundings, Negroes were folk like other folk. Then in my youth from about 17 to 25, I was intent to secure opportunity for black folk, despite color and poverty. In my working manhood from 25 to 45, I was fighting race discrimination in work, income and recreation and seeking legal and moral redress. It was not until after the Russian revolution that my main interest began to center in economic change as fundamental to the rise of American Negroes.

8-11-14

James Warbasse just died. He was little known but deserves never to be forgotten. He was long the American champion of what was called consumers co-operation, that is, of an economic approach to the problem of poverty which involved no violence and little change of law, but only united effort of intelligent people who bought and used goods.

In August, 1918, I held a meeting of those persons interested in the idea of consumers' co-operation and its spread and adoption among colored people. Among those present was B. M. Roddy of Memphis, Tennessee, who returned home and entered upon an active campaign for the introduction of co-operation throughout the south. By February, 1919, a charter of incorporation for the State of Tennessee was secured and a co-operative organisation founded. Within ninety days after receiving the charter the organisation had sold the entire $5,000 worth of stock and was obliged to

amend the charter and capitalize anew at $15,000. By August 30, 1919, $10,000 worth of this stock had been sold and five grocery stores with meat markets were operating.

But in the end this and some fifty other efforts failed because they were tempted to turn into private investment enterprises and then big business froze them out or swallowed them. It is not true that the business man renders a public service. It is true that his private income and not his public service measures public esteem.

William Matney, who was teaching business in a Negro state school, organised a student co-operative. In 1927 he wrote:

41-11c-9

"The store is owned by student stockholders. The capital of the store was raised by selling stock in the co-operative society at a price less than one dollar per share. The store carries school books and school supplies, athletic goods, kodaks, toilet articles, some pastries made by the Domestic Science Department, confections and sundries, all of which are sold at the current prices in the city. Only stockholders receive sales tickets with purchases and of course only stockholders participate in dividends. Dividends are paid out of net profits at the end of the fiscal period on the basis of the stockholder's purchases and not on the share of stock."

But the project failed. The whole consumers' cooperative movement, when it did not actually fail, in the U.S.A. eked out an existence which turned it into an investment dependent on private profit or on alliance with big business. The difficulty with this brilliant and still valid idea was that without state support and protection it could not live nor develop. Or in other words, without a socialist state, consumers' co-operation fails; with socialism, consumers' co-operation can become the democratic tool of economic progress. The failure of consumers'

co-operation in the United States spells the failure of our socialism to advance more swiftly than it has. It shows how war and preparation for war is holding up the progress of the world.

Meantime, I began after the great depression to seek a way of advance for American Negroes. I repudiated the idea that Negroes were in danger of inner class division based in income and exploitation. ~~I said in 1933~~

Here again I was wrong. Twenty years later, by 1950, I saw clearly that the great machine of big business was sweeping not only the mass of white Americans into a mad race for individual wealth made through private profit in any kind of legal and often illegal enterprise; it had also and quite naturally swept Negroes into the same maelstrom.

The outstanding fact about the Negro group in America, which has but lately gained notice, is that it is flying apart into opposing economic classes. Most people, including myself, long assumed that the American Negro, forced into social unity by color caste, would achieve economic unity as a result, and rise as a mass of laborers led by intelligent planning to a higher unity with the laboring classes of the world.

This has not happened. On the contrary, and quite logically, the American Negro is today developing a distinct bourgeoisie bound to and aping American acquisitive society and developing an employing and a laboring class. This division is only in embryo, but it can be sensed.

For instance: in New York the Negro families receiving an income of $5,000 and more a year form about 10 per cent of the Negro population. That means that they have an income of at least $30,000,000 a year which puts some of them into the capitalist class. On the other hand, there are at least 50,000 Negro families in the city whose income is less than $1,000 a year, which is near

pauperism. They are open to exploitation and crime.

The 300 or more Negro newspapers, with few exceptions, are mouthpieces of this bourgeoisie and bow to the dictates of big business which monopolizes newsprint, world news and credit facilities. Franklin Frazier, a leading Negro American sociologist, once President of the American Sociological Society, has recently emphasized the significance of this development:

"Negro public opinion is thus tied to current American thought either by reasons of security or sometimes by direct money bribery, especially during political campaigns. The dream among the intelligentsia of an independent Negro vote devoted to Negro progress, has therefore largely disappeared except under stress of some particular outrage like the Till murder.

"Class differentiation in Negro organizations is developing more slowly than in general life. In the church organizations there is a distinction between the churches of the very poor and ignorant and those of the well-to-do. But in the latter the main support comes from the workers and in control the physician often shares office and power with the janitor and porter.

"In a mass organization like the NAACP,[1] the bulk of support from the beginning has come from the working class. Recently the well-to-do and rich have notably increased their contributions. It is still the dollars of the poor which support the organization and keep it a popular movement, except in some localities. The Negro control of the organization also is still the domain of the Negro intelligentsia rather than the businessman.

"Opposite the small Negro bourgeoisie is the great mass of black labor. It is at present only vaguely aware of its conflict of interest with the Negro businessman. This businessman employs a considerable number of Negroes and exploits them quite as much and often more than whites because of the limited jobs open to Negroes.

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[1] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

41-112-14

As, however, the Negro laborer joins the white unions, he is drawn into the great labor movement and begins to recognize black business exploitation. But the main masses of American labor are at present in conservative unions under reactionaries like Meany. So far as these unions admit Negroes, the Negroes follow the reactionary philosopy of the white.

"Here the black, like the white, is restrained by charges of subversion and fear of loss of jobs."

Thus it is clear today that the salvation of American Negroes lies in socialism. They should support all measures and men who favor the welfare state; they should vote for government ownership of capital in industry; they should favor strict regulation of corporations or their public ownership; they should vote to prevent monopoly from controlling the press and the publishing of opinions. They should favor public ownership and control of water, electric, and atomic power; they should stand for a clean ballot, the encouragement of third parties and independent candidates and the elimination of grat and gambling on television and even in churches.

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The question of the method by which the socialist state can be achieved must be worked out by experiment and reason and not by dogma. Whether or not methods which were right and clear in Russia and China fit our circumstances is for our intelligence to decide. The atom bomb has revolutionized our thought. Peace is not only preferable today, it is increasingly inevitable.

41-19D-4

OCTOBER 23, 1958

I AM, SIR, DEEPLY MOVED BY THE GREAT HONOR DONE ME TODAY IN A NOTED AND ANCIENT SEAT OF LEARNING, CHARLES CAROLINIAN UNIVERSITY. I RECEIVE THIS HONOR IN ALL HUMILITY HOLDING IT NOT SO MUCH PERSONAL BUT RATHER AS A N ACT OF SYMBOLISM TOWARD THE RACE WHICH I REPRESENT IN AMERICA AND ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHOSE STRUGGLES TODAY MEAN PEACE TO THE TORN AND DISTRACTED WORLD OR CONTINUATION OF EXPLOITATION, THEFT AND MURDER. IT MAY WELL BE THAT MANY OF MY PEOPLE DO NOT TODAY FULLY REALIZE THEIR VAST RESPONSIBILITY TO HUMANITY. THE FIGHT FOR PRIVATE CAPITAL AND PROFIT FROM INVESTMENT IN CHEAP LABOR AND STOLEN LAND HAS BEEN WON IN MOST OF ASIA, BUT IT NOW CENTERS IN AFRICA. BRITAIN, FRANCE, HOLLAND BELGIUM AND AMERICA TODAY STAND ON TIP-TOE, STRAINING EVERY MUSCLE AND USING EVERY DEVICE TO INDUCE BLACK FOLK TO SELL THEMSELVES TO THE VAST POWER OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IN ITS FINAL EFFORT TO RULE THE WORLD. FOR THIS FAILURE AMONG MY PEOPLE TO SEE THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORLD CLEARLY WE CANNOT BE TOO SEVERLY BLAMED. SCIENCE AND RELIGION HAVE FOR FIVE CENTURIES UNITED TO DENY THE ROLE OF AFRICA IN HISTORY AND TO TEACH NEGROES SUBMISSION INSTEAD OF REVOLT. EVEN IN AMERICA WHERE A MODERN SLAVERY OF THE WORKING CLASS WAS ESTABLISHED, EVEN THOSE BLACKS WHO FINALLY OVERTHREW IT, TO DAY ARE UNSURE OF THEIR NEXT STEP. TOO MANY OF US ARE SUPPORTING THE VAST EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING ON A THIRD AND LAST WORLD WAR. I CONCEIVE IT MY DUTY TO CHANGE THIS THOUGHT AT LEAST AMONG MY PEOPLE AND IN AFRICA AND THE HONOR YOU HAVE DONE ME WILL INSPIRE THE LAST EFFORTS OF MY LIFE. AGAIN, SIR, I THANK ~~YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES~~ FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE TODAY

October 23, 1958

I am gentlemen, deeply moved by the great honor done me today in a noted and ancient seat of learning, Charles University. I receive this honor in all humility holding it not so much personal but rather as an act of symbolism toward the race which I represent in America and on the continent of Africa. These are the people whose struggles today mean peace to the torn and distracted world or continuation of exploitation, theft and murder. It may well be that many of my people do not today fully realize their vast responsibility to humanity. The fight for private capital and profit from investment in cheap labor and stolen land has been won in most of Asia, but it now centers in Africa. Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and America today stand on tip-toe, straining every muscle and using every device to induce black folk to sell themselves to the vast power of private capitalism in its final effort to rule the world. For this failure among my people to see the struggle of the world clearly we cannot be too severely blamed. Science and religion have for five centuries united to deny the role of Africa in history and to teach Negroes submission instead of revolt. Even in America where a modern slavery of the working class was established even those blacks who finally overthrew it, today are unsure of their next step. Too many of us are supporting the vast effort of the United States to bring on a third and last World War. I conceive it my duty to change this thought at least among my people and in Africa and the honor you have done me will inspire the last efforts of my life. Again, gentlemen, I thank you for what you have done today.

October 23, 1938.

Speech of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in acceptance of the Degree of Doctor of Historical Science, honoris causa, from Charles University, Prague.

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Again, gentlemen, I thank you for what you have done today.

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MONDAY,, NOVEMBR THIRD, 1958

THE HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY AT BERLIN

Today you have fulfilled one of the highest ambitions of my young manhood. In 1890, I received my degree of B atchelor of Arts at Harvard university, the oldest college in the United States. I began in 1891 to study in the Graduate School of Harvard for the doctorate. I wanted to finish my work at a German University but I had no funds. By earning scholarships I staid two years at Harvard and then applied to the Slater Fund for a scholarship to study in Germany. This fund had been furnished by a rich American to educate Negroes but did not think any American Negroes worthy of study abroad. I beseiged them with such testimonials that they finally surrendered and in 1892, I matriculated at the Friedrich Wilhelm University at Berlin under Rektor, Rudolf Virchow. I secured admission to the seminars of Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner for staatswissenschaftlich- statistish studies By this time my scholarship had expired and I had to return home. I had not however completed the university triennium and Berlin would not count my

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residence work at Harvard, Schmoller tried to induce the faculty to make my case an exception but the Department of English made so strong an objection that the faculty refused. I returned to the United States and took my doctor's degree at Harvard in 1896. Hovever I had studied unedr some of your great teachers like Von Treitschke, Wagner, Schmoller, Sering, Von Gneist and Lenz, I still regretted my failure to receive a German Doctorate. and today by your kindness, that ambition is fulfilled. I am deeply thankful for myslf, my wife and for my great-grandson, who is 10 months old.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER THIRD, 1958

THE HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY AT BERLIN

38-8-22

Today you have fulfilled one of the highest ambitions of my young manhood. In 1890, I received my degree of Batchelor of Arts at Harvard university, the oldest college in the United States. I began in 1891 to study in the Graduate School of Harvard for the doctorate. I wanted to finish my work at a German University but I had no funds. By earning scholarships I staid two years at Harvard and then applied to the Slater Fund for a scholarship to study in Germany. This fund had been furnished by a rich American to educate Negroes but most members of its board did not think any American Negroes worthy of study abroad. I beseiged them with such testimonials that they finally surrendered and in 1892, I matriculated at the Friedrich Wilhelm University at Berlin under Rektor, Rudolf Virchow. I promised to pay back half of the value of the scholarship & did so. I secured admission to the seminars of Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner for a staatswissenschaftlichen - statistischen studies. I did not complete the university triennium but staid 3 semesters until my scholarship expired. Berlin would not count my residence at Harvard and thus permit me to take the examination for the doctorate. Schmoller tried to induce the faculty to make my case an exception, but the Department of English made so strong an objection that the faculty refused. I returned to the United States, therefore, and eventually took my doctor's degree at Harvard in 1896. However I had studied under some of your great teachers like ~~[illegible]~~ Wagner, Schmoller, Von Treitschke, Gering, Von Gneist and Lenz, ~~[illegible]~~. I had travelled by foot & train over much of Germany; I had listened to music & drama. I had closely followed political life & social development. However, I still regretted my failure to receive a German Doctorate. Today by your kindness & I trust not prejudiced judgment, that ambition is fulfilled. I am deeply thankful for myself, my wife and for my great-grandson, who is 10 months old.

To be delivered at All African People's Conference-- Accra, Dec., 1958

PAN-AFRICA, 1919-1958
By W.E.B. Du Bois

FELLOW AFRICANS:

About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnapped on this coast of West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York in America where he was sold in slavery. About the same time a French Huguenot, Jacques Du Bois, migrated from France to America and his great -grandson, born in the West Indies and with Negro blood, married the great-great-granddaughter of my black ancestor. I am the son of this couple, born in 1868, hence my French name and my African loyalty.

As a boy I knew little of Africa save legends and some music in my family. The books which we studied in the public school had almost no information about Africa, save of Egypt, which we were told was not Negroid. I heard of few great men of xfr Negro blood, but I built up in my mind a dream of what Negroes would do in the future, even though they had no past. Then happened a series of events: In the last decade of the 19th century, I studied two years in Europe, and often heard Africa mentioned with respect. Then, a s a teacher in America, I had a few African students. Later at Atlanta University a visiting Professor, Franz Boaz, addressed the students and told them of the history of the Black Soudan. I was utterly amazed and began to study Africa for myself. I attended the Paris Exposition in 1900, and met with West Indians in London in a Pan-African Conference. This movement died, but in 1911 I attended a Races Congress in London which tried to bring together representatives from all races of the world. I met distinguished Africans and was thrilled. However, World War killed this movement. But before the United States entered the First World War, I visited the West Indies and met more persons of Negro descent and heard more Negro history. I wrote a book on "The Negro". After the United Statrs entered the war I had a vision. I proposed to President Wilson that the German colonies in Africa be set up after the war as an independent area governed by an international board on which Africans should be represented. This was not accepted but it influenced the celebrated Mandates Provision of the final treaty. Meantime, our Negro soldiers were receiving bad treatment from white Americans. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which I helped found, asked me to go to Europe after the Armistice and investigate conditions. I proposed also to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris while thePeace Congress was sitting xx at Versailles, to propose and advise on the future of Africa.

The United States opposed such a meeting but Blaise Diagne, a black Senegalese and French Undersecretary of Colonies, induced Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, to permit the meeting. Clemenceau knew few Africans or colored delegates could attend. We held a small meeting in 1919, at the Grand Hotel, Paris. After peace was declared, in 1921 we called a much larger Pan-African Congress in London, Paris and Brussels. The two hundred delegates at this congress aroused the fury of the colonial powers and all our efforts for third, fourth, and fifth congresses were only partially successful because of their opposition. We tried in vain to convene a congress in Africa itself. The great depression of the thirties then stopped our efforts for fifteen years. Finally in 1945 black trade union delegates to the Paris meeting of trade unions called for another Pan-African Congress. This George Padmore organized and, at his request, I came from America to attend the meeting at Manchester, England. Here I met Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Johnson of Liberia and a dozen other young leaders.

The program of Pan-Africa as I have outlined it was not a plan of action, but of periodical coferences and free discussion. And this was a necessary preliminary to any future plan of united or separate action. However, in the resolutions adopted by the successive Congresses were many statements urging united action particularly in the matter of race discrimination. Also, there were other men and movements urging specific work. In West Africa, Casely Hayford and his compeers, inspured by the first Pan-African Congress, called a West African Conference in 1920. It demanded and secured great advance towards self-rule in West Africa. In almost every part of Africa, men and organizations appeared between 1919 and 1940 demanding nationhoood for African groups and union in a federated Africa. In the West Indies and the United States, Marcus Garvey asked for an Africa ruled by Africans.

38-11-86

World financial depression interfered with all these efforts and suspended the Pan-African Congresses until the meeting in Manchester, 1945. Then, it was reborn and this meeting now in Accra is the sixth effort to bring this great movement before the world and to translate its experience into ACTION. My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world.

I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible and I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War, when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Africa has no choice between private Captalism and Socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union; you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism because Private Capitalism is doomed!

But what is Socialism? It is a disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China

have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely sicialism ; though today further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the trade union leaders.

On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice. Read of the West Coast trade as described by Casely-Hayford: there is no trace of private enterprise or individual initiative. It was the tribe which carried on trade and the chief was mouthpiece of the common will.

When now, with a certain suddennness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of dying private capitalism into the last great battle-ground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial socialism. This would be a grave mistake. For four hundred hears Europe and North America have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightfully belong to these colonial peoples. They are still today determined to make most of the world's people work for the comfort of the few: this is today true in London, Paris and New York. The dominant eeploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot--not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism. Either capital belongs to all or power is denied all.

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Here then, my Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage--for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns, spend your income in paying interest on borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice your present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors, in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of pepple and make your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defence? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are not helpless. You are the buyers, and to continue existence as sellers of capital, these great nations,

former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of western capitalist pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the west. The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the west, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certsinly does not involve slavery and colonial control which the west has demanded and still demands. Today she offers a compromise, but one of which you must beware: She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters oversaas.

As I have said, this is a call for sacrifice. Great Goethe sang, "Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren"--"Thou shalt forego, Shalt do without." If Africa unites, it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of its heritage for the good of the whole. That is what union means; that is what Pan-Africa means: When the child is born into the tribe the price of his growing up is giving a part of his freedom to the tribe. This he soon learns or dies. When the tribe becomes a union of tribes, the individual tribe surrenders somepart of its freedom to the paramount tribe. When the nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must each yield power and some freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature.

This is the great dilemma which faces Africans today, faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of Mother Africa; give up tribal independence for the needs of the nation. Forget nothing but

set everything in its rightful place: the glory of the six Ashanti Wars against Britain; the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the growth of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Hausa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutessi, and many other happenings and men; but above all -- Africa, Mother of Men. Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored people of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the greed of Europe. Your bond is not mere color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt. So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those who support and defend China and help India and not those who exploit the Middle East and South America.

Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion! Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa, awake! Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism!

You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to regain! You have freedom and human dignity to attain!

38-11-89

To be delivered at All African People's Conference - - -Accra, December 1958

PAN-AFRICA, 1919-1958

By W.E.B. Du Bois

FELLOW AFRICANS:

About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnapped on this coast of West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York in America, where he was sold in slavery. About the same time a French Huguenot, Jacques Du Bois migrated from France to America and his great-grandson, born in the West Indies and with Negro blood, married the great-great-granddaughter of my black ancestor. I ~~was~~ am the son of this couple, born in 1868, hence my French name and my African loyalty.

As a boy I knew little of Africa save legends and some music in my family. The books which we studied in the public school had almost no information about Africa, save of Egypt, which we were told was not Negroid. I heard of few great men of Negro blood, but I built up in my mind a dream of what Negroes would do in the future, even though they had no past. Then happened a series of events: In the last decade of the 19th century, I studied two years in Europe, and often heard Africa mentioned with respect. Then, as a teacher in America, I had a few African students. Later at Atlanta University a visiting Professor, Franz Boaz, addressed the students and told them of the history of the Black Soudan. I was utterly amazed and began to study Africa for myself. I attended the Paris Exposition in 1900, and met with West Indians in London in a Pan-African Conference. This movement died, but in 1911 I attended a Races Congresses in London which tried to bring together representatives from all races of the world. I met distinguished Africans and was thrilled. However World War killed this movement. But before the United States entered the First World War, I visited the West Indies and met more persons of Negro descent and heard more Negro history. I wrote a book on "The Negro". After the United States entered the war I had a vision. I proposed to President Wilson that the German colonies in Africa be set up after the war as independent area governed by an international board on which Africans should be represented. This was not accepted but it influenced the celebrated Mandates Provision of the final treaty. Meantime, our Negro soldiers were receiving bad treat-from white Americans. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which I helped found, asked me to go to Europe after the Armistice and investigate conditions. I proposed also to call a Pan-African

Congress in Paris while the Peace Congress was sitting at Versailles, to propose and advise on the future of Africa. The United States opposed such a meeting but Blaise Diagne, a black Senagalese and French Undersecretary of Colonies induced Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, to permit the meeting. Clemenceau knew few Africans or colored delegates could attend. We held a small meeting in 1919, at the Grand Hotel, Paris. After peace was declared, in 1921 we called a much larger Pan-African Congress in London, Paris and Brussels. The two hundred delegates of this congress aroused the fury of colonial powers and all our efforts for third, fourth and fifth congresses were only partially successful because of their opposition. We tried in vain to convene a Congress in Africa itself. The great depression of the thirties then stopped our efforts for fifteen years. Finally in 1945 black Trade Union delegates to the Paris meeting of Trade Unions called for another Pan-African Congress. This, George Padmore organized and, at his request, I came from America to attend the meeting at Manchester, England. Here I met Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Johnson of Liberia and a dozen other young leaders.

The program of Pan-Africa as I have outlined it was not a plan of action, but of periodical conferences and free discussion. And this was a necessary preliminary to any future plan of united or separate action. However, in the resolutions adopted by the successive Congresses were many statements urging united action particularly in the matter of race discrimination. Also, there were other men and movements urging specific work. In West Africa, Casely Hayford and his compeers, inspired by the first Pan-African Confress, called a West African Conference in 1920. It demanded and secured great advance towards self-rule in West Africa. In almost every part of Africa, men and organizations appeared between 1919 and 1940 demanding nationhood for African groups and union in a federated Africa. In the West Indies and the United States, Marcus Garvey asked for an Africa ruled by Africans.

World financial depression interfered with all these efforts and suspended the Pan-African Congresses until the meeting in Mancester, 1945. Then, it was reborn and this meeting now in Accra is the sixth effort to bring this great movement before the world and to translate its experience into ACTION. My only role in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world.

Out

I had hoped to deliver this word in person, but this was not possible. I have therefore asked my wife, Shirley Graham, to read it to you. It is simple and direct. In this great crisis of the world's history, when, standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War; when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words! We face triumph or tragedy without alternative. Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! ||

Which way shall Africa go? ~~First~~, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism because ~~Private~~ Imperialistic Capitalism is doomed! ||

But what is Socialism? It is a disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. || The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely socialism, though, today, further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the Trade Union leaders. ||

On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice. Read of the West Coast trade as described by Casely-Hayford: There is no trace of private enterprize or individual initiative. It was the tribe which carried on trade and the chief was mouthpiece of the common will. ||

When now, with a certain suddenness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of dying private Capitalism into the last great battle-ground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial socialism. This would be a grave mistake. || For four hundred years Europe and North America have built their

civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightfully belongs to ~~these colonial peoples~~ you. They are still today determined to make most of the world's people work for the comfort of the few: This is today true in London, Paris and New York. The dominent exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot - not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of ~~stopping~~ turning to socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism. Either capital belongs to all or power is denied all. //

Here then, my Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage - - for automibiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns, spend your income in paying interest of borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice your ~~personal~~ present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors, in order to educate your children, develope such industry as best serves the great mass of people and makes your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defence? // Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are not helpless! You are the buyers and to continue existense as sellers ~~of capital~~, these great nations, formers owners of the world, must sell or face bankrupcy. // You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait! .You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of western capitalistic pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized western private capitalists, but, at last, today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the west. // The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the west, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the west has demanded and still demands.

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When the nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must each yield power and some freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. ~~Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature~~. This is the great dilemma which faces Africans today; faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of Mother Africa; give up tribal independence for the needs of the nation. // Forget nothing but set everything in its rightful place: the Glory of the six Ashanti Wars against ~~Great~~ Britain: the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the growth of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Hausa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutessa, and many other happenings and men; but above all - Africa, Mother of Men. // Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored peoples of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the greed of Europe. Your bond is not mere color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt. // So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those who support and defend China and help India and not those who exploit the Middle East and South America. //

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Not as delivered

To be delivered at All African People's Conference - - -Accra, December 1958

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FORTY YEARS OF AMERICAN HYSTERIA

BY W. E. B. DU BOIS

WHEN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE IN 1917, THERE WAS WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY FOR THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THIS COUNTRY HAD MADE LARGE PROFITS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, HAD DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN AS THE FINANCIAL CENTER OF THE WORLD, AND WAS THE CHIEF FIGURE IN TRADE AND COMMERCE. IT SEEMED TO MANY AMERICAN LEADERS THAT THIS WAS THE AMERICAN CENTURY, AND THAT WE WERE DESTINED TO BE LEADERS, IF NOT RULERS, OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

MOREOVER, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION DID NOT DEVELOP TO OUR TASTE; OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE INVESTMENTS WERE IN DANGER; AND THERE AROSE A DISPOSITION TO REGARD THE REVOLUTION AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION," BY WHICH WE MEANT AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE CAPITAL AND EXPLOITATION OF CHEAP LABOR FOR PRIVATE

PROFIT, WHICH HAD BECOME THE DOMINANT WORLD PATTERN. WE THEREFORE JOINED WITH BRITAIN, WESTERN EUROPE, AND JAPAN IN THE INVASION OF RUSSIA AND THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE BOLSHEVIKS. THIS EFFORT DRAGGED ON FOR MANY YEARS, BUT WE WERE CONVINCED THAT A SOCIALIST STATE WAS IMPOSSIBLE, AND AT LAST THERE WAS ORGANIZED A EUROPEAN ARMY WITH LARGE CAPITAL TO BRING FINAL CONQUEST.

JUST AT THIS TIME, 1929, WESTERN CAPITALISM CRASHED IN WORLD-WIDE CATASTROPHE. THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE KEPT, INTERNATIONAL TRADE WAS DISRUPTED, THE BANKING SYSTEM OF THE WORLD WAS IN RUINS, SUICIDE AND DESPAIR WERE WIDESPREAD. THE PROPOSED CONQUEST OF RUSSIA HAD TO BE ABANDONED, AND FOR A DECADE THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM WAS IN DOUBT.

TWO COUNTRIES, GERMANY AND ITALY, WERE ESPECIALLY HARD-PRESSED. POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CRIME SWEPT OVER GERMANY, AND ITALY LOST HOPE OF RESTORING AND

EXPANDING HER COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA TO OFFSET HER POVERTY AT HOME. IN 1933 TWO GREAT MOVEMENTS TOOK PLACE: THE NEW DEAL IN THE UNITED STATES TRIED TO RESTORE THE BANKING SYSTEM AND AGRICULTURE, AND TO PUT FOURTEEN MILLION UNEMPLOYED TO WORK. THIS WAS DONE BY SOCIALIST EFFORTS, WHICH ALARMED THE BUSINESS LEADERS, BUT FROM WHICH THERE SEEMED NO ESCAPE. IN THE SAME YEAR, 1933, A PSYCHOPATHIC DEMAGOGUE, HITLER, BECAME CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY, WITH EXTRAORDINARY DREAMS OF GRANDEUR. HE DETERMINED TO UNITE AND EXPAND THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND TO COMPEL WESTERN EUROPE TO ADMIT GERMANY AS AN EQUAL IF NOT DOMINANT PARTNER INTO THAT VAST ORGANIZATION WHICH CONTROLLED THE MOST VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND DIRECTED A THOUSAND MILLION CHEAP LABORERS.

HITLER SEIZED AUSTRIA, HELPED FRANCO CONQUER SPAIN, ENCOURAGED ITALY IN ETHIOPIA, AND JAPAN IN CHINA. THE ATTEMPT OF GERMANY AND BRITAIN TO COME TO

UNDERSTANDING AND AVOID WAR WAS SEEMINGLY SUCCESSFUL AT MUNICH IN 1938. BUT IN 1939 GERMANY SEIZED CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ITALY SEIZED ALBANIA AND LATER MOVED INTO GREECE. AN ALLIANCE WAS FORMED BETWEEN GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN, AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR BEGAN.

IN THE UNITED STATES THE SOCIALISM OF ROOSEVELT WAS SHOWN IN MEASURES OF WORK RELIEF, CONTROL OF WATER POWER, SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS, RELIEF TO BANKERS, AND GENERAL REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY. THE SUPREME COURT FORBADE A PART OF THIS PROGRAM, BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED AND RESTORED THE COUNTRY TO SOMETHING LIKE NORMAL INDUSTRY. THE PLAN, HOWEVER, WAS SUDDENLY HALTED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE DETERMINATION OF ROOSEVELT TO HELP IN THE DEFENSE OF BRITAIN. THIS DESIRE BECAME STRONGER WHEN FRANCE FELL ALMOST WITHOUT A STRUGGLE. BRITAIN RETREATED AT DUNKIRK AND WAS SUBJECTED TO SEVERE AIR AND SEA ATTACK. JAPAN INVADED CHINA

AND DESTROYED THE AMERICAN FLEET AT PEARL HARBOR.

A NEW WORLD ERA BEGAN. A RUSSIAN SOCIALIST STATE EXISTED AND HAD NOT COLLAPSED AS THE REST OF THE WORLD EXPECTED. IT SHOWED UNEXPECTED STRENGTH AND GROWTH. SUPREMACY IN ASIA WAS ABOUT TO GO TO AN ASIATIC COUNTRY. HITLER FACED A DILEMMA. HE COULD PROCEED WITH HIS CONQUEST OF BRITAIN, AND BEAT BACK AMERICAN AID, BUT THIS WOULD TAKE TIME AND MONEY. MEANWHILE, FROM THE FIRST, HITLER HAD PROPOSED TO SEIZE RUSSIA AND THE SO-CALLED HEARTLAND OF THE WORLD. THENCE HE COULD TURN TO THE CONQUEST OF ASIA, EITHER IN CONJUNCTION WITH JAPAN OR IN SPITE OF HER. HAVING ACCOMPLISHED THIS, HE WOULD HAVE LEISURE AND RESOURCES TO FINISH THE CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THE SCHEME WAS GRANDIOSE, BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE. HE LURED THE SOVIETS INTO ALLIANCE WHEN THE WEST WOULD NOT JOIN HER, AND TWENTY-TWO MONTHS LATER TURNED EAST, TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION, LEAVING BRITAIN IN PALPITATING FEAR, AND

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AMERICA UNCERTAIN OF HER NEXT STEP.

THERE WAS A CLEAR PATH FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. THEY COULD LEAP ON HITLER'S BACK WHILE RUSSIA HAMMERED HIS FRONT, AND DESTROY HIM. BUT THAT WOULD LEAVE SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND READY TO MEET RISING SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND FRANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE WESTERN WORLD DID NOTHING, HITLER'S UNPARALLELED WAR MACHINE WOULD SMASH THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN A MONTH, WHICH WOULD RID THE WESTERN WORLD OF THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM FOREVER. THEREAFTER, THEY WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THE CHANCE OF NEGOTIATING WITH HITLER.

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BUT THERE WAS ANOTHER THING THAT COULD BE DONE, AND THAT WAS TO SEE THAT HITLER, AFTER SEIZING RUSSIA, WOULD NOT BE ABLE UNOPPOSED TO SEIZE AFRICA AND ASIA. THE WEST CHOSE THIS ALTERNATIVE, WAITED A YEAR, AND THEN WHEN IT WAS EVIDENT THAT HITLER'S CONQUEST OF RUSSIA, ALTHOUGH INEVITABLE, WAS NOT GOING TO BE SO QUICK,

BRITAIN AND AMERICA, IGNORING HITLER'S EXPOSED REAR, MADE AN EXPEDITION TO NORTH AFRICA, WHENCE THEY COULD EVENTUALLY ATTACK ITALY AND DEFEND WESTERN ASIA. BY THESE TACTICS, IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT BOTH THE GERMANS AND THE COMMUNISTS WOULD DESTROY EACH OTHER.

IT SEEMED, HOWEVER, GOOD POLITICS FOR AMERICA TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE, EVEN IF THE HELP WAS TOO LITTLE TO WIN THE WAR. THE BULK OF THIS BURDEN FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE ON THE SOVIETS ALONE. THEN IN 1943 CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD. THE NEXT YEAR BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH ON HITLER'S REAR, RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY. ROOSEVELT ARRANGED FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO ATTACK JAPAN AND END THE WAR; AND FOR A UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. THE SOVIET UNION ASSENTED. IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945, THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WOULD BE DIFFERENT. BUT HARRY TRUMAN BECAME PRESIDENT. SOCIALISM INCREASED

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IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, AND THE ATOM BOMB WAS PERFECTED AND USED ON JAPAN. JAPAN SURRENDERED. THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD THE POWER IN ITS HANDS TO "CONTAIN" COMMUNISM AND STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN THE WORLD. AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN OF FULTON, CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN. TRUMAN PEREMPTORILY STOPPED ALL AID TO THE STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, WITH THE AID OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, DELAYED REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES, "LOST" THE PLEA FOR A LOAN, WHILE IT GAVE MILLIONS TO BRITAIN AND DEMANDED PAYMENT FOR "LEND-LEASE. MONEY WAS ASKED TO DEFEND GREECE AND TURKEY AGAINST THE SOVIETS, AND WE CONSIDERED HELPING FRANCE IN VIETNAM.

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NOW CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE. THE UNITED STATES

LOST CHINA. SHE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF BILLION CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES. WHEN JAPAN SEIZED CHINA, AMERICA WAS READY TO OVERCOME JAPAN, AND USED CHIANG KAI-SHEK AS HER CHIEF HELPER. WHEN THE JAPANESE WERE REPULSED, THE AMERICANS BUILT UP CHIANG KAI-SHEK WITH MONEY AND ARMS AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, AFTER IMPOSSIBLE LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES, DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR OUT OF CHINA AND INTO FORMOSA.

THE UNITED STATES WAS ASTONISHED AND ALARMED. IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED OUT OF CHINA BY TRICKERY. IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948 AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON AND FOREWARNING OF REVOLUTION. WHEN TRIUMAN WON THE ELECTION, THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER

ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, AND THE ROSENBERGS. TRUMAN STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM BY A "POLICE ACTION" WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR WHICH KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS AND WHICH McARTHUR TRIED TO TURN INTO A WAR WITH CHINA. THE AMERICAN TROOPS WERE CHASED THREE HUNDRED MILES AND EVENTUALLY McARTHUR WAS RECALLED.

BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, THE SUPREME COURT SENTENCED ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS TO JAIL BECAUSE IT BELIEVED THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED AND WAS IMMINENT. THE NATION THEN TURNED TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST LAWS WHICH CURTAILED CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL AMERICAN CITIZENS. WE LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB AND EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS FOR BETRAYING THIS SECRET WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED, AND IF IT HAD EXISTED, THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY OF KNOWING IT. MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS, McCARTHY

DOMINATED THE SCENE, BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE, PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE, THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION, FASTENED TWO BELIEFS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC: FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY; SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

MEANTIME, THE IMPACT OF THIS WHOLE HISTORY ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO WAS BECOMING CLEAR. THERE HAD BEEN DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE DRAFT AND SEGREGATION OF NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR, IT WAS NECESSARY AS A MATTER OF SHEER EFFICIENCY TO REDUCE THE PRACTICE OF SEGREGATION AND PROMOTION IN AIR, ARMY, AND NAVY. THEN, TOO, IT WAS MANIFEST THAT THE CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO POPULATION WAS CHANGING AND ITS DEMANDS INCREASING AND BECOMING MORE LOGICAL. NEGROES WERE FORCING THEMSELVES INTO NEW EMPLOYMENTS AND INTO MOST OF THE LABOR UNIONS. THEY HAD CARRIED OUT A CAMPAIGN AGAINST LYNCHING, WHICH HAD STOPPED ITS

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PUBLIC PRACTICE AND DRIVEN IT INTO COURTS AND JAILS. THE QUESTION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE HAD BEEN CONTINUALLY KEPT TO THE FOREFRONT UNTIL THE SUPREME COURT ADMITTED NEGROES TO PRIMARY ELECTIONS, WHICH HAD BEEN THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD OF THOSE WHO WERE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

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THEN THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION WAS PUSHED. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION WAS KEEPING NEGRO CHILDREN FROM DECENT SCHOOLS AND LIMITING THEIR HIGHER TRAINING. EVEN FEDERAL EDUCATION FUNDS WERE DISTRIBUTED WITH GROSS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES. THERE CAME IN ~~1918-1919~~ 1943 A WILD RIOT IN HARLEM, WHICH MANY PROFESSED NOT TO UNDERSTAND, BUT WHICH WAS THE FIRST VIOLENT PROTEST AGAINST ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, TRADE, AND TREATMENT IN THE NORTH.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COURTS HAD TO CHANGE. THE UNITED STATES WAS NOW FACING AN AUDIENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO WHICH WE MUST PAY ATTENTION. TO STOP ~~[illegible]~~

AND EXTERMINATE COMMUNISM, WE WERE LEADING AND EXTOLLING DEMOCRACY. YET THIS WAS NOT A FREE COUNTRY. THERE WERE AT LEAST FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WERE LARGELY DISFRANCHISED, UNJUSTLY JAILED, AND EXECUTED, AND REDUCTED TO A COLOR CASTE, AND THEY WERE PROTESTING AGAINST THIS WITH INCREASING LOGIC AND CLARITY. FOR THE UNITED STATES TO STAND BEFORE YELLOW CHINA AND BROWN INDIA, BLACK AFRICA AND MYRIADS OF MIXED PEOPLES ALL OVER THE WORLD, SAYING ONE THING WHILE IT WAS DOING ANOTHER, COULD NOT GO ON INTERMINABLY WITHOUT GAINING US THE ENMITY OF THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD AND CONTRADICTING OUR ALLEGED CONTRAST BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY. THESE WERE THE CONSIDERATIONS THAT LED TO THE EPOCH-MAKING SUPREME COURT DECISION OF 1954, IN WHICH IT DECLARED THAT RACE SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

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THIS, HOWEVER, DID NOT SETTLE THE PROBLEM. FIRST, THE STATES OF THE LOWER

SOUTH, AND SOME OTHERS LIKE VIRGINIA, REFUSED TO OBEY THE SUPREME COURT DECISION, AND IT IS PROBABLE THAT IT WILL TAKE AT LEAST A QUARTER CENTURY TO OBTAIN EVEN A FORMAL SUBMISSION TO FEDERAL LAW. IN MANY OTHER AREAS, THE SUBJECTION OF COLORED PEOPLE TO CASTE CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES WILL PROBABLY LAST OUT THE CENTURY.

40-1-247

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, WHAT WILL THE COLORED PEOPLE DO? A PATTERN OF ACTION HAS BEEN SET AND WIDELY ACCEPTED. JOINING THE MAJORITY AMERICAN OPINION, NEGROES WILL OPPOSE SOCIALISM AND CONDEMN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. THEY WILL VOTE AGAINST ALL SOCIALIST PROPOSALS FOR THIS COUNTRY. THEY WILL BEAR WITNESS TO THE PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD JUST TREATMENT OF NEGROES AND SAY LITTLE OR NOTHING ABOUT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH PRESENT LAWS AND ABOUT CONTINUING SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION. THEY WILL ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEGRO BOURGEOISIE TO EXPLOIT LABOR, BLACK AND WHITE, AND TO JOIN AMERICA IN CONSPICUOUS EXPENDITURE AND

WASTE.

CONSIDERING THE PROGRESS OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, THIS IS A DANGEROUS AND UNWORTHY PROGRAM. AMERICAN NEGROES MUST REALIZE WHAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE. TODAY THEY ARE INEXCUSABLY IGNORANT ON THESE MATTERS. THEY ARE NOT DISCUSSED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HIGH SCHOOLS, OR COLLEGES. THEY ARE NOT THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC LECTURES, EXCEPT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE ATTENDANCE AT SUCH LECTURES ENDANGERS FREEDOM AND ABILITY TO EARN A LIVING. THE PUBLIC PRESS DELIBERATELY DISTORTS FACTS CONCERNING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM OR OMITS THEM. THE NEGRO PRESS IS SILENT. WE ARE THEREFORE WITH DELIBERATE IGNORANCE TRYING TO CO-OPERATE IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD. FEW NEGROES KNOW WHAT SOCIALISM IS OR REALIZE HOW IT HAS GROWN, HOW IT IS SPREADING TODAY, AND THE FACT THAT NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THE FUTURE EXCEPT TOWARDS SOCIALISM. THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT SOCIALISM MEANS THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

8D2-1-04

OF WEALTH FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MASS OF MEN AND NOT FOR THE INCREASE OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH, THAT COMMUNISM MEANS ADVANCE TOWARD THE GREAT AND INEVITABLE IDEAL OF GIVING EACH INDIVIDUAL WHAT HE NEEDS FOR DECENT LIVING, AND REQUIRING IN TURN FROM HIM THE BEST WORK FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE THAT HE IS FITTED TO DO. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE HOW DIFFICULT THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS IDEAL MAY BE, OR HOW MANY MISTAKES HUMAN BEINGS HAVE MADE OR WILL MAKE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THESE ENDS IN THE FUTURE. THE DUTY TO STRIVE FOR THEM IS INEVITABLE. THE SOCIALIST STATE IS A FACT, NOT A DREAM. ALREADY THE SPREAD AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM IS A REVOLUTION FROM WHAT USED TO HAPPEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. NEARLY ALL CIVILIZED STATES TODAY OWN THEIR RAILROADS, TELEGRAPH AND COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS. THEY BUILD ROADS AND CONTROL WATER POWER. THEY CONTROL EDUCATION FROM THE KINDERGARTEN TO THE UNIVERSITY. THEY FURNISH EMPLOYMENT FOR THEIR CITIZENS, EITHER DIRECTLY BY OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY

6D2-1-04

OR INDIRECTLY BY CONTROL OF BANKING, FINANCE, TRADE, AND PRICE-FIXING. IN MOST COUNTRIES, PUBLIC HEALTH AND HOSPITALIZATION ARE GOVERNMENT CONCERNS, AND IT IS TO THE DISGRACE OF THE UNITED STATES THAT SOCIAL MEDICINE HERE HAS BEEN DELAYED AND FRUSTRATED BY A PHYSICIANS' TRADE UNION, AND THAT NEWS ABOUT SUCH SYSTEMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES IS DISTORTED AND FALSIFIED.

40-1-250

FOR AMERICAN NEGROES PARTICULARLY IT IS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE THAT SOME OF THEIR PHYSICIANS SHOULD BE LEADERS IN THIS FIGHT AGAINST PUBLIC HEALTH. IT IS, THEREFORE, OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE HEREAFTER, THAT NEGROES SHOULD TAKE THEIR STAND ON CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS. ONE, THE RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE, AND WHAT THEY ARE ACCOMPLISHING HERE AND ELSEWHERE. TWO, THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL, SEE, AND KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THREE, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS, HERE AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION OF

COLOR CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND NOT TO SELL THEIR SILENCE ON THESE MATTERS FOR MONEY, POSITION, OR APPOINTMENT TO OFFICE. FOUR, TO INSIST THAT IN THIS COUNTRY WE SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES AND OFFICE-HOLDERS, AND NOT BE COMPELLED TO VOTE FOR ONE PARTY USING TWO NAMES, AND HELPING TO CONCEAL THE FACTS; AND ALLOWING NO THIRD PARTY A CHANCE TO APPEAL TO VOTERS. BECAUSE OF THIS BI-PARTISAN UNDERSTANDING, WE ARE BEING RULED BY THE RICH FOR THE RICH, AND COMPELLED TO WASTE OUR INCOME ON WAR AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WHILE NEGLECTING EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND MORAL DECENCY.

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FORTY YEARS OF AMERICAN HYSTERIA

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

I AM VENTURING TODAY TO LAY BEFORE YOU MY INTERPRETATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. IT WILL NOT AGREE ALTOGETHER WITH WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT OR BELIEVE. IT IS SIMPLY WHAT I BELIEVE.

WHEN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE IN 1917, THERE WAS WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY FOR THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THIS COUNTRY MADE LARGE PROFITS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, HAD DISPLACED GREAT BRITAIN AS THE FINANCIAL CENTER OF THE WORLD, AND WAS THE CHIEF FIGURE IN TRADE AND COMMERCE. IT SEEMED TO MANY AMERICAN LEADERS THAT THIS WAS THE AMERICAN CENTURY, AND THAT BECAUSE OF OUR WEALTH WE WERE DESTINED TO BE LEADERS, IF NOT RULERS, OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE YEAR TWO THOUSAND.

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MOREOVER, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION DID NOT DEVELOP TO OUR TASTE; OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE INVESTMENTS WERE IN DANGER; AND THERE AROSE A DISPOSITION TO REGARD THE REVOLUTION AS A "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION," BY WHICH WE MEANT AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE MONOPOLY OF TOOLS AND MATERIALS AND EXPLOITATION OF CHEAP LABOR FOR PRIVATE PROFIT, WHICH HAD BECOME THE DOMINANT WORLD PATTERN. WE THEREFORE JOINED WITH BRITAIN, WESTERN EUROPE, AND JAPAN IN THE INVASION OF RUSSIA AND THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE BOLSHEVIKS. THIS EFFORT INVOLVED FORCE, TREASON, MURDER, SPIES, AND THIEVES HIRED BY THE WEST AND RESISTED BY THE WRITHING RUSSIANS AND DRAGGED ON FOR MANY YEARS, BUT WE WERE CONVINCED THAT A SOCIALIST STATE WAS IMPOSSIBLE, AND AT LAST IN 1929 THERE WAS ORGANIZED A EUROPEAN ARMY WITH LARGE CAPITAL TO BRING FINAL CONQUEST.

38-9-164

JUST AT THIS TIME, 1929, WESTERN CAPITALISM CRASHED IN WORLD-WIDE CATASTROPHE. THE GOLD STANDARD COULD NOT BE KEPT, INTERNATIONAL TRADE WAS DISPUTED, THE BANKING SYSTEM OF THE WORLD WAS IN RUINS, SUICIDE AND DESPAIR WERE WIDESPREAD. THE PROPOSED CONQUEST OF RUSSIA HAD TO BE ABANDONED, AND FOR A DECADE, THE FUTURE OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM WAS IN DOUBT.

TWO COUNTRIES, GERMANY AND ITALY, WERE ESPECIALLY HARD-PRESSED. POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CRIME SWEPT OVER GERMANY, AND ITALY LOST HER LONG NURTURED HOPE OF RESTORING AND EXPANDING HER COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA TO OFFSET HER POVERTY AT HOME. IN 1933 TWO GREAT MOVEMENTS TOOK PLACE: THE NEW DEAL IN THE UNITED STATES AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRIED TO RESTORE THE BANKING SYSTEM AND AGRICULTURE, AND TO PUT FOURTEEN MILLION UNEMPLOYED TO WORK. THIS WAS DONE BY SOCIALIST EFFORTS, WHICH ALARMED THE BUSINESS LEADERS, BUT FROM WHICH THERE SEEMED NO

38-9-165

ESCAPE. IN THE SAME YEAR, 1933, A PSYCHOPATHIC DEMAGOGUE, HITLER, BECAME CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY, WITH EXTRAORDINARY DREAMS OF GRANDEUR. HE DETERMINED TO UNITE AND EXPAND THE GERMAN EMPIRE, AND TO COMPEL WESTERN EUROPE TO ADMIT GERMANY AS AN EQUAL IF NOT DOMINANT PARTNER INTO THAT VAST ORGANIZATION WHICH CONTROLLED THE MOST VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND DIRECTED A THOUSAND MILLION CHEAP LABORERS.

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HITLER SEIZED AUSTRIA, HELPED FRANCO CONQUER SPAIN, ENCOURAGED ITALY IN ETHIOPIA AND JAPAN IN CHINA. GREAT BRITAIN AT MUNICH APPEASED GERMANY WITH A FREE HAND IN THE EXPLOITATION OF THE BALKANS IN 1938. BUT IN 1939 GERMANY SEIZED CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ITALY SEIZED ALBANIA AND LATER MOVED INTO GREECE. AN ALLIANCE WAS FORMED BETWEEN GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN, AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

BEGAN, TO SETTLE BY FORCE WHO WAS TO EXPLOIT THE NEAR EAST AND ASIA.

IN THE UNITED STATES ROOSEVELT, WHO WAS NOT A CONVINCED SOCIALIST, NEVERTHELESS USED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF HARRY HOPKINS SOCIALIST METHODS OF WORK RELIEF, CONTROL OF WATER POWER, SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS, RELIEF TO BANKERS, AND GENERAL REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY. THE SUPREME COURT FORBADE A PART OF THIS PROGRAM, BUT MOST OF IT PREVAILED AND RESTORED THE COUNTRY TO SOMETHING LIKE NORMAL INDUSTRY. THE PLAN, HOWEVER, WAS SUDDENLY HALTED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

ROOSEVELT FACED THE DILEMMA OF ESTABLISHING A SOCIALIST ECONOMY IN THE UNITED STATES AND SEEING THE CONTROL OF ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM PASS FROM THE CONTROL OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO THAT OF GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN; OR OF

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ALLOWING BIG BUSINESS IN AMERICA NOT SIMPLY TO CONTROL THE ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO TO CONTROL ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM THE WORLD OVER. IT WAS NOT AN EASY DECISION. IT WAS NOT A FIGHT OF DEMOCRACY AGAINST FASCISM. IT WAS SOCIALISM AGAINST COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND THE CHIEF NEW SOCIALIST STATE, THE SOVIET UNION, WAS IGNORED AS WERE THE RISING SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS IN BRITAIN, FRANCE, SCANDINAVIA, AND THE UNITED STATES. THE WEST REFUSED TO MAKE ANY ALLIANCE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. BRITAIN RETREATED AND FRANCE FELL, AND THE SOVIETS MADE ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY. JAPAN INVADED CHINA AND ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES. THIS, BY BRINGING COLOR PREJUDICE TO BEAR, CATAPULTED THE UNITED STATES OUT OF SOCIALISM AND INTO DEFENSE OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

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38-9-169

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38-9-171

IT SEEMED, THEREFORE, GOOD POLITICS FOR AMERICA TO HELP THE SOVIET UNION ENOUGH TO PROLONG THE STRUGGLE, EVEN IF THE HELP WAS TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE FOR THE SOVIETS TO WIN THE WAR. THE BURDEN OF THE WAR FELL WITH CRUSHING FORCE ON THE SOVIETS ALONE.

THEN IN 1943 CAME THE EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AT STALINGRAD. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THAT SAVED MODERN CULTURE. HER LOSSES IN DEATH AND CRIPPLES WERE GREATER THAN ALL THE REST OF THE WESTERN WORLD PUT TOGETHER. HALF OF THE MAGNIFICENT PUBLIC WORKS, FACTORIES, AND SCHOOLS FOR WHICH FOR A QUARTER CENTURY THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAD STARVED THEIR BODIES AND STRIPPED THEIR SOULS LAY IN SMOKING RUINS WHILE ALL THE WESTERN WORLD LIED AND SNEERED. THE NEXT YEAR BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS STARTED THEIR LONG-DELAYED MARCH ON HITLER'S REAR, RESCUING FRANCE BY THE WAY. ROOSEVELT BEGGED THE SOVIET UNION TO ATTACK JAPAN AND END THE WAR, AND ASKED FOR A UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. IF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT HAD NOT DIED EARLY IN 1945, THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD WOULD BE DIFFERENT. BUT HARRY TRUMAN, A HALF-EDUCATED HABERDASHER TURNED POLITICIAN, BECAME PRESIDENT.

38-9-172

SOCIALISM INCREASED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, WHILE BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES USED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO BEAT IT BACK, AND THE ATOM BOMB WAS PERFECTED AND USED TO FRIGHTEN JAPAN.

JAPAN SURRENDERED. THIS CONVINCED TRUMAN, NOW IN THE HANDS OF BIG BUSINESS, THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD THE POWER IN ITS HANDS TO "CONTAIN" COMMUNISM AND STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD. AT THE LITTLE MISSOURI TOWN OF FULTON, CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN ANNOUNCED THIS POST-WAR PLAN. TRUMAN PEREMPTORILY STOPPED ALL AID TO THE SORELY STRICKEN SOVIET UNION, AND AT THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA, THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, "GOT TOUGH" WITH RUSSIA, DELAYED REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENDLESS LOSSES , "LOST" ITS PLEA FOR A LOAN, WHILE IT GAVE MILLIONS TO FRANCE AND BRITAIN AND DEMANDED QUICK PAYMENT OF

38-9-173

THE SOVIETS FOR "LEND-LEASE." ASKED MONEY TO DEFEND GREECE AND TURKEY AGAINST THE SOVIETS, AND EVEN CONSIDERED HELPING FRANCE IN VIETNAM.

THEN CAME AN ASTONISHING AND ENTIRELY UNAWAITED OCCURRENCE. THE UNITED STATES LOST CHINA. THE UNITED STATES, ABOUT TO OWN AND FATTEN ON THE COLONIAL WORLD OF DARKIES, LOST THE LARGEST AND RICHEST PART OF THAT WORLD. THE MOON FELL OUT OF THE HEAVEN OF BIG BUSINESS. WE HAD LONG COUNTED ON SUCCEEDING GREAT BRITAIN AS VIRTUAL MASTER OF A HALF-BILLION CHEAP, DOCILE CHINESE LABORERS AND A VAST LAND FULL OF ALL SORTS OF RICH RESOURCES. WHEN JAPAN HAD SEIZED CHINA, AMERICA WAS READY TO SMASH JAPAN AND USED THE MURDERER CHIANG KAI-SHEK WITH MONEY AND ARMS AND THEN THE CHINESE PEASANTS, AFTER IMPOSSIBLE AND LONG-CONTINUED STRUGGLES, DROVE THIS DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR OUT OF CHINA AND INTO

38-9-174

FORMOSA AND WE DISCOVERED THAT FORMOSA IS CHINA.

THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTLED AND ALARMED. IT BELIEVED THAT IT HAD BEEN CHEATED OUT OF CHINA BY TREACHERY. IT REGARDED THE POLITICAL UNION OF PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS IN THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1948 AS EVIDENCE OF TREASON AND FOREWARNING OF REVOLUTION AT HOME. WHEN TRUMAN WON THE ELECTION, THE NATION WAS LED TO DISCOVER ALLEGED TRAITORS LIKE ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, REMINGTON, AND THE ROSENBERGS. TRUMAN, WITH JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN THE FRONT TRENCHES, STARTED TO PUSH BACK COMMUNISM BY A "POLICE ACTION" WHICH RESULTED IN THE KOREAN WAR WHICH KILLED FIFTY THOUSAND AMERICAN BOYS AND WHICH MacARTHUR TRIED DESPERATELY TO TURN INTO A WAR TO CONQUER CHINA. THE CHINESE WITHSTOOD GERM WARFARE AND CHASED THE AMERICAN ARMY THREE HUNDRED

38-9-1735

MILES UNTIL THEY NEARLY FELL INTO THE YELLOW SEA. MacARTHUR WAS RECALLED.

BY AN ADMITTEDLY STRAINED INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, THE SUPREME COURT ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ DECIDED TO UPHOLD THE PRISON SENTENCES OF ELEVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS BECAUSE IT BELIEVED THAT A REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED AND WAS IMMINENT. THE NATION THEN TURNED TO ENACTING EIGHT ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS WHICH CURTAILED CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL CITIZENS. WHEN WE LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD THE ATOMIC BOMB WE EXECUTED THE ROSENBERGS FOR BETRAYING THE SECRET WHEN IT WAS CERTAIN THAT NO SUCH SECRET EXISTED, AND IF IT HAD EXISTED, THESE VICTIMS HAD NO OPPORTUNITY OF KNOWING IT. MEANTIME, FOR FIVE YEARS, McCARTHY RAGED IN THE LAND. HE CALLED THE NEW DEAL "TWENTY YEARS OF TREASON," BROKE ALL RULES OF EVIDENCE, PERSECUTED ACCUSED PERSONS, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SECRET POLICE

38-9-1736

THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION, FASTENED TWO BELIEFS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND ON YOU: FIRST, THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRACY; SECOND, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE CRIMINALS PLOTTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

UP UNTIL YESTERDAY AMERICANS WERE TOLD THAT COMMUNISM WAS A FAILURE AND EVEN TODAY JOHN FOSTER DULLES IS AWAITING ITS COLLAPSE. YET THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE BEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE WORLD, SOVIET AND CHINESE AGRICULTURE ARE LEADING CIVILIZATION IN METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT, COMMUNIST SCIENCE IS TEACHING EUROPE, COMMUNIST MEDICINE IS FAR AHEAD OF OURS. IN MUSIC AND DANCE THE WORLD IS RUSHING TO SEE AND HEAR RUSSIAN ARTISTS AND THE NEW CRITICISM OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND DRAMA ~~ARE~~ IS BEING MISINTERPRETED AS COLLAPSE INSTEAD OF FLOWERING, AND SOVIET CULTURE HAS FORBIDDEN TELLING CHILDREN LIES AND FAIRY TALES IN THE NAME OF RELIGION.

38-9-187

~~MEANWHILE~~, THE IMPACT OF THIS WHOLE HISTORY ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO WAS BECOMING CLEAR. THERE HAD BEEN DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE DRAFT AND SEGREGATION OF NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR, IT WAS NECESSARY AS A MATTER OF SHEER EFFICIENCY TO REDUCE THE PRACTICE OF SEGREGATION AND PROMOTION IN ~~THE~~ AIR, ARMY, AND NAVY. THEN, TOO, IT WAS MANIFEST THAT THE CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO POPULATION WAS CHANGING AND ITS DEMANDS INCREASING AND BECOMING MORE LOGICAL.

NEGROES WERE FORCING THEMSELVES INTO NEW EMPLOYMENTS AND INTO MOST OF THE LABOR UNIONS. THEY HAD CARRIED OUT A CAMPAIGN AGAINST LYNCHING, WHICH HAD ~~REDUCED~~ REDUCED ITS PUBLIC PRACTICE AND NOW CONCEALED IT IN COURTS AND JAILS. THE QUESTION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE HAD BEEN CONTINUALLY KEPT TO

38-9-188

THE FOREFRONT UNTIL THE SUPREME COURT ADMITTED NEGROES TO PRIMARY ELECTIONS, WHICH HAD BEEN THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD OF THOSE WHO WERE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

b7A-1-38

THEN THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION WAS PUSHED. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION WAS KEEPING NEGRO CHILDREN FROM DECENT SCHOOLS AND LIMITING THEIR HIGHER TRAINING. EVEN FEDERAL EDUCATION FUNDS WERE DISTRIBUTED WITH GROSS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES.

THERE CAME IN 1943 A WILD RIOT IN HARLEM, WHICH MANY PROFESSED NOT TO UNDERSTAND, BUT WHICH WAS ONE OF SEVERAL VIOLENT PROTESTS AGAINST ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, TRADE, AND TREATMENT IN THE NORTH.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COURTS HAD TO CHANGE. THE UNITED STATES WAS NOW

FACING AN AUDIENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, TO WHICH WE MUST PAY ATTENTION. TO STOP AND EXTERMINATE COMMUNISM, WE WERE LEADING AND EXTOLLING DEMOCRACY. YET THIS WAS NOT A FREE COUNTRY. THERE WERE AT LEAST FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WERE LARGELY DISFRANCHISED, UNJUSTLY JAILED, AND EXECUTED, AND REDUCED TO A COLOR CASTE, AND THEY WERE PROTESTING AGAINST THIS WITH INCREASING CLARITY AND LOGIC. FOR THE UNITED STATES TO STAND BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION, BEFORE YELLOW CHINA AND BROWN INDIA, BLACK AFRICA, AND MYRIADS OF MIXED PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD, SAYING ONE THING WHILE IT WAS DOING ANOTHER, COULD NOT GO ON INTERMINABLY WITHOUT GAINING US THE ENMITY OF THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD AND CONTRADICTING OUR ALLEGED CONTRAST BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY, AND ABOVE ALL REDUCING OUR CHANCE

b7A-1-38

TO MAKE LARGE PROFIT OUT OF STOLEN LAND AND CHEAP LABOR. OUR DEMOCRACY WAS FOUNDED ON OPEN BUYING OF ELECTIONS AND REFUSING TO ALLOW THE VOTERS TO VOTE ON REAL ISSUES.

38-1-81

THESE WERE THE CONSIDERATIONS THAT LED TO THE EPOCH-MAKING SUPREME COURT DECISION OF 1954, IN WHICH IT DECLARED THAT RACE SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

THIS, HOWEVER, DID NOT SETTLE THE PROBLEM. FIRST, IN THE LOWER SOUTH ARE A MASS OF ILLITERATE PEOPLE OF LOW CULTURAL STANDARDS; MURDER, THEFT, AND RACE HATE HAVE LONG FLOURISHED THERE, ENCOURAGED FOR CENTURIES BY NEGRO SLAVERY. BIG BUSINESS, NORTH AND SOUTH, HAVE LONG USED THEIR POLITICAL POWER TO SEIZE CONTROL OF CONGRESS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

TODAY, DRUNK WITH POWER, THEY REFUSE TO OBEY THE LAW OF THE LAND AND THE LAND STANDS HELPLESS.

281-6-85

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WHAT WILL THE COLORED PEOPLE DO? A PATTERN OF ACTION HAS BEEN SET AND WIDELY ACCEPTED. JOINING THE MAJORITY AMERICAN OPINION, MOST NEGROES WILL CONDEMN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA BECAUSE WHITE PEOPLE CONDEMN THEM. THEY WILL VOTE AGAINST ALL SOCIALIST PROPOSALS FOR THIS COUNTRY. THEY WILL BEAR WITNESS TO THE PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD JUST TREATMENT OF NEGROES AND SAY LITTLE OR NOTHING ABOUT FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH PRESENT LAWS AND ABOUT CONTINUING COLOR CASTE, SEGREGATION, AND DISCRIMINATION. THEY WILL ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEGRO BOURGEOISIE TO EXPLOIT LABOR, BLACK AND WHITE, AND TO JOIN AMERICA IN

CONSPICUOUS EXPENDITURE, AND WASTE, AND SHOW-OFF.

CONSIDERING THE PROGRESS OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, THIS IS A DANGEROUS AND UNWORTHY PROGRAM. AMERICAN NEGROES MUST REALIZE WHAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE.

TODAY THEY ARE INEXCUSABLY IGNORANT OF THESE MATTERS. THEY ARE NOT DISCUSSED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HIGH SCHOOLS, OR COLLEGES. THEY ARE NOT THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC LECTURES, EXCEPT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE ATTENDANCE AT SUCH LECTURES ENDANGERS FREEDOM AND ABILITY TO EARN A LIVING. THE F.B.I. FRIGHTENS THE GUTS OUT OF SUCH NEGROES AS STILL HAVE GUTS. THE PUBLIC PRESS DELIBERATELY DISTORTS FACTS CONCERNING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM OR OMITS THEM. THE NEGRO PRESS IS SILENT. WE ARE THEREFORE WITH DELIBERATE

62-9-183

Erased - Hysteria

IGNORANCE TRYING TO CO-OPERATE IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD. FEW NEGROES KNOW WHAT SOCIALISM IS OR REALIZE HOW IT HAS GROWN, HOW IT IS SPREADING TODAY, AND THE FACT THAT NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THE FUTURE, EXCEPT TOWARDS SOCIALISM. THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT SOCIALISM MEANS THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF WEALTH FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MASS OF MEN AND NOT FOR THE INCREASE OF INDIVIDUAL POWER AND INDULGENCE. THAT COMMUNISM MEANS ADVANCE TOWARD THE GREAT AND INEVITABLE IDEAL OF GIVING EACH INDIVIDUAL WHAT HE NEEDS FOR DECENT LIVING, AND REQUIRING IN TURN FROM HIM THE BEST WORK FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE THAT HE IS FITTED TO DO. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE HOW DIFFICULT THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS IDEAL MAY BE, OR HOW MANY MISTAKES HUMAN BEINGS HAVE MADE OR WILL MAKE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THESE ENDS IN THE FUTURE. THE DUTY TO STRIVE

100-1-270

40-1-271

FOR THEM IS INEVITABLE. THE SOCIALIST STATE IS A FACT, NOT A DREAM. ALREADY THE SPREAD AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM IS A REVOLUTION FROM WHAT USED TO HAPPEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. NEARLY ALL CIVILIZED STATES TODAY OWN THEIR RAILROADS, TELEGRAPH AND COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS. THEY BUILD ROADS AND CONTROL WATER POWER. THEY CONDUCT EDUCATION FROM THE KINDERGARTEN TO THE UNIVERSITY. THEY FURNISH EMPLOYMENT FOR THEIR CITIZENS, EITHER DIRECTLY BY OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY OR INDIRECTLY BY CONTROL OF BANKING, FINANCE, TRADE, AND PRICE-FIXING. IN MOST COUNTRIES, PUBLIC HEALTH AND HOSPITALIZATION ARE GOVERNMENT CONCERNS, AND IT IS TO THE DISGRACE OF THE UNITED STATES THAT SOCIAL MEDICINE HERE HAS BEEN DELAYED AND FRUSTRATED BY A PHYSICIANS' TRADE UNION AND THAT NEWS ABOUT SUCH SYSTEMS

40-1-272

IN OTHER COUNTRIES IS DISTORTED AND FALSIFIED.

FOR AMERICAN NEGROES PARTICULARLY IT IS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE THAT SOME OF THEIR PHYSICIANS SHOULD BE LEADERS IN THIS FIGHT AGAINST PUBLIC HEALTH. IT IS, THEREFORE, OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE HEREAFTER, THAT NEGROES SHOULD TAKE THEIR STAND ON CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS. ONE, THE RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE, AND WHAT THEY ARE ACCOMPLISHING HERE AND ELSEWHERE. TWO, THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL, SEE, AND KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THREE, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS, HERE AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION OF COLOR CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND NOT TO SELL THEIR SILENCE ON THESE MATTERS FOR MONEY, POSITION, TRIPS ABROAD, OR APPOINTMENT TO OFFICE. FOUR, TO INSIST THAT IN THIS COUNTRY WE

40-1-273

SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES AND OFFICE-HOLDERS AND NOT BE COMPELLED TO VOTE FOR ONE PARTY USING TWO NAMES, AND HELP TO CONCEAL THE FACTS; AND ALLOWING NO THIRD PARTY A CHANCE TO APPEAL TO VOTERS. BECAUSE OF THIS BI-PARTISAN UNDERSTANDING, WE ARE BEING RULED BY THE RICH FOR THE RICH, AND COMPELLED TO WASTE OUR INCOME ON WAR AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WHILE NEGLECTING EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND MORAL DECENCY.

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, JANUARY 22, 1959

~~ten years ago I stood on this bare hill~~

TEN YEARS AGO I STOOD ON THIS BARE HILL AND LOOKED DOWN ON MOSCOW. I WAS TOLD THAT HERE WOULD RISE IN TIME A UNIVERSITY TO GUARD AND GUIDE THE CITY AND THE NATION ~~OF~~ WHICH ~~IT WAS CAPITAL~~ blight, poverty, ignorance and disease. TODAY I SEE THAT UNIVERSITY IN STONE AND FLESH, TYPYFYING THE TRIUMPH OF LEARNING OVER LIFE. IT HAS PLEASED YOU TO HONOR ME HERE WITH A DEGREE, HONORIS CAUSA. I AM grateful FOR THIS DISTINCTION AND BEG TO THANK YOU FOR MYSELF AND WIFE, SHIRLEY GRAHAM: FOR MY SON, DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER AND FOR MY GREAT GRANDSON WHO IS THIRTEEN MONTHS OLD TODAY AND WHO I HOPE WILL LIVE TO SEE A WORLD WITHOUT WAR. MY FAMILY HAS SERVED THE UNITED STATES FOR EIGHT GENERATIONS, YET I AM NOT SURE THAT MY NATIVE LAND WOULD WISH TO BE REPRESENTED BY ME HERE, SINCE I AM A DESCENDANT OF THE NEGRO RACE. BUT FOR THAT RACE NOW STRUGGLING TO ITS FEET IN A WORLD THAT FOR CENTURIES HAS DRUNK ITS BLOOD AND TEARS, I CAN THANK YOU AND EXPRESS MY JOY AT STANDING HERE WHERE THE GLORY OF YOUR SPIRE NOT ONLY POINTS TO THE STARS, BUT ACTUALLY REACHES THEM.

W.E.B. DuBois

42-5B-34

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, JANUARY 22, 1959

Ten years ago I stood on this bare hill and looked down on Moscow. I was told that here would rise in time a University to guard and guide the city and the nation which fights poverty, ignorance and disease. Today I see that University in stone and flesh, typyfying the triumph of learning over life. It has pleased you to honor me here with a degree, Honoris Causa. I am grateful for this distinction and beg to thank you for myself and wife, Shirley Graham: for my daughter and granddaughter and for my great grandson who is thirteen months old today and who I hope will live to see a world without war. My family has served the United States for eight generations, yet I am not sure that my native land would wish to be represented by me here, since I am a descendant of the Negro race. But for that race now struggling to its feet in a world that for centuries has drunk its blood and tears, I can thank you and express my joy at standing here where the glory of your spire not only points to the stars, but actually reaches them.

W.E.B.DuBois

38-S-42

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, MAY, 1959

IN THE DAYS OF THE YEARS OF MY PILGRIMAGE, I HAVE SEEN VAST CHANGE IN THE IDEALS OF MEN SUCH AS I CAN SCARCELY COMPREHEND. I WAS BORN IN THE CULMINATING SPLENDOR OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, WHEN ~~WHITE~~ White WESTERN EUROPEANS RULED THE WORLD AS THEY THOUGHT FOR THE WORLD'S OWN GOOD. WHEN WAR ~~HAD~~ SEEMED ABOUT TO CEASE, AT LEAST WAR BETWEEN LEADING WHITE FOLK; AND WHEN WESTERN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION HAD APPARENTLY REACHED ITS GREATEST HEIGHT; WHEN MEN WERE FREE, IF BY "MEN" ONE UNDERSTOOD UPPER CLASS WHITE MEN, AND IF BY "FREE" ONE UNDERSTOOD DISCIPLINE FOR COLORED FOLK TO SERVE THESE WHITES. THEN THE PICTURE CHANGED WITH THE NEW CENTURY, AFTER THAT PROMISING, BUT FUTILE RACES CONGRESS IN 1911; INSTEAD SUDDENLY THE WORLD RUSHED TO WAR ON A SCALE OF WHICH WE NEVER BEFORE DREAMED UNTIL TODAY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE CENTURY WE FACE THE PROSPECT OF CONTINUED WORLD WAR OR PREPARATION FOR WAR FOREVER.

WE STAND, THEREFORE, AT THE CROSSROADS: EITHER HEREAFTER THE WORLD FOLLOWS REASON AND RIGHT OR IT WILL COMMIT SUICIDE THROUGH WAR. THERE IS NO THIRD WAY. IF THEN WE REASON TOGETHER THE CASE IS THIS: NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE IF ALL PARTS OF THE NATION HAVE VOICE IN THIS CHOICE. IF THE SOVIET UNION OR CHINA OR ANY NATION INTER-

FERES WITH THE WAY OF LIFE, WHICH SUCH A NATION CHOOSES THEY ARE WRONG AND SHOULD BE OPPOSED. SO FAR AS THE UNITED STATES TRIES TO STOP COMMUNISM BY FORCE OR TO INTERFERE WITH THE COMMUNIST WAY OF LIFE WHICH A NATION WANTS IT IS WRONG AND SHOULD BE CONDEMNED. CLEARLY COMMUNISM IN ITSELF IS NOT A CRIME AND COMMUNISTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS. THIS, THE SUCCESS OF THE SOVIET UNION IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE, INDUSTRY AND ART PROVES BEYOND ANY REASONABLE DOUBT. THIS, THE PHENOMENAL FORWARD LEAP OF CHINA TODAY MAKES KNOWN TO ALL WHO ARE WILLING TO SEE. ON THE OTHER HAND WHEN A NATION LIKE THE UNITED STATES SPENDS MORE ON WAR THAN ON SOCIAL UPLIFT IT IS HARD TO CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT AMERICANS WANT PEACE. ALSO, SO LONG AS THE RULING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, WEST GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES REMAIN DETERMINED TO BASE THEIR CIVILIZATION AND COMFORT ON THEFT OF MATERIAL AND EXPLOITATION OF LABOR IN COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES OR BY LOCAL BRIBERY ~~OR~~ and COERCION IN LANDS CALLED INDEPENDENT, THEN WAR TO FORCE THESE PEOPLES WILL BE INEVITABLE. THEFT AND MURDER ARE THE MAIN CAUSES OF WAR AND WAR IS THEFT AND MURDER. THE WORLD THEN TO SURVIVE MUST FOLLOW REASON AND AIM AT WHAT IS RIGHT. CRIME CLOAKED IN RELIGION DOES NOT BECOME RIGHT. SLAVERY OF WORKERS IS A FILTHY INSTITUTION, EVEN IF IT IS THE "DIVINE LAW" OF TIBET, OR WHEN IT WAS SANCTIONED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, OR WHEN IT WAS DEFENDED BY

MILLIONS OF PROTESTANTS/IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.//FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF/IS A RIGHT LONG FOUGHT FOR/AND AS WE THOUGHT/WON.//BUT THE RIGHT TO BE FREE/TO FOLLOW A CREED/INCLUDES THE RIGHT NOT TO BELIEVE IN A CREED/ THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA/SHOULD BE FREE TO BELIEVE IN CATHOLICISM OR PROTESTANTISM/IF THAT IS THEIR WISH.// PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE FREE/NOT TO BELIEVE IN GOD/IF THAT IS THEIR DECISION. ATHEISM IS JUST AS MUCH A RIGHT/AS BUDDHISM OR MOHAMMEDANISM.//P AGAIN IT IS NOT TREASON/TO MY NATIVE LAND/FOR ME TO SAY TO THE WORLD/WHAT THE WORLD KNOWS/- THAT TODAY/THE ONE NATION ON EARTH/WHOSE DOMINANT RULERS/EVIDENTLY WANT WAR/IS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.// THEY WANT WAR/AND PREPARE FOR WAR/BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE/AND THEIR MONOPOLY OF NEWS CHANNELS/HAS MADE AMERICANS BELIEVE/THAT PEACE WILL INTERFERE/WITH THEIR WAY OF LIFE// THEY THEREFORE OPPOSE/ALL MOVES TOWARD PEACE/AND FRANTICALLY PREPARE FOR WAR/ ON A SCALE/WHICH FRIGHTENS MANKIND.

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES/WHAT IS OUR DUTY?//WHAT IS THE CLEAR OBLIGATION/OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL/IN ITS TENTH ANNUAL MEETING?// WHAT IS THE DUTY OF AMERICANS/WHO LOVE THEIR NATIVE LAND/AND STILL STRIVE TO

MAKE IT A LAND OF PEACE AND FREEDOM/AND NOT MAINLY OF WAR AND MONEY-MAKING? IT IS OUR DUTY/TO TELL THE TRUTH/AS WE SEE IT.//TO MAKE THE FACTS CLEAR. TO TELL AMERICANS/THAT NO MATTER HOW BAD THE EVIL IS/WHICH THEY FEAR/ WAR IS NOT ITS ANSWER.// WAR CANNOT BRING PEACE AND FREEDOM/AND PREPARATION FOR WAR/IS PREPARATION FOR DEATH;// IT IS OUR DUTY/TO INSIST THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT A THREAT/BUT A CHALLENGE;//AND THAT IF ANY NATION/WILL NOT ACCEPT THE SOCIALIST ANSWER/SUCH NATION IS FREE/TO PROPOSE A BETTER ANSWER.// IT IS NOT FREE/TO TRY TO DESTROY COMMUNISM/BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE.///POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/CONTINUE TO THREATEN THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND.// IF THE UNITED STATES/CAN CURE THESE EVILS BY PEACEFUL METHODS,/ THEIR SUCCESS WILL BE WELCOMED BY MANKIND.// BUT ALL INTELLIGENT MEN KNOW/THAT WAR IS NO ANSWER/TO POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE// RATHER IT AGGRAVATES THE EVIL/AND TRIES TO BUILD WEALTH,/ HEALTH AND CIVILIZATION/ON THEFT AND MURDER.// THIS IS IMPOSSIBLE.// IF WE CANNOT UPLIFT MANKIND/BY ANY METHOD EXCEPT WAR WITH COMMUNISM,/ THEN WE MUST FACE WORLD SUICIDE.

P MANY AMERICANS/AND SOME MEMBERS OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL/ OFTEN PROPOSE THAT WE CEASE DISCUSSING COMMUNISM/AND TALK ONLY ABOUT PEACE.// BUT THIS IS IMPOSSIBLE.// SO LONG AS AMERICA BELIEVES/COMMUNISM IS AN EVIL/THAT MUST

BE DISTROYED BY WAR/JUST SO LONG WE MUST DISCUSS COMMUNISM OR WE CANNOT DISCUSS PEACE.//SO LONG AS A POWERFUL NATION/FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT IT MUST MAKE WAR ON COMMUNISM/FOR SURVIVAL/IT IS IDLE TO TALK OF PEACE/AND SAY NOTHING OF COMMUNISM.

LET US THEN BE FRANK/WITH OURSELVES, WITH THE UNITED STATES/AND WITH THE WORLD.// IF ONE OF US DEMANDS A WORLD WAR/WHICH LEADS TO DISTRUCTION/AS ITS PRICE/FOR STOPPING/PREPARATION FOR WAR/THEN NOT TO DISCUSS THIS/IS IDIOTIC. THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL/AT THE BEGINNING OF ITS SECOND DECADE/FACES THIS PROGRAM:/WAR MUST BE ABOLISHED/AS A METHOD OF PROGRESS./PACIFISM WILL BE OUR IDEAL/BUT WE CAN DRAW/NO HARD AND FAST LINE/BETWEEN PASSIVE AND ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO WAR.//ONLY THE VICTIMS OF WAR/HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE THAT DECISION.// WHAT WE SAY IS: PEACE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, THESE THREE, BUT THE GREATEST OF THESE IS PEACE!

11/11/59 Chuning Lee

SOCIALISM

There WAS A TIME WHEN WE LEARNED ABOUT SOCIALISM OR NOT AS WE PLEASED IT WAS A MATTER OF CHOICE LIKE STUDYING THE STARS OR VISITING THE SOUTH SEAS. THAT IS NO LONGER TRUE TODAY SOCIALISM AND ITS ULTIMATE OBJECT COMMUNISM IS SO DEVELOPED AND SPREAD SO WIDE AND FAST THAT ALL FOLK WHO CLAIM INTELLIGENCE MUST KNOW ABOUT IT AND THAT KNOWLEDGE MUST BE BASED ON OBSERVATION AND FACT AND NOT BE A MATTER OF EMOTION OR WISHFUL THINKING I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM IN COLLEGE AND BY READING AND ALSO BY TRAVEL I knEW THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN GERMANY IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY I SAW WHAT IS NOW POLAND, HUNGARY AND CHECKO-SLOVAKIA BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. I SAW WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND LEARNED OF THE RISE OF SOCIALISM BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS I LIVED IN Germany AND VISITED THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND JAPAN AND LAST YEAR I SPENT ELEVEN MONTHS IN BRITAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, CHECHOSLOVAKIA GERMANY, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. ALL THIS TRAVEL AND STUDY DOES NOT GIVE

38-9-6

me complete KNOWLEDGE OF THESE GREAT LANDS, WITH THEIR WIDE TERRITORY AND TEEMING MASSES OF FOLK BUT THIS EXPERIENCE DOES GIVE ME THE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE WEST AND PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER IGNORE THE WORLD OR CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE THAT EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA HAVE FORGED FORWARD AT A TREMENDOUS RATE; THAT THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA ARE AWAKENING AND THAT WHAT THIS PART OF THE WORLD TOGETHER WITH THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE THINKING AND DOING IS OF PRESENT INTEREST TO YOU AND FATAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION.

38-9-7

WHAT DOES A SOCIALIST COUNTRY LOOK AND FEEL LIKE? IT IS NOT So DIFFERENT FROM THIS. THE PEOPLE ARE ORDINARY FOLK THEY ARE NOT IN CHAINS THEY LAUGH AND CRY, THEY WORK AND REST. THERE ARE HOMES AND SCHOOLS LIFE GOES ON HERE ABOUT THE SAME AS EVERYWHERE OF COURSE TIME AND OBSERVATION REVEAL DIFFERENCES. THE LONG LOOK WOULD DISTINGUISH MOSCOW FROM NEW YORK! THERE IS MORE PLANNING OF STREET AND BUILDING IN MOSCOW THE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK ARE DRESSED IN LATER STYLE; THE MUSCOVITES ARE NOT IN RAGS, THEIR

THEY ARE SATISFIED WITH LIFE AND LESS WORRIED THAN NEW YORKERS. THEY REST AND PLAY BUT WITH LESS NOISE. A STROLL IN THE SQUARES, OR A WALK IN THE PARKS OR A SEAT IN THE LIBRARIES, SEEMS TO SATISFY THE MASS OF PEOPLE. THEY LOVE ATHLETIC CONTESTS BUT THE CONTESTANTS ARE NOT SO OFTEN PROFESSIONAL. ONE THING THEY FEAR WHICH WE DO NOT AND THAT IS WAR. THEY KNOW WHAT WAR IS. WHAT IT COSTS IN DEATH AND DESTRUCTION DISLOCATION OF LIFE, DISEASE AND HURT. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND BUT IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. THE WORLD FEARS WAR EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES. WE LAUGH AND JOKE ABOUT IT. OUR CHILDREN PLAY AT MURDER. WE HAVE NO ACTIVE PEACE MOVEMENT.

8-b-38

ON THE OTHER HAND IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CERTAIN FEARS ARE ABSENT WHICH NEVER LEAVE THE WAKING HOURS OF WESTERN LANDS NOR ALWAYS THE HOURS OF SLEEP. THEY ARE FOUR IN NUMBER: UNEMPLOYMENT, OLD AGE, SICKNESS, LACK OF RECREATION. TAKE ANY MAN YOU MEET. TAKE YOURSELF. WE FEAR UNEMPLOYMENT, LOSING OUR JOB, BEING UNABLE TO WORK. THIS THE SOCIALIST CITIZEN DOES NOT FEAR. HE MAY HAVE TO CHANGE WORK. HE MAY HAVE TO CHANGE THE PLACE OF WORK; BUT OF WORK AND CURRENT PAY HE IS ALWAYS SURE. WE FEAR OLD AGE. WHAT WILL WE DO WHEN WE ARE OLD? WE ARE

(4)

DESPERATE TO SAVE ENOUGH TO INSURE A DECENT LIVING WHEN WE ARE TOO OLD TO EARN. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WALK OUR STREETS EACH SICK WITH FEAR OF AGE. THE CITIZENS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES NEED NOT FEAR AGE. EVERY CITIZEN IS CERTAIN OF SUPPORT, OF FOOD, SHELTER AND CLOTHES AS LONG AS HE LIVES. IT MAY NOT BE OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY, OR WHAT HE WOULD PREFER, BUT HE WILL NOT FREEZE OR STARVE. WE are FRIGHTENED OF SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT - AN ATTACK OF SOME DISEASE, BEING KNOCKED OVER BY A CAR, ANY DAY, ANY TIME WE MAY BE PUT TO BED BY SUCH MISADVENTURE. WE MAY BE COVERED BY INSURANCE, BUT MOST PEOPLE ARE NOT. WE CAN SELDOM AFFORD THE BEST MEDICAL CARE AND WE NEARLY ALWAYS LOSE PAY AND BURDEN OUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS. IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MEDICAL CARE IS GIVEN GREAT ATTENTION. PHYSICIANS ARE BEING rapidly INCREASED IN NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NEED, EVEN IF THAT NEED IS IN LONESOME COUNTRY DISTRICTS OR FAR OFF PROVINCES. MEDICAL CARE IS AVAILABLE FOR ALL. OF COURSE EVERY BODY CANNOT GET THE BEST, BUT NONE ARE NEGLECTED. ALL WORKERS NEED REST, BUT HOW MANY OF US DARE TAKE IT. SOME PROVISION FOR VACATIONS IS MADE TODAY BUT MOST WORKERS DO NOT GET ADEQUATE RECREATION AND CAN HARDLY AFFORD WHAT

38-b-9

38-9-10

THEY TAKE.// IN SOCIALIST LANDS/ THE VACATION WITH PAY/ IS PART OF THE WORK CONTRACT. THE VACATION WILL NOT BE AT A FASHIONABLE RESORT./ IT MAY NOT BE WHAT THE WORKER WOULD CHOOSE.// BUT IT WILL BE REST WITH MEDICAL CARE,/ WITH FOOD AND SOME RECREATION.

THESE FOUR FEARS WHICH HAUNT CAPITALIST LANDS,/ ARE MET FULL FACE AND ANSWERED IN SOCIALIST LANDS.// THE SYSTEMS ARE NOT PERFECT./ THEY BREAK DOWN HERE AND THERE/ AND NOW AND THEN.// BUT THEY ARE SO SUCCESSFUL/ THAT SOCIALISM PERSISTS AND SPREADS// EVEN THE TORIES IN ENGLAND/ HAVE NOT DARED/ TO ABOLISH SOCIAL MEDICINE.// THIS KIND OF HELP AND RESCUE/ STANDS FIRST IN THE MINDS OF THE SUPPORTERS OF SOCIALISM./ THEY WILL ENDURE MUCH/ BEFORE THEY WILL SURRENDER/ THIS FREEDOM/ FROM DAILY AND CONTINUOUS FEAR. A FREEDOM/ WHICH LEAVES THEM LIABLE TO UNEMPLOYMENT,/ NEGLECT IN SICKNESS AND OLD AGE,/ AND WORK WITHOUT REST/ DOES NOT ATTRACT THEM./ ONCE THEY FIND A REGIME/ WHICH HAS A CURE FOR THIS,/ EVEN WHEN THE CURE IS IMPERFECT.// THEY ARE CONTENT WITH LOW WAGES/ IF RELIEVED OF THESE FEARS.

THEN THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF CHILDREN./ THE PAIN AND LOSS OF TIME FOR THEIR BIRTH/ THE TIME AND MONEY NEEDED FOR THEIR UPBRINGING,/ THE QUESTION

OF THEIR EDUCATION/ AND LIFE EMPLOYMENT// MANY PEOPLE REFUSE TO PROCREATE CHILDREN/ BECAUSE OF THESE PROBLEMS/ SO DIFFICULT TO SOLVE/ IN CAPITALIST LANDS/ WITH INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. FEW MEN OF AMBITION/ CAN AFFORT TO MARRY/ BEFORE THEY ARE FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS OF AGE./

38-9-11

P BUT IN SOCIALIST LANDS/ THE PROBLEM OF CHILDREN COMES FIRST.// THE WORKING MOTHER HAS REST TIME DURING PREGNANCY./ SHE HAS CARE FOR HER CHILD DURING INFANCY./ THE CHILD IS IN NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN WHEN SMALL/ AND IN SCHOOLS AS HE GROWS.// HE HAS HIGHER EDUCATION WITH PAY/ AS HE BECOMES OF AGE./ TRAINING FOR EARNING A LIVING WITH PAY/ OPEN TO HIM ACCORDING TO TALENT.// ALL THIS PROGRAM IS NOT PERFECT./ SCHOOL FACILITIES LAG;/ YET THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF SOCIALIST LANDS/ OUTSTRIP THE SYSTEMS OF WESTERN EUROPE/ AND THE UNITED STATES/ AND IT IS ADMITTED/ THAT THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOVIET UNION/ ARE THE BEST IN THE WORLD.// SEE WHAT A WEALTH OF HUMAN ABILITY/ THE SOCIALIST LANDS ARE PRESERVING/ AND USING FOR HUMANITY/ AND SEE WHY THEY HAVE/ LITTLE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

ALL THIS EFFORT COSTS IN ENERGY, IN FREEDOM OF ACTION, IN INDIVIDUAL TRAINING. IT MEANS DISCIPLINE. IT MEANS THAT A MAN OFTEN DOES WHAT HE IS TOLD TO DO RATHER THAN WHAT HE WANTS TO DO. BUT IS THE SITUATION MUCH DIFFERENT IN CAPITALIST LANDS? ARE WE FREE IN AMERICA? ARE FRENCHMEN FREE TO DO AS THEY PLEASE? OF COURSE NOT. IN A WORLD OF NATURAL LAW, IN A WORLD OF HUMAN LEGISLATION, IN A WORLD OF HABIT AND INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS, THE AREA OF HUMAN FREEDOM OF ACTION MUST BE SERIOUSLY CURTAILED. BUT IT IS FURTHER NARROWED WHEN OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IS DECIDED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL GOODS AND BY THE MEN WHO CONTROL THE LABOR OF HUMAN BEINGS. CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT WHAT MAY HAPPEN IN A COUNTRY EXPLOITED BY FOREIGN CAPITAL. NORTHERN RHODESIA HAS A POPULATION OF TWO MILLION AFRICAN NATIVES AND 50,000 WHITES. ITS RICHEST PRODUCT IS COPPER WHICH IN ONE YEAR WAS SOLD FOR 36 MILLION DOLLARS. OF THIS SUM, 17,000 BLACK LABORERS WHOSE FATHERS ONCE OWNED THIS LAND, RECEIVED AS MINERS DOING ALL THE UNSKILLED WORK AND MUCH OF THE SKILLED, A TOTAL OF $600,000, OR $37 FOR EACH FOR A YEAR'S WORK. SEVENTEEN HUNDRED WHITE ARTISANS RECEIVED $2,500,000 OR $15,000 EACH FOR THE YEAR'S WORK. EACH WHITE WORKER HAD A BLACK HELPER WHO DID MOST OF HIS WORK. THE WHITE MAN HAD

38-9-12

#7A THE WHITE

A UNION WHICH NO NEGRO COULD JOIN AND COULD VOTE. HE LIVED IN COMFORT AND EVEN LUXURY. SUBTRACTING THE COST OF RUNNING THE MINES AND THE TAXES THERE REMAINED FOR THE BRITISH SHAREHOLDERS AT LEAST FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF PROFIT. IT IS CONDITIONS SUCH AS THIS WHICH CHARACTERIZE MOST OF THE WORLD AND WHICH SOCIALISM TRIES TO CHANGE. BUT THIS CHANGE INVOLVES DISCIPLINE. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER THERE WILL BE DISCIPLINE BUT RATHER WHO SHALL ADMINISTER IT AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE AND UNDER WHAT CONTROL WILL THE MOST AND ESSENTIAL FREEDOMS BE CONSERVED. THE ANARCHY OF INDIVIDUAL WISH AND THE RULE OF CHANCE IS INADMISSABLE JUST AS COMPLETE SLAVERY IS UNTHINKABLE. DISCIPLINE INVOLVES PLANNING AND PLANNING IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR MODERN INDUSTRY. WE MAY NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES BY AS-

38-9-13

38-9-14

SUMMING| THAT THE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE |IS NOT PLANNED.| IT IS PLANNED AND MOST ELABORATELY.|| BUT WHO PLANS IT| AND FOR WHAT ENDS?|| IT IS PLANNED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL|AND FOR ~~THE~~ THE INDIVIDUAL PROFIT WHICH THE ENTERPRIZES BRING|| THIS MAY LEAD TO MUCH PROSPERITY,| BUT ALSO TO FINANCIAL CRISES,| to WEALTH AND POVERTY,| to EXPLOITATION AND UNEMPLOY MENT | AND to CRIME || SOCIALISM ON THE CONTRARY| TRIES TO PLAN FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE OF ALL CITIZENS|| IT OWNS THE WEALTH USED FOR INDUSTRY.| IT CONTROLS THE LABOR| WHICH PRODUCES WEALTH ||AND SEEKS TO DISTRIBUTE ~~PROSPERITY~~ INCOME| ACCORD ING TO NEED|AND NOT BY CHANCE,| INHERITANCE,| SMART ACTION |OR FORCE || THIS KIND OF PLANNING IS NOT EASY.| IT INVOLVES LARGE NUMBERS OF MEN |WORKING IN UNISON,| WITH ABILITY, HIGH MORAL STANDARDS |AND WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE WE USED TO SAY|THAT WHILE THE OBJECTS OF SOCIALISM|WERE LAUDABLE, HUMAN NATURE WAS TOO SELFISH,|IGNORANT AND CRIMINAL|TO ACHIEVE THIS END.|| THIS IS A QUESTION|NOT TO BE ANSWERED BY THEORY|BUT ONLY BY EXPERIENCE.|| I HAVE

38-9-15

WATCHED THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN PLANNING|FOR THIRTY ~~THREE~~ YEARS.|| I HAVE SEEN NO OTHER MODERN NATION|WHICH HAS BROUGHT INTO SERVICE|FOR THE STATE AND ITS WELFARE|SO MUCH ABILITY, DEVOTION AND UNDERSTANDING|AS THE SOVIET UNION|| AND THAT IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY,| WAR, AGGRESSION, TREACHERY AND DELIBERATE LYING ~~AS THE SOVIET UNION~~.|| IT HAS ORGANIZED, DEVELOPED AND CARRIED ON INDUSTRY,| IT HAS FURNISHED FOOD, HOMES AND CLOTHING|FOR ITS MILLIONS.|| IT HAS RAISED ITS STANDARD OF LIVING|AND PUT ALL ITS CHILDREN|IN SCHOOLS OF SUPERLATIVE EFFICIENCY|AND IT HAS MADE EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.|| THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT AS RICH OR ~~ON THE AVERAGE~~ as well dressed AS AMERICANS,| BRITISH OR FRENCH.|| BUT THEY ARE MORE HOPEFUL| WITH LESS NERVOUS TENSION|AND LESS CRIME.|| THEY LOOK FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE TO A GREAT AND HAPPY FUTURE.|| ONE OTHER THING RUSSIAN SOCIALISM HAS DONE| WHICH SEEMS TO ME|OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE.|| IT HAS ATTACKED FRANKLY AND FACE FORWARD,| RELIGIOUS DOGMATISM.|| IT HAS MADE IT ILLEGAL|FOR ANY CHURCH TO TEACH RELIGION ~~DOGMA~~|TO SCHOOL CHILDREN.|| GROWN FOLK MAY ORGANIZE AND

38-9-16

CONDUCT RELIGIOUS EXERCIZES | PROVIDED THEY DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE FUNC TIONS OF THE STATE | IN EDUCATION, POLITICS OR EMPLOYMENT. || IT IS PERMISSABLE IN THE SOVIET UNION TO BE AN ATHEIST | AND TO STUDY REASONS FOR SUCH BELIEF | REVIEWING THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, | I THINK THIS | IS ONE OF THE GREATEST FOR- WARD STEPS | TAKEN BY ANY NATION.

CHINA IS EVEN MORE ASTONISHING | THAN THE SOVIET UNION, | BE CAUSE OF ITS LONG HISTORY, || THE CONQUEST, INSULT, | EXPLOITATION AND DEGRA DATION | WHICH IT HAS SUFFERED | AND, because of THE RECENT LEAP FORWARD OF 680 MILLION PEOPLE | UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH | SOONER THAN ~~IS LIKELY~~ IN ANY NATION | TODAY IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE COMMUNISM. | I SAW CHINA FOR A WEEK OR SO | IN 1936, | AND FOR TEN WEEKS IN 1959 || THE CONTRAST IN THAT SHORT TIME | WAS AMAZ ING. | | BUT EVEN THIS WAS AS NOTHING | TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF the CHINESE ~~HISTORY~~ IN THE LAST TWO THOUSAND YEARS. || CHINA REFUTES ALL OUR THEORIES | OF INFERIOR PEOPLES, | ALL OUR EFFORT TO RULE THE MAJORITY OF MEN | BY IMPERIAL EXPLOI-

38-9-17

TATION | FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHITE WORLD. || WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE | THE AMERICAN CONTEMPT | FOR THE CHINESE WAS SUPREME. || THEY WERE regarded as A QUEER, CONTRA DICTORY, | ILLOGICAL FOLK. | EVEN IF THEY INVENTED THE COMPASS | AND MOVABLE PRINT ING TYPE, | THEY DESERVED NO CREDIT. | THESE WERE NOT INVENTIONS | UNTIL WHITE MEN MADE THEM. | CHINA WAS READY FOR COMPLETE DISMEMBERMENT | BY EUROPE | AS SOON AS WHITE NATIONS COULD AGREE | AS TO THEIR SHARES. || MEANTIME THE CHINA OF 1936, | WHICH I SAW, | WAS UNDER THE HEEL OF EUROPE AND AMERICA. || SHANGHAI WAS THE HOME OF PROS- TITUTES AND GAMBLERS, | ALONG WITH RICH BUSINESS MEN. || THE CHINESE LEADERS WERE WRITHING DESPERATELY. || I WAS COMPLETELY AT SEA | IN MY ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND CHINA AND JAPAN, | THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. || SUN YAT SEN HAD AP- PEALED IN VAIN FOR HELP | ONLY THE SOVIET UNION HAD RESPONDED | AND I SAW THERE IN 1926 | THE DESPERATE EFFORT TO TRAIN CHINESE ~~LEADERS~~ LEADERS | IN MOSCOW. || WHEN I RETURNED IN 1959 | CHINA HAD BEEN REVOLUTIONIZED. || CHINA BELONGED TO CHINA | AND THE WHITE MASTERS WERE GONE. | THE CHINESE MULTI-MILLIONS WERE AT WORK. || THEY WERE LAUGHING AND SWEATING. | WOMEN HAD AN EQUALITY WITH MEN | SUCH AS AMERICA COULD NOT DUPLICATE. || AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY | WERE RUSHING FORWARD | LITERATURE

and Art were living again)

#12

THE REASON WAS SOCIALISM/AIMING/STRAIGHT TOWARD COMMUNISM/AND TRANSFORMING A VAST NATION.// EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD VISIT CHINA.//IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN IDIOTIC/TO DEPRIVE A NATION/ WHICH PRETENDS TO BE INTELLIGENT/FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE GREATEST SOCIALIST NATION/OF THE WORLD/BY SEEING AND NOT BY BEING FORCED/TO BELIEVE THE LIES OF HONG KONG.

38-9-18

THERE IS ANOTHER CHARACTERISTIC/OF SOCIALIST LANDS/WHICH IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO AMERICANS//AND THAT IS THE RELATION OF THE WORKER TO HIS JOB.//OUR PROFESSIONAL MEN/OFTEN LIKE THEIR WORK.// SOME TEACHERS LIKE TO TEACH.//BUT MOST ARTISANS,/ESPECIALLY IN MASS PRODUCTION/HATE THEIR WORK AND REGARD THEIR EMPLOYERS/AS THEIR NATURAL ENEMIES.// THEY ARE INTERESTED IN THEIR WAGES/AND NOT IN THE PRODUCT OF THEIR FACTORIES.//THE SOCIALIST WORKER/IS INTERESTED IN THE PRODUCT OF HIS FACTORY,/ITS QUANTITY AS WELL AS ITS QUALITY. THE OBJECT OF HIS TOIL/IS NOT HIS WAGE BUT HIS ACCOMPLISHMENT. /HE CHANGES HIS WORK BECAUSE OF WHAT HE CAN DO/AND NOT BECAUSE OF WHAT HE CAN GET.//THIS IS A CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE/OF WHICH THE WESTERN WORKER/CANNOT CONCEIVE.

#13

38-9-19

MANY PERSONS BELIEVE/THAT SOCIALISM CANNOT BE CALLED SOCIALISM/UNLESS IT IS COMPLETELY RID/OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM/AND INDIVIDUAL PROFIT.// SO LONG AS PRIVATE CAPITALISM REMAINS,/THEY KNOW THAT SOCIALISM IS IN DANGER.// THUS BRITAIN, FRANCE,/SCANDINAVIA AND THE UNITED STATES/ARE CLASSED AS CAPITALIST NATIONS/DESPITE THE STEPS TOWARD SOCIALISM/WHICH THEY ARE TAKING.// THERE IS TRUTH IN THIS ATTITUDE,/BUT IT PAINTS AN INCOMPLETE PICTURE.// FOR INSTANCE IN SCANDINAVIA/THE STATE HOUSING, SOCIAL MEDICINE AND PENSION SYSTEMS/HERALD AN APPROACH TOWARD COMPLETE SOCIALISM.// AND IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA, THE INCREASED FUNCTION OF THE STATE/IN TRANSPORTATION, WATER POWER,/PENSIONS, EDUCATION, HOUSING AND RELIEF/SHOWS OUR APPROACH TO SOCIALISM//AND THE GROWING BATTLE TO RETAIN THESE EFFORTS/BEFORE THE ASSAULT OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM/IN THE GUISE OF WAR AND DEFENSE.//THIS SHOWS ALL THINKING MEN/THAT THE WORLD TODAY FACES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM./ THEY ARE NOT MATTERS OF CRIME AND CONSPIRACY./ THEY REPRESENT POLITICAL REVOLUTION/JUST AS SIGNIFICANT AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE/AND PUBLIC EDUCATION ONCE WERE/AND AS NEGRO EQUALITY STILL IS,/ ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES.// FEW PEOPLE CHANGE THEIR MINDS/ON MATTERS OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN IMPORTANCE/AFTER THEY ARE GROWN.// SOME BOAST OF THIS/BUT IT IS TRAGIC./ IT MEANS THAT PROGRESS/MUST SO OFTEN BE BY

15 14 35

~~BLOODY~~ REVOLUTION | INSTEAD OF BY PEACEFUL REASON || THE CASE OF HITLER | ILLUS TRATES THIS POINT. || THE NAZI STATE ADOPTED | EVERY METHOD OF SOCIALISM | BUT ONE. I WAS ASTONISHED IN 1936 | TO SEE IN GERMANY | SUCH FRANK IMITATION OF WHAT I HAD SEEN | IN THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926 || STATE ROADS AND HOUSING, | STATE PENSIONS, PLANNED EMPLOYMENT, | STATE EDUCATION. || IT ALMOST SEEMED THAT THE PROGRAM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS | TO WHICH I HAD LISTENED IN 1893 IN BERLIN | HAD COME MIRACULOUSLY INTO BEING. || BUT THERE WAS ONE FATAL FLAW: | THE STATE WAS CONTROLLED BY A CONSCIENCELESS DICTATOR, | AND THAT DICTATOR | WAS OWNED BY ~~BY~~ THE WORST CORPORATIONS | IN THE WORLD. | THE FINAL END WAS INEVITABLE. || TODAY THEN

38-9-20

half insane

16 14 15

~~BLOODY REVOLUTION INSTEAD OF BY REASON AND PEACEFUL CHANGE~~. IN THIS GREAT TREND ~~CHANGE~~ TO SOCIALISM | IT IS OF IMPORTANCE | THAT EVERY INTELLIGENT CITIZEN | TRY TO LEARN | AND NOT SIMPLY REJOICE IN STANDING STILL || VISIT SOCIALISM IN ITS HOMES. | YOU WILL NOT QUICKLY UNDERSTAND HOW IT WORKS, | BUT YOU WILL SEE THE KIND OF PERSON | WHO IS WORKING IT | AND HE WILL BE SINGULARLY LIKE YOU | HUMAN, AMBITIOUS, | IMPATIENT OF ENTRENCHED EVIL | PANTING FOR PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

38-9-21

11/11/59
Chicago

40A.1.44

SOCIALISM

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WE LEARNED ABOUT SOCIALISM OR NOT AS WE PLEASED. IT WAS A MATTER OF CHOICE LIKE STUDYING THE STARS OR VISITING THE SOUTH SEAS.

THAT IS NO LONGER TRUE. TODAY SOCIALISM AND ITS ULTIMATE OBJECT COMMUNISM IS SO DEVELOPED AND SPREAD SO WIDE AND FAST THAT ALL FOLK WHO CLAIM INTELLIGENCE MUST KNOW ABOUT IT, AND THAT KNOWLEDGE MUST BE BASED ON OBSERVATION AND FACT AND NOT BE A MATTER OF EMOTION OR WISHFUL THINKING. I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM IN COLLEGE AND BY READING AND ALSO BY TRAVEL.

I KNEW THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN GERMANY IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. I SAW WHAT IS NOW POLAND, HUNGARY AND CHECKSLOVAKIA BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. I SAW WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND LEARNED OF THE RISE OF SOCIALISM BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS. I LIVED IN GERMANY AND VISITED THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND JAPAN; AND LAST YEAR I SPENT ELEVEN MONTHS IN BRITAIN, HOLLAND,

40A.1.45

FRANCE CHECKOSLOVAKIA, GERMANY, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. ALL THIS TRAVEL AND STUDY DOES NOT GIVE ME COMPLETE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE GREAT LANDS, WITH THEIR WIDE TERRITORY AND TEEMING MASSES OF FOLK, BUT THIS EXPERIENCE DOES GIVE ME THE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE WEST AND PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER IGNORE THE WORLD OR CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE. THAT EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA HAVE FORGED FORWARD AT A TREMENDOUS RATE; THAT THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA ARE AWAKENING AND THAT WHAT THIS PART OF THE WORLD TOGETHER WITH THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE THINKING AND DOING IS OF PRESENT INTEREST TO YOU AND FATAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION.

WHAT DOES A SOCIALIST COUNTRY LOOK AND FEEL LIKE? IT IS NOT SO DIFFERENT FROM THIS. THE PEOPLE ARE ORDINARY FOLK. THEY ARE NOT IN CHAINS. THEY LAUGH AND CRY, THEY WORK AND REST, THERE ARE HOMES AND SCHOOLS. LIFE GOES ON HERE ABOUT THE SAME AS EVERYWHERE. OF COURSE TIME AND OBSERVATION REVEAL DIFFERENCES. THE LONG LOOK

WOULD DISTINGUISH MOSCOW FROM NEW YORK. THERE IS MORE PLANNING OF STREET AND BUILDING IN MOSCOW. THE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK ARE DRESSED IN LATER STYLE, BUT THE MUSCOVITES ARE NOT IN RAGS. THEY ARE SATISFIED WITH LIFE AND LESS WORRIED THAN NEW YORKERS. THEY REST AND PLAY BUT WITH LESS NOISE. A STROLL IN THE SQUARES, OR A WALK IN THE PARKS SEEMS TO SATISFY THE MASS OF PEOPLE. ONE THING THEY FEAR WHICH WE DO NOT AND THAT IS WAR. THEY KNOW WHAT WAR IS, WHAT IT COSTS IN DEATH AND DESTRUCTION, DISLOCATION OF LIFE, DISEASE AND HURT. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND, BUT IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. THE WORLD FEARS WAR EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES. WE LAUGH AND JOKE ABOUT IT. OUR CHILDREN PLAY AT MURDER. WE HAVE NO ACTIVE PEACE MOVEMENT.

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ALL THIS EFFORT COSTS IN ENERGY, IN FREEDOM OF ACTION, IN INDIVIDUAL TRAINING. IT MEANS DISCIPLINE. IT MEANS THAT A MAN DOES WHAT HE IS TOLD TO DO IN MANY CASES RATHER THAN WHAT HE WANTS TO DO. BUT IS THE SITUATION MUCH DIFFERENT IN CAPITALIST LANDS? ARE WE FREE IN AMERICA TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE? ARE FRENCHMEN FREE TO DO AS THEY PLEASE? OF COURSE NOT. IN A WORLD OF NATURAL LAW, IN A WORLD OF HUMAN LEGISLATION, IN A WORLD OF HABIT AND INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS, THE AREA OF HUMAN FREEDOM OF ACTION MUST BE SERIOUSLY CURTAILED. BUT IT IS FURTHER NARROWED WHEN INDUSTRY, OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IS DIRECTED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL GOODS AND BY THE MEN WHO OWN OR CONTROL THE LABOR OF HUMAN BEINGS. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER THERE WILL BE DISCIPLINE BUT

40A.L.52

RATHER WHO SHALL ADMINISTER IT AND UNDER WHAT CONTROL. WILL MOST AND ESSENTIAL FREEDOMS BE CONSERVED. THE ANARCHY OF INDIVIDUAL WISH AND THE RULE OF CHANCE IS INADMISSABLE, JUST AS COMPLETE SLAVERY IS UNTHINKABLE. DISCIPLINE INVOLVES PLANNING AND PLANNING IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR MODERN INDUSTRY. WE MAY NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES BY ASSUMING THAT THE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE IS NOT PLANNED. IT IS PLANNED AND MOST ELABORATELY. BUT WHO PLANS IT AND FOR WHAT ENDS? IT IS PLANNED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL AND FOR THE INDIVIDUAL PROFIT WHICH THE ENTERPRIZES BRING. THIS MAY LEAD TO MUCH PROSPERITY, BUT ALSO TO FINANCIAL CRISES, to WEALTH AND POVERTY, EXPLOITATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME. SOCIALISM, ON THE CONTRARY, TRIES TO PLAN FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE OF ALL CITIZENS. IT OWNS THE WEALTH USED FOR INDUSTRY. IT CONTROLS THE LABOR WHICH PRODUCES WEALTH AND SEEKS TO DISTRIBUTE PROPERTY ACCORDING TO NEED AND NOT BY CHANCE, INHERITANCE, SMART ACTION OR FORCE. THIS KIND OF PLANNING IS NOT EASY. IT INVOLVES LARGE NUMBERS OF

40A.L.53

MEN WORKING IN UNISON WITH ABILITY, HIGH MORAL STANDARDS AND WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE.

WE USED TO SAY THAT WHILE THE OBJECTS OF SOCIALISM WERE LAUDABLE, HUMAN NATURE WAS TOO SELFISH, IGNORANT AND CRIMINAL TO ACHIEVE THIS END. THIS IS A QUESTION NOT TO BE ANSWERED BY THEORY BUT ONLY BY EXPERIENCE. I HAVE WATCHED THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN PLANNING FOR THIRTY YEARS. I HAVE SEEN NO OTHER MODERN NATION WHICH HAS BROUGHT INTO SERVICE FOR THE STATE AND ITS WELFARE SO MUCH ABILITY, DEVOTION AND UNDERSTANDING AS THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY, WAR, AGGRESSION, TREACHERY AND DELIBERATE LYING. IT HAS ORGANIZED, DEVELOPED AND CARRIED ON INDUSTRY, IT HAS FURNISHED FOOD, HOMES AND CLOTHING FOR ITS MILLIONS. IT HAS RAISED ITS STANDARD OF LIVING AND PUT ALL ITS CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS OF SUPERLATIVE EFFICIENCY AND IT HAS MADE EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

40A.1.54

THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT AS RICH AS AMERICANS, BRITISH OR FRENCH, BUT THEY ARE MORE HOPEFUL WITH LESS NERVOUS TENSION AND LESS CRIME. THEY LOOK FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE TO A GREAT AND HAPPY FUTURE. ONE OTHER THING RUSSIAN SOCIALISM HAS DONE WHICH SEEMS TO ME OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE. IT HAS ATTACKED FRANKLY AND FACE FORWARD, RELIGIOUS DOGMATISM. IT HAS MADE IT ILLEGAL FOR ANY CHURCH TO TEACH RELIGIOUS DOGMA TO SCHOOL CHILDREN. GROWN FOLK MAY ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT RELIGIOUS EXERCIZES PROVIDED THEY DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE IN EDUCATION, POLITICS OR EMPLOYMENT. IT IS PERMISSABLE IN THE SOVIET UNION TO BE AN ATHEIST AND TO STUDY REASONS FOR SUCH BELIEF. REVIEWING THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, I THINK THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST FORWARD STEPS TAKEN BY ANY NATION.

CHINA IS EVEN MORE ASTONISHING THAN THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE OF ITS LONG HISTORY, THE CONQUEST, INSULT, EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION WHICH IT HAS SUFFERED AND THE RECENT LEAP FORWARD OF 680 MILLION PEOPLE UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH SOONER THAN IN ANY NATION TODAY IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE COMMUNISM. I SAW CHINA FOR

A WEEK OR SO IN 1936, AND FOR TEN WEEKS IN 1959. THE CONTRAST IN THAT SHORT TIME

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AND THE RECENT LEAP FORWARD OF 680 MILLION PEOPLE UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH SOONER THAN IN ANY NATION TODAY IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE COMMUNISM. I SAW CHINA FOR A WEEK OR SO IN 1936 AND FOR TEN WEEKS IN 1959. THE CONTRAST IN THAT SHORT TIME WAS AMAZING, BUT EVEN THIS WAS AS NOTHING TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHINESE IN THE LAST [redacted] THOUSAND YEARS. CHINA REFUTES ALL OUR THEORIES OF INFERIOR PEOPLES, ALL OUR EFFORT TO RULE THE MAJORITY OF MEN BY IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHITE WORLD. WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE THE AMERICAN CONTEMPT FOR THE CHINESE WAS SUPREME. THEY WERE A QUEER, CONTRADICTORY, ILLOGICAL FOLK. EVEN IF THEY INVENTED THE COMPASS AND MOVABLE PRINTING TYPE, THEY DESERVED NO CREDIT. THESE WERE NOT INVENTIONS UNTIL WHITE MEN MADE THEM. CHINA WAS READY FOR COMPLETE DISMEMBERMENT BY EUROPE AS SOON AS WHITE NATIONS COULD AGREE AS TO

THEIR SHARES. MEANTIME THE CHINA OF 1936 WHICH I SAW WAS UNDER THE HEEL OF EUROPE AND AMERICA. SHANGHAI WAS THE HOME OF PROSTITUTES AND GAMBLERS, ALONG WITH RICH BUSINESS MEN. THE CHINESE LEADERS WERE WRITHING DESPERATELY. I WAS COMPLETELY AT SEA IN MY ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND CHINA AND JAPAN, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. SUN YAT SEN HAD APPEALED IN VAIN FOR HELP. ONLY THE SOVIET UNION HAD RESPONDED AND I SAW THERE IN 1926 THE DESPERATE EFFORT TO TRAIN CHINESE LEADERS IN MOSCOW. WHEN I RETURNED IN 1959, CHINA HAD BEEN REVOLUTIONIZED. CHINA BELONGED TO CHINA AND THE WHITE MASTERS WERE GONE. THE CHINESE MULTI-MILLIONS WERE AT WORK. THEY WERE LAUGHING AND SWEATING. WOMEN HAD AN EQUALITY WITH MEN SUCH AS AMERICA COULD NOT DUPLICATE. AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY WERE RUSHING FORWARD, LITERATURE AND ART WERE LIVING AGAIN. THE REASON FOR THIS IS SOCIALISM AIMING STRAIGHT TOWARD COMMUNISM AND TRANSFORMING A VAST NATION. EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD VISIT

(Mainland)

I HAVE TRAVELED WIDELY ON THIS EARTH SINCE MY FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE 67 YEARS AGO. SAVE SOUTH AMERICA AND INDIA, I HAVE SEEN MOST OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD AND MUCH OF ITS BACKWARD REGIONS. MANY LEADING NATIONS I HAVE VISITED REPEATEDLY. BUT I HAVE NEVER SEEN A NATION WHICH SO AMAZED AND TOUCHED ME AS CHINA IN 1959.

I TRAVELLED 5,000 MILES, BY RAILWAY, BOAT, PLANE AND AUTO. I SAW ALL THE GREAT CITIES: PEKING, SHANGHAI, HANKOW AND ITS SISTERS: CANTON, CHUNGKING, CHENGTU, KUNMING AND NANKING. I RODE ITS VAST RIVERS, PASSED THROUGH ITS VILLAGES AND SAT IN ITS COMMUNES. I VISITED ITS SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, LECTURED AND BROADCAST TO THE WORLD. I VISITED ITS MINORITY GROUPS. I SPENT FOUR HOURS WITH MAO TSE-TUNG AND DINED TWICE WITH CHOU EN-LAI, THE TIRELESS PRIME MINISTER OF THIS NATION OF 680 MILLION SOULS.

WHAT IS THE SECRET OF CHINA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY? IT IS

40A.1.58

THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF near A BILLION HUMAN BEINGS HAVE BEEN CONVINCED THAT HUMAN NATURE IN SOME OF ITS DARKEST RECESSES CAN BE CHANGED, IF CHANGE IS NECESSARY. CHINA KNOWS, AS NO OTHER PEOPLE KNOW, TO WHAT DEPTHS HUMAN MEANNESS CAN GO. I USED TO WEEP FOR AMERICAN NEGROES, AS I SAW through WHAT INDIGNITIES AND REPRESSIONS AND CRUELTIES THEY HAD PASSED; BUT AS I READ CHINESE HISTORY IN THESE LAST MONTHS AND HAD IT EXPLAINED TO ME STRIPPED OF ANGLO-SAXON LIES, I KNOW THAT NO DEPTHS OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN AMERICA HAVE PLUMBED SUCH ABYSSES AS THE CHINESE HAVE SEEN FOR 2,000 YEARS AND MORE. THEY HAVE SEEN STARVATION AND MURDER; RAPE AND PROSTITUTION; SALE AND SLAVERY OF CHILDREN; AND RELIGION CLOAKED IN OPIUM AND GIN, FOR CONVERTING THE "HEATHEN". THIS OPPRESSION AND CONTEMPT CAME NOT ONLY FROM TARTARS, MONGOLIANS, BRITISH, FRENCH, GERMANS AND AMERICANS, BUT FROM THE CHINESE THEMSELVES: MANDARINS

40A.1.59

AND WARLORDS, CAPITALISTS AND MURDERING THIEVES LIKE CHIANG KAI-SHEK; KUOMINTANG SOCIALISTS AND INTELLECTUALS EDUCATED ABROAD.

DESPITE ALL THIS CHINA LIVES, AND HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED AND MARCHES ON. SHE IS NOT IGNORED BY THE UNITED STATES. SHE IGNORES THE UNITED STATES AND LEAPS FORWARD. WHAT DID IT? WHAT FURNISHED THE MOTIVE POWER AND HOW WAS IT APPLIED? FIRST IT WAS THE BELIEF IN HIMSELF AND IN HIS PEOPLE BY A MAN LIKE SUN YAT-SEN. HE PLUNGED ON BLIND AND UNAIDED, REPULSED BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA, BUT WELCOMED BY RUSSIA. THEN EFFORTS TOWARD SOCIALISM, WHICH WOBBLED FORWARD, ERRED AND LOST, AND AT LAST WAS BRIBED BY AMERICA AND BRITAIN AND BETRAYED BY CHIANG KAI-SHEK, WITH ITS LEADERS MURDERED AND ITS AIMS MISUNDERSTOOD, WHEN NOT DELIBERATELY LIED ABOUT.

THEN CAME THE LONG MARCH FROM FEUDALISM, PAST CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM TO

COMMUNISM IN OUR DAY. MAO TSE-TUNG, CHOU EN-LAI, CHU TEH AND A HALF DOZEN OTHERS UNDERTOOK TO LEAD A NATION BY EXAMPLE, BY STARVING AND FIGHTING; BY INFINITE PATIENCE AND ABOVE ALL BY MAKING A NATION BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE AND NOT MERELY THE ELITE -- THAT ON THE CONTRARY THE WORKERS IN FACTORY, STREET, AND FIELD, COMPOSED THE REAL NATION. OTHERS HAVE SAID THIS OFTEN, BUT NO NATION HAS TRIED IT LIKE THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. AND ON THE STAGGERING AND BITTER EFFORT OF THE SOVIETS, BELEAGURED BY ALL WESTERN CIVILIZATION, AND YET FAR-SEEING ENOUGH TO HELP WEAKER CHINA EVEN BEFORE A STILL WEAK RUSSIA WAS SAFE -- ON THIS VAST PYRAMID HAS ARISEN THE SAVING NATION OF THIS STUMBLING, MURDERING, HATING WORLD.

IN CHINA THE PEOPLE -- THE LABORING PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE WHO IN MOST LANDS ARE THE DOORMATS ON WHICH THE REIGNING THIEVES AND MURDERING RULERS WALK, LEADING THEIR PAINTED AND JEWELED PROSTITUTES --THE PEOPLE WALK AND BOAST. THESE PEOPLE OF

THE SLUMS AND GUTTERS AND KITCHENS ARE THE CHINESE NATION TODAY. THIS THE CHINESE BELIEVE AND ON THIS BELIEF THEY TOIL AND SWEAT AND CHEER.

CHINA HAS NO RANK NOR CLASSES; HER UNIVERSITIES GRANT NO DEGREES; HER GOVERNMENT AWARDS NO MEDALS. SHE HAS NO BLUE BOOK OF "SOCIETY". BUT SHE HAS LEADERS OF LEARNING AND GENIUS, SCIENTISTS OF RENOWN, ARTISANS OF SKILL AND MILLIONS WHO KNOW AND BELIEVE THIS AND FOLLOW WHERE THESE MEN LEAD. THIS IS THE JOY OF THIS NATION, ITS HIGH BELIEF AND ITS UNFALTERING HOPE.

CHINA IS NO UTOPIA. FIFTH AVENUE HAS BETTER SHOPS WHERE THE RICH CAN BUY AND WHORES PARADE. DETROIT HAS MORE AND BETTER CARS. THE BEST AMERICAN HOUSING OUTSTRIPS THE CHINESE, AND CHINESE WOMEN ARE NOT NEARLY AS WELL-DRESSED AS THE GUESTS OF THE WALDORF-ASTORIA. BUT THE CHINESE WORKER IS HAPPY. HE HAS EXORCIZED

Every American should visit

40A.1.66

THE GREAT FEAR THAT HAUNTS THE WEST; THE FEAR OF LOSING HIS JOB; THE FEAR OF FALLING SICK; THE FEAR OF ACCIDENT; THE FEAR OF INABILITY TO EDUCATE HIS CHILDREN; THE FEAR OF DARING TO TAKE A VACATION. TO GUARD AGAINST SUCH CATASTROPHE AMERICANS SKIMP AND SAVE, CHEAT AND STEAL, GAMBLE AND ARM FOR MURDER. THE SOVIET CITIZEN, THE CZECH, THE POLE, THE HUNGARIAN HAVE KICKED OUT THE STOOGES OF AMERICA AND THE HOODLUMS SET TO EXPLOIT THE PEASANTS. THEY AND THE EAST GERMANS NO LONGER FEAR THESE DISASTERS; AND ABOVE ALL THE CHINESE SIT HIGH ABOVE THESE FEARS AND LAUGH WITH JOY. THEY WILL NOT BE RICH IN OLD AGE, BUT THEY WILL EAT. THEY WILL NOT ENJOY SICKNESS BUT THEY WILL BE GIVEN CARE. THEY WILL NOT STARVE AS THOUSANDS OF CHINESE DID ONLY A GENERATION AGO. THEY FEAR NEITHER FLOOD NOR EPIDEMIC. THEY DO NOT EVEN FEAR WAR, AS MAO TSE-TUNG TOLD ME, WAR FOR CHINA IS A "PAPER TIGER."

40A.1.62

CHINA. IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN IDIOTIC TO DEPRIVE A NATION WHICH PRETENDS TO BE INTELLIGENT FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE GREATEST SOCIALIST NATION OF THE WORLD BY SEEING AND NOT BY BEING FORCED TO BELIEVE THE LIES OF HONG KONG.

IN GERMANY WHERE I REVISITED MY OLD UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, IN CHECKOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND, I SAW SOCIALISM PROGRESSING BUT FIGHTING THE WEST, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES WHICH TORE GERMANY IN TWO AFTER WORLD WAR IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION WON THE VICTORY FOR THE WEST. IN THE NATION OF CZECHS AND SLOVAKS WHICH WE THOUGHT WE WOULD DOMINATE BUT FAILED AND EVEN IN POLAND WHERE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IS FIGHTING SOCIALISM IN VAIN, -- HERE IS PEACE, BUT MORE THAN THAT, CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE.

THAT IS NOT ALL. SOCIALISTS OF THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL CALL NOTHING SOCIALISM WHICH DOES NOT BASE ITSELF ON THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL BY THE STATE AND ON

PLANNING OF A WELFARE STATE, BUT MANY FOLK WHO DO NOT ACCEPT SOCIALISM, FAVOR AND ADOPT SOCIALIST METHODS IN CARRYING ON WORK AND WELFARE. THESE THE ORTHODOX SOCIALISTS CLAIM WILL FAIL IF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IS RETAINED. NEVERTHELESS THE IMITATION IS FLATTERY. FOR INSTANCE IN SCANDINAVIA THE STATE HOUSING, SOCIAL MEDICINE AND PENSION SYSTEMS HERALD AN APPROACH TOWARD COMPLETE SOCIALISM. AND IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA, THE INCREASED FUNCTION OF THE STATE IN TRANSPORTATION, WATER POWER, PENSIONS, EDUCATION, HOUSING AND RELIEF SHOWS OUR APPROACH TO SOCIALISM AND THE GROWING BATTLE TO RETAIN THESE EFFORTS BEFORE THE ASSAULT OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IN THE GUISE OF WAR AND DEFENSE. THIS SHOWS ALL THINKING MEN THAT THE WORLD TODAY FACES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. THEY ARE NOT MATTERS OF CRIME AND CONSPIRACY. THEY REPRESENT POLITICAL REVOLUTION JUST AS SIGNIFICANT AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND PUBLIC EDUCATION WERE AND AS NEGRO EQUALITY STILL IS, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED

STATES. FEW PEOPLE CHANGE THEIR MINDS ON MATTERS OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN IMPORTANCE AFTER THEY ARE GROWN. SOME BOAST OF THIS, BUT IT IS TRAGIC. IT MEANS THAT PROGRESS MUST SO OFTEN BE BY REVOLUTION INSTEAD OF BY PEACEFUL REASON. THE CASE OF HITLER ILLUSTRATES THIS POINT. THE NAZI STATE ADOPTED EVERY METHOD OF SOCIALISM BUT ONE. I WAS ASTONISHED IN 1936 TO SEE IN GERMANY SUCH FRANK IMITATION OF WHAT I HAD SEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926. STATE ROADS AND HOUSING, STATE PENSIONS, PLANNED EMPLOYMENT, STATE EDUCATION. IT ALMOST SEEMED THAT THE PROGRAM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TO WHICH I HAD LISTENED IN 1893 IN BERLIN HAD COME MIRACULOUSLY INTO BEING, BUT THERE WAS ONE FATAL FLAW: THE STATE WAS CONTROLLED BY A CONSCIENCELESS DICTATOR, AND THAT DICTATOR WAS OWNED BY THE WORST CORPORATIONS IN THE WORLD. THE FINAL END WAS INEVITABLE. TODAY THEN IN THIS GREAT CHANGE TO SOCIALISM IT IS OF IMPORTANCE THAT EVERY INTELLIGENT CITIZEN TRY TO LEARN AND NOT

SIMPLY REJOICE IN STANDING STILL. VISIT SOCIALISM IN ITS HOMES. YOU WILL NOT QUICKLY UNDERSTAND HOW IT WORKS, BUT YOU WILL SEE THE KIND OF PERSON WHO IS WORKING IT AND HE WILL BE SINGULARLY LIKE YOU, -- HUMAN, AMBITIOUS, IMPATIENT OF ENTRENCHED EVIL, PANTING FOR PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

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11/11/59
Chicago Ill

SOCIALISM

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WE LEARNED ABOUT SOCIALISM OR NOT AS WE PLEASED. IT WAS A MATTER OF CHOICE LIKE STUDYING THE STARS OR VISITING THE SOUTH SEAS.

THAT IS NO LONGER TRUE. TODAY SOCIALISM AND ITS ULTIMATE OBJECT COMMUNISM IS SO DEVELOPED AND SPREAD SO WIDE AND FAST THAT ALL FOLK WHO CLAIM INTELLIGENCE MUST KNOW ABOUT IT. AND THAT KNOWLEDGE MUST BE BASED ON OBSERVATION AND FACT AND NOT BE A MATTER OF EMOTION OR WISHFUL THINKING. I HAVE STUDIED SOCIALISM IN COLLEGE AND BY READING AND ALSO BY TRAVEL.

40-1-106

I KNEW THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN GERMANY IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. I SAW WHAT IS NOW POLAND, HUNGARY AND CHECKSLOVAKIA BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. I SAW WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND LEARNED OF THE RISE OF SOCIALISM BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS. I LIVED IN GERMANY AND VISITED THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND JAPAN AND LAST YEAR I SPENT ELEVEN MONTHS IN BRITAIN, HOLLAND,

FRANCE CHECKOSLOVAKIA, GERMANY, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. ALL THIS TRAVEL AND STUDY DOES NOT GIVE ME COMPLETE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE GREAT LANDS, WITH THEIR WIDE TERRITORY AND TEEMING MASSES OF FOLK. BUT THIS EXPERIENCE DOES GIVE ME THE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE WEST AND PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER IGNORE THE WORLD OR CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE. THAT EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA HAVE FORGED FORWARD AT A TREMENDOUS RATE. THAT THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA ARE AWAKENING AND THAT WHAT THIS PART OF THE WORLD TOGETHER WITH THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE THINKING AND DOING IS OF PRESENT INTEREST TO YOU AND FATAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION.

40-1-107

WHAT DOES A SOCIALIST COUNTRY LOOK AND FEEL LIKE? IT IS NOT SO DIFFERENT FROM THIS. THE PEOPLE ARE ORDINARY FOLK. THEY ARE NOT IN CHAINS. THEY LAUGH AND CRY. THEY WORK AND REST. THERE ARE HOMES AND SCHOOLS. LIFE GOES ON HERE ABOUT THE SAME AS EVERYWHERE. OF COURSE TIME AND OBSERVATION REVEAL DIFFERENCES. THE LONG LOOK

40-1-108

WOULD DISTINGUISH MOSCOW FROM NEW YORK. THERE IS MORE PLANNING OF STREET AND BUILDING IN MOSCOW. THE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK ARE DRESSED IN LATER STYLE, BUT THE MUSCOVITES ARE NOT IN RAGS. THEY ARE SATISFIED WITH LIFE AND LESS WORRIED THAN NEW YORKERS. THEY REST AND PLAY BUT WITH LESS NOISE. A STROLL IN THE SQUARES OR A WALK IN THE PARK SEEMS TO SATISFY THE MASS OF PEOPLE. ONE THING THEY FEAR WHICH WE DO NOT AND THAT IS WAR. THEY KNOW WHAT WAR IS, WHAT IT COSTS IN DEATH AND DESTRUCTION, DISLOCATION OF LIFE, DISEASE AND HURT. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND, BUT IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. THE WORLD FEARS WAR EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES. WE LAUGH AND JOKE ABOUT IT. OUR CHILDREN PLAY AT MURDER. WE HAVE NO ACTIVE PEACE MOVEMENT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CERTAIN FEARS ARE ABSENT WHICH NEVER LEAVE THE WAKING HOURS OF WESTERN LANDS NOR ALWAYS THE HOURS OF SLEEP.

40-1-109

THEY ARE FOUR IN NUMBER: UNEMPLOYMENT, OLD AGE, SICKNESS, OPPORTUNITY TO REST. TAKE ANY MAN YOU KNOW, ANY MAN YOU MEET, TAKE YOURSELF. WE FEAR UNEMPLOYMENT, LOSING OUR JOB, BEING UNABLE TO WORK. THIS THE SOCIALIST CITIZEN DOES NOT FEAR. HE MAY HAVE TO CHANGE WORK. HE MAY HAVE TO CHANGE THE PLACE OF WORK; BUT WORK AND CURRENT PAY HE IS ALWAYS SURE OF. WE FEAR OLD AGE. WHAT WILL WE DO WHEN WE ARE OLD? WE ARE DESPERATE TO SAVE ENOUGH TO INSURE A DECENT LIVING WHEN WE ARE TOO OLD TO EARN. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WALK OUR STREETS EACH SICK WITH FEAR OF AGE. THE CITIZENS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES NEED NOT FEAR AGE. EVERY CITIZEN IS CERTAIN OF SUPPORT, OF FOOD, SHELTER AND CLOTHES AS LONG AS HE LIVES. IT MAY NOT BE OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY OR WHAT HE WOULD PREFER. BUT HE WILL NOT FREEZE OR STARVE. WE ARE FRIGHTENED OF SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT -- AN ATTACK OF SOME DISEASE BEING

KNOCKED OVER BY A CAR, -- ANY DAY, ANY TIME WE MAY BE PUT TO BED BY SUCH MISADVENTURE. WE MAY BE COVERED BY INSURANCE, BUT MOST PEOPLE ARE NOT. WE CAN SELDOM AFFORD THE BEST MEDICAL CARE AND WE NEARLY ALWAYS LOSE PAY AND BURDEN OUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS IF SICK. IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MEDICAL CARE IS GIVEN GREAT ATTENTION. PHYSICIANS ARE BEING INCREASED IN NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO NEED. EVEN IF THAT NEED IS IN LONESOME COUNTRY DISTRICT OR FAR-OFF PROVINCE OR LATE AT NIGHT. MEDICAL CARE IS AVAILABLE FOR ALL. OF COURSE EVERYBODY CANNOT GET THE BEST, BUT NONE ARE NEGLECTED. ALL WORKERS NEED REST, BUT HOW MANY OF US DARE TAKE IT. SOME PROVISION FOR VACATIONS IS MADE TODAY BUT MOST WORKERS DO NOT GET ADEQUATE RECREATION AND CAN HARDLY AFFORD WHAT THEY TAKE. IN SOCIALIST LANDS THE VACATION WITH PAY IS PART OF THE WORK CONTRACT. THE VACATION WILL NOT BE AT A FASHIONABLE RESORT. IT MAY NOT BE WHAT THE WORKER WOULD CHOOSE. BUT IT WILL BE REST WITH

40-1-110

MEDICAL CARE, WITH FOOD AND SOME RECREATION.

THESE FOUR FEARS WHICH HAUNT CAPITALIST LANDS ARE MET FULL FACE AND ANSWERED IN SOCIALIST LANDS. THE SYSTEMS ARE NOT PERFECT. THEY BREAK DOWN HERE AND THERE AND NOW AND THEN BUT THEY ARE SO SUCCESSFUL THAT SOCIALISM PERSISTS AND SPREADS. EVEN THE TORIES IN ENGLAND HAVE NOT DARED TO ABOLISH SOCIAL MEDICINE. THIS KIND OF HELP AND RESCUE STANDS FIRST IN THE MINDS OF THE SUPPORTERS OF SOCIALISM. THEY WILL ENDURE MUCH BEFORE THEY WILL SURRENDER THIS FREEDOM FROM DAILY AND CONTINUOUS FEAR. A FREEDOM WHICH LEAVES THEM LIABLE TO UNEMPLOYMENT, NEGLECT IN SICKNESS AND OLD AGE AND WORK WITHOUT REST DOES NOT ATTRACT THEM ONCE THEY FIND A REGIME WHICH HAS A CURE FOR THIS, EVEN WHEN THE CURE IS IMPERFECT. THEY ARE CONTENT WITH LOW WAGE IF RELIEVED OF THESE FEARS.

40-1-111

THEN THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF CHILDREN: THE LOSS OF TIME, THE PAIN AND

40-1-112

DISCOMFORT OF THEIR BIRTH:; THE TIME AND MONEY NEEDED FOR THEIR UPBRINGING, THE QUESTION OF THEIR EDUCATION AND LIFE EMPLOYMENT. MANY PEOPLE REFUSE TO PROCREATE CHILDREN BECAUSE OF THESE PROBLEMS SO DIFFICULT TO SOLVE IN CAPITALIST LANDS WITH INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. FEW MEN OF AMBITION CAN AFFORD TO MARRY BEFORE THEY ARE FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS OF AGE. BUT IN SOCIALIST LANDS THE PROBLEM OF CHILDREN COMES FIRST. THE WORKING MOTHER HAS REST-TIME WITH PAY DURING PREGNANCY. SHE HAS CARE FOR HER CHILD DURING INFANCY. THE CHILD IS IN NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN WHEN SMALL AND IN SCHOOLS WHEN HE GROWS. HE HAS HIGHER EDUCATION WITH PAY FOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AS HE BECOMES OF AGE FREE TRAINING FOR EARNING A LIVING IS OPEN TO HIM ACCORDING TO TALENT. ALL THIS PROGRAM IS NOT PERFECT. SCHOOL FACILITIES LAG; SCHOOL PROGRAMS GO WRONG; MONIES ARE WASTED. ALL THIS AND MORE. YET THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF SOCIALIST LANDS OUTSTRIP THE SYSTEMS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES AND IT IS ADMITTED THAT THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE THE BEST IN

THE WORLD. SEE WHAT A WEALTH OF HUMAN ABILITY THE SOCIALIST LANDS ARE PRESERVING AND USING FOR HUMANITY AND SEE WHY THEY HAVE NO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

ALL THIS EFFORT COSTS IN ENERGY, IN FREEDOM OF ACTION, IN INDIVIDUAL TRAINING. IT MEANS DISCIPLINE. IT MEANS THAT A MAN DOES WHAT HE IS TOLD TO DO IN MANY CASES RATHER THAN WHAT HE WANTS TO DO. BUT IS THE SITUATION MUCH DIFFERENT IN CAPITALIST LANDS? ARE WE FREE IN AMERICA TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE? ARE FRENCHMEN FREE TO DO AS THEY PLEASE? OF COURSE NOT. IN A WORLD OF NATURAL LAW, IN A WORLD OF HUMAN LEGISLATION, IN A WORLD OF HABIT AND INHERITED CULTURE PATTERNS, THE AREA OF HUMAN FREEDOM OF ACTION MUST BE SERIOUSLY CURTAILED. BUT IT IS FURTHER NARROWED WHEN INDUSTRY, OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IS DIRECTED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL GOODS AND BY THE MEN WHO OWN OR CONTROL THE LABOR OF HUMAN BEINGS. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER THERE WILL BE DISCIPLINE BUT

40-1-113

RATHER WHO SHALL ADMINISTER IT AND UNDER WHAT CONTROL WILL MOST AND ESSENTIAL FREEDOMS BE CONSERVED. // THE ANARCHY OF INDIVIDUAL WISH AND THE RULE OF CHANCE IS INADMISSABLE JUST AS COMPLETE SLAVERY IS UNTHINKABLE // DISCIPLINE INVOLVES PLANNING AND PLANNING IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR MODERN INDUSTRY. // WE MAY NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES BY ASSUMING THAT THE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE IS NOT PLANNED // IT IS PLANNED AND MOST ELABORATELY. // BUT WHO PLANS IT AND FOR WHAT ENDS? // IT IS PLANNED BY THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL AND FOR THE INDIVIDUAL PROFIT WHICH THE ENTERPRIZES BRING // THIS MAY LEAD TO MUCH PROSPERITY BUT ALSO TO FINANCIAL CRISES // WEALTH AND POVERTY EXPLOITATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME. // SOCIALISM, ON THE CONTRARY, TRIES TO PLAN FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE OF ALL CITIZENS // IT OWNS THE WEALTH USED FOR INDUSTRY // IT CONTROLS THE LABOR WHICH PRODUCES WEALTH AND SEEKS TO DISTRIBUTE PROPERTY ACCORDING TO NEED AND NOT BY CHANCE, INHERITANCE, SMART ACTION OR FORCE. // THIS KIND OF PLANNING IS NOT EASY. // IT INVOLVES LARGE NUMBERS OF

MEN WORKING IN UNISON WITH ABILITY, HIGH MORAL STANDARDS AND WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE.

WE USED TO SAY THAT WHILE THE OBJECTS OF SOCIALISM WERE LAUDABLE, HUMAN NATURE WAS TOO SELFISH, IGNORANT AND CRIMINAL TO ACHIEVE THIS END. // THIS IS A QUESTION NOT TO BE ANSWERED BY THEORY BUT ONLY BY EXPERIENCE // I HAVE WATCHED THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN PLANNING FOR THIRTY YEARS. // I HAVE SEEN NO OTHER MODERN NATION WHICH HAS BROUGHT INTO SERVICE FOR THE STATE AND ITS WELFARE SO MUCH ABILITY, DEVOTION AND UNDERSTANDING AS THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY, WAR, AGGRESSION, TREACHERY AND DELIBERATE LYING. // IT HAS ORGANIZED, DEVELOPED AND CARRIED ON INDUSTRY // IT HAS FURNISHED FOOD, HOMES AND CLOTHING FOR ITS MILLIONS. IT HAS RAISED ITS STANDARD OF LIVING AND PUT ALL ITS CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS OF SUPERLATIVE EFFICIENCY AND IT HAS MADE EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE. //

THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT AS RICH AS AMERICANS, BRITISH OR FRENCH, BUT THEY ARE MORE HOPEFUL WITH LESS NERVOUS TENSION AND LESS CRIME. // THEY LOOK FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE TO A GREAT AND HAPPY FUTURE. // ONE OTHER THING RUSSIAN SOCIALISM HAS DONE WHICH SEEMS TO ME OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE. // IT HAS ATTACKED FRANKLY AND FACE FORWARD, RELIGIOUS DOGMATISM // IT HAS MADE IT ILLEGAL FOR ANY CHURCH TO TEACH RELIGIOUS DOGMA TO SCHOOL CHILDREN // GROWN FOLK MAY ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT RELIGIOUS EXERCISES PROVIDED THEY DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE IN EDUCATION, POLITICS OR EMPLOYMENT. // IT IS PERMISSABLE IN THE SOVIET UNION TO BE AN ATHEIST AND TO STUDY REASONS FOR SUCH BELIEF // REVIEWING THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, I THINK THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST FORWARD STEPS TAKEN BY ANY NATION. //

40-1-116

CHINA IS EVEN MORE ASTONISHING THAN THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE OF ITS LONG HISTORY. // THE CONQUEST, INSULT, EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION WHICH IT HAS SUFFERED AND THE RECENT LEAP FORWARD OF 680 MILLION PEOPLE UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH SOONER THAN IN ANY NATION TODAY IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE COMMUNISM. I SAW CHINA FOR A WEEK OR SO IN 1936, AND FOR TEN WEEKS IN 1959. THE CONTRAST IN THAT SHORT TIME

AND THE RECENT LEAP FORWARD OF 680 MILLION PEOPLE UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH SOONER THAN IN ANY NATION TODAY IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE COMMUNISM. // I SAW CHINA FOR A WEEK OR SO IN 1936 AND FOR TEN WEEKS IN 1959. // THE CONTRAST IN THAT SHORT TIME WAS AMAZING. // BUT EVEN THIS WAS AS NOTHING TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHINESE IN THE LAST THOUSAND YEARS // CHINA REFUTES ALL OUR THEORIES OF INFERIOR PEOPLES, ALL OUR EFFORT TO RULE THE MAJORITY OF MEN BY IMPERIAL EXPLOITATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHITE WORLD. // WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE THE AMERICAN CONTEMPT FOR THE CHINESE WAS SUPREME. // THEY WERE A QUEER, CONTRADICTORY, ILLOGICAL FOLK // EVEN IF THEY INVENTED THE COMPASS AND MOVABLE PRINTING TYPE, THEY DESERVED NO CREDIT // THESE WERE NOT INVENTIONS UNTIL WHITE MEN MADE THEM. // CHINA WAS READY FOR COMPLETE DISMEMBERMENT BY EUROPE AS SOON AS WHITE NATIONS COULD AGREE AS TO

40-1-117

THEIR SHARES// MEANTIME THE CHINA OF 1936/ WHICH I SAW/ WAS UNDER THE HEEL OF EUROPE AND AMERICA// SHANGHAI WAS THE HOME OF PROSTITUTES AND GAMBLERS/ ALONG WITH RICH BUSINESS MEN// THE CHINESE LEADERS/ WERE WRITHING DESPERATELY.// I WAS COMPLETELY AT SEA/ IN MY ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND CHINA AND JAPAN/ THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION// SUN YAT SEN HAD APPEALED IN VAIN FOR HELP.// ONLY THE SOVIET UNION HAD RESPONDED/ AND I SAW THERE IN 1926 THE DESPERATE EFFORT/ TO TRAIN CHINESE LEADERS/ IN MOSCOW// WHEN I RETURNED IN 1959,/ CHINA HAD BEEN REVOLUTIONIZED.// CHINA BELONGED TO CHINA/ AND THE WHITE MASTERS WERE GONE// THE CHINESE MULTI-MILLIONS/ WERE AT WORK./ THEY WERE LAUGHING AND SWEATING// WOMEN HAD AN EQUALITY WITH MEN/ SUCH AS AMERICA COULD NOT DUPLICATE// AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY WERE RUSHING FORWARD/ LITERATURE AND ART WERE LIVING AGAIN!/

RP I HAVE TRAVELED WIDELY/ ON THIS EARTH/ SINCE MY FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE/ 67 YEARS AGO// SAVE SOUTH AMERICA AND INDIA,/ I HAVE SEEN MOST OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD/ AND MUCH OF ITS BACKWARD REGIONS// MANY LEADING NATIONS/ I HAVE VISITED REPEATEDLY// BUT I HAVE NEVER SEEN A NATION/ WHICH SO AMAZED AND TOUCHED ME/ AS CHINA IN 1959. There I TRAVELLED 5,000 MILES/ BY RAILWAY, BOAT, PLANE AND AUTO.// I SAW ALL THE GREAT CITIES:/ PEKING, SHANGHAI, HANKOW AND ITS SISTERS: CANTON, CHUNGKING, CHENGTU, KUNMING AND NANKING.// I RODE ITS VAST RIVERS/ PASSED THROUGH ITS VILLAGES/ AND SAT IN ITS COMMUNES// I VISITED ITS SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES/ LECTURED AND BROADCAST TO THE WORLD// I VISITED ITS MINORITY GROUPS./ I SPENT FOUR HOURS/ WITH MAO TSE-TUNG AND DINED TWICE WITH CHOU EN-LAI,/ THE TIRELESS PRIME MINISTER/ OF THIS NATION OF 680 MILLION SOULS.

RP WHAT IS THE SECRET OF CHINA/ IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY?// IT IS/

THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF A BILLION HUMAN BEINGS HAVE BEEN CONVINCED THAT HUMAN NATURE IN SOME OF ITS DARKEST RECESSES CAN BE CHANGED, IF CHANGE IS NECESSARY. // CHINA KNOWS, AS NO OTHER PEOPLE KNOW, TO WHAT DEPTHS HUMAN MEANNESS CAN GO. // I USED TO WEEP FOR AMERICAN NEGROES AS I SAW WHAT INDIGNITIES AND REPRESSIONS AND CRUELTIES THEY HAD PASSED. // BUT AS I READ CHINESE HISTORY IN THESE LAST MONTHS AND HAD IT EXPLAINED TO ME STRIPPED OF ANGLO-SAXON LIES // I KNOW THAT NO DEPTHS OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN AMERICA HAVE PLUMBED SUCH ABYSSES AS THE CHINESE HAVE SEEN FOR 2,000 YEARS AND MORE. // THEY HAVE SEEN STARVATION AND MURDER, RAPE AND PROSTITUTION; SALE AND SLAVERY OF CHILDREN, AND RELIGION CLOAKED IN OPIUM AND GIN, FOR CONVERTING THE "HEATHEN". // THIS OPPRESSION AND CONTEMPT CAME NOT ONLY FROM TARTARS, MONGOLIANS, BRITISH, FRENCH, GERMANS AND AMERICANS, BUT FROM THE CHINESE THEMSELVES. // MANDARINS

40-1-120

AND WARLORDS, CAPITALISTS AND MURDERING THIEVES LIKE CHIANG KAI-SHEK, KUOMINTANG SOCIALISTS AND INTELLECTUALS EDUCATED ABROAD.

¶ DESPITE ALL THIS CHINA LIVES, AND HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED AND MARCHES ON. // SHE IS NOT IGNORED BY THE UNITED STATES. SHE IGNORES THE UNITED STATES AND LEAPS FORWARD. // WHAT DID IT? WHAT FURNISHED THE MOTIVE POWER AND HOW WAS IT APPLIED? // FIRST IT WAS THE BELIEF IN HIMSELF AND IN HIS PEOPLE BY A MAN LIKE SUN YAT-SEN. // HE PLUNGED ON BLIND AND UNAIDED, REPULSED BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA, BUT WELCOMED BY RUSSIA. // THEN EFFORTS TOWARD SOCIALISM, WHICH WOBBLED FORWARD, ERRED AND LOST, AND AT LAST WAS BRIBED BY AMERICA AND BRITAIN AND BETRAYED BY CHIANG KAI-SHEK // WITH ITS LEADERS MURDERED AND ITS AIMS MISUNDERSTOOD, WHEN NOT DELIBERATELY LIED ABOUT.

¶ THEN CAME THE LONG MARCH FROM FEUDALISM, PAST CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM TO

40-1-121

COMMUNISM IN OUR DAY. // MAO TSE-TUNG, CHOU EN-LAI, CHU TEH AND A HALF DOZEN OTHERS / UNDERTOOK TO LEAD A NATION BY EXAMPLE, BY STARVING AND FIGHTING, BY INFINITE PATIENCE AND ABOVE ALL BY MAKING A NATION BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE AND NOT MERELY THE ELITE // THAT ON THE CONTRARY THE WORKERS IN FACTORY, STREET, AND FIELD, COMPOSED THE REAL NATION. // OTHERS HAVE SAID THIS OFTEN, BUT NO NATION HAS TRIED IT LIKE THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. // AND ON THE STAGGERING AND BITTER EFFORT OF THE SOVIETS, BELEAGURED BY ALL WESTERN CIVILIZATION, AND YET FAR-SEEING ENOUGH TO HELP WEAKER CHINA EVEN BEFORE A STILL WEAK RUSSIA WAS SAFE // ON THIS VAST PYRAMID HAS ARISEN THE SAVING NATION OF THIS STUMBLING, MURDERING, HATING WORLD.

IN CHINA THE PEOPLE -- THE LABORING PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE WHO IN MOST LANDS ARE THE DOORMATS ON WHICH THE REIGNING THIEVES AND MURDERING RULERS WALK, LEADING THEIR PAINTED AND JEWELED PROSTITUTES -- THE PEOPLE WALK AND BOAST. // THESE PEOPLE OF

THE SLUMS AND GUTTERS AND KITCHENS ARE THE CHINESE NATION TODAY // THIS THE CHINESE BELIEVE AND ON THIS BELIEF THEY TOIL AND SWEAT AND CHEER.

CHINA HAS NO RANK NOR CLASSES; HER UNIVERSITIES GRANT NO DEGREES; HER GOVERNMENT AWARDS NO MEDALS // SHE HAS NO BLUE BOOK OF "SOCIETY". // BUT SHE HAS LEADERS OF LEARNING AND GENIUS, SCIENTISTS OF REKNOWN, ARTISANS OF SKILL AND MILLIONS WHO KNOW AND BELIEVE THIS AND FOLLOW WHERE THESE MEN LEAD // THIS IS THE JOY OF THIS NATION, ITS HIGH BELIEF AND ITS UNFALTERING HOPE.

CHINA IS NO UTOPIA. FIFTH AVENUE HAS BETTER SHOPS WHERE THE RICH CAN BUY ~~AND WHORES~~ PARADE. DETROIT HAS MORE AND BETTER CARS. THE BEST AMERICAN HOUSING OUTSTRIPS THE CHINESE, AND CHINESE WOMEN ARE NOT NEARLY AS WELL-DRESSED AS THE GUESTS OF THE WALDORF-ASTORIA // BUT THE CHINESE WORKER IS HAPPY. HE HAS EXORCIZED

Every American should visit

40-1-128

THE GREAT FEAR THAT HAUNTS THE WEST // THE FEAR OF LOSING HIS JOB / THE FEAR OF FALLING SICK / THE FEAR OF ACCIDENT / THE FEAR OF INABILITY TO EDUCATE HIS CHILDREN / THE FEAR OF DARING TO TAKE A VACATION // TO GUARD AGAINST SUCH CATASTROPHE / AMERICANS SKIMP AND SAVE / CHEAT AND STEAL / GAMBLE AND ARM FOR MURDER. // THE SOVIET CITIZEN, THE CZECH, THE POLE, THE HUNGARIAN / HAVE KICKED OUT THE STOOGES OF AMERICA / AND THE HOODLUMS / SET TO EXPLOIT THE PEASANTS // THEY AND THE EAST GERMANS / NO LONGER FEAR THESE DISASTERS // AND ABOVE ALL / THE CHINESE SIT HIGH / ABOVE THESE FEARS / AND LAUGH WITH JOY. // THEY WILL NOT BE RICH IN OLD AGE / BUT THEY WILL EAT. // THEY WILL NOT ENJOY SICKNESS / BUT THEY WILL BE GIVEN CARE // THEY WILL NOT STARVE AS THOUSANDS OF CHINESE / DID ONLY A GENERATION AGO. // THEY FEAR NEITHER FLOOD NOR EPIDEMIC. / THEY DO NOT EVEN FEAR WAR // AS MAO TSE-TUNG TOLD ME, WAR FOR CHINA IS A "PAPER TIGER." // CHINA CAN DEFEND ITSELF / AND BACK OF CHINA / STANDS THE UNASSAILABLE MIGHT / OF THE SOVIET UNION. //

THE REASON FOR THIS IS SOCIALISM / AIMING STRAIGHT TOWARD COMMUNISM / AND TRANSFORMING A VAST NATION // EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD VISIT

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CHINA. / IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN IDIOTIC / TO DEPRIVE A NATION / WHICH PRETENDS TO BE INTELLIGENT / FROM LEARNING ABOUT THE GREATEST SOCIALIST NATION / OF THE WORLD / BY SEEING / AND NOT BY BEING FORCED / TO BELIEVE THE LIES OF HONG KONG.

40-1-129

IN GERMANY / WHERE I REVISITED MY OLD UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, / IN CHECKOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND, / I SAW SOCIALISM PROGRESSING / BUT FIGHTING THE WEST, / ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES WHICH TORE GERMANY IN TWO / AFTER WORLD WAR / IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION / WON THE VICTORY FOR THE WEST. // IN THE NATION OF CZECHS AND SLOVAKS / WHICH WE THOUGHT WE WOULD DOMINATE / BUT FAILED / AND EVEN IN POLAND / WHERE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH / IS FIGHTING SOCIALISM IN VAIN, / -- HERE IS PEACE, / BUT MORE THAN THAT / CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE.

10

THAT IS NOT ALL. // SOCIALISTS OF THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL / CALL NOTHING SOCIALISM / WHICH DOES NOT BASE ITSELF / ON THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL BY THE STATE AND ON

40-1-125

PLANNING OF A WELFARE STATE. BUT MANY FOLK WHO DO NOT ACCEPT SOCIALISM, FAVOR AND ADOPT SOCIALIST METHODS IN CARRYING ON WORK AND WELFARE. THESE THE ORTHODOX SOCIALISTS CLAIM WILL FAIL IF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IS RETAINED. NEVERTHELESS THE IMITATION IS FLATTERY. FOR INSTANCE IN SCANDINAVIA THE STATE HOUSING, SOCIAL MEDICINE AND PENSION SYSTEMS HERALD AN APPROACH TOWARD COMPLETE SOCIALISM. AND IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA, THE INCREASED FUNCTION OF THE STATE IN TRANSPORTATION, WATER POWER, PENSIONS, EDUCATION, HOUSING AND RELIEF SHOWS OUR APPROACH TO SOCIALISM AND THE GROWING BATTLE TO RETAIN THESE EFFORTS BEFORE THE ASSAULT OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IN THE GUISE OF WAR AND DEFENSE. THIS SHOWS ALL THINKING MEN THAT THE WORLD TODAY FACES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. THEY ARE NOT MATTERS OF CRIME AND CONSPIRACY. THEY REPRESENT POLITICAL REVOLUTION JUST AS SIGNIFICANT AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND PUBLIC EDUCATION WERE AND AS NEGRO EQUALITY STILL IS, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED

STATES. FEW PEOPLE CHANGE THEIR MINDS ON MATTERS OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN IMPORTANCE AFTER THEY ARE GROWN. SOME BOAST OF THIS, BUT IT IS TRAGIC. IT MEANS THAT PROGRESS MUST SO OFTEN BE BY REVOLUTION INSTEAD OF BY PEACEFUL REASON. THE CASE OF HITLER ILLUSTRATES THIS POINT. THE NAZI STATE ADOPTED EVERY METHOD OF SOCIALISM BUT ONE. I WAS ASTONISHED IN 1936 TO SEE IN GERMANY SUCH FRANK IMITATION OF WHAT I HAD SEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926. STATE ROADS AND HOUSING, STATE PENSIONS, PLANNED EMPLOYMENT, STATE EDUCATION. IT ALMOST SEEMED THAT THE PROGRAM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TO WHICH I HAD LISTENED IN 1893 IN BERLIN HAD COME MIRACULOUSLY INTO BEING. BUT THERE WAS ONE FATAL FLAW: THE STATE WAS CONTROLLED BY A CONSCIENCELESS DICTATOR, AND THAT DICTATOR WAS OWNED BY THE WORST CORPORATIONS IN THE WORLD. THE FINAL END WAS INEVITABLE. TODAY THEN IN THIS GREAT CHANGE TO SOCIALISM IT IS OF IMPORTANCE THAT EVERY INTELLIGENT CITIZEN TRY TO LEARN AND NOT

40-1-126

SIMPLY REJOICE IN STANDING STILL. VISIT SOCIALISM IN ITS HOMES. YOU WILL NOT QUICKLY UNDERSTAND HOW IT WORKS, BUT YOU WILL SEE THE KIND OF PERSON WHO IS WORKING IT AND HE WILL BE SINGULARLY LIKE YOU, H- HUMAN, AMBITIOUS, IMPATIENT OF ENTRENCHED EVIL, PANTING FOR PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

4-1-43

TO THE CHICAGO YOUTH CONFERENCE:

The theory of education which was taught me in high school, I880 to I884, was that youth should be taught the new things which the world had learned since the elders were young, and the ability to reason intelligently as to the meaning of this truth. In this way Youth would teach Age and lead the world forward generation by generation

Since these days, seventy five years ago, have occurred the climax of the Industrial Revolution, the rise and decline of colonial imperialism the fall and rise of France, the rise and fall of Germany, the three; world wars, the rebirth of Asia and the awakening of Africa, the dissolution of the British Empire and the rise of an American

During this multitudibous occurence of new and undreamed of facts, youth has helped point the way in many lands and has been encouraged to do so. But in our own nation there has been a growing tendency to discourage the young from thought and action, from individual research and from searching for new ideals for life and progress. This actino has been encouraged because the leaders of nation think we have reached so high a civilization that we have reached so high a standard of life that any attempt to improve i it will destroy what we have. It is just such assumptions which in the past has held progress back and repeatedly invited disasters like the ingroth of China, the caste of India, the suicide of Greece, and the Fall of Rome. Today this threat fro refusal to know and think faces

41-3-193

41-3-19J

us with utter disstruction. Now then more than ever before search for truth is called for and ability to reason is necessary. These things youth must furnish, since maturity and age have so evidently and miserably failed

This is the reason for this meeting. And for this we who represent a passing era appeal earnestly for the insight and courage which we so clearly lacked to express itself in you.

W.E.B.DuBOIS

Copy

no date

TO THE CHICAGO YOUTH CONFERENCE

The theory of education which was taught me in High School, 1880 to 1884, was that youth should learn the new things which the world had come to know sice the elders were young, and in time the ability to reason intelligently as to the meaning of these truths. In this way Youth would eventually teach Age and lead the world forward generation by generation.

Since these days, seventy-five years ago, have occurred the climax of the Industrial Revolution in the West, the rise and fall of colonial imperialism, the fall and attempted rise of France, the rise and fall of Germany, three world wars, the dissolution of the British Empire and the rise of an American Empire, the rebirth of Asia and the awakening of Africa. During this multitudinous occurence of new and undreamed of facts, youth has helped point the way in many lands and has been encouraged to do so. But in our own nation lately there has been a growing tendency to discourage the young from thought and action, from individual research and from searching for new ideals for life and progress. This action has been encouraged because the leaders of the nation think we have reached so high a civilization that any attempt to improve it will destroy what we have. It is just such assumptions as this which in the past has held progress back and repeatedly invited disasters like the ingrowth of Old China, the caste of India, the suicide of Greece and the Fall of Rome, and to the development of colonial imperialism. Today this threat of refusal to know and think faces us with utter distruction of the modern world. Now, more than ever before search for Truth is called for, ability to reason and courage to express belief is necessary. These things youth must furnish, since maturity and age have so evidently and miserably failed.

This is the reason for this meeting. And for this we, who represent a passing era, appeal earnestly for the insight and courage, which we so clearly lacked, to express itself in you.

41-3-192

38-9-218

THE TIME HAS NOT YET COME FOR A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES. // ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN AFRICA HAS JUST BEGUN, AND MANY SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN ARABIAN, PORTUGUESE, AND OTHER TONGUES ARE NOT FULLY AT OUR COMMAND. // AND, TOO, IT MUST FRANKLY BE CONFESSED, RACIAL PREJUDICE AGAINST DARKER PEOPLES IS STILL TOO STRONG IN SO-CALLED CIVILIZED CENTERS FOR JUDICIAL APPRAISEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA. // MUCH INTENSIVE MONOGRAPHIC WORK IN HISTORY AND SCIENCE IS NEEDED TO CLEAR MOOTED POINTS AND QUIET THE CONTROVERSIALIST WHO MISTAKES PRESENT PERSONAL DESIRE FOR SCIENTIFIC PROOF.

AFRICA IS AT ONCE THE MOST ROMANTIC AND THE MOST TRAGIC OF CONTINENTS. // ITS VERY NAMES REVEAL ITS MYSTERY AND WIDE-REACHING INFLUENCE. // IT IS THE "ETHIOPIA" OF THE GREEK, THE "KUSH" AND "PUNT" OF THE EGYPTIAN, AND THE ARABIAN, "LAND OF THE BLACKS." // TO MODERN EUROPE IT IS THE "DARK CONTINENT" AND "LAND OF CONTRASTS"; IN LITERATURE IT IS THE SEAT OF THE SPHINX AND THE LOTUS EATERS, THE HOME OF THE DWARFS, GNOMES, AND PIXIES, AND THE REFUGE OF THE GODS; // IN COMMERCE IT IS THE SLAVE MART AND THE

2) SOURCE OF IVORY, EBONY, RUBBER, GOLD, AND DIAMONDS. // WHAT OTHER CONTINENT CAN RIVAL IN INTEREST THIS ANCIENT OF DAYS?

38-9-219

THERE ARE THOSE, NEVERTHELESS, WHO WOULD WRITE UNIVERSAL HISTORY AND LEAVE OUT AFRICA. // BUT HOW, ASKS RATZEL, CAN ONE LEAVE OUT THE LAND OF EGYPT AND CARTHAGE? AND FROBENIUS DECLARES THAT IN FUTURE AFRICA MUST MORE AND MORE BE REGARDED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE GREAT MOVEMENT OF WORLD HISTORY. // YET IT IS TRUE THAT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA IS UNUSUAL, AND ITS STRANGENESS IS DUE IN NO SMALL DEGREE TO THE PHYSICAL PECULARITIES OF THE CONTINENT. // WITH THREE TIMES THE AREA OF EUROPE IT HAS A COAST LINE A FIFTH SHORTER. // LIKE EUROPE IT IS A PENINSULA OF ASIA, CURVING SOUTHWESTWARD AROUND THE INDIAN SEA. // IT HAS FEW GULFS, BAYS, CAPES, OR ISLANDS. // EVEN THE RIVERS, THOUGH LARGE AND LONG, ARE NOT MEANS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE OUTER WORLD, BECAUSE FROM THE CENTRAL HIGH PLATEAU THEY PLUNGE IN RAPIDS AND CATARACTS TO THE NARROW COASTLANDS AND THE SEA.

38-9-20

THE GENERAL PHYSICAL CONTOUR OF AFRICA HAS BEEN LIKENED TO AN INVERTED PLATE WITH ONE OR MORE ROWS OF MOUNTAINS AT THE EDGE AND A LOW COASTAL BELT. IN THE SOUTH THE CENTRAL PLATEAU IS THREE THOUSAND OR MORE FEET ABOVE THE SEA, WHILE IN THE NORTHIT IS A LITTLE OVER ONE THOUSAND FEET. THUS TWO MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE CONTINENT ARE EASILY DISTINGUISHED: THE BROAD NORTHERN RECTANGLE, REACHING DOWN AS FAR AS THE GULF OF GUINEA AND CAPE GUARDAFUI, WITH SEVEN MILLION SQUARE MILES; AND THE PENINSULA WHICH TAPERS TOWARD THE SOUTH, WITH FIVE MILLION SQUARE MILES.

FOUR GREAT RIVERS AND MANY LESSER STREAMS WATER THE CONTINENT. THE GREATEST IS THE CONGO IN THE CENTER, WITH ITS VAST CURVING AND ENDLESS ESTUARIES. THEN THE NILE, DRAINING THE CLUSTER OF THE GREAT LAKES AND FLOWING NORTHWARD "LIKE SOME GRAVE, MIGHTY THOUGHT THREADING A DREAM". THE NIGER IN THE NORTHWEST, WATERING THE SUDAN IN A VAST CURVE BELOW THE SAHARA; AND, FINALLY, THE ZAMBESI, WITH ITS GREATER NIAGARA IN THE SOUTHEAST.

P EVEN THESE WATERS LEAVE ROOM FOR DESERTS BOTH SOUTH AND NORTH, BUT THE GREATER ONES ARE THE THREE MILLION SQUARE MILES OF SAND WASTES IN THE NORTH.

38-9-21

R MORE THAN ANY OTHER LAND, AFRICA LIES IN THE TROPICS WITH A WARM, DRY CLIMATE, SAVE IN THE CENTRAL CONGO REGION, WHERE RAIN AT ALL SEASONS BRINGS TROPICAL LUXURIANCE.

P THE FLORA IS RICH BUT NOT WIDE IN VARIETY, INCLUDING THE GUM ACACIA, EBONY, SEVERAL DYE WOODS, THE KOLA NUT, AND ~~PROBABLY~~ COCOA TOBACCO AND MILLET. TO THESE MANY PLANTS HAVE BEEN ADDED IN HISTORIC TIMES. THE FAUNA IS RICH IN MAMMALS, AND HERE, TOO, MANY FROM OTHER CONTINENTS HAVE BEEN WIDELY INTRODUCED AND USED.

P PRIMARILY AFRICA IS THE LAND OF THE BLACKS. THE WORLD HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAMILIAR WITH BLACK MEN, WHO REPRESENT ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT OF HUMAN STOCKS. OF THE ANCIENT WORLD GATHERED ABOUT THE MEDITERRANEAN, THEY FORMED A PART AND WERE VIEWED WITH NO SURPRISE OR DISLIKE, BECAUSE THIS WORLD SAW THEM COME AND GO AND PLAY THEIR PART WITH OTHER MEN. WAS CLITUS THE BROTHER-IN-LAW OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT LESS TO BE HONORED BECAUSE HE HAPPENED TO BE BLACK? WAS TERENCE LESS FAMOUS? THE MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN

or memnon

WORLD, DEVELOPING UNDER THE FAVORABLE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF THE NORTH TEMPERATE ZONE, KNEW THE BLACK MAN CHIEFLY AS A LEGEND OR OCCASIONAL CURIOSITY, BUT STILL AS A FELLOW MAN -- AN OTHELLO, OR A PRESTER JOHN, OR AN ANTAR.

38-9-212

THE MODERN WORLD, IN CONTRAST, KNOWS THE NEGRO CHIEFLY AS A BOND SLAVE IN THE WEST INDIES AND AMERICA. ADD TO THIS THE FACT THAT THE DARKER RACES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD HAVE, IN THE LAST FOUR CENTURIES, LAGGED BEHIND THE ~~FLYING AND EVEN~~ (IN TRADE & PROCESSING) FEVERISH FOOTSTEPS OF EUROPE, AND WE FACE TO-DAY A WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION THROUGHOUT THE DOMINANT WORLD THAT COLOR IS A MARK OF INFERIORITY.

THE RESULT IS THAT IN WRITING OF THIS, ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT, PERSISTENT, AND WIDESPREAD STOCKS OF MANKIND, ONE FACES ASTOUNDING PREJUDICE. THAT WHICH MAY BE ASSUMED AS TRUE OF WHITE MEN MUST BE PROVEN BEYOND PERADVENTURE IF IT RELATES TO NEGROES. ONE WHO WRITES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO RACE MUST CONTINUALLY INSIST THAT HE IS WRITING OF A NORMAL HUMAN STOCK, AND THAT WHATEVER IT IS FAIR TO PREDICATE OF THE MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS MAY BE PREDICATED OF THE NEGRO. IT IS THE

(6)

SILENT REFUSAL TO DO THIS WHICH HAS LED TO SO MUCH FALSE WRITING ON AFRICA AND OF ITS INHABITANTS. TAKE, FOR INSTANCE, THE ANSWER TO THE APPARENTLY SIMPLE QUESTION "WHAT IS A NEGRO?" WE FIND THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY CONFUSION OF THOUGHT AND DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. THERE IS A CERTAIN TYPE IN THE MINDS OF MOST PEOPLE WHICH, AS DAVID LIVINGSTONE SAID, CAN BE FOUND ONLY IN CARICATURE AND NOT IN REAL LIFE. ~~WHEN~~ SCIENTISTS ~~HAVE TRIED TO FIND AN EXTREME TYPE OF BLACK, UGLY, AND WOOLLY-HAIRED NEGRO,~~ (THIS TYPICAL NEGRO) ~~THEY~~ HAVE BEEN COMPELLED MORE AND MORE TO LIMIT ~~HIS HOME~~ EVEN IN AFRICA. AT LEAST NINE-TENTHS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE DO NOT AT ALL CONFORM TO THIS TYPE, AND THE TYPICAL NEGRO, AFTER BEING DENIED A DWELLING PLACE IN THE SUDAN, ALONG THE NILE, IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA AND IN SOUTH AFRICA, WAS FINALLY GIVEN A VERY SMALL COUNTRY BETWEEN THE SENEGAL AND THE NIGER, AND EVEN THERE WAS FOUND TO GIVE TRACE OF MANY STOCKS. AS WINWOOD READE SAYS, "THE TYPICAL NEGRO IS A RARE VARIETY EVEN AMONG NEGROES."

38-9-213

AS A MATTER OF FACT WE CANNOT TAKE SUCH EXTREME AND LARGELY FANCIFUL STOCK AS TYPIFYING THAT WHICH WE MAY FAIRLY CALL THE NEGRO RACE. IN THE CASE OF NO OTHER RACE IS SO NARROW A DEFINITION ATTEMPTED. A "WHITE" MAN MAY BE OF almost ANY COLOR SIZE OR FACIAL CONFORMATION AND HAVE ENDLESS VARIETY OF CRANIAL MEASUREMENT AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS. A "YELLOW" MAN IS PERHAPS AN EVEN VAGUER CONCEPTION.

IN FACT IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED TO-DAY THAT NO SCIENTIFIC DEFINITION OF RACE IS POSSIBLE. DIFFERENCES, AND STRIKING DIFFERENCES, THERE ARE BETWEEN MEN AND GROUPS OF MEN, BUT THEY FADE INTO EACH OTHER SO INSENSIBLY THAT WE CAN ONLY INDICATE THE MAIN DIVISIONS OF MEN IN BROAD OUTLINES. AS VON LUSCHAN SAYS, "THE QUESTION OF THE NUMBER OF HUMAN RACES HAS QUITE LOST ITS RAISON D'ETRE AND HAS BECOME A SUBJECT RATHER OF PHILOSOPHIC SPECULATION THAN OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. IT IS OF NO MORE IMPORTANCE NOW TO KNOW HOW MANY HUMAN RACES THERE ARE THAN TO KNOW HOW MANY ANGELS CAN DANCE ON THE POINT OF A NEEDLE. OUR AIM NOW IS TO FIND OUT HOW ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE RACES DEVELOPED FROM OTHERS AND HOW RACES CHANGED OR EVOLVED THROUGH

38-9-224

MIGRATION AND INTER-BREEDING."

THE MULATTO (USING THE TERM LOOSELY TO INDICATE EITHER AN INTERMEDIATE TYPE BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK OR A MINGLING OF THE TWO) IS AS TYPICALLY AFRICAN AS THE BLACK MAN AND CANNOT LOGICALLY BE INCLUDED IN THE "WHITE" RACE, ESPECIALLY WHEN AMERICAN USAGE INCLUDES THE MULATTO IN THE NEGRO RACE.

IT IS REASONABLE, ACCORDING TO FACT AND HISTORIC USAGE, TO INCLUDE UNDER THE WORD "NEGRO" THE DARKER PEOPLES OF AFRICA CHARACTERIZED BY A BROWN SKIN, close CURLED ~~OR "FRIZZLED"~~ HAIR, FULL ~~AND SOMETIMES EVERTED~~ LIPS, A TENDENCY TO A DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAXILLARY PARTS OF THE FACE, AND A DOLICHOCEPHALIC HEAD. THIS TYPE IS NOT FIXED OR DEFINITE. THE COLOR VARIES WIDELY: IT IS NEVER BLACK OR BLUISH, AS SOME SAY, AND IT BECOMES OFTEN LIGHT BROWN OR YELLOW. THE HAIR VARIES FROM ~~CURLY~~ TO A ~~WOOL-LIKE~~ wavy close-curled MASS AND THE FACIAL ANGLE AND CRANIAL FORM SHOW WIDE VARIATION.

38-9-225

IT IS AS IMPOSSIBLE IN AFRICA AS ELSEWHERE TO FIX WITH ANY CERTAINLY THE LIMITS OF RACIAL VARIATION DUE TO CLIMATE AND THE VARIATION DUE TO INTERMINGLING. IN THE PAST, WHEN SCIENTISTS ASSUMED ONE UNVARYING NEGRO TYPE, EVERY VARIATION FROM THAT TYPE WAS INTERPRETED AS MEANING MIXTURE OF BLOOD. TO-DAY WE ROCOGNIZE A BROADER NORMAL AFRICAN TYPE WHICH, AS PALGRAVE SAYS, MAY BEST BE STUDIED "AMONG THE STATUES OF THE EGYPTIAN ROOMS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM; THE LARGER GENTLE EYE, THE FULL BUT NOT OVER-PROTRUDING LIPS, THE ROUNDED CONTOUR, AND THE GOOD-NATURED, EASY, SENSUOUS EXPRESSION. THIS IS THE GENUINE AFRICAN MODEL." TO THIS RACE AFRICA IN THE MAIN AND PARTS OF ASIA HAVE BELONGED SINCE PREHISTORIC TIMES.

38-9-226

THE COLOR OF THIS VARIETY OF MAN, AS THE COLOR OF OTHER VARIETIES, IS DUE TO CLIMATE. CONDITIONS OF HEAT, COLD, AND MOISTURE, WORKING FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS THROUGH THE SKIN AND OTHER ORGANS, HAVE GIVEN MEN THEIR DIFFERENCES OF COLOR. THIS COLOR PIGMENT IS A PROTECTION AGAINST SUNLIGHT AND CONSEQUENTLY VARIES WITH THE INTENSITY OF THE SUNLIGHT. THUS IN AFRICA WE FIND THE BLACKEST MEN IN THE FIERCE

SUNLIGHT OF THE DESERT, RED PYGMIES IN THE FOREST, AND YELLOW BUSHMEN ON THE COOLER SOUTHERN PLATEAU.

38-9-227

NEXT TO THE COLOR, THE HAIR IS THE MOST DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEGRO, BUT THE TWO CHARACTERISTICS DO NOT VARY WITH EACH OTHER. SOME OF THE BLACKEST OF THE NEGROES HAVE CURLY RATHER THAN WOOLLY HAIR, WHILE THE CRISPEST, MOST CLOSELY CURLED HAIR IS FOUND AMONG THE YELLOW HOTTENTOTS AND BUSHMEN. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE HAIR OF THE LIGHTER AND DARKER RACES IS A DIFFERENCE OF DEGREE NOT OF KIND, AND CAN BE EASILY MEASURED. IF THE HAIR FOLLICLES OF A CHINAMAN, A EUROPEAN, AND A NEGRO ARE CUT ACROSS TRANSVERSELY, IT WILL BE FOUND THAT THE DIAMETER OF THE FIRST IS 100 BY 77 TO 85, THE SECOND 100 BY 62 TO 72, WHILE THAT OF THE NEGRO IS 100 BY 40 TO 60. THIS ELLIPTICAL FORM OF THE NEGRO'S HAIR CAUSES IT TO CURL MORE OR LESS TIGHTLY.

38-9-218

THERE HAVE BEEN REPEATED EFFORTS TO DISCOVER, BY MEASUREMENTS OF VARIOUS KINDS, ~~FURTHER AND MORE~~ DECISIVE DIFFERENCES WHICH WOULD SERVE AS REALLY SCIENTIFIC DETERMINANTS OF RACE. // GRADUALLY THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN UP. TO-DAY WE REALIZE THAT THERE ARE NO HARD AND FAST RACIAL TYPES AMONG MEN. RACE IS A DYNAMIC AND NOT A STATIC CONCEPTION, AND THE TYPICAL RACES ARE CONTINUALLY CHANGING AND DEVELOPING, AMALGAMATING AND DIFFERENTIATING.

WE CANNOT STUDY AFRICA WITHOUT, HOWEVER, NOTING SOME OF THE OTHER RACES CONCERNED IN ITS HISTORY, PARTICULARLY THE ASIATIC SEMITES. // THE INTERCOURSE OF AFRICA WITH ARABIA AND OTHER PARTS OF ASIA HAS BEEN SO CLOSE AND LONG-CONTINUED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO-DAY TO DISENTANGLE THE BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS. // NEGRO BLOOD CERTAINLY APPEARS IN STRONG STRAIN AMONG THE SEMITES, // AND THE OBVIOUS MULATTO GROUPS IN AFRICA, ARISING FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN MINGLING OF SEMITE AND NEGRO, HAS GIVEN RISE TO THE TERM "HAMITE," UNDER COVER OF WHICH MILLIONS OF NEGROIDS HAVE BEEN CHARACTERISTICALLY TRANSFERRED TO THE "WHITE" RACE BY SOME EAGER SCIENTISTS.

38-9-229

THE EARLIEST SEMITES CAME TO AFRICA ACROSS THE RED SEA. // THE PHOENICIANS CAME ALONG THE NORTHERN COASTS A THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE CHRIST AND BEGAN SETTLEMENTS WHICH CULMINATED IN CARTHAGE AND EXTENDED DOWN THE ATLANTIC SHORES OF NORTH AFRICA NEARLY TO THE GULF OF GUINEA.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES THE GREEKS HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH AFRICA AS VISITORS, TRADERS, AND COLONISTS, AND THE PERSIAN INFLUENCE CAME WITH CAMBYSES AND OTHERS. ROMAN AFRICA WAS BOUNDED BY THE DESERT, BUT AT TIMES CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE BLACKS ACROSS THE SAHARA AND IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE. // AFTER THE BREAKING UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE THE GREEK AND LATIN CHRISTIANS FILTERED THROUGH AFRICA, FOLLOWED FINALLY BY A GERMANIC INVASION IN 429 A.D.

IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY THE ALL-MOTHER, ASIA, CLAIMED AFRICA AGAIN FOR HER OWN AND BLEW A CLOUD OF SEMITIC MOHAMMEDANISM ALL ACROSS NORTH AFRICA, VEILING THE DARK

CONTINENT FROM EUROPE FOR A THOUSAND YEARS AND CONVERTING VAST MASSES OF THE BLACKS TO ISLAM. // THE PORTUGUESE BEGAN TO RAISE THE VEIL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, SAILING DOWN THE ATLANTIC COAST AND INITIATING THE MODERN SLAVE TRADE. THE SPANISH, FRENCH, DUTCH, AND ENGLISH FOLLOWED THEM, BUT AS TRADERS IN MEN RATHER THAN EXPLORERS.

38-9-230

THE PORTUGUESE EXPLORED THE COASTS OF THE GULF OF GUINEA, VISITING THE INTERIOR KINGDOMS, AND THEN PASSING BY THE MOUTH OF THE CONGO PROCEEDED SOUTHWARD. // EVENTUALLY THEY ROUNDED THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND PURSUED THEIR EXPLORATIONS AS FAR AS THE MOUNTAINS OF ABYSSINIA. // THIS BEGAN THE MODERN EXPLORATION OF AFRICA, WHICH IS A CURIOUS FAIRY TALE, AND RECALLS TO US THE GREAT NAMES OF LIVINGSTONE, BURTON, SPEKE, STANLEY, BARTH, SCHWEINFURTH, AND MANY OTHERS. // IN THIS WAY AFRICA HAS BEEN MADE KNOWN TO THE MODERN WORLD.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS MODERN LIFTING OF THE VEIL OF CENTURIES EMPHASIZES TWO PHYSICAL FACTS THAT UNDERLIE ALL AFRICAN HISTORY: (THE PECULIAR INACCESSIBILITY OF THE CONTINENT TO PEOPLES FROM WITHOUT, WHICH MADE IT SO EASILY POSSIBLE FOR THE GREAT

HUMAN DRAMA PLAYED HERE TO HIDE ITSELF FROM THE EARS OF OTHER WORLDS. // AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ABSENCE OF INTERIOR BARRIERS -- THE GREAT STRETCH OF THAT CENTRAL PLATEAU WHICH PLACED PRACTICALLY EVERY BUDDING CENTER OF CULTURE AT THE MERCY OF BARBARISM, SWEEPING A THOUSAND MILES WITH NO ALPS OR HIMALAYAS OR APPALACHIANS TO HINDER.

38-9-231

WITH THIS PECULIARLY UNINVITING COAST LINE AND THE DIFFICULTIES IN INTERIOR SEGREGATION MUST BE CONSIDERED THE CLIMATE OF AFRICA. WHILE THERE IS MUCH DIVERSITY AND MANY SALUBRIOUS TRACTS ALONG WITH VAST BARREN WASTES, YET, AS SIR HARRY JOHNSTON WELL REMARKS, "AFRICA IS THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD OF THE REAL DEVIL -- THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF NATURE HOSTILE TO THE UPRISE OF HUMANITY. HERE BEELZEBUB, KING OF THE FLIES, MARSHALS HIS VERMIFORM AND ARTHROPOD HOSTS -- INSECTS, TICKS, AND NEMATODE WORMS -- WHICH MORE THAN IN OTHER CONTINENTS (EXCEPTING NEGROID ASIA) CONVEY TO THE SKIN,

VEINS, INTESTINES, AND SPINAL MARROW OF MEN AND OTHER VERTEBRATES THE MICRO-ORGANISMS WHICH CAUSE DEADLY, DISFIGURING, OR DEBILITATING DISEASES, OR THEMSELVES CREATE THE MORBID CONDITION OF THE PERSECUTED HUMAN BEING, BEASTS, BIRD, REPTILE, FROG, OR FISH." THE INHABITANTS OF THIS LAND HAVE HAD A SHEER FIGHT FOR PHYSICAL SURVIVAL COMPARABLE WITH THAT IN NO OTHER GREAT CONTINENT, AND THIS MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN WHEN WE CONSIDER THEIR HISTORY.

38-9-232

THE MOVEMENTS OF PREHISTORIC MAN CAN BE SEEN AS YET BUT DIMLY IN THE UNCERTAIN MISTS OF TIME. THIS IS THE STORY THAT TO-DAY SEEMS MOST PROBABLE: FROM SOME CENTER IN SOUTHERN ASIA PRIMITIVE HUMAN BEINGS BEGAN TO DIFFERENTIATE IN TWO DIRECTIONS. TOWARD THE SOUTH APPEARED THE PRIMITIVE NEGRO, LONG-HEADED AND WITH FLATTENED HAIR FOLLICLE. HE SPREAD ALONG SOUTHERN ASIA AND PASSED OVER INTO AFRICA, WHERE HE SURVIVES TO-DAY AS THE REDDISH DWARFS OF THE CENTER AND THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA.

NORTHWARD AND EASTWARD PRIMITIVE MAN BECAME BROADER HEADED AND STRAIGHT-HAIRED AND SPREAD OVER EASTERN ASIA, FORMING THE MONGOLIAN TYPE. EITHER THROUGH THE INTER-

MINGLING OF THESE TWO TYPES, OR, AS SOME PREFER TO THINK, BY THE DIRECT PROLONGATION OF THE ORIGINAL PRIMITIVE MAN, A THIRD INTERMEDIATE TYPE OF HUMAN BEING APPEARED WITH HAIR AND CRANIAL MEASUREMENT INTERMEDIATE BETWEEN THE PRIMITIVE NEGRO AND MONGOLIAN. ALL THESE THREE TYPES OF MEN INTERMINGLED THEIR BLOOD FREELY AND DEVELOPED VARIATIONS ACCORDING TO CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT.

38-9-233

OTHER AND OLDER THEORIES AND LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF MANKIND ARE OF INTEREST NOW ONLY BECAUSE SO MANY HUMAN BEINGS HAVE BELIEVED THEM IN THE PAST. THE BIBLICAL STORY OF SHEM, HAM, AND JAPHETH RETAINS THE INTEREST OF A PRIMITIVE MYTH WITH ITS MEASURE OF ALLEGORICAL TRUTH, BUT HAS, OF COURSE, NO HISTORIC BASIS.

THE PRIMITIVE NEGROID RACE OF MEN DEVELOPED IN ASIA WANDERED EASTWARD AS WELL AS WESTWARD. THEY ENTERED ON THE ONE HAND BURMAH AND THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS, AND ON THE OTHER HAND THEY CAME THROUGH MESOPOTAMIA AND GAVE CURLY HAIR AND A NEGROID TYPE

TO JEW, SYRIAN, AND ASSYRIAN. ANCIENT STATUES OF INDIAN DIVINITIES SHOW THE NEGRO TYPE WITH BLACK FACE AND CLOSE-CURLED HAIR, AND EARLY BABYLONIAN CULTURE WAS NEGROID. IN ARABIA THE NEGROES MAY HAVE DIVIDED, AND ONE STREAM PERHAPS WANDERED INTO EUROPE BY WAY OF SYRIA. TRACES OF THESE NEGROES ARE MANIFEST NOT ONLY IN SKELETONS, BUT IN THE BRUNETTE TYPE OF ALL SOUTH EUROPE. THE OTHER BRANCH PROCEEDED TO EGYPT AND TROPICAL AFRICA. ANOTHER, BUT PERHAPS LESS PROBABLE, THEORY IS THAT ANCIENT NEGROES MAY HAVE ENTERED AFRICA FROM EUROPE, SINCE THE MOST ANCIENT SKULLS OF ALGERIA ARE NEGROID.

38-9-234

IT IS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS/ THAT A NEW DISCOVERY OF AFRICAN HISTORY/ HAS COME THROUGH THE WORK OF ETHNOLOGISTS, ARCHEOLOGISTS AND CHEMISTS.// THE HISTORY OF AFRICA BELOW THE SAHARA/ AND THE STORY OF THE GREAT CENTRAL PLATEAU/ IS NOT YET CERTAIN BUT IT IS CLEARER TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE.// WE KNEW OF THE CITY-STATES AND FAST DEVELOPMENT

OF THE WEST COAST,/ WE KNEW OF THE GREAT MARCH OF THE BANTU SOUTHWARD/ OVER THOUSANDS OF YEARS,/ AND WE KNEW OF THE CLASH OF BANTU AND EUROPEAN/ AT LAND'S END IN OUR DAY.// BUT THERE WERE THINGS THAT PUZZLED US./ THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST AFRICAN COAST,/ THE ADVANCED CULTURE OF GREAT CIVILIZATIONS/ AS SHOWN BY ZIMBABWE AND THE EMPIRE OF THE MONOMOTAPA/ AND THE HISTORY OF THE MEROE, KUSH, AND A DOZEN OTHER CENTERS.

38-9-235

EUROPE/ DESPISING THE AFRICANS/ WHOM IT HAD HALF RUINED BY THE SLAVE TRADE,/ TRIED TO SEE DOZENS/ OF EVIDENCES OF CIVILIZATION/ IN THE CENTER OF AFRICA/ AS IMPORTATIONS FROM EAST OR WEST.// TODAY WE KNOW BETTER./ THE EAST COAST WITH ITS GREAT CITIES AND WIDESPREAD TRADE/ WAS FUNDAMENTALLY AFRICAN/ IN CONTACT WITH ARAB, CHINESE, AND INDIAN.// THE DEVELOPMENTS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE VALLEYS OF THE CONGO/ AND THE ZAMBEZI WERE DISTINCTLY AFRICAN/ AND THE CIVILIZATION BASED ON IRON/ WHICH WAS BUILT UP THERE/ WAS NEW AND UNIQUE IN HUMAN HISTORY/ IN CONTRAST WITH EUROPE AND ASIA.// OVER THESE CULTURES/ ROLLED EUROPEAN SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE;/ THE WIDE MIGRATION OF THE LESS CULTIVATED AFRICAN PEOPLES/ WHO OVERTHREW THE MORE CULTURED/ AND FINALLY

CAME COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/AND WORLD WARS OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES./ THIS IS BUT VAGUE INDICATION/ OF WHAT WE KNOW OF AFRICAN HISTORY./ BUT IT FORETELLS WHAT WE WILL KNOW/WHEN CONFERENCES LIKE THAT AT ACCRA LAST YEAR SET THE WORLD TO STUDY THE PAST OF THIS CONTINENT./

38-9-236

Our interest in Africa.

SLAVES — IVORY - OIL - ~~AFRICA~~ COCOA

COPPER - 1956

N. RHODESIA — #36 Millions

½ British shareholders + Royalty

#2½ million = ~~1690~~ 1690 white artisans, @ 15,000 each a year

#632,000 = 17,000 Black Workers, @ #37 a year each

TO THE CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN PEOPLES AT TUNIS, JANUARY 25 to 31, 1960:

38-8-71

The unity of Africa is not a matter of race or color, of religion or even mainly of geography. It is mainly due to the system of colonialism organized and carried on by Europeans and North Americans. This system today is the chief support of capitalism and has inflicted a vast burden of evil on all African peoples; to it is due modern slavery on which the prosperity of America and the culture of modern Europe is built; and on the results of which the future of Europe and America is still being planned. It is quite possible that a future for Africa might be built on capitalism, but the fact is no such future is today planned; it is true that colonialism in Asia and Africa has been greatly modified during this century. Nevertheless, it is also terribly true that the future of Europe and America is today based on c cheap colored labor and continued theft of raw material in Africa and elsewhere; and trade and processing based on this, which will continue to make the white world rich and keep the colored world poor. White labor in Western Europe and the United States is still willing to base their high wage on the low wage of the unfortunatesof the world and to use their votes to promote war in order to keep West Europe master of the world and to keep Africans poor, ignorant and diseased. The very plans now heralded as help for the ignorant and hungry are based on investments of capital designed not so much to uplift the unfortunate as to secure continued power and luxury for people whose present wealth is based on centuries of slavery and theft.

It therefore behooves a conference like this to speak with clarity and confidence concerning the future of Africa: unity of all African peoples for

the ends of Peace and education and the abolition of Poverty; refusal of all alms and loans to promote War, or for the purpose of taxing the already poor into perpetual poverty. I venture to suggest this:

The Peoples of Africa, black and white, brown and yellow, have a right to Freedom and Self-government, to Food and Shelter, Education and Health.

We hereby warn the world that Africa can no longer be regarded as the pawn, slave or property of Europeans, Americans, Asiatics, or of any other people.

Africa is for the Africans: its land and Labor; its natural wealth and resources; its mountains, lakes and rivers; its cultures and its Soul.

Hereafter Africa will no longer be ruled by foreign Might nor Power; by invading armies nor outside Threat; but by the Spirit of all its Gods, the Wisdom of its Prophets, and the Will of its People.

38-8-72

Men of all races are welcome to Africa if they seek its interests, love their neighbors as themselves, doing unto others as they would that others should do to them. But the white bigots of South Africa and Kenya; the exploiters of the Rhodesias, the Congo, and of West, North, Southwest and Southeast Africa, are solemnly warned that they cannot win. Their doom is sealed. We will be free; we will govern ourselves for our own best good. We will not trade with the blaspheming Boers or Rhodesians; we will not borrow from profit-seeking western corporations. Our wealth and labor belong to us and not to thieves at home nor abroad. Black Africa welcomes the world as equals; as masters, never; for this we will strive forever and curse the blaspheming profit-seekers, Boers or European, black or white liars to the Hell where they belong.

Let the white world keep its missionaries at home to teach the Golden Rule to its corporations. Damn the God of War, Slavery and Exploitation of Labor. Peace on Earth; no more War. The earth of Africa is for its people; its Wealth is for its poor workers and not for its rich owners. All Hail Africa.

B4/324

Espagnol et allemand

A la Conférence des peuples africains

(Tunis du 25 au 31 janvier 1960).

L'unité de l'Afrique n'est pas une question de race ou de couleur, de religion, ou même de géographie. Elle est principalement dûe au système colonialiste établi et appliqué par les Européens et les Américains. Ce système est actuellement le soutien essentiel du capitalisme et a infligé de grandes souffrances à tous les peuples africains ; c'est à ce système qu'est dû l'esclavage moderne sur lequel sont établies la prospérité de l'Amérique et la culture de l'Europe moderne ; c'est sur les résultats de ce système que l'on continue à envisager l'avenir de l'Europe et de l'Amérique. Il est bien possible qu'il soit possible d'édifier pour l'Afrique un avenir basé sur la capitalisme, mais le fait est qu'à l'heure actuelle, on ne prévoit pas un tel avenir ; il est vrai que le colonialisme en Asie et en Afrique a été grandement modifié au cours de ce siècle. Néanmoins, il demeure terriblement vrai que l'avenir de l'Europe et de l'Amérique est actuellement basé sur l'utilisation d'une main d'oeuvre de couleur payée à bas prix et sur le vol constant des matières premières en Afrique et ailleurs ; c'est sur ces éléments que sont basés le commerce et l'industrie de transformation qui assurent l'enrichissement du monde blanc et le maintien dans la pauvreté du monde des hommes de couleur. Les travailleurs blancs d'Europe occidentale et des Etats-Unis, continuent à accepter que leurs salaires élevés soient basés sur les bas salaires des défavorisés du monde et à apporter leurs votes en faveur du recours à la guerre pour assurer le maintien de la domination européenne sur le monde et faire en sorte que les Africains demeurent dans la pauvreté, l'ignorance et la maladie. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux plans que l'on présente maintenant à grand fracas comme destinés à aider les ignorants et les affamés, qui ne soient destinés, moins à soulager les malheureux qu'à assurer le pouvoir et le luxe de gens dont l'actuelle fortune est basée sur des siècles d'esclavage et de vol.

36-12-81

Il appartient donc à une Conférence comme la vôtre de parler avec clarté et confiance de l'avenir de l'Afrique : l'unité de tous les Africains pour la paix, l'éducation et la suppression de la misère ; le refus de toutes les aumônes et de tous les prêts accordés en vue de faire la guerre ou dans le but de maintenir ceux qui sont pauvres dans une éternelle misère. Je me permets de faire les remarques suivantes :

Les peuples d'Afrique, Blancs comme Noirs, bruns comme jaunes, ont droit à la liberté et à l'autonomie de gouvernement, à la nourriture et au logement, à l'éducation et à la santé.

Nous avertissons le monde que l'Afrique ne peut plus être considérée comme le gage, l'esclave ou le bien des Européens, des Américains, des Asiatiques ou de quiconque.

L'Afrique est aux Africains : sa terre et sa main d'oeuvre, ses richesses naturelles et ses ressources ; ses montagnes, ses lacs et rivières; ses cultures et son âme.

Dorénavant, l'Afrique ne sera plus gouvernée par la force ou la puissance étrangère, par des armées d'invasion ou la menace

extérieure, mais par l'Esprit de tous ses Dieux, la Sagesse de ses Prophètes et la Volonté de son Peuple.

Les hommes de toutes les races sont les bienvenus en Afrique s'ils recherchent l'intérêt du pays, s'ils aiment leurs proches comme eux-mêmes, s'ils font aux autres ce qu'ils souhaitent qu'on leur fasse. Mais les fanatiques blancs d'Amérique du Sud et du Kenya, les exploiteurs des Rhodésies, du Congo et de l'Afrique Occidentale, de l'Afrique du Nord, du Sud Ouest et du Sud-Est sont solennellement avertis qu'ils ne pourront gagner. Leur sort est tracé. Nous serons libres ; nous nous gouvernerons nous-mêmes au mieux de nos intérêts. Nous ne ferons pas de commerce avec les Boers ou les habitants de la Rhodésie, ces blasphémateurs, nous n'emprunterons pas d'argent aux Sociétés occidentales assoiffées de profit. Notre richesse et notre travail nous appartiennent ; ce ne sont pas la propriété de voleurs de l'intérieur du pays ou de l'étranger. L'Afrique Noire salue le monde sur une base d'égalité ; nous lutterons sans relâche dans ce sens et nous jetterons notre malédiction contre les blasphémateurs avides de profit, Boers ou Européens, blancs ou noirs, démoniaques menteurs qui peuvent retourner à l'Enfer dont ils sont sortis.

Que le monde blanc garde pour lui ses missionnaires pour qu'ils enseignent la Règle d'Or aux sociétés blanches. Maudit soit le Dieu de la Guerre, de l'Esclavage et de l'exploitation du Travail.

Paix sur Terre. Plus de Guerre. La terre d'Afrique appartient à ses habitants ; ses richesses appartiennent à ses travailleurs misérables et non pas aux riches possédants. Salut à toi, Afrique.

W.E.B. Du Bois

24 1960
Peace Society
Toronto, Canada

38-9-59

MURDER AND DESTRUCTION FOR HUMAN PROGRESS

by W. E. B. Du Bois

FROM THE BEGINNING OF TIME THE CHIEF OCCUPATION OF HUMAN BEINGS HAS BEEN MURDERING EACH OTHER AND DESTROYING THE WEALTH WHICH MAN HAS ACCUMULATED FOR HIS SURVIVAL. THIS FACT WHILE HIDDEN BY HISTORY AND ART SO THAT MOST PERSONS FORGET OR DENY IT, HAS IN OUR DAY BECOME SO CLEAR AND SUCH AN INESCAPABLE TRUTH THAT WE ARE AT LAST COMPELLED TO ADMIT THAT UNLESS WE GIVE UP WAR AS OUR CHIEF INDUSTRY, HUMAN CIVILIZATION WILL BE SET BACK HUNDREDS OF YEARS OR WILL END.

WE HAVE NO RELIABLE RECORD OF THE WORLD'S WARS. SINCE THOSE WHICH ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE NAME OF NAPOLEON THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST 300 WARS, WITHOUT INCLUDING HUNDREDS OF MINOR AND ALMOST UNKNOWN CONFLICTS. TEN OF THESE WERE GREAT WARS; 50 WERE ~~LARGE~~ major CONFLICTS; AND 200 OTHERS WERE effective EFFORTS TO MURDER HUMAN BEINGS AND DESTROY PROPERTY. YET SOME OF THE GREAT HISTORIANS OF OUR DAY, CALL THE HUNDRED YEARS FROM 1815 TO 1914, THE "HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE." THEY MEAN BY THIS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN WARS OF GREAT EUROPEAN NATIONS AGAINST EACH OTHER AND

WARS OF EUROPEANS AGAINST PEOPLES OF MINOR IMPORTANCE. THIS POINT OF VIEW

S REMEMBER HEARING ANDREW CARNEGIE HIMSELF (in 1912) VOICE AT ONE OF THE MEETINGS OF HIS PEACE ORGANIZATION. HE WAS DEPLORING THE DANGER OF WAR IN EUROPE, BUT SAID THE WAR IN TURKEY AND THE LITTLE WARS IN AFRICA AND ASIA WERE NOT THE CONCERN OF HIS ORGANIZATION. THIS ATTITUDE IS STILL WIDELY PREVALENT AND IS A RESULT OF THE WAR SPIRIT WHICH SO DOMINATES THE WORLD. IT LIES BENEATH THE ASSUMPTION THAT MOST WARS ARE WARS OF SUPERIOR AGAINST INFERIOR OR WICKED PEOPLE WHOM WE SHOULD DESPISE OR HATE. FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW IT IS EASY TO CONCLUDE THAT ANY ENEMY IS FOR THAT REASON SUB-HUMAN AND DESPICABLE- "HUNS," "BOLSHEVIKS," "CHINKS," OR "NIGGERS."

R IF THEY ARE NOT INFERIOR IN FACT BUT SIMPLY PEOPLE WHO DISAGREE WITH US OR WHO HAVE BEEN DECEIVED NEVERTHELESS WE TRY BY EVERY MEANS TO MAKE OUR CITIZENS BELIEVE SLANDERS WHICH MAY BE LIES OR AT ~~BEST~~ worst MISUNDERSTANDINGS. ON SUCH FALSE BASES PROBABLY MOST WARS HAVE BEEN FOUGHT. WARS IN EARLY DAYS MAY HAVE BEEN ISOLATED AFFAIRS ALTHOUGH THE THOUGHT OF THE NECESSITY OF WAR MUST FROM EARLIEST TIMES HAVE GIVEN

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RISE TO THE FEELING THAT BRUTE FORCE WAS WIDELY NECESSARY FOR PROGRESS. BUT IT IS CERTAIN TODAY THAT PRACTICALLY ALL WARS ARE INTERCONNECTED AND THAT CURRENT WAR IN AFRICA, LAOS, SYRIA OR CENTRAL AMERICA CAN ALL TOO EASILY CAUSE THE WHOLE EARTH TO BE SWEPT BY A THIRD WORLD WAR. THIS LEADS US TO CONSIDER THE ACTUAL CAUSES OF WAR. THEY ARISE FROM REAL OR ANTICIPATED WANT OF FOOD AND SHELTER; FROM DEFENSE AGAINST ENEMIES, REAL OR ASSUMED; FROM DESIRE OF POWER TO ATTACK, FOR PRESTIGE OR DIRECTING THE THOUGHT OR EMOTIONS OF OTHER PEOPLES. ALL THESE CAUSES CALL FOR INVESTIGATION AND PROOF BUT SELDOM GET THEM. WARS START ON IMPULSE, FROM LIES, FROM FEAR. WHAT MAN REFUSES SO OFTEN TO LEARN IS WHAT THE REAL CAUSE IS OR HOW FAR IT IS JUSTIFIED. PLUNGING BLINDLY ON WE REPEAT FROM YEAR TO YEAR AND CENTURY TO CENTURY THE SAME MISTAKES AND SUFFER THE SAME RESULTS. WE REFUSE TO LEARN THE TRUTH OR WHEN WE DO LEARN WE DO NOT TEACH THIS TRUTH TO OUR CHILDREN SO THAT THEY MAY AVOID OUR ERRORS. THESE RESULTS REPEAT THEMSELVES WITH HORRIBLE MONOTONY; DEATH OF UNCOUNTED MILLIONS FOLLOWS AND NOT MERELY THE DEATH OF THE GUILTY, BUT OF THE INNOCENT, THE MISLED, THE UTTERLY MISTAKEN. IN ADDITION TO THOSE WHO WERE ACTUALLY STRIVING FOR PEACE AND

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JUSTICE. SUCH FACTS WE OFTEN, ALMOST USUALLY CONCEAL. I REMEMBER THE ONE TIME WHEN I SAW WAR ALMOST FACE TO FACE. IN 1918 JUST AFTER THE ARMISTICE, I WAS IN FRANCE WALKING THROUGH THE FOREST OF THE ARGONNE, WHERE A BATTLE HAD RECENTLY BEEN FOUGHT. THE WORST RESULTS OF THAT FEARFUL SLAUGHTER HAD BEEN REMOVED: THE CORPSES, THE SEVERED LIMBS, THE ECSTASY OF PAIN, THE HUMAN SHRIEKS WERE STILLED AND THE SCENES OF INDESCRIBABLE ~~HORROR~~ HURT. BUT THE SIGNS OF ALL THIS REMAINED: THE DRIED BLOOD, THE TORN SHOES, THE SHREDS OF UNIFORM; I SAW FIRE ARMS, AND BLACKENED POSSESSIONS; LOST TRINKETS, AND TWISTED LEAD AND IRON. I KNEW TOO THAT A FEW MILES OVER THERE SOLDIERS WERE LYING WEARILY IN THE SAND TO HAVE THEIR WOUNDS HEALED AND THE LICE AND VERMIN PICKED OUT OF THEIR HAIR AND OFF THEIR SKIN.

I DROVE BACK THE UPSURGE OF TEARS AND SAID TO MYSELF IN DETERMINED JOY, IT IS TRUE THAT AT LEAST AFTER THIS INSANE HORROR; NEVER AGAIN WILL WAR BLAST MANKIND. TOO MANY HAVE SEEN TOO MUCH.

IN TEN LITTLE YEARS THE WHOLE OF MANKIND WAS GRIPPED IN THE GREATEST WAR MAN EVER KNEW. EVEN AFTER THAT CAME OTHER WARS AND RUMORS OF WAR; UNTIL TODAY WE

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SPEND ~~25~~ 100 TIMES AS MUCH FOR WAR AS FOR HEALING AND EDUCATION AND WE FACE THE THREAT OF WORLD WIDE EXTERMINATION. WE DO THIS EVEN WHEN WE KNOW WELL THAT MOST OF THE REALITY OF WAR IS CONCEALED FROM US AND OFTEN BY OUR OWN CONNIVANCE. WE REFUSE TO CONTEMPLATE WHAT HAPPENS TO WOMEN IN WAR ZONES? WHY IS ONE OF THE FIRST ACTS OF AN INVADING ARMY TO ~~ERECT WHORE HOUSES AND~~ INSPECT SOLDIERS FOR VENEREAL DISEASE? WHY ARE PROSTITUTES IMPORTED DELIBERATELY? REMEMBER HOW JANE ADDAMS WAS EXCORIATED DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR WHEN SHE REVEALED THE WELL-KNOWN FACT THAT SOLDIERS WERE DOSED WITH WHISKEY ON THE EVE OF BATTLE. HAVE ANY OF YOU READ THAT INTERNATIONAL REPORT OF HOW KOREAN WOMEN WERE TREATED AND DO YOU THINK THAT THIS WAS UNUSUAL? NO. DRUNKENNESS AND GAMBLING ALWAYS HAVE BEEN TWIN SISTERS OF WAR. WALK THE STREETS OF ANY MODERN CITY TODAY AND SEE THE CRIPPLES AND MAIMED; MEET THE INSANE, AND VISIT IF YOU DARE THE JAILS AND ASYLUMS. DO NOT DECEIVE YOURSELVES INTO THINKING THAT DISEASE AND CRIME ARE NOT OR HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE AFTERMATH OF WAR. WHAT ELSE CAN ONE EXPECT OF AN ERA OF MURDER, HATE AND DISSIPATION INFLICTED ON YOUTH YEAR AFTER YEAR AND CENTURY AFTER CENTURY? IT IS NOT A MATTER OF NATIONALITY, OR RACE

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OR COLOR. IT IS HUMAN NATURE AND IT KEEPS ~~OCCURRING~~ RECURRING. IN MY OWN COUNTRY, AFTER OUR REVOLUTIONARY WAR, CAME CRIME AND DEBAUCHERY. AFTER OUR WAR OF 1812, CAME CRIME AND DEBAUCHERY. AFTER OUR CIVIL WAR CAME CRIME AND DEBAUCHERY. AFTER OUR WORLD WARS CAME CRIME AND DEBAUCHERY, WITH SOME NEW NAMES LIKE JUVENILE DELINQUINCY. LET US STOP DECEIVING OURSELVES AND REFUSING TO FACE THE TRUTH. WAR MUST RESULT IN CRIME. YOU CANNOT TEACH MURDER AND DESTRUCTION TO YOUTH AND REAP UNSELFISHNESS AND HIGH IDEALS. YOU CANNOT TEACH MEN TO HATE AND EXPECT THEM TO LOVE. FACE THEN THE QUESTION: IS WAR EVER NECESSARY? DOES IT EVER ACCOMPLISH ITS AVOWED END? CAN IT BE LONGER RETAINED AS A METHOD OF HUMAN PROGRESS? ONCE WE ASK THIS QUESTION AND THERE COMES THE ANSWER OF DESPAIR: MEN SAY SO LONG AS HUMAN BEINGS ARE AS THEY ARE, SO LONG WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MURDER THEM AND DESTROY THEIR PROPERTY. THIS CONCLUSION BY-PASSES THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF JUST HOW EVIL MEN NEED BE, EVEN THE MEN WE DESPISE AND HATE. WE HASTEN ON TO ASK WHAT LAWS AND TREATIES CAN BE HAD TO MAKE OUR ENEMIES AND OUR FELLOW MEN WORTH LIVING WITH. THE ANSWER MUST ALWAYS BE DISAPPOINTING. IT IS NOT LAW THAT MAKES MEN DO RIGHT BUT OBEDIENCE TO LAW. AND OBEDIENCE COMES FROM

WISH AND WILL AND NOT FROM FORCE AND DEVICE. IF THE PEOPLE OF THIS WORLD WANT TO KILL, MAIM AND DESTROY WAR IS OUR INEVITABLE AND CONTINUOUS FUTURE. BUT WHO BELIEVES THIS?

38-9-65

I HAVE KNOWN THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR THIRTY THREE YEARS. I HAVE WATCHED THEM STRIVE AND STAGGER FROM STARVATION AND BITTER DESPAIR UP TO CONFIDENCE AND FIRM DETERMINATION. DO THEY WANT WAR? THEY DO NOT. I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS A NATION ON EARTH WHICH WANTS WAR LESS. NO MODERN PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM WAR AS THEY HAVE. NINETEEN MILLION HUMAN LIVES THEY LOST IN THE LAST WAR. HOMES, SCHOOLS HOSPITALS, FACTORIES AND DREAMS PERISHED BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945. THEY WANT NO MORE WAR. THEY DESPERATELY WANT PEACE. DO THE PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS OR OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, SPAIN OR ITALY WANT WAR? IF THE ANSWER IS NO. AS MOST OF YOU Believe ANSWER, THEN ALL THAT IS NECESSARY IS FAITH; FAITH IN YOURSELVES, FAITH IN HUMANITY. THAT FAITH IN WHICH FOR CENTURIES YOU HAVE DECLARED UNENDING BELIEF. RIGHT HERE YOU HESITATE. RIGHT HERE YOUR FAITH FAILS. RIGHT HERE YOU KNOW THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH ~~OUR~~ our THINKING. WHO IS IT TODAY THAT STILL WANTS WAR EVEN IF THEY CALL IT ANOTHER NAME.

38-9-66

MANY OF THE WORLD'S GREAT NATIONS ARE STILL STRIVING FOR SOMETHING THEY DO NOT CALL WAR BUT WHICH IS WAR. WHAT IS THE COLONIAL SYSTEM UNDER WHICH GREAT BRITAIN CAME TO RULE THE WORLD, AND SET EXAMPLE WHICH FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND FOLLOWED? IT WAS effort OF STRONG WESTERN PEOPLE TO CONTROL THE LAND AND CHEAP LABOR OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE BALKANS, ASIA, AFRICA, THE SEA ISLES AND CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. AND EVEN NOW AS COLONIAL PEOPLES ARE GAINING THEIR FREEDOM, WHAT IS THE "FOREIGN INVESTMENT" TO WHICH THE FORMER IMPERIAL NATIONS TURN AND WHICH THE UNITED STATES LEADS IN DEMANDING? IT IS WAR CONCEIVED AS TAXATION, AND POLICE POWER IN COUNTRIES TOO WEAK TO RESIST IN ORDER TO MAKE LABOR CHEAP AND RAW MATERIALS FREE.

and to live in comfort on the degradation of others

LET ME REMIND YOU OF 400 BLACK MINERS LYING DEAD IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY. THEY WORKED LIKE SLAVES AT 75 CENTS A DAY IN ORDER TO FURNISH GOLD AND DIAMONDS TO LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK. THE COPPER OUTPUT OF NORTHERN RHODESIA IS WORTH 36 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. OF THIS 17,000 BLACK MINERS WHOSE FATHERS ONCE OWNED THIS LAND, GOT $37 A YEAR EACH OR $600,000; 1700 WHITE ARTISANS GOT $2,500,000, OR $15,000 A YEAR EACH AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THE BALANCE OVER OTHER COSTS OF AT LEAST $20,000,000 WENT

at gun point for

to cultured and respectable people

TO WHITE INVESTORS/IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.// IT IS VAST PROFIT LIKE THIS/WHICH MAKES WEST EUROPE AND AMERICA/SUPPORT WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR/UNDER PRETENSE OF FEARING COMMUNISM/AND BECAUSE OF THE REAL FEAR/OF LOSING PROFITS IN COLONIES/AND SEMI-COLONIES/ IF YOU REALIZE/THE THREAT OF WAR TODAY/AND IF YOU WANT PEACE;/AND IF YOU ARE CONVINCED/THAT THE SOVIET UNION ALSO WANTS PEACE,/ REMEMBER THAT THE DEMAND FOR CONTINUED WAR/AND PREPARATION FOR WAR/MAY REST ON THE CONSCIENCES OF BIG BUSINESS/ WHICH DEMANDS 75% PROFIT/ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT.// FROM THEM AND NOT FROM SOCIALISTS, DEMAND PEACE, WAR NO MORE/ What we should fear today/ is stubborn refusal/to change a way of life/ which leads/to war crime and gambling/and ignores a way of life/which excells/in education science and happiness.

and China

teach Asiatics & Africans to work for themselves & not for white folk

28-6-47

Manhattan Plaza Building
Negro History Week
NYC 2/17/60

HARLEM, February 12, 1960

40-1-59

I AM INCREASINGLY AFRAID OF THE THINGS WHICH NEGROES DO NOT KNOW TODAY CONCERNING THE WORLD IN WHICH THEY LIVE. THIS IS NOT SO MUCH A MATTER OF EDUCATION IN THE ORDINARY SENSE OF THE WORD, BUT A MATTER OF GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT KIND OF WORLD WE ARE LIVING IN AND JUST WHAT IS GOING ON. IT USED TO BE COMPARATIVELY EASY FOR A PERSON READING THE DAILY PAPERS AND TALKING WITH HIS NEIGHBORS TO GET A FAIRLY TRUE IDEA OF WHAT THE SITUATION WAS AT LEAST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. AND IN THOSE DAYS WHEN WE KNEW WHAT WAS GOING ON IN AMERICA WE KNEW WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE WORLD WHICH WE REGARDED AS OURS.

BUT THIS WORLD HAS CHANGED. IN THE NATURAL DESIRE OF AMERICANS TO THINK A GREAT DEAL OF THEIR COUNTRY THEY ARE CURIOUSLY UNAWARE OF HOW THE CENTER OF WORLD THOUGHT AND ACTION HAS CHANGED DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WORLD HISTORY WAS MADE IN LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK AND IF TO THAT WAS ADDED BERLIN,

VIENNA AND ROME THE ESSENTIAL BOUNDARIES OF THE WORLD WERE COMPLETE. THE CHANGE SINCE THEN HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS. ESPECIALLY SINCE THREE GREAT NATIONS HAVE ARISEN: THE SOVIET UNION, LARGER THAN THE UNITED STATES: THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA LARGER THAN THE Soviet Union, AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC WITH THREE TIMES THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT IN THESE NEW COUNTRIES AND IN MANY OTHERS THERE HAS ARISEN A MORE OR LESS COMPLETELY NEW PHILOSOPHY AS TO HOW WORK SHOULD BE CARRIED ON AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTED.

40-1-60

IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE HOW THOROUGHLY YOU BELIEVE IN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE OR IN THE TREMENDOUS ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE; BEFORE YOU CAN COME TO ANY CLEAR DECISION CONCERNING WHAT CHANGE IS NECESSARY IN OUR METHODS OF WORK AND PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING WEALTH (and services), YOU MUST UNDERSTAND the changes already occurring. JUST AS SOON AS IGNORANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING PREVENT PEOPLE FROMKNOWING WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND THEM THEN DISASTER IS IN THE OFFING.

40-1-61

BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR THERE WAS COMPARATIVELY LITTLE FOREIGN NEWS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS; NOTICES OF ESSENTIAL MATTERS APPEARED AND WERE REPORTED WITH A FAIR APPROACH TO TRUTHFULNESS. AMERICANS READ ABOUT THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, ABOUT THE RISE OF GERMANY, THE DIVISION OF AFRICA AND THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA. THE OPENING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR TOOK US BY SURPRISE AND FOR A LONG TIME WE DID NOT UNDERSTAND IT. BUT BROADER REPORTS AND DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING IT ENSUED AND EVERY ONE COULD READ IN THE MORNING PAPERS SOMETHING OF THE NEW ACTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF EUROPE AFTER THE ARMISTICE.

BUT DURING AND SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE '30's THROUGH THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND DOWN TO OUR DAY THERE HAS COME A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE. THERE IS A GREAT DEAL MORE OF FOREIGN NEWS IN OUR NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND BOOKS. BUT THIS NEWS AND DISCUSSION IS GUIDED AND DIRECTED MUCH MORE COMPLETELY THAN MOST AMERICANS THINK. WHEN I WAS A YOUNG MAN, WRITERS SENT ESSAYS AND STORIES TO MAGAZINES AND THE EDITORS READ THEM AND ACCEPTED OR REJECTED THEM. LITTLE OF THE SORT OCCURS TODAY. TODAY THE NUMBER

40-1-62

OF NEWSPAPERS HAS DECREASED AND COMPETITION (among them) IS DISAPPEARING. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES ARE OWNED BY GREAT CORPORATIONS. THESE CORPORATIONS DECIDE WHAT THE PAPERS AND MAGAZINES SHOULD DISCUSS AND WHAT CONCLUSIONS SHOULD BE ARRIVED AT. A WRITER RECEIVES FROM THE EDITOR OF A MAGAZINE A REQUEST NOT SIMPLY TO WRITE ON A CERTAIN SUBJECT BUT SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE CONCLUSIONS HE MUST COME TO. THIS OF COURSE MAKES THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SIFTS THROUGH TO THE ORDINARY AMERICAN READER A CONCLUSION AGREED UPON BEFOREHAND FOR VARIOUS REASONS AND NOT USUALLY FOR THE PRIMARY REASON OF TELLING THE WHOLE TRUTH. SOMETIMES THE MATTER GOES FURTHER THAN THIS AND NEWS IS DELIBERATELY DISTORTED OR WHOLLY SUPPRESSED.

I TELL REPEATEDLY OF MY READING IN THE NEW YORK TIMES IN 1926 OF A REVOLT IN RUSSIA WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE AND WHICH I KNEW COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BECAUSE I MYSELF WAS ON THE VERY SPOT (Kronstadt) AT THE TIME AND THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH REVOLT. I RECENTLY READ AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY AN AMERICAN REPORTER AND PRINTED IN THE U. S. (NEWS and World) REPORT TELLING OF THE FAILURE OF THE CHINESE TO MAKE AUTOMOBILES (TRUCKS) AND OTHER

was in China at the same time the reporter was and I

MACHINES. IT WAS FALSE AND I KNEW IT WAS FALSE BECAUSE I HAD SEEN THE CHINESE MAKING AUTOMOBILES and machines. YOU READ NOT LONG AGO IN LIFE THE STORY OF THE MISERABLE FAILURE OF A CERTAIN COMMUNE IN CHINA. I KNEW FROM A RELIABLE FRIEND WHO WAS ON THE SPOT THAT THIS WAS NOT TRUE. THE PLACE MENTIONED WAS NOT A COMMUNE UNTIL AFTER THE EVENTS RELATED. THE ALLEGED MURDERS WERE LEGAL EXECUTIONS AFTER 2 years of LAWFUL JUDICIAL PROCESSES. THE MAN WHO WROTE THE STORY WAS NOT A RELIABLE PERSON. THESE FACTS WERE SENT TO LIFE AND LIFE REFUSED TO PUBLISH THEM. I AM NOT PRETENDING TO SAY THAT ALL OF THE NEWS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF FOREIGN LANDS APPEARING IN THE UNITED STATES PRESS ARE FALSE. CERTAINLY NOT. BUT I DO MEAN TO ALERT YOU ALL TO THE FACT THAT WHAT IS SAID TODAY IN THE AMERICAN PRESS AND IN THE BOOKS WHICH ARE PUBLISHED AND REVIEWED IS NOT THE ENTIRE TRUTH BUT IS WHAT THE OWNERS OF THE PRESS AND THE DIRECTORS OF BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES WANT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA TO BELIEVE.

40-1-63

LAST YEAR I AND MY WIFE TOOK OUR FIRST TRIP ABROAD IN TEN YEARS. WE WENT TO ENGLAND, HOLLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, SWEDEN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, EGYPT AND WEST AFRICA. WE WERE GONE NEARLY A YEAR. WE TALKED WITH MANY PEOPLE AND

AND SAW MANY THINGS AND WE CAME HOME ASTONISHED AT THE CHANGES WHICH WE SAW AND OF WHICH WE HEARD. IT WAS MY 15TH TRIP ABROAD SINCE 1892. WE REALIZED TO OUR AMAZEMENT THAT GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE WERE NO LONGER THE CENTERS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD; THAT THE ROD OF EMPIRE HAD BEGUN TO MOVE EAST AFTER ITS LONG JOURNEY WEST AND THAT TODAY NOBODY CAN UNDERSTAND THE WORLD UNLESS HE UNDERSTANDS EASTERN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA.

40-1-64

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE EAST IS RIGHT AND THE WEST IS WRONG, BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THOSE WHO RULE THE WEST TODAY ARE NOT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE WORLD AND THAT IF YOU WOULD UNDERSTAND THE WORLD YOU HAVE GOT TO UNDERSTAND MUCH WHICH BRITAIN AND AMERICA DO NOT CORRECTLY REPORT. SO THAT TODAY THE AMERICAN NEGRO, especially, MUST MAKE AN EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD IN WHICH HE LIVES. HE MUST REALIZE THAT HIS OLDER AIM OF SIMPLY BECOMING A FULLY RECOGNIZED AMERICAN IS NOT SUFFICIENT TODAY. ONCE HE WANTED TO BECOME IN LAW AND FACT AN AMERICAN EQUAL TO OTHER AMERICANS. TODAY AS WE ARE SLOWLY ACHIEVING AMERICAN EQUALITY, WE SHOULD

KNOW WHAT AMERICANS MUST DO TO MAKE A WORLD WORTH LIVING IN. WHEN WE BECOME AMERICANS WITH EQUAL RIGHTS WE STILL WILL HAVE TO DISCOVER FOR OURSELVES KNOWLEDGE OF WHETHER AMERICA IS RIGHT OR WRONG IN RELATION TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. WE MUST FURST OF ALL REALIZE CLEARLY JUST WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES WHEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE BECAME THE GREATEST EMPIRE IN THE WORLD AND THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY BUILT ITSELF LARGELY ON ITS BELIEF IN WHAT BRITAIN HAD DONE; WHEN FRANCE AND GERMANY BEGAN TO BUILD A SIMILAR LINE OF EMPIRES SO THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY A WHITE EUROPEAN WORLD RULED THE REST OF MANKIND LARGELY COLORED AND RULED THEM ON THE THEORY THAT THE ANGLO-SAXONS WERE THE NATURAL LEADERS OF MANKIND AND THAT CIVILIZATION COULD ONLY BE ADVANCED AS THEY CONTROLLED AND DIRECTED THE REST OF HUMAN BEINGS. THIS THEORY OF HUMAN DESTINY WAS NEVER WHOLLY TRUE. OTHER PEOPLES AND POWERS HAD FLOURISHED HERE AND there and THEN AND NOW, BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY. IN THE 19TH CENTURY A TEMPORARY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ~~MASTERY~~ knowledge OF THE POWERS OF NATURE GAVE TO EUROPEAN WORKERS A MASTERY OF MANKIND WHICH THEY CARRIED OUT RUTHLESSLY.

40-1-65

NOW IN THE 20TH CENTURY THE WHOLE ASPECT OF HUMAN RELATIONS ~~HAS CHANGED~~ is changing. FIRST EASTERN EUROPEANS WHO LIKE ASIANS AND AFRICANS WERE BEING EXPLOITED BY THE WEST ADOPTED A NEW THEORY OF WORK AND WEALTH. HOW MUCH OF TRUTH THIS THEORY CONTAINS; HOW FAR SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE GOING TO BECOME THE DOMINANT WAY OF HUMAN LIFE IS YET TO BE SEEN. BUT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO DOUBT TODAY AS TO HOW THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, THE SLAV PEOPLE AND THE CHINESE FOLK HAVE BEEN PROGRESSING IN THE 20TH CENTURY. THEY ARE NOT ALL FOOLS NOR SCOUNDRELS. AND NO ONE WHO WANTS TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD IN WHICH HE LIVES CAN REMAIN IGNORANT OF WHAT THESE PEOPLE HAVE DONE AND ARE DOING.

40-1-66

WHAT WE HAVE THEREFORE WITH US TODAY IN AMERICA IS A TREMENDOUS ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE WHICH IS DOMINATING ~~THE~~ this COUNTRY AND SUPERSEDING FORMER METHODS OF DEMOCRACY. BIG BUSINESS DETERMINES WHAT AND HOW MUCH WE SHALL KNOW; HOW WE SHALL THINK AND WHAT WE SHALL DO. ITS ~~ORGANIZATIONS~~ methods HAVE HAD GREAT SUCCESS, BUT ALSO GREAT FAILURES AND THEY CAN ONLY BE CORRECTED AND GUIDED RIGHT BY KNOWLEDGE USED BY THE MASS OF PEOPLE.

IN SO FAR THEN AS AMERICAN NEGROES BECOME EQUAL AND INTEGRATED AMERICANS THEY MUST BE A PART OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC POWER WHICH WILL curb THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS AND EVENTUALLY CONTROL IT. NEGROES MUST BE EDUCATED. THERE AGAIN COMES SERIOUS DIFFICULTY. WHEN I was GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF GOING TO COLLEGE DESPITE THE POVERTY OF MY FAMILY. FROM THE TIME THAT I ENTERED THE KINDERGARTEN IN THE SCHOOLS OF MY NATIVE TOWN UNTIL I RECEIVED MY DOCTOR'S DEGREE AT HARVARD 25 YEARS LATER, LACK OF FUNDS DID NOT FOR A SINGLE YEAR STOP MY OPPORTUNITY TO GET AN EDUCATION.

40-1-67

THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE IN AMERICA. THE COST OF EDUCATION HAS RISEN SO ENORMOUSLY THAT THE ORDINARY YOUTH AND PARTICULARLY NEGRO YOUTH IS NOT SURE OF AN EDUCATION. ON THE OTHER HAND WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC; IN SCANDINAVIA, Germany, Czechoslovakia AND OTHER NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE IS WIDER THAN IT IS HERE. WHY? IS IT BECAUSE OF COMMUNISM? IS IT BECAUSE OF SOCIALISM? IS IT BECAUSE OF THE POWER OF LABOR UNIONS

IN EUROPE AND THE weakness OF THOSE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES? WHATEVER THE CAUSE IS, WE MUST KNOW IT, BECAUSE NEGRO AMERICANS MUST BE EDUCATED OR WE CANNOT THINK EFFECTIVELY AND OUR ATTEMPT TODAY TO CHANGE PRESENT CONDITIONS will be FRAUGHT WITH DANGER. THE NEGRO OR THE WHITE MAN WHO GETS A JOB (in America) TODAY IS COMPELLED TO ACCEPT PRESENT CONDITIONS OR LOSE THE JOB. ARE PRESENT CONDITIONS FAIR? THE NEGRO OR THE WHITE MAN WHO IS ELECTED OR APPOINTED TO OFFICE CAN CRITICIZE OUR PRESENT WAY OF LIFE ONLY AT THE DANGER OF LOSING HIS OFFICE. THE WAY HE DOES HIS WORK DOES NOT COUNT AS MUCH AS THE WAY HE TAKES ORDERS. DOES THIS MAKE A GREAT NATION? THE YOUNG MAN OR THE YOUNG WOMAN WHO ACCEPTS FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT FUNDS TO ENABLE HIM TO STUDY ABROAD MUST NOT CRITICIZE CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, IN FACT HE would HAD BETTER PRAISE THEM AND SAY ALL IS WELL; AND EVEN TO GET INTO COLLEGE MEANS today ASSENT TO PRESENT CONDITIONS OR EVEN CONSENTING TO TATTLE ON YOUR NEIGHBORS.

40-1-68

I AM BRINGING THESE CONDITIONS TO YOUR ATTENTION. THE WORLD is changing TREMENDOUSLY IN THIS CENTURY. THIS CHANGE YOU MUST UNDERSTAND AND ACT ACCORDINGLY OR FURTHER PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE AND THIS IS THE FACT WHICH I WANT TO EMPHASIZE.

I AM UNHAPPY ABOUT AMERICAN NEGROES TODAY, NOT AS I USED TO BE, CHIEFLY BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT CITIZENS WITH EQUAL RIGHTS, BUT BECAUSE I ASK WHEN they GET THESE RIGHTS AS they SURELY WILL, WHAT WILL they DO WITH THEM, HOW WILL WE ACT? SO FAR WITH ALL OUR PROGRESS, THE RESULT IS NOT WHOLLY ENCOURAGING. WE ARE STILL A POOR, IGNORANT AND SCARED PEOPLE. IN ATTEMPTING TO CHANGE THIS CONDITION WE ARE DOING WHAT THE WHITE FOLKS DO; WE ARE DIVIDING OUR RACE INTO CLASSES AND TRYING TO let OUR RICH LIVE ON THE POVERTY OF the POOR (- our poor and any other poor.) WE ARE GAMBLING AND SHOWING OFF BY CONSPICUOUS SPENDING; WE ARE DRINKING AND SELLING LIQUOR; WE ARE USING OUR VOTE TO MAKE OFFICIALS RICH INSTEAD OF MAKING (the mass of) PEOPLE BETTER; AND WE SEEM TO THINK THAT HAVING A GOOD TIME IS WISER THAN DOING GOOD. WE RATHER LAUGH WITH FOOLS THAN CRY WITH THE SORROWING. THIS IS NOT BEING SMART, IT IS ONLY REPEATING THE EVIL WHICH FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS HAS CURSED THIS WORLD.

40-1-69

REAL PROGRESS MEANS THE RISE OF THE GREAT MASS OF NEGROES AND NOT MERELY THE success OF A FEW. IT MEANS THAT THE POURING OF MASSES OF IGNORANT UNGUIDED

NEGROES INTO CITY SLUMS TO DIE OF DISEASE, BE EDUCATED IN SALOONS AND WHOREHOUSES IS NOT UPLIFT BUT DEGRADATION. WHAT CAN BE DONE? IS IT ALL INEVITABLE AND INCURABLE; A MATTER OF BLIND CHANCE WITH THE DEVIL TAKE THE HINDMOST; OR CAN THE UPLIFT OF MAN BE PLANNED AND THE PLAN CARRIED OUT? I HAVE SEEN LANDS WHERE THE OLD ARE CARED FOR FREE; WHERE THE SICK ARE ATTENDED TO FREE; WHERE THE YOUNG ARE EDUCATED FREE AND EVEN PAID TO STUDY; WHERE NO MAN IS IDLE NOR UNEMPLOYED NOR WITHOUT A HOME; AND ALSO WHERE NO MAN IS FREE TO DO AS HE WILL. TRUE EVERYBODY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IS NOT HAPPY; EVERYBODY IS NOT DOING JUST WHAT HE WANTS TO DO; FEW HAVE AUTOS AND REFRIGERATORS; FEW SPEND VACATIONS AT RESORTS; BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT NONE STARVE, ~~ALMOST ALL~~ All are learning to READ AND WRITE AND NONE ARE SO RICH THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW HOW TO SPEND THEIR INCOME OR MUST THROW IT AWAY ON RACE TRACKS OR NIGHT CLUBS.

40-1-70

CAN SUCH AN ECONOMY FOR A WELFARE STATE BE ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES? I DO NOT KNOW, BUT I DO KNOW THAT ALREADY SOME APPROACH TO SUCH SOCIALISM ~~HAS~~ Was

40-1-71

by the New Deal,

ALREADY BEEN MADE. WE HAVE MUCH EDUCATION, MANY HOSPITALS, SOME SOCIAL SECURITY AND MANY GREAT PUBLIC WORKS. WHAT WE NEED IS MORE OF THESE THINGS NOT LESS AND FAR LESS WASTE OF OUR TAXES ON WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR THAN WE HAVE TODAY. WE NEED TO SPEND FAR LESS TIME AND ENERGY CALLING COMMUNISTS NAMES AND MORE IN GIVING THEM PRAISE FOR POINTING A WAY out of a WORLD WHICH OBSTINATELY AND SELFISHLY REFUSES TO SEE THE TRUTH.

NEGROES NEED TODAY WORK WHICH THE WORLD WANTS DONE; WORK WHICH NEGROES CAN AND DO AND WHICH IS PAID A DECENT WAGE. THERE IS SUCH WORK A-PLENTY; IT ONLY NEEDS TO BE PLANNED; IT NEEDS PEOPLE TRAINED TO DO IT. AMERICA IS A VAST AND EMPTY COUNTRY; ITS POSSIBILITIES ARE BUT HALF USED AND OFTEN WASTED WHEN USED. THERE IS Much OF HOME INDUSTRY POSSIBLE; ENDLESS AVENUES OF ART AND CREATION IN WHICH THOUSANDS OF NEGRO YOUNG FOLK COULD BE HAPPY AND MAKE OTHERS HAPPY; BUT TO MAKE A FEW RICH MANY ARE WASTING THEIR TIME, DOING USELESS CHORES (playing the clown) AND LOSING THEIR LIVES.

NEGRO ART AND LITERATURE WHICH ONCE BEGAN TO FLOURISH AMONGUS IS TODAY DYING BECAUSE IT IS STARVED; WE WRITE CHIEFLY WHAT WHITE PEOPLE WANT TO READ AND NOT

40-1-72

want to read.

WHAT WE OURSELVES KNOW AND FEEL. YET ONLY WHAT WE FEEL IS OURS AND WILL BUILD A LITERATURE. TO ENCOURAGE THIS WE MUST BUY AND READ Books. YET HOW MANY OF US HERE TONIGHT HAVE BOUGHT A NEGRO BOOK LAST YEAR AND READ IT. UNLESS WE BUY AND READ BOOKS, BOOKS SUCH AS WE WANT WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED. UNLESS WE BUY WHAT OUR ARTISTS PAINT AND CARVE, THERE WILL BE NO AUTHENTIC NEGRO ART. UNLESS WE WRITE AND PAY TO SEE OUR OWN THEATRE WE WILL HAVE NO THEATRE, (but only play clown for fools.) UNLESS WE LEARN WE SHALL NEVER BE WISE.

Right here in Harlem Claude McKay wrote:

"IN THE EAST THE CLOUDS GLOW CRIMSON WITH THE NEW DAWN THAT IS BRRAKING,
AND ITS GOLDEN GLORY FILLS THE WESTERN SKIES.
O MY BROTHERS AND MY SISTERS, WAKE! ARISE!
FOR THE NEW BIRTH RENDS THE OLD EARTH AND THE VERY DEAD ARE WAKING,
GHOSTS ARE TURNED FLESH, THROWING OFF THE GRAVE'S DISGUISE,
AND THE FOOLISH, EVEN CHILDREN, ARE MADE WISE..."

Market Place Gallery
Negro History Week
NYC 2/14/60

HARLEM, February 12, 1960

I AM INCREASINGLY AFRAID OF THE THINGS WHICH American NEGROES DO NOT KNOW TODAY CONCERNING THE WORLD IN WHICH THEY LIVE. // THIS IS NOT SO MUCH A MATTER OF EDUCATION IN THE ORDINARY SENSE OF THE WORD, BUT A MATTER OF GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT KIND OF WORLD WE ARE LIVING IN AND JUST WHAT IS GOING ON. // IT USED TO BE COMPARATIVELY EASY FOR A PERSON READING THE DAILY PAPERS AND TALKING WITH HIS NEIGHBORS TO GET A FAIRLY TRUE IDEA OF WHAT THE SITUATION WAS AT LEAST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. // AND IN THOSE DAYS WHEN WE KNEW WHAT WAS GOING ON IN AMERICA WE KNEW WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE WORLD ~~WHICH WAS OF PRIME INTEREST TO~~ ours regarded as ours. US.

38-9-68

¶ BUT THES WORLD HAS CHANGED. // IN THE NATURAL DESIRE OF AMERICANS TO THINK A GREAT DEAL OF THEIR COUNTRY THEY ARE CURIOUSLY UNAWARE OF HOW THE CENTER OF WORLD THOUGHT AND ACTION HAS CHANGED DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. // THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WORLD HISTORY WAS MADE IN LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK // AND IF TO THAT WAS ADDED BERLIN,

VIENNA AND ROME THE ESSENTIAL BOUNDARIES OF THE WORLD WERE COMPLETE. // THE CHANGE SINCE THEN HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS. // ESPECIALLY SINCE THREE GREAT NATIONS HAVE ARISEN: THE SOVIET UNION, LARGER THAN THE UNITED STATES; // THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA ~~ALSO~~ LARGER THAN THE ~~UNITED STATES~~ SOVIET UNION, AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC WITH THREE TIMES THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. // NOT ONLY THAT, BUT IN THESE NEW COUNTRIES AND IN MANY OTHERS THERE HAS ARISEN A MORE OR LESS COMPLETELY NEW PHILOSOPHY AS TO HOW WORK SHOULD BE CARRIED ON AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTED.

38-9-69

¶ IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE HOW THOROUGHLY YOU BELIEVE IN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE OR IN THE TREMENDOUS ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE; // BEFORE YOU CAN COME TO ANY CLEAR DECISION CONCERNING WHAT CHANGE IS NECESSARY IN OUR METHODS OF WORK AND PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING WEALTH, // YOU MUST UNDERSTAND and services the change already occurring. // JUST AS SOON AS IGNORANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING PREVENT PEOPLE FROMKNOWING WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND THEM THEN DISASTER IS IN THE OFFING.

38-9-70

#

¶ BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ THERE WAS COMPARATIVELY LITTLE FOREIGN NEWS/ IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS.// NOTICES OF ESSENTIAL MATTERS/ APPEARED AND WERE REPORTED/ WITH A FAIR APPROACH TO TRUTHFULNESS.// AMERICANS READ ABOUT/ THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR,/ ABOUT THE RISE OF GERMANY/ THE DIVISION OF AFRICA/ AND THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA.// THE OPENING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ TOOK US BY SURPRISE/ AND FOR A LONG TIME/ WE DID NOT UNDERSTAND IT.// BUT BROADER REPORTS/ AND DISCUSSIONS/ CONCERNING IT ENSUED/ AND EVERY ONE COULD READ/ IN THE MORNING PAPERS/ SOMETHING OF THE NEW ACTIONS/ AND PROBLEMS OF EUROPE/ AFTER THE ARMISTICE.

¶ BUT DURING AND SINCE/ THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE '30's/ THROUGH THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ AND DOWN TO OUR DAY/ THERE HAS COME A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.// THERE IS A GREAT DEAL MORE OF FOREIGN NEWS/ IN OUR NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND BOOKS.// BUT THIS NEWS AND DISCUSSION/ IS GUIDED AND DIRECTED MUCH MORE COMPLETELY/ THAN MOST AMERICANS THINK.// WHEN I WAS A YOUNG MAN,/ WRITERS SENT ESSAYS AND STORIES/ TO MAGAZINES/ AND THE EDITORS READ THEM AND ACCEPTED/ OR REJECTED THEM.// LITTLE OF THE SORT OCCURS TODAY.// TODAY THE NUMBER

OF NEWSPAPERS HAS DECREASED/ AND COMPETITION, among them IS DISAPPEARING.// NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES/ ARE OWNED BY GREAT CORPORATIONS.// THESE CORPORATIONS DECIDE WHAT THE PAPERS AND MAGAZINES/ SHOULD DISCUSS/ AND WHAT CONCLUSIONS SHOULD BE ARRIVED AT.

¶ A WRITER RECEIVES/ FROM THE EDITOR OF A MAGAZINE/ A REQUEST/ NOT SIMPLY TO WRITE ON A CERTAIN SUBJECT/ BUT ~~SUGGESTIONS~~ Directions AS TO THE CONCLUSIONS HE MUST COME TO.// THIS OF COURSE/ MAKES THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SIFTS THROUGH/ TO THE ORDINARY ~~AMERICAN~~ READER/ A CONCLUSION AGREED UPON BEFOREHAND/ FOR VARIOUS REASONS/ AND NOT USUALLY FOR THE PRIMARY REASON/ OF TELLING THE WHOLE TRUTH.// SOMETIMES THE MATTER/ GOES FURTHER THAN THIS/ AND NEWS IS DELIBERATELY DISTORTED OR WHOLLY SUPPRESSED.

38-9-71

¶ I TELL REPEATEDLY/ OF MY READING IN THE NEW YORK TIMES IN 1926/ OF A REVOLT IN RUSSIA/ WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE/ AND WHICH I KNEW COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE/ BECAUSE I MYSELF WAS ON THE VERY SPOT, CRONSTAD AT THE TIME/ AND THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH REVOLT.// I RECENTLY READ AN ARTICLE/ WRITTEN BY AN AMERICAN REPORTER/ AND PRINTED IN THE ~~U~~ U.S. News and World Report/ TELLING OF THE FAILURE OF THE CHINESE TO MAKE AUTOMOBILES TRUCKS AND OTHER

Was in China at the same time this reporter was and I

MACHINES.// IT WAS FALSE/AND I KNEW IT WAS FALSE/BECAUSE I HAD SEEN THE CHINESE/ + Machine
MAKING AUTOMOBILES./ YOU READ NOT LONG AGO IN LIFE/THE STORY OF THE MISERABLE
FAILURE/OF A CERTAIN COMMUNE IN CHINA.// I KNEW FROM A RELIABLE FRIEND/WHO WAS ON THE
SPOT/THAT THIS WAS NOT TRUE.// THE PLACE MENTIONED/WAS NOT A COMMUNE/UNTIL AFTER THE
EVENTS RELATED// THE ALLEGED MURDERS/WERE LEGAL EXECUTIONS/AFTER ~~DUE~~ 2 YEARS of
PROCESSES.// THE MAN WHO WROTE THE STORY/WAS NOT A RELIABLE PERSON.// THESE FACTS WERE
SENT TO LIFE/AND LIFE REFUSED TO PUBLISH THEM// I AM NOT PRETENDING TO SAY/THAT ALL OF
THE NEWS/AND DESCRIPTIONS OF FOREIGN LANDS/APPEARING IN THE UNITED STATES PRESS/ARE
FALSE// CERTAINLY NOT.// BUT I DO MEAN TO ALERT YOU ALL/TO THE FACT THAT WHAT IS SAID/
TODAY/IN THE AMERICAN PRESS/AND IN THE BOOKS/WHICH ARE PUBLISHED AND REVIEWED/IS NOT
THE ENTIRE TRUTH/BUT IS WHAT THE OWNERS OF THE PRESS/AND THE DIRECTORS OF BIG BUSINESS
IN THE UNITED STATES/WANT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA TO BELIEVE.

28-9-72

¶ LAST YEAR/I AND MY WIFE/TOOK OUR FIRST TRIP ABROAD IN TEN YEARS// WE WENT TO
ENGLAND, HOLLAND,/FRANCE, GERMANY,/SWEDEN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA,/THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA,/
EGYPT AND WEST AFRICA// WE WERE GONE NEARLY A YEAR./ WE TALKED WITH MANY PEOPLE AND

AND SAW MANY THINGS/AND WE CAME HOME ASTONISHED/AT THE CHANGES WHICH WE SAW/AND OF
WHICH WE HEARD./ IT WAS MY 15TH TRIP ABROAD SINCE 1892.// WE REALIZED TO OUR AMAZEMENT/
THAT GREAT BRITAIN/AND THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE/WERE NO LONGER THE CENTERS OF THE
CIVILIZED WORLD;// THAT THE ROD OF EMPIRE/HAD BEGUN TO MOVE EAST AFTER ITS LONG JOURNEY
WEST/AND THAT TODAY/NOBODY CAN UNDERSTAND THE WORLD/UNLESS HE UNDERSTANDS EASTERN
EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA.

38-9-73

¶ THIS DOES NOT MEAN/THAT THE EAST IS RIGHT/AND THE WEST IS WRONG,/BUT IT DOES
MEAN/THAT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THOSE/WHO RULE THE WEST TODAY/ARE NOT THE CONCLUSIONS
OF THE WORLD/AND THAT IF YOU WOULD UNDERSTAND THE WORLD/YOU HAVE GOT TO UNDERSTAND
MUCH/WHICH BRITAIN AND AMERICA/DO NOT CORRECTLY REPORT.// SO THAT TODAY/THE AMERICAN
NEGRO/especially MUST MAKE AN EFFORT/TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD/IN WHICH HE LIVES.// HE MUST REALIZE
THAT HIS OLDER AIM/OF SIMPLY BECOMING A FULLY RECOGNIZED AMERICAN/IS NOT SUFFICIENT
TODAY// ONCE HE WANTED TO BECOME/IN LAW AND FACT/AN AMERICAN EQUAL TO OTHER
AMERICANS.// TODAY AS WE ARE SLOWLY ACHIEVING AMERICAN EQUALITY,/ WE SHOULD

KNOW WHAT AMERICANS MUST DO TO MAKE A WORLD WORTH LIVING IN. // WHEN WE BECOME AMERICANS WITH EQUAL RIGHTS WE STILL WILL HAVE TO DISCOVER FOR OURSELVES KNOWLEDGE OF WHETHER AMERICA IS RIGHT OR WRONG IN RELATION TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. // WE MUST FIRST OF ALL REALIZE CLEARLY JUST WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES WHEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE BECAME THE GREATEST EMPIRE IN THE WORLD AND THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY BUILT ITSELF LARGELY ON ITS BELIEF IN WHAT BRITAIN HAD DONE; // WHEN FRANCE AND GERMANY BEGAN TO BUILD A SIMILAR LINE OF EMPIRES SO THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY A WHITE EUROPEAN WORLD RULED THE REST OF MANKIND LARGELY COLORED AND RULED THEM ON THE THEORY THAT THE ANGLO-SAXONS WERE THE NATURAL LEADERS OF MANKIND AND THAT CIVILIZATION COULD ONLY BE ADVANCED AS THEY CONTROLLED AND DIRECTED THE REST OF HUMAN BEINGS. // THIS THEORY OF HUMAN DESTINY WAS NEVER WHOLLY TRUE. // OTHER PEOPLES AND POWERS HAD FLOURISHED HERE AND THEN AND NOW, BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY. // IN THE 19TH CENTURY A TEMPORARY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ~~MASTERY~~ Knowledge OF THE POWERS OF NATURE GAVE TO EUROPEAN WORKERS A MASTERY OF MANKIND WHICH THEY CARRIED OUT RUTHLESSLY.

38-9-74

There and

NOW IN THE 20TH CENTURY THE WHOLE ASPECT OF HUMAN RELATIONS ~~HAS CHANGED~~ is changing. // FIRST EASTERN EUROPEANS WHO LIKE ASIANS AND AFRICANS WERE BEING EXPLOITED BY THE WEST ADOPTED A NEW THEORY OF WORK AND WEALTH. // HOW MUCH OF TRUTH THIS THEORY CONTAINS; HOW FAR SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE GOING TO BECOME THE DOMINANT WAY OF HUMAN LIFE IS YET TO BE SEEN. // BUT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO DOUBT TODAY AS TO HOW THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, THE SLAV PEOPLE AND THE CHINESE FOLK HAVE BEEN PROGRESSING IN THE 20TH CENTURY. // THEY ARE NOT ALL FOOLS NOR SCOUNDRELS. AND NO ONE WHO WANTS TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD IN WHICH HE LIVES CAN REMAIN IGNORANT OF WHAT THESE PEOPLE HAVE DONE AND ARE DOING.

38-9-75

WHAT WE HAVE ~~THEREFORE~~ ~~WITH US~~ TODAY IN AMERICA IS A TREMENDOUS ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE WHICH IS DOMINATING ~~THE~~ this COUNTRY AND SUPERSEDING FORMER METHODS OF DEMOCRACY. // BIG BUSINESS DETERMINES WHAT AND HOW MUCH WE SHALL KNOW; HOW WE SHALL THINK AND WHAT WE SHALL DO. ITS ~~CONCLUSIONS~~ methods HAVE HAD GREAT SUCCESS, BUT ALSO GREAT FAILURES AND THEY CAN ONLY BE CORRECTED AND GUIDED RIGHT BY KNOWLEDGE USED BY THE MASS OF PEOPLE.

IN SO FAR THEN/ AS AMERICAN NEGROES/ BECOME EQUAL AND INTEGRATED AMERICANS/ THEY MUST BE A PART/ OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC POWER/ WHICH WILL ~~GUIDE~~ curb THE POWER/ OF BIG BUSINESS/ AND EVENTUALLY CONTROL IT.// NEGROES MUST therefore BE EDUCATED. THERE AGAIN COMES SERIOUS DIFFICULTY// WHEN I was GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL/ I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF GOING TO COLLEGE/ DESPITE THE POVERTY OF MY FAMILY.// FROM THE TIME THAT I ENTERED THE KINDERGARTEN/ IN THE SCHOOLS/ OF MY NATIVE TOWN/ UNTIL I RECEIVED MY DOCTOR'S DEGREE AT HARVARD/ 23 YEARS LATER,/ LACK OF FUNDS DID NOT/ FOR A SINGLE YEAR/ STOP MY OPPORTUNITY TO GET AN EDUCATION.

38-9-76

THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE IN AMERICA./ THE COST OF EDUCATION HAS RISEN SO ENORMOUSLY/ THAT THE ORDINARY YOUTH/ AND PARTICULARLY NEGRO YOUTH/ IS NOT SURE OF AN EDUCATION.// ON THE OTHER HAND/ WE MUST FACE THE FACT/ THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION/ IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC;/ IN SCANDINAVIA, GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OTHER NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE/ IS WIDER THAN IT IS HERE.// WHY? IS IT BECAUSE OF COMMUNISM?/ IS IT BECAUSE OF SOCIALISM?/ IS IT BECAUSE OF THE POWER OF LABOR UNIONS/

IN EUROPE AND THE ~~LACK OF POWER~~ weakness/ OF THOSE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES?// WHATEVER THE CAUSE IS,/ WE MUST KNOW IT.// BECAUSE NEGRO AMERICANS MUST BE EDUCATED/ OR WE CANNOT THINK EFFECTIVELY/ AND OUR ATTEMPT ~~TODAY~~ TO CHANGE PRESENT CONDITIONS ~~IS~~ will be FRAUGHT WITH DANGER. THE NEGRO OR THE WHITE MAN/ WHO GETS A JOB TODAY/ in America IS COMPELLED TO ACCEPT PRESENT CONDITIONS/ OR LOSE THE JOB.// ARE PRESENT CONDITIONS FAIR?/ THE NEGRO OR THE WHITE MAN WHO IS ELECTED OR APPOINTED TO OFFICE/ CAN CRITICIZE OUR PRESENT WAY OF LIFE/ ONLY AT THE DANGER OF LOSING HIS OFFICE.// THE WAY HE DOES HIS WORK/ DOES NOT COUNT/ AS MUCH AS THE WAY/ HE TAKES ORDERS./ // DOES THIS MAKE A GREAT NATION?// THE YOUNG MAN OR THE YOUNG WOMAN/ WHO ACCEPTS FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT/ FUNDS TO ENABLE HIM TO STUDY ABROAD/ MUST NOT CRITICIZE CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.// IN FACT HE ~~AND~~ would BETTER PRAISE THEM/ AND SAY ALL IS WELL;

38-9-77

P AND EVEN TO GET INTO COLLEGE/ T. day MEANS ASSENT TO PRESENT CONDITIONS/ OR EVEN CONSENTING TO TATTLE ON YOUR NEIGHBORS.

I AM BRINGING THESE CONDITIONS/ TO YOUR ATTENTION.// THE WORLD HAS CHANGED is changing TREMENDOUSLY/ IN THIS CENTURY.// THIS CHANGE YOU MUST UNDERSTAND/ AND ACT ACCORDINGLY/ OR FURTHER PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE/ AND THIS IS THE FACT/ WHICH I WANT TO EMPHASIZE.

I AM UNHAPPY ABOUT AMERICAN NEGROES TODAY, NOT AS I USED TO BE, CHIEFLY BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT CITIZENS WITH EQUAL RIGHTS, BUT BECAUSE I ASK WHEN THEY GET THESE RIGHTS AS THEY SURELY WILL, WHAT WILL THEY DO WITH THEM, HOW WILL WE ACT? SO FAR WITH ALL OUR PROGRESS, THE RESULT IS NOT WHOLLY ENCOURAGING. WE ARE STILL A POOR, IGNORANT AND SCARED PEOPLE. IN ATTEMPTING TO CHANGE THIS CONDITION WE ARE DOING WHAT THE WHITE FOLKS DO; WE ARE DIVIDING OUR RACE INTO CLASSES AND TRYING TO LET OUR RICH LIVE ON THE POVERTY OF OUR POOR — our hour more than any other hour. WE ARE GAMBLING AND SHOWING OFF BY CONSPICUOUS SPENDING; WE ARE DRINKING AND SELLING LIQUOR; WE ARE USING OUR VOTE TO MAKE OFFICIALS RICH INSTEAD OF MAKING THE MASS OF PEOPLE BETTER; AND WE SEEM TO THINK THAT HAVING A GOOD TIME IS WISER THAN DOING GOOD. WE RATHER LAUGH WITH FOOLS THAN CRY WITH THE SORROWING. THIS IS NOT BEING SMART, IT IS ONLY REPEATING THE EVIL WHICH FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS HAS CURSED THIS WORLD.

38-9-78

REAL PROGRESS MEANS THE RISE OF THE GREAT MASS OF NEGROES AND NOT MERELY THE SUCCESS OF A FEW. IT MEANS THAT THE POURING OF MASSES OF IGNORANT UNGUIDED

NEGROES INTO CITY SLUMS TO DIE OF DISEASE, BE EDUCATED IN SALOONS AND WHOREHOUSES IS NOT UPLIFT BUT DEGRADATION. WHAT CAN BE DONE? IS IT ALL INEVITABLE AND INCURABLE; A MATTER OF BLIND CHANCE WITH THE DEVIL TAKE THE HINDMOST? OR CAN THE UPLIFT OF MAN BE PLANNED AND THE PLAN CARRIED OUT? I HAVE SEEN LANDS WHERE THE OLD ARE CARED FOR FREE; WHERE THE SICK ARE ATTENDED TO FREE; WHERE THE YOUNG ARE EDUCATED FREE AND EVEN PAID TO STUDY; WHERE NO MAN IS IDLE OR UNEMPLOYED OR WITHOUT A HOME; AND ALSO WHERE NO MAN IS FREE TO DO AS HE WILL. TRUE EVERYBODY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IS NOT HAPPY; EVERYBODY IS NOT DOING JUST WHAT HE WANTS TO DO; FEW HAVE AUTOS AND REFRIGERATORS; FEW SPEND VACATIONS AT RESORTS; BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT NONE STARVE, ALL are learning to READ AND WRITE AND NONE ARE SO RICH THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW HOW TO SPEND THEIR INCOME OR MUST THROW IT AWAY ON RACE TRACKS OR NIGHT CLUBS.

38-9-79

CAN SUCH AN ECONOMY FOR A WELFARE STATE BE ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES? I DO NOT KNOW, BUT I DO KNOW THAT ~~ALREADY~~ SOME APPROACH TO SUCH SOCIALISM ~~HAS~~ was

38-9-80

by the New Deal

ALREADY ~~HAVE~~ MADE.// WE HAVE MUCH EDUCATION,/ MANY HOSPITALS,/SOME SOCIAL SECURITY AND MANY GREAT PUBLIC WORKS.// WHAT WE NEED/IS MORE OF THESE THINGS/NOT LESS/AND FAR LESS WASTE/ OF OUR TAXES/ON WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR/ THAN WE HAVE TODAY. WE NEED TO SPEND/FAR LESS TIME AND ENERGY/CALLING COMMUNISTS NAMES/AND MORE IN GIVING THEM PRAISE/FOR POINTING A WAY ~~[illegible]~~ out of a WORLD/WHICH OBSTINATELY AND SELFISHLY/ REFUSES TO SEE THE TRUTH.

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38-9-81

WHAT WE OURSELVES ~~KNOW AND FEEL~~ want to read.// YET ONLY WHAT WE FEEL IS OURS/ AND WILL BUILD A LITERATURE.// TO ENCOURAGE THIS WE MUST BUY AND READ ~~IT~~ Books.// YET HOW MANY OF US HERE TONIGHT/ HAVE BOUGHT A NEGRO BOOK LAST YEAR/AND READ IT?/ UNLESS WE BUY AND READ BOOKS,/ BOOKS SUCH AS WE WANT/WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED.// UNLESS WE BUY WHAT OUR ARTISTS PAINT AND CARVE,/ THERE WILL BE NO AUTHENTIC NEGRO ART.// UNLESS WE WRITE AND PAY TO SEE OUR OWN THEATRE/WE WILL HAVE NO THEATRE./ UNLESS WE LEARN WE SHALL NEVER BE WISE.

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AND THE FOOLISH/ EVEN CHILDREN,/ARE MADE WISE..."

but only play clown for fools

2/17/60
Worlaw Annis
nyc

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

THERE ARE TODAY IN THIS COUNTRY 18,000,000 AMERICANS WHO ARE PLACED IN A CRUEL DILEMMA, WHOSE DETAILS THEY THEMSELVES HARDLY REALIZE. THEY ARE THE ACKNOWLEDGED DESCENDANTS OF THE TEN OR MORE MILLION AFRICANS BROUGHT TO THIS CONTINENT CHIEFLY BY THE BRITISH FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES AND REDUCED TO SLAVERY. HERE IN THE UNITED STATES THESE PEOPLE HAVE STRUGGLED UP FROM ~~BONDAGE~~ SLAVERY AND CONTEMPT TO THE SHADOW OF EQUAL CITIZENSHIP. THERE HAS BEEN NO KIND NOR DEGREE OF HUMAN DEGRADATION THROUGH WHICH THEY HAVE NOT PASSED: THERE WERE 244 YEARS OF CHATTEL SLAVERY WHICH CLASSED THEM WITH LAND AND ANIMALS; THERE WAS SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION WHICH HAS KEPT THEM TO THIS DAY AS A GROUP POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK; THERE WAS CONCUBINAGE WHICH MINGLED THEIR BLOOD WITH THAT OF EVERY OTHER PEOPLE IN THE NATION.

DURING THIS TIME , FOR FIVE CENTURIES THEY WERE THE TOILERS WHO HELPED MAKE THIS LAND RICH AND PROSPEROUS: THE GREAT MASS OF THEM HAVE BEEN LOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES, WHETHER FROM WEAKNESS OF MIND OR GREATNESS OF HEART, AND HAVE IN EVERY WAY FOUGHT FOR AMERICA; MY GREAT-GREAT GRANDFATHER STOLEN AND ENSLAVED FOUGHT TO FREE THIS NATION FROM BRITISH OPPRESSION. I AM ASHAMED THAT HE THOUGHT HE HAD TO DO THIS AND SO WERE THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WHO FORCED ME TO RESIGN FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS CHAPTER TO WHICH I HAD BEEN ELECTED IN 1908 UNLESS I COULD BRING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF THE MARRIAGE OF MY ANCESTORS' PARENTS. I RESIGNED. NEGROES FOUGHT AT BUNKER HILL, UNDER JACKSON AT THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, WITH PERRY ON LAKE ERIE. LINCOLN TESTIFIED THAT WITHOUT THEM, THE NORTH COULD NOT HAVE WON THE WAR WHICH ABOLISHED THEIR SLAVERY.

IN THE WORLD WARS AND THROUGH THE KOREAN DISGRACE, BLACK AMERICAN SOLDIERS SHARED THE SHAME OF TURNING CIVILIZATION INTO MURDER. DURING ALL THESE YEARS THE NEGROES HAVE BOWED BENEATH THE INSULT AND DISCRIMINATION OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS,

AND STRUGGLED IN BITTER DESPERATION NOT TO LOSE THEIR OWN SOULS, NOT TO BE ASHAMED OF THEMSELVES WHEN EVERYBODY ELSE WAS ASHAMED OF THEM; AND EVEN TO DANCE AND SING TO PLEASE AN INDIFFERENT WORLD.

ALL THIS EFFORT HAS HAD A MEASURE OF REWARD, SO THAT FOR THE LAST FIFTY YEARS MANY HAVE CELEBRATED AS WE DO TONIGHT, NEGRO HISTORY WEEK. WE REMIND OURSELVES OF THE EDUCATION WE HAVE RECEIVED, TO LOWER ILLITERACY AND EVEN TO BUILD COLLEGES. WE POINT OUT THE AVENUES OF WORK THAT HAVE BEEN OPENED AND THE FACT THAT MOST TRADE UNIONS NOW ADMIT NEGROES. WE HAVE BUILT HOMES AND BOUGHT PROPERTY. THE PROFESSIONS RECEIVE AND RECOGNIZE NEGROES AND WE HAVE SOME PLACE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND ART. THE LEGAL STATUS OF NEGROES HAS IMPROVED. LYNCHING HAS MARKEDLY DECREASED. THE COURTS HAVE AT LONG LAST UPHELD THE AMENDMENTS WHICH ABOLISHED SLAVERY AND MADE THE NEGRO A CITIZEN; THEY HAVE HALTED GHETTO LEGISLATION AND LATELY OUTLAWED DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOL AND SEPARATION IN TRAVEL. IN MANY INSTANCES NEGROES HAVE BEEN APPOINTED AND ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE. THERE

CAN BE NO QUESTION BUT THAT TODAY, NEGROES ARE LESS LIABLE TO INSULT AND INJUSTICE IN MOST PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES THAN EVER BEFORE.

ADMITTING ALL THIS AND REJOICING IN THE FACTS, THE PRESENT SITUATION PERMITS NO HONEST AMERICAN AND CERTAINLY NO SELF-RESPECTING NEGRO TO BURST INTO PAEANS OF JOY. WE KNOW OF COURSE HOW SLOWLY THE WORLD CHANGES --

"TRUTH FOREVER ON THE SCAFFOLD, WRONG FOREVER ON THE THRONE" --

BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN THE "GREAT UNKNOWN" SEEMS TO PROLONG EVIL FAR BEYOND THE UTMOST CALL OF HUMAN DECENCY. REMEMBER THAT FINE AS IT MAY BE TO "ENDURE EVIL;" AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE LOFTY ETHIC OF "TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK," WE MUST ALSO ADMIT THAT NO NATION HAS SO BROKEN THE GOLDEN RULE AND REFUSED TO RETURN GOOD FOR EVIL AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE CASE OF BLACK FOLK. ADMITTING FREELY ALL THAT IS CHARGED AGAINST NEGROES OF COWARDICE AND LAZINESS, OF INNER BICKERING AND ENVY, IT IS ALSO MORE THAN TRUE THAT THE ATMOSPHERE UNDER WHICH THEY HAVE LIVED IN THIS LAND FOR 340 YEARS HAS NOT BEEN THE BEST TO BUILD MANHOOD: HOW MUCH SELF-

RESPECT DOES CONTINUAL BUFFETING ON BOTH CHEEKS ALLOW TO GROW IN A MAN? IN BROOKLYN RECENTLY, A LITTLE BLACK BOY REMINDED HIS TEACHER OF THE 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR. "SIT DOWN" WAS THE RETORT, "THERE WERE NO BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR -- THAT WAS A WHITE MAN'S WAR." IF IN THESE CURIOUS DAYS WHITE AMERICA HAS DIFFICULTY IN MAKING ITS YOUTH REMEMBER THE PAST AND RESPECT THE STRUGGLES OF THIS LAND, CONCEIVE WHAT WE BLACK FOLK FACE IN TRYING TO MAKE OUR CHILDREN RESPECT THEMSELVES AND THEIR PEOPLE.

THAT HOWEVER IS BUT THE BEGINNING: STANDING AT THE CROSSROADS WHERE WE ARE EMERGING FROM SERFDOM INTO THE TWILIGHT OF FREEDOM ARE WE TO BECOME WHAT AMERICANS ARE OR WHAT HUMAN BEINGS OUGHT TO BE; AND IN THE GREAT JUDGEMENT AS TO AMERICA'S FUTURE AIMS, ARE WE TO SPEAK OR TO BE BUT DUMB FOLLOWERS ALONG A PATH POINTED OUT BY GREAT CORPORATIONS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT? HERE WE FACE TWO DIFFICULTIES: THE REFUSAL OF THIS NATION EVEN TO DREAM THAT BLACK FOLK MAY THINK WHAT WHITE FOLK

MAY PROFITABLY FOLLOW; AND AGAIN THE FEAR OF THE NEGRO HIMSELF TO DARE TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY, IN A NATION WHERE MOST MEN ARE BEGINNING TO REFUSE TO THINK AT ALL.

NEGROES TODAY ARE PRESENTED WITH THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. THEY ARE ASKED TO FOLLOW IT, TO PRAISE IT ; AND NOT TO CRITICIZE IT; ON PAIN OF LOSING THEIR JOBS AND THEIR STATUS. BUT WHAT IS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE? IT WAS ONCE A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT, TRIAL BY ONE'S PEERS, A FAIR CHANCE TO WORK AND RIGHT TO THINK. SUCH A LIFE A YOUNG WHITE NATIVE-BORN AMERICAN WITH MONEY AND FRIENDS MAY ATTAIN. BUT A FOREIGNER, A POOR MAN OR A NEGRO, CAN FIND THIS WAY OF LIFE ONLY BY A MIRACLE. MOST NEGROES TODAY 100 YEARS AFTER INFRANCHISEMENT ARE OPENLY AND CONTEMPTUOUSLY DISFRANCHISED. IN THE SOUTHERN SOUTH, THEY HAVE ALMOST NO OFFICIALS, NO MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURES, NO CITY COUNCILLORS, NO JUDGES AND SELDOM A JUROR, OR A JUSTICE OF THE PEADE; THEIR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IN ANY LINE OF LIFE IS SO NARROW AS TO DISCOURAGE ALL BUT THE BOLDEST; THE MASS OF NEGROES KEEP POURING OUT OF THE SOUTH INTO THE CRIME AND WANT OF NORTHERN CITIES WHERE THEY BEAR THE BLAME

FOR URBAN DELINQUINCY. OF OUR TWO AND A THIRD MILLION ARRESTS EACH YEAR IN THIS NATION, NEGROES, A TENTH OF THE POPULATION, FURNISH A THIRD; BUT THEIR OFFENSE IS MAINLY COLOR OF SKIN, NOT CRIME. THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES HAS NOT SIMPLY DEPRIVED THEM OF A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT, BUT HAS GIVEN THE WHITE SOUTHERNER WHO STEALS HIS BALLOT, SEVEN TIMES THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WHITE NORTHERNER OR WESTERNER; THUS THE SOUTH RULES THE NATION AND BIG BUSINESS RULES THE SOUTH.

ON THE OTHER HAND NEGROES KNOW THAT IN THE REST OF THE WORLD, MANKIND IS BEGINNING TO ATTACK THE PROBLEM OF WORK AND WEALTH AND TO SOLVE IT. IN LANDS WHERE SOCIALISM IS SPREADING, EFFORT IS MADE TO RENDER THE BIRTH OF BABIES POSSIBLE WITHOUT IMPOVERISHMENT AND DEATH; THE YOUNG CAN INCREASINGLY BE EDUCATED, AND FED AND CLOTHED SO THAT THEY MAY STUDY; EVERYBODY ABLE TO WORK IS GETTING WORK; THE SICK ARE BEING TAKEN CARE OF, AND THE TIRED ARE GIVEN REST; THE TALENTED ARE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY; THE OLD ARE CARED FOR; THE DEAD ARE BURIED. THESE THINGS WITH VARYING EFFICIENCY IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, BUT IT BECOMES CLEARER AND CLEARER TODAY THAT COMMUNIST

38-9-88

LANDS ARE DOING THE JOB OF PUBLIC WELFARE, FULL EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND CARE OF THE NEEDY BEST. THEY ARE NOT DOING IT PERFECTLY, BUT INFINITELY BETTER THAN WE ARE. WE MAY DISCOURAGE TRAVEL SO THAT AMERICANS MAY NOT LEARN OF THIS; WE MAY LIE AND SUPPRESS TRUTH; AND FRIGHTEN AMERICANS; BUT THIS THE WORLD IS BEGINNING TO REALIZE. AFTER BEING IMPRISONED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR TEN YEARS I MADE RECENTLY A YEAR'S JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD. I DID NOT SEE EVERYTHING, I MAY HAVE BEEN IN PART DECEIVED; BUT I SAW ENOUGH IN THIS AND PREVIOUS TRIPS TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND EAST GERMANY; HUNGARY AND THE BALKANS HAVE BECOME NATIONS WHERE IN THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY THE MASS OF PEOPLE HAVE ARISEN FROM THE DUST AND DIRT AND TODAY STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF A RAPIDLY ARISING CIVILIZATION. THERE IS NO USE OF SUPPRESSING THE TRUTH. THE WORLD IS [redacted] AMAZINGLY MOVING TOWARD COMMUNISM. HALF THE HUMAN BEINGS ON EARTH ARE TODAY LIVING EITHER IN COMPLETELY COMMUNIST NATIONS OR IN NATIONS RADICALLY

38-9-89

SOCIALISTIC. THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT DOING AS THEY PLEASE, BUT THEY ARE NOT SLAVES; THEY ARE NOT RICH, BUT THEY ARE NOT BEGGING FOR YOU TO RELEASE THEM. THE GREAT MASS OF THEM ARE MORE CONTENT THAN I HAVE EVER SEEN THEM IN THE LAST 65 YEARS DURING WHICH I HAVE BEEN VISITING THEM. MOST OF THEM ARE NOT AS WELL DRESSED AS YOU; THEY DO NOT OWN AS MANY AUTOMOBILES AS YOU OR AS MANY REFRIGERATORS, BUT THEY HAVE LESS CRIME AND MORE CHILDREN IN SCHOOL.

28-9-90

FOR ELEVEN MONTHS WHILE ABROAD I WAS TREATED AS A NORMAL HUMAN BEING DESPITE MY BROWN SKIN. I MET A SYMPATHY AND RESPECT WHICH NEVER BEFORE IN MY LIFE HAD I KNOWN. THIS INFLUENCED ME, AND PREJUDICED ME. OF COURSE IT DID, BUT, IT DID MORE THAN THAT. I SAW MILLIONS OF PEOPLE CONTENT, WITH HAPPY, CLEAN, HEALTHY CHILDREN, FULL OF HOPE IN THE FUTURE AND OF FAITH IN EACH OTHER; WORKING, SWEATING AND SINGING; AND WITH THEM I BELIEVED AGAIN IN THIS WORLD.

RETURNING NOW TO THE UNITED STATES I FIND AMERICAN NEGROES IN CRUEL DILEMMA: SHALL THEY BOW AND BEND TO AMERICA; SHALL THEY CRAWL AND CAJOL IN HUMBLE THANKS

FOR PARTIAL EQUALITY AND WITH AMERICANS CURSE THE OTHER MASSES OF THE WORLD WHO ARE RISING FROM THE DEAD. FOR THIS SHALL THEY ACCEPT REWARD, PRAISE, TRAVEL AND APPOINTMENT. BUT THEN COMES THE OTHER SIDE: THE WRITHING UNDER CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION; THE INSULTS OF MEANY AND THE TRADE UNIONS, THE RESENTMENT AT BEING ASKED TO FORGET OUR MEMORIES, OUR DREAMS, OUR SELF-RESPECT, OUR DETERMINATION TO LEAD AMERICA WHERE IT FAILS TO LEAD ITSELF. I SEE OUR INSULT OF CHINA BECAUSE ITS PEOPLE ARE COLORED AND THE PHENOMENAL UPSURGE OF AFRICA WHICH I TRIED TO START 40 YEARS AGO. AMERICAN BUSINESS IS TRYING TO SECURE A NEW GRIP ON AFRICA BY BRIBING AMERICAN NEGROES; WHILE OUR BIG BUSINESS IS ALREADY THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF BLACK SERFDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. BEHOLDING HERE THE WHOLE NATION STEALING AND GAMBLING; WASTING OUR TAX MONEY IN ENDLESS PREPARATION FOR MURDER; ALL OUR GOVERNMENT IN THE HANDS OF BIG CORPORATIONS, AND BIG CORPORATIONS ADVISING OUR NEWSGATHERING AND LIMITING ALL EXPRESSION OF OPINION--FACING ALL THIS, THERE IS BUT ONE WORD THAT I CAN SAY, AS I BOW TO THE FAMILIAR ROUND OF BEING HOUNDED FOR MY PASSPORT LEST I SLIP OFF AND SEE MORE THAN THE GOVERNMENT WANTS ME TO SEE.

22-9-91

IF YOU WANT TO BE A CAPITALIST, BE A CAPITALIST; SHOW THE WORLD WHAT YOU CAN DO; EMPLOY ALL YOUR WORKERS, HEAL YOUR SICK; EDUCATE YOUR YOUTH AND STOP THEIR CRIME; CURB GAMBLING, TAKE THE CHAINS OFF YOUR WRITERS AND SPEAKERS AND FREE THE NEGRO. TELL THE TRUTH. LYING ABOUT CHINA WON'T BUILD A DECENT CAPITALISM IN AMERICA AND FRIGHTENING CHILDREN ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION WON'T BEAT THE RUSSIANS TO THE BACK OF THE MOON. STOP YELLING ABOUT ATHEISM. LET YOUR RELIGION HAVE SOME FAINT RELATION TO YOUR DEEDS. LET AMERICANS TRAVEL, LET THEM TALK, LET THEM THINK; AND LET THEM SEE MORE OF WHAT THE GOVERNMENT FEARS THAT AMERICANS MAY SEE.

100-9-92

RESTORE DEMOCRACY TO THIS NATION, MAKE IT AGAIN POSSIBLE FOR THE PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR WILL. TODAY THE RICH AND POWERFUL RULERS OF AMERICA DIVIDE THEMSELVES INTO REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, IN ORDER TO RAISE TEN MILLION DOLLARS TO BUY THE NEXT ELECTION AND PREVENT YOU FROM HAVING A THIRD PARTY TO VOTE FOR, OR TO STOP WAR, THEFT AND MURDER BY YOUR VOTES.

YOU HAVE HERE TONIGHT THE NEWSPAPER OF A THIRD PARTY, THE WORKER, ORGAN OF

THE COMMUNIST PARTY. IT IS CELEBRATING ITS 36TH BIRTHDAY. IT HAS HARD AND DESPERATE STRUGGLES. IT TREMBLES ON THE EDGE OF DEATH, BUT IT IS NOT DEAD. IF YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM READ THIS PAPER. IF YOU KNOW A BETTER PARTY THAN THE COMMUNIST, VOTE FOR IT. BUT FOR GOD'S SAKE VOTE FOR SOMETHING AND DO NOT THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY AS YOU HAVE SINCE FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT DIED.

100-9-93

THE COMMUNISTS READ YOUR PAPERS AND KNOW YOU. THAT IS THE REASON THEY ARE COMMUNISTS. BUT YOU SHOULD REALIZE WHY COMMUNISM EXISTS AND HAS EARNED A RIGHT TO EXIST: REALIZE THAT THE DISGRACEFUL TRIAL WHICH IMPRISONED COMMUNISTS AS CRIMINALS WAS THE LOWEST DEPTH OF JUSTICE IN AMERICA, SAVE TWO: THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE ROSENBERGS AND GERM WARFARE IN CHINA. IF YOU BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM, BUILD WITHOUT APOLOGY A PARTY ON A PLATFORM OF PEACE, NATIONAL OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND THE WELFARE OF THE STATE. IF YOU WANT TO BE A SOCIALIST, STOP QUIBBLING OVER TRIFLES, DECIDE WHAT SOCIALISM IS AND DARE TO FOLLOW IT. BUT DO SOMETHING, ACT, SPEAK! LET US HAVE FREEDOM AGAIN IN AMERICA, BUT FREEDOM TO SERVE AND NOT TO DRIVE. FREEDOM TO BUILD AND PLAN AND NOT TO DESTROY AND IMPRISON.

SHALL YOU COMPLAIN WHO FEED THE WORLD?
WHO CLOTHE THE WORLD,
WHO HOUSE THE WORLD?
SHALL YOU COMPLAIN, WHO ARE THE WORLD,
OF WHAT THE WORLD MAY DO?
AS FROM THIS HOUR
YOU USE YOUR POWER,
THE WORLD MUST FOLLOW YOU!

THEN RISE, AS YOU NEVER ROSE BEFORE,
NOR HOPED BEFORE,
NOR DARED BEFORE,
AND SHOW, AS YOU NEVER SHOWED BEFORE,
THE POWER THAT LIES IN YOU.
STAND ALL AS ONE!
SEE JUSTICE DONE!
BELIEVE, AND DARE, AND DO!

38-9-94

2/17/60
Harlem Branch
NYC

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

40-1-92

THERE ARE TODAY IN THIS COUNTRY/ 18,000,000 AMERICANS/WHO ARE PLACED IN A CRUEL DILEMMA/ WHOSE DETAILS THEY THEMSELVES HARDLY REALIZE.// THEY ARE THE ACKNOWLEDGED DESCENDANTS/OF THE TEN OR MORE MILLION AFRICANS/BROUGHT TO THIS CONTINENT/CHIEFLY BY THE BRITISH/FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES/ ~~AND REDUCED TO SLAVERY~~. HERE IN THE UNITED STATES/THESE PEOPLE HAVE STRUGGLED UP FROM SLAVERY ~~AND CONTEMPT~~/TO THE SHADOW OF EQUAL CITIZENSHIP// THERE HAS BEEN NO KIND NOR DEGREE/OF HUMAN DEGRADATION/THROUGH WHICH THEY HAVE NOT PASSED.// THERE WERE 244 YEARS/OF CHATTEL SLAVERY/WHICH CLASSED THEM/WITH LAND AND ANIMALS;//THERE WAS SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION/WHICH HAS KEPT THEM TO THIS DAY/AS A GROUP/POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK;//THERE WAS CONCUBINAGE/WHICH MINGLED THEIR BLOOD/WITH THAT OF ~~EVERY OTHER PEOPLE/IN THE NATION~~ # Their masters

40-1-93

DURING THIS TIME,/ FOR FIVE CENTURIES/THEY WERE THE TOILERS/WHO HELPED MAKE THIS LAND/RICH AND PROSPEROUS;// THE GREAT MASS OF THEM/HAVE BEEN LOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES,/ WHETHER FROM WEAKNESS OF MIND/OR GREATNESS OF HEART,// AND HAVE IN EVERY WAR/FOUGHT FOR AMERICA.// MY GREAT-GREAT GRANDFATHER/STOLEN AND ENSLAVED/ FOUGHT TO FREE THIS NATION/FROM BRITISH OPPRESSION.// I AM ASHAMED THAT HE THOUGHT/ HE HAD TO DO THIS/AND SO WERE/THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION/WHO ASHAMED FORCED ME TO RESIGN/FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS CHAPTER/TO WHICH I HAD BEEN ELECTED IN 1908/ UNLESS I COULD BRING/DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF THE MARRIAGE/OF MY ANCESTORS' PARENTS.// I RESIGNED.//NEGROES FOUGHT AT BUNKER HILL,/ ~~UNDER JACKSON~~ AT THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS,/ ~~WITH PERRY~~ ON LAKE ERIE.// LINCOLN TESTIFIED THAT WITHOUT THEM,/ THE NORTH COULD NOT HAVE WON/THE WAR WHICH ABOLISHED/THEIR SLAVERY.//

IN THE WORLD WARS/AND THROUGH THE KOREAN DISGRACE,/ BLACK AMERICAN SOLDIERS/ SHARED THE SHAME/OF TURNING CIVILIZATION INTO MURDER.// DURING ALL THESE YEARS/ THE NEGROES/HAVE BOWED BENEATH/THE INSULT AND DISCRIMINATION/OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS.

40-1-94

AND STRUGGLED IN BITTER DESPERATION/NOT TO LOSE THEIR OWN SOULS,//NOT TO BE ASHAMED OF THEMSELVES/WHEN EVERYBODY ELSE WAS ASHAMED OF THEM;//AND EVEN TO DANCE AND SING/ TO PLEASE AN INDIFFERENT WORLD. //

ALL THIS EFFORT/HAS HAD A MEASURE OF REWARD//SO THAT FOR THE LAST FIFTY YEARS/MANY HAVE CELEBRATED/AS WE DO TONIGHT,/NEGRO HISTORY WEEK.//WE REMIND OURSELVES/OF/THE EDUCATION WE HAVE RECEIVED,/ TO LOWER ILLITERACY/AND EVEN TO BUILD COLLEGES.//WE POINT OUT THE AVENUES OF WORK/THAT HAVE BEEN OPENED/AND THE FACT THAT MOST TRADE UNIONS/NOW ADMIT NEGROES,/ WE HAVE BUILT HOMES/AND BOUGHT PROPERTY,/ // THE PROFESSIONS RECEIVE AND RECOGNIZE NEGROES/AND WE HAVE SOME PLACE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND ART.// THE LEGAL STATUS OF NEGROES HAS IMPROVED./ LYNCHING HAS MARKEDLY DECREASED,/ THE COURTS HAVE AT LONG LAST/UPHELD THE AMENDMENTS WHICH ABOLISHED SLAVERY/AND MADE THE NEGRO A CITIZEN;//THEY HAVE HALTED GHETTO LEGISLATION/ AND LATELY OUTLAWED DISCRIMINATION/IN PUBLIC SCHOOL/AND SEPARATION IN TRAVEL.// IN MANY INSTANCES/NEGROES HAVE BEEN APPOINTED/AND ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE// THERE

40-1-95

CAN BE NO QUESTION/BUT THAT TODAY/ NEGROES ARE LESS LIABLE/TO INSULT AND INJUSTICE IN MOST PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES/THAN EVER BEFORE.

ADMITTING ALL THIS/AND REJOICING IN THE FACTS,/ THE PRESENT SITUATION PERMITS/ NO HONEST AMERICAN/AND CERTAINLY NO SELF-RESPECTING NEGRO/TO BURST INTO PAEANS OF JOY.//WE KNOW OF COURSE/HOW SLOWLY THE WORLD CHANGES--

"TRUTH FOREVER ON THE SCAFFOLD,/WRONG FOREVER ON THE THRONE"-- //

BUT THERE ARE TIMES/WHEN THE "GREAT UNKNOWN"/SEEMS TO PROLONG EVIL/FAR BEYOND THE UTMOST CALL/OF HUMAN DECENCY.//REMEMBER/THAT FINE AS IT MAY BE/TO "ENDURE EVIL;"// AND ACKNOWLEDGING/THE LOFTY ETHIC/OF "TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK,"//WE MUST ALSO ADMIT THAT NO NATION/HAS SO BROKEN THE GOLDEN RULE/~~AND REFUSED TO RETURN GOOD FOR EVIL~~/ AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/IN THE CASE OF BLACK FOLK.//ADMITTING FREELY/ALL THAT IS CHARGED AGAINST NEGROES/OF COWARDICE AND LAZINESS,/ OF INNER BICKERING AND ENVY,//IT IS ALSO MORE THAN TRUE/THAT THE ATMOSPHERE/UNDER WHICH ~~THEY~~ WE HAVE LIVED/ IN THIS LAND/FOR 340 YEARS/HAS NOT BEEN THE BEST/TO BUILD MANHOOD;// HOW MUCH SELF-

40-1-96

RESPECT/ DOES CONTINUAL BUFFETING/ ON BOTH CHEEKS/ ALLOW TO GROW IN A MAN?// IN BROOKLYN RECENTLY,/ A LITTLE BLACK BOY/ REMINDED HIS TEACHER/ OF THE 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS/ IN THE CIVIL WAR,// "SIT DOWN," WAS THE RETORT,/ "THERE WERE NO BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR--/ THAT WAS A WHITE MAN'S WAR."// IF IN THESE CURIOUS DAYS/ WHITE AMERICA HAS DIFFICULTY/ IN MAKING ITS YOUTH/ REMEMBER THE PAST/ AND RESPECT THE STRUGGLES OF THIS LAND,// CONCEIVE WHAT WE BLACK FOLK FACE/ IN TRYING TO MAKE OUR CHILDREN/ RESPECT THEMSELVES/ AND THEIR PEOPLE.//

THAT HOWEVER/ IS BUT THE BEGINNING:// STANDING AT THE CROSSROADS/ WHERE WE ARE EMERGING/ FROM SERFDOM INTO THE TWILIGHT OF FREEDOM/ ARE WE TO BECOME/ WHAT AMERICANS ARE/ OR WHAT HUMAN BEINGS OUGHT TO BE;// AND IN THE GREAT JUDGEMENT/ AS TO AMERICA'S FUTURE AIMS,/ ARE WE TO SPEAK/ OR TO BE BUT DUMB FOLLOWERS/ ALONG A PATH POINTED OUT/ BY GREAT CORPORATIONS/ AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT?// HERE WE FACE TWO DIFFICULTIES: THE REFUSAL OF THIS NATION/ EVEN TO DREAM THAT BLACK FOLK/ MAY THINK WHAT WHITE FOLK

MAY PROFITABLY FOLLOW;// AND AGAIN THE FEAR OF THE NEGRO HIMSELF/ TO DARE TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY/ IN A NATION/ WHERE MOST MEN/ ARE BEGINNING TO REFUSE/ TO THINK AT ALL.

NEGROES TODAY/ ARE PRESENTED/ WITH THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.// THEY ARE ASKED TO FOLLOW IT,/ TO PRAISE IT;/ AND NOT TO CRITICIZE IT/ ON PAIN OF LOSING THEIR JOBS/ AND THEIR STATUS.// BUT WHAT IS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE? /IT WAS ONCE / A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT,/ TRIAL BY ONE'S PEERS,/ ~~A FAIR CHANCE~~ OPPORTUNITY TO WORK/ AND RIGHT TO THINK.// SUCH A LIFE/ A YOUNG WHITE NATIVE-BORN AMERICAN/ WITH MONEY AND FRIENDS/ MAY ATTAIN,// BUT A FOREIGNER,/ A POOR MAN OR A NEGRO,/ CAN FIND THIS WAY OF LIFE/ ONLY BY A MIRACLE. //MOST NEGROES TODAY/ 100 YEARS AFTER INFRANCHISEMENT/ ARE OPENLY AND CONTEMPTUOUSLY DISFRANCHISED.// IN THE SOUTHERN SOUTH,/ THEY HAVE ALMOST NO OFFICIALS,/ NO MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURES,/ NO CITY COUNCILLORS,/ NO JUDGES/ AND SELDOM A JUROR,/ NOR A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE:// THEIR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE/ IN ANY LINE OF LIFE/ IS SO NARROW/ AS TO DISCOURAGE/ ALL BUT THE BOLDEST;// THE MASS OF NEGROES/ KEEP POURING OUT OF THE SOUTH/ INTO THE CRIME AND WANT/ OF NORTHERN CITIES/ WHERE THEY BEAR THE BLAME

to day

40-1-97

FOR URBAN DELINQUINCY. // OF OUR TWO AND A THIRD MILLION ARRESTS / EACH YEAR / IN THIS NATION, / NEGROES, A TENTH OF THE POPULATION, / FURNISH A ~~THIRD~~ FOURTH; / BUT THEIR OFFENSE IS MAINLY COLOR OF SKIN, / NOT CRIME. // THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES / HAS NOT SIMPLY DEPRIVED THEM / OF A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT; // BUT HAS GIVEN THE WHITE SOUTHERNER / WHO STEALS HIS BALLOT, / SEVEN TIMES THE POLITICAL POWER / OF THE WHITE NORTHERNER / OR WESTERNER; // THUS THE SOUTH RULES THE NATION / AND BIG BUSINESS RULES THE SOUTH.

40-1-98

ON THE OTHER HAND / NEGROES KNOW / THAT IN THE REST OF THE WORLD, / MANKIND IS BEGINNING / TO ATTACK THE PROBLEM / OF WORK AND WEALTH / AND TO SOLVE IT. // IN LANDS WHERE SOCIALISM IS SPREADING / EFFORT IS MADE / TO RENDER THE BIRTH OF BABIES / POSSIBLE WITHOUT IMPOVERISHMENT AND DEATH; // THE YOUNG / CAN INCREASINGLY BE EDUCATED, // AND FED AND CLOTHED SO THAT THEY MAY STUDY; // EVERYBODY ABLE TO WORK / IS GETTING WORK; // THE SICK ARE BEING TAKEN CARE OF, / AND THE TIRED ARE GIVEN REST; // THE TALENTED ARE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY; / THE OLD ARE CARED FOR: / THE DEAD ARE BURIED. // THESE THINGS OCCUR WITH VARYING EFFICIENCY / IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, // BUT IT BECOMES CLEARER AND CLEARER TODAY / THAT COMMUNIST

LANDS / ARE DOING THE JOB OF PUBLIC WELFARE, / FULL EMPLOYMENT, / EDUCATION AND CARE OF THE NEEDY / BEST. // THEY ARE NOT DOING IT PERFECTLY, / BUT INFINITELY BETTER / THAN WE ARE. // WE MAY DISCOURAGE TRAVEL / SO THAT AMERICANS MAY WILL NOT LEARN OF THIS; // WE MAY LIE AND SUPPRESS TRUTH; / AND FRIGHTEN AMERICANS; // BUT ~~THUS~~ THE WORLD / IS BEGINNING TO REALIZE. // AFTER BEING ~~IMPRISONED IN~~ CONFINED TO THE UNITED STATES / FOR TEN YEARS / I MADE RECENTLY A YEAR'S JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD. // I DID NOT SEE EVERYTHING, / I MAY HAVE BEEN IN PART DECEIVED: / BUT I SAW ENOUGH IN THIS / AND PREVIOUS TRIPS / TO BE CONVINCED / THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND EAST GERMANY; HUNGARY AND THE BALKANS / HAVE BECOME NATIONS / WHERE / IN THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY / THE MASS OF PEOPLE / HAVE ARISEN FROM THE DUST AND DIRT / AND TODAY STAND ON THE THRESHOLD / OF A RAPIDLY ARISING CIVILIZATION. // THERE IS NO USE / TRYING TO SUPPRESS ~~THIS~~ IS THE TRUTH. // THE WORLD IS AMAZINGLY MOVING TOWARD COMMUNISM. // HALF THE HUMAN BEINGS ON EARTH / ARE TODAY LIVING / EITHER IN COMPLETELY COMMUNIST NATIONS / OR IN NATIONS RADICALLY SOCIALISTIC. // THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT DOING AS THEY PLEASE, / BUT THEY ARE NOT SLAVES; //

What is happening

40-1-99

THEY ARE NOT RICH,/ BUT THEY ARE NOT BEGGING/FOR YOU TO RELEASE THEM.// THE GREAT MASS OF THEM/ARE MORE CONTENT/THAN I HAVE EVER SEEN THEM/IN THE LAST 65 YEARS/ DURING WHICH I HAVE BEEN VISITING THEM.// MOST OF THEM ARE NOT AS WELL DRESSED AS YOU;/ THEY DO NOT OWN/AS MANY AUTOMOBILES ~~AS YOU~~/OR AS MANY REFRIGERATORS.// BUT THEY HAVE LESS CRIME/AND MORE CHILDREN IN SCHOOL.//

40-1-100

FOR ELEVEN MONTHS/WHILE ABROAD/ I WAS TREATED AS A NORMAL HUMAN BEING/ DESPITE MY BROWN SKIN.//(I MET A SYMPATHY AND RESPECT/WHICH NEVER BEFORE IN MY LIFE/I HAD KNOWN.// THIS INFLUENCED ME,/AND PREJUDICED ME.// OF COURSE IT DID.// BUT, IT DID MORE THAN THAT.//I SAW MILLIONS OF PEOPLE CONTENT,/ WITH HAPPY, CLEAN, HEALTHY CHILDREN,/ FULL OF HOPE IN THE FUTURE/AND OF FAITH IN EACH OTHER;/ WORKING, SWEATING AND SINGING://AND WITH THEM I BELIEVED AGAIN IN THIS WORLD.

RETURNING NOW TO THE UNITED STATES/I FIND AMERICAN NEGROES IN CRUEL DILEMMA:// SHALL THEY BOW AND BEND TO AMERICA;// SHALL THEY CRAWL AND CAJOL/IN HUMBLE THANKS FOR PARTIAL EQUALITY/AND WITH AMERICANS/CURSE THE OTHER MASSES OF THE WORLD/WHO ARE RISING FROM THE DEAD?// FOR THIS/SHALL THEY ACCEPT REWARD,/ PRAISE, TRAVEL AND

APPOINTMENT.// BUT THEN COMES THE OTHER SIDE://THE WRITHING UNDER CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION;//THE INSULTS OF MEANY AND STINKY AND some TRADE UNIONS,/THE RESENTMENT AT BEING ASKED/TO FORGET OUR MEMORIES,/OUR DREAMS, OUR SELF-RESPECT,/OUR DETERMINATION TO LEAD AMERICA/WHERE IT FAILS TO LEAD ITSELF.//I SEE OUR INSULT OF CHINA/BECAUSE ITS PEOPLE ARE COLORED/AND THE PHENOMENAL UPSURGE OF AFRICA/WHICH I TRIED TO START 40 YEARS AGO.//AMERICAN BUSINESS/IS TRYING TO SECURE A NEW GRIP/ON AFRICA/BY BRIBING AMERICAN NEGROES;//WHILE OUR BIG BUSINESS/IS ALREADY THE CHIEF SUPPORT/OF BLACK SERFDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA.// BEHOLDING HERE/THE WHOLE NATION STEALING AND GAMBLING;/WASTING OUR TAX MONEY/IN ENDLESS PREPARATION FOR MURDER;//ALL OUR GOVERNMENT/IN THE HANDS OF BIG CORPORATIONS,/AND BIG CORPORATIONS/ADVISING OUR NEWSGATHERING/AND LIMITING ALL EXPRESSION OF OPINION--//FACING ALL THIS,/THERE IS BUT ONE WORD/THAT I CAN SAY,/ AS I BOW/TO THE FAMILIAR ROUND/OF BEING HOUNDED FOR MY PASSPORT/LEST I SLIP OFF AND SEE MORE/~~THAN~~ of what does not THE GOVERNMENT WANTS ME TO SEE.

40-1-101

40-1-102

IF YOU WANT TO BE A CAPITALIST,/ BE A CAPITALIST;//SHOW THE WORLD/WHAT YOU CAN DO;//EMPLOY ALL YOUR WORKERS,/ HEAL YOUR SICK;/ EDUCATE YOUR YOUTH/AND STOP THEIR CRIME;//CURB GAMBLING,/ TAKE THE CHAINS OFF YOUR WRITERS AND SPEAKERS/AND FREE THE NEGRO.// TELL THE TRUTH. /LYING ABOUT CHINA/WON'T BUILD A DECENT CAPITALISM IN AMERICA/ AND FRIGHTENING CHILDREN /ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION/WON'T BEAT THE RUSSIANS/TO THE BACK OF THE MOON.// STOP YELLING ABOUT ATHEISM. / LET YOUR RELIGION HAVE SOME FAINT RELATION TO YOUR DEEDS. //LET AMERICANS TRAVEL,/LET THEM TALK, /LET THEM THINK;/ AND LET THEM SEE/[redacted] WHAT THE GOVERNMENT FEARS /THAT AMERICANS MAY SEE.

RESTORE DEMOCRACY TO THIS NATION,//MAKE IT AGAIN POSSIBLE/FOR THE PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR WILL.// TODAY THE RICH /AND POWERFUL RULERS OF AMERICA/DIVIDE THEMSELVES/INTO REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS,/ IN ORDER TO RAISE TEN MILLION DOLLARS /TO BUY THE NEXT ELECTION /AND PREVENT YOU/FROM HAVING A THIRD PARTY TO VOTE FOR,/ OR TO STOP WAR,/ THEFT AND MURDER/BY YOUR VOTES.

YOU HAVE HERE TONIGHT/THE NEWSPAPER OF A THIRD PARTY,//THE WORKER, ORGAN OF

40-1-103

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.// IT IS CELEBRATING ITS 36TH BIRTHDAY./ IT HAS had HARD AND DESPERATE STRUGGLES. //IT TREMBLES ON THE EDGE OF DEATH,/ BUT IT IS NOT DEAD! IF YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM/READ THIS PAPER.//IF YOU KNOW A BETTER PARTY/THAN THE COMMUNIST, VOTE FOR IT.// BUT FOR GOD'S SAKE /VOTE FOR SOMETHING AND DO NOT THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY /AS YOU HAVE SINCE FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT DIED.

THE COMMUNISTS READ Capitalist PAPERS AND KNOW Capitalists.// THAT IS Pendleton THE REASON /THEY ARE COMMUNISTS.//BUT YOU SHOULD REALIZE/WHY COMMUNISM EXISTS /AND HAS EARNED A RIGHT TO EXIST://REALIZE THAT THE DISGRACEFUL TRIAL/WHICH IMPRISONED COMMUNISTS AS CRIMINALS/WAS THE LOWEST DEPTH OF JUSTICE IN AMERICA//SAVE TWO: THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE ROSENBERGS/AND GERM WARFARE IN CHINA.//IF YOU BELIEVE IN COMMUNISM,/ BUILD WITHOUT APOLOGY/ A PARTY ON A PLATFORM OF PEACE,/NATIONAL OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL/AND THE WELFARE OF THE STATE.// IF YOU WANT TO BE A SOCIALIST,/STOP QUIBBLING OVER TRIFLES,/ //DECIDE WHAT SOCIALISM IS/AND DARE TO FOLLOW IT.// BUT DO SOMETHING,/ACT, SPEAK!/ LET US HAVE FREEDOM AGAIN/IN AMERICA,/ BUT FREEDOM TO SERVE/AND NOT TO DRIVE.// FREEDOM TO BUILD AND PLAN/AND NOT TO DESTROY AND IMPRISON. //

40-1-104

SHALL YOU COMPLAIN/WHO FEED THE WORLD?
WHO CLOTHE THE WORLD,
WHO HOUSE THE WORLD?
SHALL YOU COMPLAIN,/ WHO ARE THE WORLD,
OF WHAT THE WORLD MAY DO?
AS FROM THIS HOUR
YOU USE YOUR POWER,
THE WORLD MUST FOLLOW YOU!

THEN RISE,/AS YOU NEVER ROSE BEFORE,/
NOR HOPED BEFORE,
NOR DARED BEFORE,
AND SHOW,/AS YOU NEVER SHOWED BEFORE,/
THE POWER THAT LIES IN YOU.
STAND ALL AS ONE!
SEE JUSTICE DONE!
BELIEVE,/AND DARE,/AND DO!

3/31/60
J. C. Smith
Lewis

WHITHER NOW AND WHY

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS NOW REACHED A POINT IN HIS PROGRESS WHERE HE NEEDS TO TAKE SERIOUS ACCOUNT OF WHERE HE IS AND WHITHER HE IS GOING. // THIS DAY HAS COME MUCH EARLIER THAN I THOUGHT IT WOULD // I WROTE IN 1940 A BOOK CALLED "DUSK OF DAWN" IN WHICH I SOUGHT TO RECORD OUR SITUATION IN A PERIOD OF CHANGE WHICH I EXPECTED TO LAST FOR ANOTHER 50 YEARS // BUT THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE RISE OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM HAS HASTENED THE EVENT // AND WE ARE DEFINITELY APPROACHING NOW A TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN NEGRO WILL ~~[illegible]~~ BECOME IN LAW EQUAL IN CITIZENSHIP TO ~~OTHER~~ AMERICANS.

THERE IS MUCH HARD WORK TO BE DONE BEFORE THE NEGRO BECOMES A VOTER // BEFORE HE HAS EQUAL RIGHTS TO EDUCATION AND BEFORE HE CAN CLAIM COMPLETE CIVIL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY // YET THIS SITUATION IS IN SIGHT AND IT BRINGS, NOT AS MANY ASSUME, AN END TO THE SO-CALLED

NEGRO PROBLEMS BUT A BEGINNING OF EVEN MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF RACE AND CULTURE. BECAUSE WHAT WE MUST NOW ASK OURSELVES IS WHEN WE BECOME EQUAL AMERICAN CITIZENS WHAT WILL BE OUR AIMS AND IDEALS AND WHAT WILL WE HAVE TO DO WITH SELECTING THESE AIMS AND IDEALS // ARE WE TO ASSUME THAT WE WILL SIMPLY ADOPT THE IDEALS OF AMERICANS AND BECOME WHAT THEY ARE OR WANT TO BE // AND THAT WE WILL HAVE IN THIS PROCESS NO IDEALS OF OUR OWN?

THAT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD CEASE TO BE NEGROES AS SUCH AND BECOME WHITE IN ACTION IF NOT COMPLETELY IN COLOR. // WE WOULD TAKE ON THE CULTURE OF WHITE AMERICANS, DOING AS THEY DO AND THINKING AS THEY THINK.

MANIFESTLY THIS WOULD NOT BE SATISFACTORY // PHYSICALLY IT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD BE INTEGRATED WITH AMERICANS LOSING FIRST OF ALL THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF COLOR AND HAIR AND RACIAL TYPE. // WE WOULD LOSE OUR MEMORY OF NEGRO HISTORY AND OF THOSE RACIAL PECULIARITIES WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE NEGRO // WE WOULD CEASE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ANY GREATER TIE WITH AFRICA THAN WITH ENGLAND OR GERMANY // WE WOULD NOT TRY TO DEVELOP NEGRO MUSIC AND ART AND literature AS DISTINCTIVE AND DIFFERENT, BUT ALLOW IT TO BE FURTHER

DEGRADED [redacted] AS IS THE CASE TODAY.// WE WOULD ALWAYS IF POSSIBLE MARRY LIGHTER-HUED PEOPLE SO AS TO HAVE CHILDREN WHO ARE NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE NEGRO RACE. AND THUS SOLVE OUR RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA BY COMMITTING RACIAL SUICIDE.// MORE OR LESS CLEARLY THIS POSSIBILITY HAS BEEN IN THE MINDS OF NEGROES IN THE PAST ALTHOUGH NOT ASSENTED TO BY ALL.// SOME [redacted] HAVE STATED IT AND WELCOMED IT.// OTHERS [redacted] HAVE SIMPLY ASSUMED THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS INEVITABLE AND THEREFORE NOTHING COULD BE DONE ABOUT IT.// THIS IS THE REASON THAT MY PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT WHICH BEGAN IN 1900 WHEN I COOPERATED WITH A MEETING ~~CALLED BY A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER~~ IN LONDON;// AND DEFINITELY WAS STARTED IN 1919 IN THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN ~~CONFERENCE~~ congress IN PARIS.// I COULD GET BUT LITTLE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION AMONG American NEGROES.// MOST OF THEM RESENTED IT AS [redacted] BEING A "BACK TO AFRICA" MOVEMENT.// OTHERS SIMPLY SAID WE HAD PROBLEMS ENOUGH IN AMERICA WITHOUT TAKING ON THE INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA.

TODAY WHEN THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE ARISING TO SETTLE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS WE ARE IN THE PECULIAR POSITION OF BEING IN [redacted] A GROUP OF [redacted] PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT WHO NOT ONLY CANNOT HELP THE AFRICANS BUT IN MOST CASES DO NOT WANT TO.// ANY STATEMENT

OF OUR DESIRE TO DEVELOP AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE, TO KEEP UP OUR TIES WITH COLOURED PEOPLE, TO REMEMBER OUR PAST, IS BEING REGARDED AS "RACISM."// I, FOR INSTANCE, WHO HAVE DEVOTED MY LIFE TO EFFORTS TO BREAK DOWN RACIAL BARRIERS AM BEING ACCUSED OF DESIRING TO EMPHASIZE DIFFERENCES OF RACE.// THIS HAS A CERTAIN TRUTH ABOUT IT. AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE AND I REPEAT I AM NOT FIGHTING TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA BY THE PROCESS OF GETTING RID OF THE NEGRO RACE; GETTING RID OF BLACK FOLK, NOT PRODUCING BLACK CHILDREN, FORGETTING THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION; OF FORGETTING ABOLITION AND ESPECIALLY OF IGNORING THE WHOLE CULTURAL HISTORY OF AFRICANS IN THE WORLD.

NO! WHAT I HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR AND AM STILL FIGHTING FOR IS THE POSSIBILITY OF BLACK FOLK AND BLACK CULTURAL PATTERNS EXISTING IN AMERICA WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION; AND [redacted] ON TERMS OF EQUALITY. IF WE TAKE THIS ATTITUDE WE HAVE GOT TO DO SO CONSCIOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY.// THIS BRINGS UP A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO

SOLVE/AND MAKE DEFINITE PREPARATION/FOR SUCH SOLUTION.

TAKE FOR INSTANCE/THE CURRENT PROBLEM/OF THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN.// BY THE LAW OF THE LAND TODAY/THEY SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.// IF AND WHEN THEY ARE ADMITTED/TO THESE SCHOOLS/CERTAIN THINGS WILL INEVITABLY FOLLOW.// NEGRO TEACHERS WILL BECOME RARER/AND IN MANY CASES QUITE DISAPPEAR.// NEGRO CHILDREN WILL BE INSTRUCTED/IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS/AND TAUGHT ~~POORLY~~/UNDER UNPLEASANT/IF NOT DISCOURAGING CIRCUMSTANCES.// EVEN MORE LARGELY THAN TODAY/THEY WILL FALL OUT OF SCHOOL,/CEASE TO ENTER HIGH SCHOOL/ AND FEWER AND FEWER/WILL GO TO COLLEGE.// ~~DOCTORALLY~~ THEORETICALLY NEGRO UNIVERSITIES/WILL DISAPPEAR.// NEGRO HISTORY/WILL BE TAUGHT LESS/OR NOT AT ALL/AND AS IN SO MANY CASES IN THE PAST/ NEGROES WILL REMEMBER/THEIR WHITE OR INDIAN ANCESTORS/AND QUITE FORGET/THEIR NEGRO FORBEARS.//READ FOR INSTANCE THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MERCER LANGSTON.

TO SOME FOLK/THIS TYPE OF ARGUMENT/WOULD LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION/THAT WE OUGHT TO REFUSE TO ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS/OR TO CLAMOR FOR UNSEGREGATED SCHOOLS.// IN OTHER WORDS/ THAT WE OUGHT TO GIVE UP/THE FIGHT AGAINST COLOR DISCRIMINATION.// I WANT, HOWEVER,

We must accept equality or die

TO EMPHASIZE/THAT THIS NOT ONLY IS UNNECESSARY/ ~~AND UNWISE~~, BUT IMPOSSIBLE. WHAT WE ~~MUST~~ must also ~~IS~~ DO/IS TO LAY DOWN/A LINE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION/WHICH WILL ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS: THE UTTER DISAPPEARANCE OF COLOR DISCRIMINATION/IN AMERICAN LIFE/AND THE PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE/AS A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION/TO MODERN CIVILIZATION/AS IT WAS TO MEDIEVAL AND ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.

TO DO THIS IS NOT EASY./ IT CALLS FOR INTELLIGENCE/ COOPERATION AND CAREFUL PLANNING.// IT WOULD MEET HEAD ON/THE BAFFLING DIFFICULTIES THAT FACE US TODAY.// HERE FOR INSTANCE/IS THE BOY WHO SAYS SIMPLY/HE IS NOT GOING TO SCHOOL.// HIS TREATMENT IN THE SCHOOLS/EVEN IF HE IS ADMITTED,/IS SUCH THAT DOES NOT ATTRACT HIM/[redacted]. MOREOVER,/ THE BOY WHO DOES ENTER THE WHITE SCHOOL/AND GETS ON REASONABLY WELL,/[redacted] DOES NOT ALWAYS BECOME/A USEFUL MEMBER OF OUR GROUP.// NEGRO CHILDREN EDUCATED IN ~~NORTHERN~~ INTEGRATED SCHOOLS/AND ~~THE BEST~~ NORTHERN COLLEGES/ ~~USUALLY~~ OFTEN KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO HISTORY,/KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP/AND DOUBT IF THERE EVER HAVE BEEN/LEADERS IN AFRICA,/THE WEST INDIES AND THE UNITED STATES/WHO EQUAL WHITE

Some are ashamed of themselves & their folk.

FOLK. THEY REGARD THE STUDY OF NEGRO BIOGRAPHY AND THE WRITING OF NEGRO LITERATURE AS A VAIN ATTEMPT TO PRETEND THAT NEGROES ARE REALLY THE EQUAL OF WHITES. // THAT [redacted] TENDS TO BE THE POINT OF VIEW OF THOSE OF OUR CHILDREN WHO ARE EDUCATED IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

38-9-101

THERE ARE GOING TO BE SCHOOLS WHICH DO NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE AND THE NUMBER IS GOING TO INCREASE SLOWLY IN THE PRESENT BUT RAPIDLY IN THE FUTURE UNTIL LONG BEFORE THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE NO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE. // THE DEFICIENCY IN KNOWLEDGE OF NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE (HOWEVER WILL REMAIN AND [redacted] THIS DANGER MUST BE MET [redacted] OR ELSE AMERICAN NEGROES WILL DISAPPEAR. // THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE WILL BE LOST. // THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE RISING AFRICAN WORLD WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. // WHAT THEN CAN WE DO OR SHOULD WE TRY TO DO?

NEGRO PARENTS AND NEGRO PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS WILL AT LEAST TEMPORARILY HAVE TO TAKE ON AND CARRY [redacted] THE BURDEN WHICH THEY HAVE HITHERTO LEFT TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. // THE CHILD IN THE FAMILY, IN SPECIFIC ORGANIZATIONS, OR IN SOCIAL LIFE MUST LEARN WHAT HE WILL

Which Negroes must write & buy

NOT LEARN IN SCHOOL UNTIL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VASTLY IMPROVE. // NEGRO HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT FOR MANY CRITICAL YEARS BY PARENTS, IN CLUBS BY LECTURE COURSES BY A NEW NEGRO LITERATURE. // THIS MUST BE DONE SYSTEMATICALLY FOR THE WHOLE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE. // THIS IS GOING TO TAKE TIME AND MONEY AND IS GOING TO CALL FOR RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

38-9-102

NEGRO COMMUNITIES, NEGRO PRIVATE SCHOOLS, NEGRO COLLEGES WILL AND MUST BE ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED. // THIS RACIAL ORGANIZATION WILL BE VOLUNTARY AND NOT COMPULSORY. // IT WILL NOT BE DISCRIMINATORY; IT WILL BE CARRIED ON ACCORDING TO DEFINITE OBJECT AND IDEAL, AND WILL BE OPEN TO ALL WHO SHARE THIS IDEAL. // AND OF COURSE THAT IDEAL MUST ALWAYS BE IN ACCORD WITH THE GREATER IDEALS OF MANKIND. // BUT WHAT AMERICAN NEGROES MUST REMEMBER IS THAT VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION FOR GREAT ENDS IS FAR DIFFERENT FROM COMPULSORY SEGREGATION FOR EVIL PURPOSES.

ESPECIALLY AND FIRST THERE HAS GOT TO BE A DELIBERATE EFFORT MADE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF NEGRO FAMILIES. // OUR FAMIDY ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN LEFT ALMOST ENTIRELY TO CHANCE. // HOW, WHEN AND WHERE THE NEGRO BOY AND GIRL IS GOING TO MEET AND MATE HAS BEEN

GIVEN/NO ORGANIZED THOUGHT//AND IN MANY CASES/THE WHOLE PROCESS HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY IGNORED/// BEYOND THAT/COMES THE PRIMARY QUESTION/OF WHAT A NEGRO CHILD/IS TO DO IN LIFE.// THIS HAS BEEN TAUGHT/ONLY INCIDENTALLY AND ACCIDENTALLY.// THE PRIMARY BASIS AND END OF LIFE/HAS NOT BEEN GUIDED/BY PROPER TUITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES,/ IN ECONOMICS/OR IN ETHICS//OUTSIDE AND BEYOND SCHOOL;/ IN THE FAMILY/AND IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

THE NEGRO RACE/HAS GOT TO IMPRESS UPON ITS CHILDREN/CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL FACTS// THE NORMAL HUMAN BEING/~~HAS GOT TO~~ must WORK/AND WORK REGULARLY/TO SUPPLY HIS WANTS//SUCH LEGITIMATE WANTS/AS FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER.// IN ADDITION THERE MUST BE CREATIVE ACTIVITIES/ SUCH AS WE UNDERSTAND/UNDER ART AND LITERATURE,/AND THEN THERE MUST BE SYSTEMATIC RECREATION FOR HEALTH,/FOR ~~SATISFYING~~ NORMAL OF THE SEXUAL INSTINCT/FOR SOCIAL CONTACT,/ FOR SYMPATHY, FRIENDSHIP,/ LOVE AND SACRIFICE.

IN THIS MATTER OF LIFE VOCATION/WE NEGROES HAVE GOT TO INCULCATE/IN THE MINDS OF OUR CHILDREN/MANY OBJECTS/TO WHICH WHITE AMERICA TODAY/IS NOT ONLY OPPOSED/ BUT BITTERLY FIGHTS.//WHY SHOULD A MAN BE A PHYSICIAN?/ NOT SIMPLY TO CURE DISEASE; BUT AND TREAT ACCIDENT

TO PREVENT DISEASE AND PROTECT HEALTH.// TODAY MOST PHYSICIANS/HAVE NO TIME FOR THIS.// THIS IS THE OBJECT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE/AND IS PRACTICED IN MOST OF EUROPE,/ BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN,/AND IN CHINA.// WHILE THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION/FIGHTS WITH HUGE FUNDS/EVERY EFFORT/TO BRING FREE GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTED SOCIAL MEDICINE/TO THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE.// WHY SHOULD A MAN STUDY LAW/BUT TO SEE THAT JUSTICE IS DONE?// AND YET THE CHIEF SERVICE/AND HUGE PAY OF LAWYERS TODAY/IN AMERICA/IS TO GUIDE WEALTHY AND POWERFUL CORPORATIONS/IN BREAKING THE LAW/AND IN PUTTING ON THE STATUTE BOOKS/LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE POOR.// OUR JAILS ARE BURSTING WITH PRISONERS/WHO HAVE NO ONE TO DEFEND THEM/EVEN WHEN THEY HAVE COMMITTED NO CRIME.// WHY SHOULD A MAN BECOME A DENTIST?/ NOT TO EXTRACT DISEASED TEETH,/ BUT TO PREVENT TEETH/FROM BECOMING DISEASED/ BY TEACHING DENTAL THERAPY.// THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WORLD/ARE DOING THIS.// OUR SCHOOLS HAVE SCARCELY BEGUN.

WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS?/ AMERICANS SAY, PROFITS,/AND IN ORDER TO MAKE PROFITS LARGE/WE ARE SPENDING $50 THOUSAND MILLION A YEAR FOR WAR./ THIS WAR IS CARRIED ON/TO MAKE EXPLOITATION OF LAND AND LABOR POSSIBLE,// TO STEAL MATERIALS/ AND CHEAT LABORERS.

WHEN NORTHERN RHODESIA/SELLS HER COPPER FOR $50 MILLION/SHE PAYS NOTHING FOR THE LAND/ OUT OF WHICH/THIS COPPER COMES/AND ONLY HALF A MILLION/FOR THE BLACK LABOR THAT MINES IT./ TWENTY MILLION DOLLARS/GOES TO THE INVESTORS/AND THE REST TO WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR.// THE TRUE OBJECT OF BUISNESS/SHOULD NOT BE PROFIT,/BUT SERVICE: /THE SERVICE OF COLLECTING RAW MATERIAL,/ PROCESSING IT FOR CONSUMPTION/AND BRINGING IT TO THE CONSUMER.// FOR THIS SERVICE/WAGES SHOULD BE PAID,//BUT VAST UNEARNED INCOME/SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN /TO THE MAN WHO STEALS THE LAND /AND TAKES FROM THE LABORER/ THAT WHICH IS HIS DUE.// THIS IS INCREASINGLY /THE BELIEF OF CIVILIZED COUNTRIES,//BUT IT IS NOT THE BELIEF OF WESTERN EUROPE/NOR OF WHITE AMERICA.// THE CORRECT ATTITUDE /TOWARD VOCATIONS MUST BE TAUGHT INCREASINGLY/ IN OUR SCHOOLS;// YET TODAY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES,/ WHITE AND BLACK,/ ECONOMICS, SOCIAL SCIENCE,/ MONEY AND FINANCE/ARE NOT PROPERLY TAUGHT;//AND ESPECIALLY MOST SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES/ ARE AFRAID TO TEACH THE REMEDIES/WHICH SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM PROPOSE/ FOR BETTER DISTRIBUTION/OF WORK AND INCOME;//OR TO TELL /HOW THE LARGER PART /OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD/IS ADOPTING ~~NEW~~ METHODS /OF ACCOMPLISHING THESE THINGS.

38-9-105

machines and THEN these

I pause to remark that your program Committee has shown positive genius in not once mentioning the word "Socialism" in the meeting

Yet Socialism says)

MOST OF THE MONEY/WHICH WE PAY/FOR TELEPHONE SERVICE,/ FOR ELECTRICAL DEVICES AND FOR POWER/GOES TO MAKE A FEW INDIVIDUALS RICH /AND NOT FOR PAYING GOOD WAGES OR MAKING THESE SERVICES CHEAP.// INSURANCE IS A GREAT INVENTION/DESIGNED TO PLACE THE COST OF DEATH AND ACCIDENT/ON THE WHOLE COMMUNITY/INSTEAD OF LETTING IT RUIN THE INDIVIDUAL.// HERE IS NO PLACE/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.// THE PREMIUMS SHOULD PAY FOR THE LOSS /and ~~BUT THEY SHOULD PAY FOR NO MORE.~~// THE WAGES OF MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE INCLUDED,/ BUT TODAY ABOVE THIS,/ INDIVIDUALS MAKE MILLIONS/AND PRIVATE INSURANCE COMPANIES/ CONTROL NATIONAL MONEY AND CREDIT.// EVIDENTLY INSURANCE IS A PUBLIC FUNCTION /AND NOT A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

38-9-106

THE GREAT AMERICAN WORLD/OF WHICH WE HAVE FOR CENTURIES/BEEN STRIVING TO BECOME A PART /AND WHICH HAS ARISEN TO BE/ ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS

LOSING ITS INFLUENCE
IN ~~THE WORLD~~, IS TODAY ~~[redacted]~~ AND THAT AMERICAN NEGROES DO NOT REALIZE. // THERE WAS A TIME WHEN AS LEADER OF A NEW DEMOCRACY, AS BELIEVERS IN A NEW TOLERANCE IN RELIGION AND AS A PEOPLE BASING THEIR LIFE ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, IN THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND PROPERTY // THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA STOOD FIRST IN THE HOPES OF MANKIND. // THAT DAY HAS PASSED.

I TOOK A TRIP RECENTLY THAT LASTED NEARLY A YEAR. // I HAD ALREADY TRAVELLED WIDELY. I HAD BEEN TO EUROPE FIFTEEN TIMES. I HAD BEEN TO ASIA. // I HAD CIRCLED THE WORLD. // THEN FOR TEN YEARS I WAS IMPRISONED IN THE CONFINES OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE UNAUTHROIZED DICTUM OF THOSE WHO WERE RULING. // FROM 1950 UNTIL 1958 I WAS NOT ALLOWED TO TRAVEL ABROAD. THE REASON WAS THAT I HAD COOPERATED WITH MILLIONS OF MEN WHO WANTED WAR TO CEASE. // EVEN HERE MY ACTION HAD BEEN SIMPLY TO TELL AMERICANS WHAT WAS BEING DONE BY OTHER COUNTRIES TO PROMOTE ~~IN THE [redacted]~~ PEACE. // FOR THIS I WAS ACCUSED OF BEING THE AGENT OF FOREIGN PEACEMAKERS AND ORDERED TO ADMIT THIS OR GO TO JAIL. // IT COST ME OVER $30,000 TO DEFEND MYSELF IN COURT AGAINST THIS ABSURD ACCUSATION. // THE COURT THREW THE CASE OUT FOR LACK OF PROOF. // DESPITE THIS I

This sum I and my wife had to beg from state to state

WAS REFUSED A PASSPORT FOR TRAVEL ABROAD ~~[redacted]~~ until. THE SUPREME COURT FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAD NO LEGAL GROUND TO REFUSE ME A PASSPORT. // PAUL ROBESON, WHO FOR TEN YEARS HAD BEEN DEPRIVED OF A LIVELIHOOD FOR EQUALLY ~~[redacted]~~ BASELESS REASONS, ~~AND~~ AND OTHERS MYSELF WERE GIVEN PASSPORTS.

I AND MY WIFE WENT ABROAD TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND, TO FRANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TO SWEDEN AND GERMANY, TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. // IT WAS THE MOST ASTONISHING TRIP I HAVE EVER HAD. // IT RADICALLY CHANGED MY WHOLE POINT OF VIEW. I SAW FIRST THAT AMERICA AND ITS ACTION SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR WAS THOROUGHLY CONDEMNED BY THE CIVILIZED WORLD; // THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY WAS SO DISLIKED AND HATED. // THE BRITISH AND THE DUTCH WHILE RESTRAINING THEIR EXPRESSION OF DISLIKE BEHIND GOOD MANNERS AND FOR FEAR OF OUR WEALTH AND POWER, NEVERTHELESS DID NOT LIKE AMERICA NOR AMERICANS. // THAT THE FRENCH COULD HARDLY MENTION AMERICA WITHOUT CALLING THEM DIRTY; THAT THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GERMANY BLAMED AMERICA FOR THE CRUELTIES WHICH THEY HAD SUFFERED AND FOR THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY WERE FACING; // THAT THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION REGARD AMERICANS

AS THEIR GREATEST THREAT/AND THE 680 MILLIONS OF CHINA/HATE AMERICA WITH PERFECT HATRED/ FOR TREATING THEM AS SUB-HUMAN.

OUTSIDE THIS MATTER OF FEELING/WAS MY DISCOVERY/THAT THE WORLD WAS GOING SOCIALIST;//THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD--IN EURORE, ASIA AND AFRICA WERE EITHER SOCIALISTIC OR COMMUNISTIC.//NO MATTER WHAT OUR ATTITUDE/TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM MAY BE,//NO MATTER HOW WE JUDGE/THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX/WE MUST FACE THE TRUTH.//NOT ONLY BLACK BUT WHITE AMERICANS MUST KNOW.// We do not know.

38-9-109

THE NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES/AND THE PERIODICALS OF OPINION/IN THE UNITED STATES/ ARE DELIBERATELY DECEIVING THE PEOPLE/OF THE UNITED STATES/WITH REGARD TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.// FOR A LONG TIME/THEY HAVE SPREAD THE BELIEF/THAT COMMUNISM IS A CRIME/OR A CONSPIRACY/AND THAT ANYONE/EITHER TAKING PART/OR EVEN EXAMINING CONDITIONS/IN SOCIALIST LANDS/IS A SELF-CONSCIOUS CRIMINAL, or a fool.

FOR DECADES NOW/THEY HAVE MADE AMERICANS BELIEVE/THAT COMMUNISM IS A FAILURE; THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE/AND THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS/WERE PRISONERS, ENSLAVED IN THOUGHT AND ACTION;//THAT COMMUNISM ONLY NEEDED OUR HELP/TO FALL

Made color prejudice illegal, that she has

IN RUIN;//THAT CHINA IS ~~IN RUINS AND~~ TRYING TO CONQUER all ASIA.//DESPITE ALL THIS PROPAGANDA/WE ARE BEGINNING NOW TO REALIZE/SOME THINGS THAT ARE CLEAR:// THAT THE SOVIET UNION/HAS A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION/PROBABLY THE BEST IN THE WORLD/AND FAR SUPERIOR TO OURS.// THAT SCIENCE THERE IS FORGING AHEAD/OF ANYTHING THAT WE HAVE.// AND THAT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT PRISONERS/AND ARE NOT ASKING OUR HELP/IN ORDER TO REVOLT.//THEY ARE PROGRESSING/AT A RATE SUPERIOR TO US/IN ART, LITERATURE AND GENERAL HAPPINESS.

38-9-110

I SPENT SIX WEEKS IN CHINA.//I WAS TREATED WITH A COURTESY/I HAD MET NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD;//AND I WAS CONVINCED/THAT HERE WAS A COLORED PEOPLE/WHO IN HAPPINESS AND KNOWLEDGE/WOULD ~~LEAD AND~~ OUTSTRIP THE WORLD/BEFORE THE DAWN OF THE NEXT CENTURY!// THE WORK OF CHINA TODAY/IS A MIRACLE OF SUCCESS.

¶ WHAT WE AMERICANS WANT/IS FREEDOM TO KNOW THE TRUTH/AND THE RIGHT, TO THINK AND TO ACT/AS SEEMS WISEST TO US/UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS;//AND WHAT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER/IS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES/DEMOCRACY HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED.//THERE IS NO USE DECEIVING OURSELVES IN THAT RESPECT.//HALF OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES/ DO NOT EVEN GO TO THE POLLS.// MOST NEGROES ARE DISFRANCHISED.// IT IS THE

CONSIDERED OPINION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN AMERICA THAT THE ELECTION WHICH MADE DWIGHT EISENHOWER PRESIDENT/COST OVER $100 MILLION/AND PERHAPS $200 MILLION.// WHY DOES AMERICA NEED/SUCH AN ELECTION FUND?//A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION/DOESN'T NEED IT/AND THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AND USED IT/ONLY FOR BRIBING VOTERS/DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY/ OR FRIGHTENING MEN/FROM/ACTING OR THINKING.// THIS IS WHAT THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES/DEMAND AND THOSE RULERS/INSTEAD OF BEING FREE INDIVIDUALS/ARE ORGANIZED CORPORATIONS/WHO SUPPRESS FREEDOM,/BY MONOPOLIZING WEALTH.

IF ALL THIS IS TRUE,/ IT MUST BE TAUGHT TO OUR YOUTH.// IT MUST BE TAUGHT/BY TEACHERS AND INSTRUCTORS AND PROFESSORS;//AND IN THAT CASE/WE MUST FACE THE FACT/THAT THESE TEACHERS MAY LOSE THEIR JOBS.// THEY CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED AND EMPLOYED/IF THE BULK OF AMERICAN NEGROES/SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS/LIKE THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGES.// IF THE NEGRO COLLEGES/ARE GOING TO DEPEND/ON THE GIFTS OF THE RICH FOR SUPPORT/THEY CANNOT TEACH THE TRUTH.// IF THEY ARE SUPPORTED TOMORROW,/NEGROES MUST GIVE NOT A TENTH,/BUT A QUARTER OF THEIR INCOME/TO SUPPORT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION// AND TEACHERS/MUST SACRIFICE TO THE LAST PENNY.// THIS

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE TRUTH-SEEKERS/CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED/BY EVENTUALLY MAKING THE STATE/BEAR THE BURDEN/AND THIS IS SOCIALISM.//WE MUST VOTE FOR SOCIALISM.// WE BEGAN THIS IN THE NEW DEAL/AND THEN WERE STOPPED.//BUT IN EUROPE AND ASIA/AND ~~EVENTUALLY~~ IN AFRICA/SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE SPREADING.// SOCIALISM WILL ~~TRIUMPH~~ IN THE UNITED STATES/IF WE RESTORE THE DEMOCRACY/OF WHICH WE HAVE BOASTED SO LONG/ AND DONE SO LITTLE. HERE IS WHERE NEGROES MAY AND MUST LEAD.

THIS IS MY SINCERE BELIEF,/ARRIVED AT AFTER LONG STUDY,/TRAVEL, OBSERVATION AND THOUGHT.// MANY DISAGREE WITH ME/AND THAT IS THEIR RIGHT.// THEY HAVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR BELIEF/AND YOU CANNOT ESCAPE LISTENING TO THEM/AND SHOULD NOT IF YOU COULD./ /BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT/TO DEMAND THAT YOU REFUSE TO LISTEN/TO THE WORLD-WIDE VOICE OF SOCIALISM/OR TO THREATEN YOU WITH PUNISHMENT/IF YOU DO LISTEN.// THIS IS THE FIRST RIGHT OF DEMOCRACY.

I APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION// FIRST TO TEACH THE TRUTH AS THEY SEE IT/EVEN IF THEY LOSE THEIR JOBS.// TO STUDY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND THE

PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX AND HIS SUCCESSORS.// TO TRAVEL IN THE SOVIET UNION/AND CHINA/ AND THEN/TO DARE TAKE SUCH A STAND/AS THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE/WHETHER FOR OR AGAINST COMMUNISM.// TO REFUSE TO LISTEN TO AMERICAN PROPAGANDA/WITHOUT ALSO LISTENING TO THE PROPAGANDA OF COMMUNISM//AND TO GIVE UP TEACHING/AND GO TO DIGGING DITCHES/BEFORE BOWING TO THE NEW AMERICAN SLAVERY OF THOUGHT.// ABOVE ALL/TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE/TO STOP WAR/AND PREPARATION FOR WAR/WHICH IS THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT RULERS/ OF THIS NATION/ AND THEIR METHOD/OF STOPPING SOCIALISM BY FORCE/WHEN THEY CANNOT STOP IT/BY WORK NOR REASON.

8-9 113

Deleted on 3/24/68
Johnson C. Smith
Univ.
Charlotte N.C.

40-1-73

WHITHER NOW AND WHY

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS NOW REACHED A POINT IN HIS PROGRESS WHERE HE NEEDS TO TAKE SERIOUS ACCOUNT OF WHERE HE IS AND WHITHER HE IS GOING. THIS DAY HAS COME MUCH EARLIER THAN I THOUGHT IT WOULD. I WROTE IN 1940 A BOOK CALLED "DUSK OF DAWN" IN WHICH I SOUGHT TO RECORD OUR SITUATION IN A PERIOD OF CHANGE WHICH I EXPECTED TO LAST FOR ANOTHER 50 YEARS. BUT THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE RISE OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM HAS HASTENED THE EVENT, AND WE ARE DEFINITELY APPROACHING NOW A TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN NEGRO WILL DEFINITELY BECOME IN LAW EQUAL IN CITIZENSHIP TO ~~OTHER~~ AMERICANS.

THERE IS MUCH HARD WORK TO BE DONE BEFORE THE NEGRO BECOMES A VOTER; BEFORE HE HAS EQUAL RIGHTS TO EDUCATION AND BEFORE HE CAN CLAIM COMPLETE CIVIL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY. YET THIS SITUATION IS IN SIGHT AND IT BRINGS, NOT AS MANY ASSUME, AN END TO THE SO-CALLED

40-1-74

NEGRO PROBLEMS BUT A BEGINNING OF EVEN MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF RACE AND CULTURE. BECAUSE WHAT WE MUST NOW ASK OURSELVES IS WHEN WE BECOME EQUAL AMERICAN CITIZENS WHAT WILL BE OUR AIMS AND IDEALS AND WHAT WILL WE HAVE TO DO WITH SELECTING THESE AIMS AND IDEALS. ARE WE TO ASSUME THAT WE WILL SIMPLY ADOPT THE IDEALS OF AMERICANS AND BECOME WHAT THEY ARE OR WANT TO BE; AND THAT WE WILL HAVE IN THIS PROCESS NO IDEALS OF OUR OWN.

THAT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD CEASE TO BE NEGROES AS SUCH AND BECOME WHITE IN ACTION IF NOT COMPLETELY IN COLOR. WE WOULD TAKE ON THE CULTURE OF WHITE AMERICANS, DOING AS THEY DO AND THINKING AS THEY THINK.

MANIFESTLY THIS WOULD NOT BE SATISFACTORY. PHYSICALLY IT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD BE INTEGRATED WITH AMERICANS LOSING FIRST OF ALL THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF COLOR AND HAIR AND RACIAL TYPE. WE WOULD LOSE OUR MEMORY OF NEGRO HISTORY AND OF THOSE RACIAL PECULIARITIES WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE NEGRO. WE WOULD CEASE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ANY GREATER TIE WITH AFRICA THAN WITH ENGLAND OR GERMANY. WE WOULD NOT TRY TO DEVELOP NEGRO MUSIC AND ART AS DISTINCTIVE AND DIFFERENT, BUT ALLOW IT TO BE FURTHER

40-1-75

DEGRADED BY WHITE ARTISTS AS IS THE CASE TODAY. WE WOULD ALWAYS IF POSSIBLE MARRY LIGHTER-HUED PEOPLE SO AS TO HAVE CHILDREN WHO ARE NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE NEGRO RACE, AND THUS SOLVE ONE RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA BY COMMITTING RACIAL SUICIDE. MORE OR LESS CLEARLY THIS POSSIBILITY HAS BEEN IN THE MINDS OF NEGROES IN THE PAST ALTHOUGH NOT ASSENTED TO BY ALL. SOME [redacted] HAVE STATED IT AND WELCOMED IT. AT OTHERS [redacted] HAVE SIMPLY ASSUMED THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS INEVITABLE AND THEREFORE NOTHING COULD BE DONE ABOUT IT. THIS IS THE REASON THAT MY PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT WHICH BEGAN IN 1900 WHEN I COOPERATED WITH A MEETING CALLED BY A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER IN LONDON; AND DEFINITELY WAS STARTED IN 1919 IN THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN PARIS. I COULD GET BUT LITTLE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION AMONG NEGROES. MOST OF THEM RESENTED IT AS [redacted] BEING A "BACK TO AFRICA" MOVEMENT. OTHERS SIMPLY SAID WE HAD PROBLEMS ENOUGH IN AMERICA WITHOUT TAKING ON THE INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA.

TODAY WHEN THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE ARISING TO SETTLE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS WE ARE IN THE PECULIAR POSITION OF BEING IN PART A GROUP OF EDUCATED PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT WHO NOT ONLY CANNOT HELP THE AFRICANS BUT IN MOST CASES DO NOT WANT TO. ANY STATEMENT

40-1-76

OF OUR DESIRE TO DEVELOP AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE, TO KEEP UP OUR TIES WITH COLOURED PEOPLE, TO REMEMBER OUR PAST, IS BEING REGARDED AS "RACISM." I, FOR INSTANCE, WHO HAVE DEVOTED MY LIFE TO EFFORTS TO BREAK DOWN RACIAL BARRIERS AM BEING ACCUSED OF DESIRING TO EMPHASIZE DIFFERENCES OF RACE. THIS HAS A CERTAIN TRUTH ABOUT IT. AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE AND I REPEAT I AM NOT FIGHTING TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA BY THE PROCESS OF GETTING RID OF THE NEGRO RACE; GETTING RID OF BLACK FOLK, NOT PRODUCING BLACK CHILDREN, FORGETTING THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION; OF FORGETTING ABOLITION AND ESPECIALLY, of ignoring THE WHOLE CULTURAL HISTORY OF AFRICANS IN THE WORLD.

NO WHAT I HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR AND AM STILL FIGHTING FOR IS THE POSSIBILITY OF BLACK FOLK AND BLACK CULTURAL PATTERNS EXISTING IN AMERICA, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AND TO ~~WITH NO DENIAL OF THE RIGHT~~ EXIST ON TERMS OF EQUALITY. ~~OF THESE THINGS TO EXIST.~~ IF WE TAKE THIS ATTITUDE WE HAVE GOT TO DO SO CONSCIOUSLY QND DELIBERATELY. THIS BRINGS UP A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO

40-1-77

SOLVE AND MAKE DEFINITE PREPARATION FOR SUCH SOLUTION.

TAKE FOR INSTANCE THE CURRENT PROBLEM OF THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN. BY THE LAW OF THE LAND TODAY THEY SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. IF THEY ARE ADMITTED TO THESE SCHOOLS CERTAIN THINGS WILL INEVITABLY FOLLOW. NEGRO TEACHERS WILL BECOME RARER AND IN MANY CASES QUITE DISAPPEAR. NEGRO CHILDREN WILL BE INSTRUCTED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND TAUGHT POORLY UNDER UNPLEASANT IF NOT DISCOURAGING CIRCUMSTANCES. EVEN MORE LARGELY THAN TODAY THEY WILL FALL OUT OF SCHOOL, CEASE TO ENTER HIGH SCHOOL AND FEWER AND FEWER WILL GO TO COLLEGE. LOGICALLY NEGRO UNIVERSITIES WILL DISAPPEAR. NEGRO HISTORY WILL BE TAUGHT LESS OR NOT AT ALL AND AS IN SO MANY CASES IN THE PAST NEGROES WILL REMEMBER THEIR WHITE OR INDIAN ANCESTORS AND QUITE FORGET THEIR NEGRO FORBEARS. READ FOR INSTANCE THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MERCER LANGSTON.

TO SOME FOLK THIS TYPE OF ARGUMENT WOULD LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WE OUGHT TO REFUSE TO ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS OR to CLAMOR FOR UNSEGREGATED SCHOOLS; IN OTHER WORDS THAT WE OUGHT TO GIVE UP THE FIGHT AGAINST COLOR DISCRIMINATION. I WANT, HOWEVER,

40-1-78

TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS NOT ONLY IS UNNECESSARY AND UNWISE, BUT IMPOSSIBLE. WHAT WE WANT TO DO IS TO LAY DOWN A LINE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH WILL ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS: THE UTTER DISAPPEARANCE OF COLOR DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THE PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE AS A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN CIVILIZATION, AS IT WAS TO MEDIEVAL AND ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.

TO DO THIS IS NOT EASY. IT CALLS FOR INTELLIGENCE, COOPERATION AND CAREFUL PLANNING. IT WOULD MEET HEAD ON THE BAFFLING DIFFICULTIES THAT FACE US TODAY. HERE FOR INSTANCE IS THE BOY WHO SAYS SIMPLY HE IS NOT GOING TO SCHOOL. HIS TREATMENT IN THE SCHOOLS EVEN IF HE IS ADMITTED, IS SUCH THAT DOES NOT ATTRACT HIM ~~AND HE IS NOT GOING TO SCHOOL~~. MOREOVER, THE BOY WHO DOES ENTER THE WHITE SCHOOL AND GETS ON REASONABLY WELL, ~~WE ARE FORCED TO ADMIT TODAY, THAT~~ HE DOES NOT ALWAYS BECOME A USEFUL MEMBER OF OUR GROUP. NEGRO CHILDREN EDUCATED IN NORTHERN SCHOOLS AND THE BEST NORTHERN COLLEGES KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO HISTORY, KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP AND DOUBT IF THERE EVER HAVE BEEN LEADERS IN AFRICA, THE WEST INDIES AND THE UNITED STATES WHO EQUAL WHITE

40-1-79

FOLK. THEY REGARD THE STUDY OF NEGRO BIOGRAPHY AND THE ~~READING~~ writing OF NEGRO LITERATURE AS A VAIN ATTEMPT TO PRETEND THAT NEGROES ARE REALLY THE EQUAL OF WHITES. THAT ~~POINT OF VIEW~~ TENDS TO BE THE POINT OF VIEW OF THOSE OF OUR CHILDREN WHO ARE EDUCATED IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

THERE ARE GOING TO BE SCHOOLS WHICH DO NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE AND THE NUMBER IS GOING TO INCREASE SLOWLY IN THE PRESENT BUT RAPIDLY IN THE FUTURE UNTIL LONG BEFORE THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE NO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE. THE DEFICIENCY IN KNOWLEDGE OF NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE ~~HAS GOT TO BE MADE UP~~ however will remain and this danger must be met THUS LIABLE TO ARISE OR ELSE AMERICAN NEGROES WILL DISAPPEAR. THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE WILL BE LOST. THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE RISING AFRICAN WORLD WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. WHAT THEN CAN WE DO OR SHOULD WE TRY TO DO?

NEGRO PARENTS AND NEGRO PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS WILL HAVE TO TAKE ON AND CARRY ~~OUT~~ THE BURDEN WHICH THEY HAVE HITHERTO LEFT TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE CHILD IN THE FAMILY, IN SPECIFIC ORGANIZATIONS, OR IN SOCIAL LIFE MUST LEARN WHAT HE WILL at least temporarily

40-1-80

NOT LEARN IN SCHOOL UNTIL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VASTLY IMPROVE. NEGRO HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT FOR MANY CRITICAL YEARS BY PARENTS, IN CLUBS BY LECTURE COURSES, BY A NEW NEGRO LITERATURE. THIS MUST BE DONE SYSTEMATICALLY FOR THE WHOLE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE. THIS IS GOING TO TAKE TIME AND MONEY AND IS GOING TO CALL FOR RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

NEGRO COMMUNITIES, NEGRO PRIVATE SCHOOLS, NEGRO COLLEGES WILL AND MUST BE ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED; THIS RACIAL ORGANIZATION WILL BE VOLUNTARY AND NOT COMPULSORY; IT WILL NOT BE DISCRIMINATORY; IT WILL BE CARRIED ON ACCORDING TO DEFINITE OBJECT AND IDEAL, AND WILL BE OPEN TO ALL WHO SHARE THIS IDEAL. AND OF COURSE THAT IDEAL MUST ALWAYS BE IN ACCORD WITH THE GREATER IDEALS OF MANKIND. BUT WHAT AMERICAN NEGROES MUST REMEMBER IS THAT VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION FOR GREAT ENDS IS FAR DIFFERENT FROM COMPULSORY SEGREGATION FOR EVIL PURPOSES.

ESPECIALLY AND FIRST THERE HAS GOT TO BE A DELIBERATE EFFORT MADE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF NEGRO FAMILIES. OUR FAMILY ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN LEFT ALMOST ENTIRELY TO CHANCE. HOW, WHEN AND WHERE THE NEGRO BOY AND GIRL IS GOING TO MEET AND MATE HAS BEEN

GIVEN NO ORGANIZED THOUGHT AND IN MANY CASES THE WHOLE PROCESS HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY IGNORED. BEYOND THAT COMES THE PRIMARY QUESTION OF WHAT A NEGRO CHILD IS TO DO IN LIFE. THIS HAS BEEN TAUGHT ONLY INCIDENTALLY AND ACCIDENTALLY. THE PRIMARY BASIS AND END OF LIFE HAS NOT BEEN GUIDED BY PROPER TUITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, IN ECONOMICS OR IN ETHICS, OUTSIDE AND BEYOND SCHOOL; IN THE FAMILY AND IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

40-1-81

THE NEGRO RACE HAS GOT TO IMPRESS UPON ITS CHILDREN CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL FACTS. THE NORMAL HUMAN BEING HAS GOT TO WORK AND WORK REGULARLY TO SUPPLY HIS WANTS, SUCH LEGITIMATE WANTS AS FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER. IN ADDITION THERE MUST BE CREATIVE ACTIVITIES SUCH AS WE UNDERSTAND UNDER ART AND LITERATURE; AND THEN THERE MUST BE SYSTEMATIC RECREATION FOR HEALTH, AFOR NORMAL SATISFYING OF THE SEXUAL INSTINCT, FOR SOCIAL CONTACT; FOR SYMPATHY, FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AND SACRIFICE.

IN THIS MATTER OF LIFE VOCATION WE NEGROES HAVE GOT TO INCULCATE IN THE MINDS OF OUR CHILDREN MANY OBJECTS TO WHICH WHITE AMERICA TODAY IS NOT ONLY OPPOSED BUT BITTERLY FIGHTS. WHY SHOULD A MAN BE A PHYSICIAN? NOT SIMPLY TO CURE DISEASE, BUT AND TEACH ~~CREATE~~ ACCIDENT

TO PREVENT DISEASE AND PROTECT HEALTH. TODAY MOST PHYSICIANS HAVE NO TOME FOR THIS. THIS IS THE OBJECT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND IS PRACTICED IN MOST OF EUROPE, BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN, AND IN CHINA. WHILE THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FIGHTS WITH HUGE FUNDS EVERY EFFORT TO BRING FREE GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED SOCIAL MEDICINE TO THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE. WHY SHOULD A MAN STUDY LAW BUT TO SEE THAT JUSTICE IS DONE; AND YET THE CHIEF SERVICE AND HUGE PAY OF LAWYERS TODAY IN AMERICA IS TO GUIDE WEALTHY AND POWERFUL CORPORATIONS IN BREAKING THE LAW AND IN PUTTING ON THE STATUTE BOOKS LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE POOR. OUR JAILS ARE BURSTING WITH PRISONERS WHO HAVE NO ONE TO DEFEND THEM EVEN WHEN THEY HAVE COMMITTED NO CRIME. WHY SHOULD A MAN BECOME A DENTIST? NOT TO EXTRACT DISEASED TEETH, BUT TO PREVENT TEETH FROM BECOMING DISEASED BY TEACHING DENTAL THERAPY. THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WORLD ARE DOING THIS. OUR SCHOOLS HAVE SCARCELY BEGUN.

40-1-82

WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS? AMERICANS SAY, PROFITS, AND IN ORDER TO MAKE PROFITS LARGE WE ARE SPENDING $50 THOUSAND MILLION A YEAR FOR WAR. THIS WAR IS CARRIED ON TO MAKE EXPLOITATION OF LAND AND LABOR POSSIBLE, TO STEAL MATERIALS AND CHEAT LABORERS.

WHEN NORTHERN RHODESIA SELLS HER COPPER FOR $80 MILLION SHE PAYS NOTHING FOR THE LAND OUT OF WHICH THIS COPPER COMES AND ONLY HALF A MILLION FOR THE BLACK LABOR THAT MINES IT. TWENTY MILLION DOLLARS GOES TO THE INVESTORS AND THE REST TO WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR. THE TRUE OBJECT OF BUISNESS SHOULD NOT BE PROFIT, BUT SERVICE: THE SERVICE OF COLLECTING RAW MATERIAL, PROCESSING IT FOR CONSUMPTION AND BRINGING IT TO THE CONSUMER. FOR THIS SERVICE WAGES SHOULD BE PAID, BUT VAST UNEARNED INCOME SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO THE MAN WHO STEALS THE LAND AND TAKES FROM THE LABORER THAT WHICH IS HIS DUE. THIS IS INCREASINGLY THE BELIEF OF CIVILIZED COUNTRIES, BUT IT IS NOT THE BELIEF OF WESTERN EUROPE NOR OF WHITE AMERICA. THE CORRECT ATTITUDE TOWARD VOCATIONS MUST BE TAUGHT INCREASINGLY IN OUR SCHOOLS; YET TODAY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, WHITE AND BLACK, ECONOMICS, SOCIAL SCIENCE, MONEY AND FINANCE ARE NOT PROPERLY TAUGHT; AND ESPECIALLY MOST SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ARE AFRAID TO TEACH THE REMEDIES WHICH SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM PROPOSE FOR BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF WORK AND INCOME; OR TO TELL HOW THE LARGER PART OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD IS ADOPTING NEW METHODS OF ACCOMPLISHING THESE THINGS.

40-1-83

MOST MOST OF THE MONEY WHICH WE PAY FOR TELEPHONE SERVICE, FOR ELECTRICAL DEVICES AND FOR POWER GOES TO MAKE A FEW INDIVIDUALS RICH AND NOT FOR PAYING GOOD WAGES OR MAKING THESE SERVICES CHEAP. INSURANCE IS A GREAT INVENTION DESIGNED TO PLACE THE COST OF DEATH AND ACCIDENT ON THE WHOLE COMMUNITY INSTEAD OF LETTING IT RUIN THE INDIVIDUAL. HERE IS NO PLACE FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. THE PREMIUMS PAY FOR THE LOSS BUT THEY SHOULD PAY FOR NO MORE. THE WAGES OF MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE INCLUDED, BUT TODAY ABOVE THIS, INDIVIDUALS MAKE MILLIONS AND PRIVATE INSURANCE COMPANIES CONTROL NATIONAL MONEY AND CREDIT. EVIDENTLY INSURANCE IS A PUBLIC FUNCTION AND NOT A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

40-1-84

THE GREAT AMERICAN WORLD OF WHICH WE HAVE FOR CENTURIES BEEN STRIVING TO BECOME A PART AND WHICH HAS ARISEN TO BE ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS

IN THE WORLD, IS TODAY LOSING ITS INFLUENCE AND THAT AMERICAN NEGROES DO NOT REALIZE. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN AS LEADER OF A NEW DEMOCRACY, AS BELIEVERS IN A NEW TOLERANCE IN RELIGION AND AS A PEOPLE BASING THEIR LIFE ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, IN THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND PROPERTY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA STOOD FIRST IN THE HOPES OF MANKIND. THAT DAY HAS PASSED.

40-1-85

I TOOK A TRIP RECENTLY THAT LASTED NEARLY A YEAR. I HAD ALREADY TRAVELLED WIDELY. I HAD BEEN TO EUROPE FIFTEEN TIMES. I HAD BEEN TO ASIA. I HAD CIRCLED THE WORLD. THEN FOR TEN YEARS I WAS IMPRISONED IN THE CONFINES OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE UNAUTHROIZED DICTUM OF THOSE WHO WERE RULING. FROM 1950 UNTIL 1958 I WAS NOT ALLOWED TO TRAVEL ABROAD.

I HAD COOPERATED WITH MILLIONS OF MEN WHO WANTED WAR TO CEASE. EVEN HERE MY ACTION HAD BEEN SIMPLY TO TELL AMERICANS WHAT WAS BEING DONE BY OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD FOR PEACE. FOR THIS I WAS ACCUSED OF BEING THE AGENT OF FOREIGN PEACEMAKERS AND ORDERED TO ADMIT THIS OR GO TO JAIL. IT COST ME OVER $50,000 TO DEFEND MYSELF IN COURT AGAINST THIS ABSURD ACCUSATION. THE COURT THREW THE CASE OUT FOR LACK OF PROOF. DESPITE THIS I

WAS REFUSED A PASSPORT FOR TRAVEL ABROAD UNTIL 1958. THE SUPREME COURT FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAD NO LEGAL GROUND TO REFUSE ME A PASSPORT. PAUL ROBESON, WHO FOR TEN YEARS HAD BEEN DEPRIVED OF A LIVELIHOOD FOR EQUALLY BASELESS REASONS, AND MYSELF and others WERE GIVEN PASSPORTS.

40-1-86

I AND MY WIFE WENT ABROAD TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND, TO FRANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA , TO SWEDEN AND GERMANY, TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. IT WAS THE MOST ASTONISHING TRIP I HAVE EVER HAD. IT RADICALLY CHANGED MY WHOLE POINT OF VIEW. I SAW FIRST THAT AMERICA AND ITS ACTIONS SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR WAS THOROUGHLY CONDEMNED BY THE CIVILIZED WORLD; THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY WAS SO DISLIKED AND HATED. THE BRITISH AND THE DUTCH WHILE RESTRAINING THEIR EXPRESSION OF DISLIKE BEHIND GOOD MANNERS AND FOR FEAR OF OUR WEALTH OR POWER, NEVERTHELESS DID NOT LIKE AMERICA NOR AMERICANS. THAT THE FRENCH COULD HARDLY MENTION AMERICA WITHOUT CALLING THEM DIRTY; THAT THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GERMANY BLAMED AMERICA FOR THE CRUELTIES WHICH THEY HAD SUFFERED AND FOR THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY WERE FACING; THAT THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION REGARD AMERICANS

AS THEIR GREATEST THREAT AND THE 680 MILLION OF CHINA HATE AMERICA WITH PERFECT HATRED FOR TREATING THEM AS SUB-HUMAN.

78-1-04

OUTSIDE THIS MATTER OF FEELING WAS MY DISCOVERY THAT THE WORLD WAS GOING SOCIALIST; THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD--IN ASIA AND AFRICA WERE EITHER SOCIALISTIC OR COMMUNISTIC. NO MATTER WHAT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM MAY BE, NO MATTER HOW WE JUDGE THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX WE MUST FACE THE TRUTH. NOT ONLY BLACK BUT WHITE AMERICANS MUST KNOW.

THE NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES AND THE PERIODICALS OF OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES ARE DELIBERATELY DECEIVING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. FOR A LONG TIME THEY HAVE SPREAD THE BELIEF THAT COMMUNISM IS A CRIME OR A CONSPIRACY AND THAT ANYONE EITHER TAKING PART OR EVEN EXAMINING CONDITIONS IN SOCIALIST LANDS IS A SELF-CONSCIOUS CRIMINAL.

FOR DECADES NOW THEY HAVE MADE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM IS A FAILURE; THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS WERE PRISONERS, ENSLAVED IN THOUGHT AND ACTION; THAT COMMUNISM ONLY NEEDED OUR HELP TO FALL

IN RUIN; THAT CHINA IS IN RUINS AND TRYING TO CONQUER ASIA. DESPITE ALL THIS PROPAGANDA WE ARE BEGINNING NOW TO REALIZE SOME THINGS THAT ARE CLEAR: THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PROBABLY THE BEST IN THE WORLD AND FAR SUPERIOR TO OURS. THAT SCIENCE THERE IS FORGING AHEAD OF ANYTHING THAT WE HAVE. AND THAT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT PRISONERS AND ARE NOT ASKING OUR HELP IN ORDER TO REVOLT. THEY ARE PROGRESSING AT A RATE SUPERIOR TO US IN ART, LITERATURE AND GENERAL HAPPINESS.

88-1-04

I SPENT SIX WEEKS IN CHINA. I WAS TREATED WITH A COURTESY I HAD MET NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD; AND I WAS CONVINCED THAT HERE WAS A COLORED PEOPLE WHO IN HAPPINESS AND KNOWLEDGE WOULD LEAD AND OUTSTRIP THE WORLD BEFORE THE DAWN OF THE NEXT CENTURY. THE WORK OF CHINA TODAY IS A MIRACLE OF SUCCESS.

WHAT WE AMERICANS WANT IS FREEDOM TO KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE RIGHT, TO THINK AND TO ACT AS SEEMS WISEST TO US UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS; AND WHAT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER IS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES DEMOCRACY HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED. THERE IS NO USE DECEIVING OURSELVES IN THAT RESPECT. HALF OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES DO NOT EVEN GO TO THE POLLS. MOST NEGROES ARE DISFRANCHISED. IT IS THE

CONSIDERED OPINION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN AMERICA THAT THE ELECTION WHICH MADE DWIGHT EISENHOWER PRESIDENT COST OVER $100 MILLION AND PERHAPS $200 MILLION. WHY DOES AMERICA NEED SUCH AN ELECTION FUND? A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION DOESN'T NEED IT AND THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AND USED IT ONLY FOR BRIBING VOTERS DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY OR FRIGHTENING MEN FROMACTING OR THINKING. THIS IS WHAT THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES DEMAND AND THOSE RULERS INSTEAD OF BEING FREE INDIVIDUALS ARE ORGANIZED CORPORATIONS WHO SUPPRESS FREEDOM, BY MONOPOLIZING WEALTH.

IF ALL THIS IS TRUE, IT MUST BE TAUGHT TO OUR YOUTH. IT MUST BE TAUGHT BY TEACHERS AND INSTRUCTORS AND PROFESSORS; AND IN THAT CASE WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT THESE TEACHERS MAY LOSE THEIR JOBS. THEY CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED AND EMPLOYED IF THE BULK OF AMERICAN NEGROES SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGES. IF THE NEGRO COLLEGES ARE GOING TO DEPEND ON THE GIFTS OF THE RICH FOR SUPPORT THEY CANNOT TEACH THE TRUTH. IF THEY ARE SUPPORTED TOMORROW, NEGROES MUST GIVE NOT A TENTH, BUT A QUARTER OF THEIR INCOME TO SUPPORT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND TEACHERS MUST SACRIFICE TO THE LAST PENNY. THIS

40-1-84

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE TRUTH-SEEKERS CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED BY EVENTUALLY MAKING THE STATE BEAR THE BURDEN AND THIS IS SOCIALISM. WE MUST VOTE FOR SOCIALISM. WE BEGAN THIS IN THE NEW DEAL AND THEN WERE STOPPED. BUT IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND EVENTUALLY IN AFRICA SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE SPREADING. SOCIALISM WILL TRIUMPH IN THE UNITED STATES IF WE RESTORE THE DEMOCRACY OF WHICH WE HAVE BOASTED SO LONG, AND DONE SO LITTLE. HERE IS WHERE NEGROES MAY AND MUST LEAD.

40-128

THIS IS MY SINCERE BELIEF, ARRIVED AT AFTER LONG STUDY, TRAVEL, OBSERVATION AND THOUGHT. MANY DISAGREE WITH ME AND THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. THEY HAVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR BELIEF AND YOU CANNOT ESCAPE LISTENING TO THEM AND SHOULD NOT IF YOU COULD. BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO DEMAND THAT YOU REFUSE TO LISTEN TO THE WORLD-WIDE VOICE OF SOCIALISM OR TO THREATEN YOU WITH PUNISHMENT IF YOU DO LISTEN. THIS IS THE FIRST RIGHT OF DEMOCRACY.

I APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION; FIRST TO TEACH THE TRUTH AS THEY SEE IT EVEN IF THEY LOSE THEIR JOBS. TO STUDY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND THE

40-1-91

PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX AND HIS SUCCESSORS. TO TRAVEL IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA AND THEN TO DARE TAKE SUCH A STAND AS THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE WHETHER FOR OR AGAINST COMMUNISM. TO REFUSE TO LISTEN TO AMERICAN PROPAGANDA WITHOUT ALSO LISTENING TO THE PROPAGANDA OF COMMUNISM AND TO GIVE UP TEACHING AND GO TO DIGGING DITCHES BEFORE BOWING TO THE NEW AMERICAN SLAVERY OF THOUGHT. ABOVE ALL TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STOP WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR WHICH IS THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT RULERS OF THIS NATION AND THEIR METHOD OF STOPPING SOCIALISM BY FORCE WHEN THEY CANNOT STOP IT BY WORK NOR REASON.

40A.1.25

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3/31/60

WHITHER NOW AND WHY

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

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THERE IS MUCH HARD WORK TO BE DONE BEFORE THE NEGRO BECOMES A VOTER; BEFORE HE HAS EQUAL RIGHTS TO EDUCATION AND BEFORE HE CAN CLAIM COMPLETE CIVIL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY. YET THIS SITUATION IS IN SIGHT AND IT BRINGS, NOT AS MANY ASSUME, AN END TO THE SO-CALLED

40A.1.26

NEGRO PROBLEMS BUT A BEGINNING OF EVEN MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF RACE AND CULTURE. BECAUSE WHAT WE MUST NOW ASK OURSELVES IS WHEN WE BECOME EQUAL AMERICAN CITIZENS WHAT WILL BE OUR AIMS AND IDEALS AND WHAT WILL WE HAVE TO DO WITH SELECTING THESE AIMS AND IDEALS. ARE WE TO ASSUME THAT WE WILL SIMPLY ADOPT THE IDEALS OF AMERICANS AND BECOME WHAT THEY ARE OR WANT TO BE; AND THAT WE WILL HAVE IN THIS PROCESS NO IDEALS OF OUR OWN.

THAT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD CEASE TO BE NEGROES AS SUCH AND BECOME WHITE IN ACTION IF NOT COMPLETELY IN COLOR. WE WOULD TAKE ON THE CULTURE OF WHITE AMERICANS, DOING AS THEY DO AND THINKING AS THEY THINK.

MANIFESTLY THIS WOULD NOT BE SATISFACTORY. PHYSICALLY IT WOULD MEAN THAT WE WOULD BE INTEGRATED WITH AMERICANS LOSING FIRST OF ALL THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF COLOR AND HAIR AND RACIAL TYPE. WE WOULD LOSE OUR MEMORY OF NEGRO HISTORY AND OF THOSE RACIAL PECULIARITIES WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE NEGRO. WE WOULD CEASE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ANY GREATER TIE WITH AFRICA THAN WITH ENGLAND OR GERMANY. WE WOULD NOT TRY TO DEVELOP NEGRO MUSIC AND ART AS DISTINCTIVE AND DIFFERENT, BUT ALLOW IT TO BE FURTHER

DEGRADED BY WHITE ARTISTS AS IS THE CASE TODAY. WE WOULD ALWAYS IF POSSIBLE MARRY LIGHTER-HUED PEOPLE SO AS TO HAVE CHILDREN WHO ARE NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE NEGRO RACE, AND THUS SOLVE ONE RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA BY COMMITTING RACIAL SUICIDE. MORE OR LESS CLEARLY THIS POSSIBILITY HAS BEEN IN THE MINDS OF NEGROES IN THE PAST ALTHOUGH NOT ASSENTED TO BY ALL. SOME ~~THINK THEY~~ HAVE STATED IT AND WELCOMED IT. AS OTHER ~~THINK THEY~~ HAVE SIMPLY ASSUMED THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS INEVITABLE AND THEREFORE NOTHING COULD BE DONE ABOUT IT. THIS IS THE REASON THAT MY PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT WHICH BEGAN IN 1900 WHEN I COOPERATED WITH A MEETING CALLED BY A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER IN LONDON; AND DEFINITELY WAS STARTED IN 1919 IN THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE IN PARIS. I COULD GET BUT LITTLE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION AMONG NEGROES. MOST OF THEM RESENTED IT AS ~~SORT OF~~ BEING HERE A "BACK TO AFRICA" MOVEMENT. OTHERS SIMPLY SAID WE HAD PROBLEMS ENOUGH IN AMERICA WITHOUT TAKING ON THE INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA.

TODAY WHEN THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE ARISING TO SETTLE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS WE ARE IN THE PECULIAR POSITION OF BEING IN PART A GROUP OF EDUCATED PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT WHO NOT ONLY CANNOT HELP THE AFRICANS BUT IN MOST CASES DO NOT WANT TO. ANY STATEMENT

OF OUR DESIRE TO DEVELOP AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE, TO KEEP UP OUR TIES WITH COLOURED PEOPLE, TO REMEMBER OUR PAST, IS BEING REGARDED AS "RACISM." I, FOR INSTANCE, WHO HAVE DEVOTED MY LIFE TO EFFORTS TO BREAK DOWN RACIAL BARRIERS AM BEING ACCUSED OF DESIRING TO EMPHASIZE DIFFERENCES OF RACE. THIS HAS A CERTAIN TRUTH ABOUT IT. AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE AND I REPEAT I AM NOT FIGHTING TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA BY THE PROCESS OF GETTING RID OF THE NEGRO RACE; GETTING RID OF BLACK FOLK, NOT PRODUCING BLACK CHILDREN, FORGETTING THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION; OF FORGETTING ABOLITION AND ESPECIALLY OF IGNORING THE WHOLE CULTURAL HISTORY OF AFRICANS IN THE WORLD.

NO WHAT I HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR AND AM STILL FIGHTING FOR IS THE POSSIBILITY OF BLACK FOLK AND BLACK CULTURAL PATTERNS EXISTING IN AMERICA (WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AND TO) EXIST ON TERMS OF EQUALITY. ~~OR THERE BEING TO EXIST.~~ IF WE TAKE THIS ATTITUDE WE HAVE GOT TO DO SO CONSCIOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY. THIS BRINGS UP A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO

SOLVE AND MAKE DEFINITE PREPARATION FOR SUCH SOLUTION.

TAKE FOR INSTANCE THE CURRENT PROBLEM OF THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN. BY THE LAW OF THE LAND TODAY THEY SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. IF THEY ARE ADMITTED TO THESE SCHOOLS CERTAIN THINGS WILL INEVITABLY FOLLOW. NEGRO TEACHERS WILL BECOME RARER AND IN MANY CASES QUITE DISAPPEAR. NEGRO CHILDREN WILL BE INSTRUCTED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND TAUGHT POORLY UNDER UNPLEASANT IF NOT DISCOURAGING CIRCUMSTANCES. EVEN MORE LARGELY THAN TODAY THEY WILL FALL OUT OF SCHOOL, CEASE TO ENTER HIGH SCHOOL AND FEWER AND FEWER WILL GO TO COLLEGE. LOGICALLY NEGRO UNIVERSITIES WILL DISAPPEAR. NEGRO HISTORY WILL BE TAUGHT LESS OR NOT AT ALL AND AS IN SO MANY CASES IN THE PAST NEGROES WILL REMEMBER THEIR WHITE OR INDIAN ANCESTORS AND QUITE FORGET THEIR NEGRO FORBEARS. READ FOR INSTANCE THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MERCER LANGSTON.

TO SOME FOLK THIS TYPE OF ARGUMENT WOULD LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WE OUGHT TO REFUSE TO ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS OR TO CLAMOR FOR UNSEGREGATED SCHOOLS; IN OTHER WORDS THAT WE OUGHT TO GIVE UP THE FIGHT AGAINST COLOR DISCRIMINATION. I WANT, HOWEVER,

TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS NOT ONLY IS UNNECESSARY AND UNWISE, BUT IMPOSSIBLE. WHAT WE WANT TO DO IS TO LAY DOWN A LINE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH WILL ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS: THE UTTER DISAPPEARANCE OF COLOR DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THE PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE AS A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN CIVILIZATION AS IT WAS TO MEDIEVAL AND ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.

TO DO THIS IS NOT EASY. IT CALLS FOR INTELLIGENCE, COOPERATION AND CAREFUL PLANNING. IT WOULD MEET HEAD ON THE BAFFLING DIFFICULTIES THAT FACE US TODAY. HERE FOR INSTANCE IS THE BOY WHO SAYS SIMPLY HE IS NOT GOING TO SCHOOL. HIS TREATMENT IN THE SCHOOLS EVEN IF HE IS ADMITTED, IS SUCH THAT DOES NOT ATTRACT HIM [redacted]. MOREOVER, THE BOY WHO DOES ENTER THE WHITE SCHOOL AND GETS ON REASONABLY WELL, [redacted] HE DOES NOT ALWAYS BECOME A USEFUL MEMBER OF OUR GROUP. NEGRO CHILDREN EDUCATED IN NORTHERN SCHOOLS AND THE BEST NORTHERN COLLEGES KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO HISTORY, KNOW NOTHING OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP AND DOUBT IF THERE EVER HAVE BEEN LEADERS IN AFRICA, THE WEST INDIES AND THE UNITED STATES WHO EQUAL WHITE

FOLK. THEY REGARD THE STUDY OF NEGRO BIOGRAPHY AND THE WRITING OF NEGRO LITERATURE AS A VAIN ATTEMPT TO PRETEND THAT NEGROES ARE REALLY THE EQUAL OF WHITES. THAT [redacted] TENDS TO BE THE POINT OF VIEW OF THOSE OF OUR CHILDREN WHO ARE EDUCATED IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

THERE ARE GOING TO BE SCHOOLS WHICH DO NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE AND THE NUMBER IS GOING TO INCREASE SLOWLY IN THE PRESENT BUT RAPIDLY IN THE FUTURE UNTIL LONG BEFORE THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE NO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE. THE DEFICIENCY IN KNOWLEDGE OF NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE HOWEVER WILL REMAIN AND THIS DANGER THUS LIABLE TO ARISE MUST BE MET ~~HAS GOT TO BE MADE UP~~ OR ELSE AMERICAN NEGROES WILL DISAPPEAR. THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE WILL BE LOST. THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE RISING AFRICAN WORLD WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. WHAT TEEN CAN WE DO OR SHOULD WE TRY TO DO?

NEGRO PARENTS AND NEGRO PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS AT LEAST TEMPORARILY WILL HAVE TO TAKE ON AND CARRY ~~OUT~~ THE BURDEN WHICH THEY HAVE HITHERTO LEFT TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE CHILD IN THE FAMILY, IN SPECIFIC ORGANIZATIONS, OR IN SOCIAL LIFE MUST LEARN WHAT HE WILL

NOT LEARN IN SCHOOL UNTIL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VASTLY IMPROVE. NEGRO HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT FOR MANY CRITICAL YEARS BY PARENTS, IN CLUBS BY LECTURE COURSES, BY A NEW NEGRO LITERATURE. THIS MUST BE DONE SYSTEMATICALLY FOR THE WHOLE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE. THIS IS GOING TO TAKE TIME AND MONEY AND IS GOING TO CALL FOR RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

NEGRO COMMUNITIES, NEGRO PRIVATE SCHOOLS, NEGRO COLLEGES WILL AND MUST BE ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED; THIS RACIAL ORGANIZATION WILL BE VOLUNTARY AND NOT COMPULSORY; IT WILL NOT BE DISCRIMINATORY; IT WILL BE CARRIED ON ACCORDING TO DEFINITE OBJECT AND IDEAL, AND WILL BE OPEN TO ALL WHO SHARE THIS IDEAL. AND OF COURSE THAT IDEAL MUST ALWAYS BE IN ACCORD WITH THE GREATER IDEALS OF MANKIND. BUT WHAT AMERICAN NEGROES MUST REMEMBER IS THAT VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION FOR GREAT ENDS IS FAR DIFFERENT FROM COMPULSORY SEGREGATION FOR EVIL PURPOSES.

ESPECIALLY AND FIRST THERE HAS GOT TO BE A DELIBERATE EFFORT MADE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF NEGRO FAMILIES. OUR FAMILY ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN LEFT ALMOST ENTIRELY TO CHANCE. HOW, WHEN AND WHERE THE NEGRO BOY AND GIRL IS GOING TO MEET AND MATE HAS BEEN

GIVEN NO ORGANIZED THOUGHT AND IN MANY CASES THE WHOLE PROCESS HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY IGNORED. BEYOND THAT COMES THE PRIMARY QUESTION OF WHAT A NEGRO CHILD IS TO DO IN LIFE. THIS HAS BEEN TAUGHT ONLY INCIDENTALLY AND ACCIDENTALLY. THE PRIMARY BASIS AND END OF LIFE HAS NOT BEEN GUIDED BY PROPER TUITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, IN ECONOMICS OR IN ETHICS, OUTSIDE AND BEYOND SCHOOL; IN THE FAMILY AND IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

THE NEGRO RACE HAS GOT TO IMPRESS UPON ITS CHILDREN CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL FACTS. THE NORMAL HUMAN BEING HAS GOT TO WORK AND WORK REGULARLY TO SUPPLY HIS WANTS SUCH LEGITIMATE WANTS AS FOOD, CLOTHES AND SHELTER. IN ADDITION THERE MUST BE CREATIVE ACTIVITIES SUCH AS WE UNDERSTAND UNDER ART AND LITERATURE AND THEN THERE MUST BE SYSTEMATIC RECREATION FOR HEALTH, FOR NORMAL SATISFYING OF THE SEXUAL INSTINCT, FOR SOCIAL CONTACT; FOR SYMPATHY, FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AND SACRIFICE.

IN THIS MATTER OF LIFE VOCATION WE NEGROES HAVE GOT TO INCULCATE IN THE MINDS OF OUR CHILDREN MANY OBJECTS TO WHICH WHITE AMERICA TODAY IS NOT ONLY OPPOSED BUT BITTERLY FIGHTS. WHY SHOULD A MAN BE A PHYSICIAN? NOT SIMPLY TO CURE DISEASE, BUT AND TREAT ACCIDENT

TO PREVENT DISEASE AND PROTECT HEALTH. TODAY MOST PHYSICIANS HAVE NO TOME FOR THIS. THIS IS THE OBJECT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND IS PRACTICED IN MOST OF EUROPE, BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN, AND IN CHINA. WHILE THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FIGHTS WITH HUGE FUNDS EVERY EFFORT TO BRING FREE GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED SOCIAL MEDICINE TO THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE. WHY SHOULD A MAN STUDY LAW BUT TO SEE THAT JUSTICE IS DONE; AND YET THE CHIEF SERVICE AND HUGE PAY OF LAWYERS TODAY IN AMERICA IS TO GUIDEWEALTHY AND POWERFUL CORPORATIONS IN BREAKING THE LAW AND IN PUTTING ON THE STATUTE BOOKS LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE POOR. OUR JAILS ARE BURSTING WITH PRISONERS WHO HAVE NO ONE TO DEFEND THEM EVEN WHEN THEY HAVE COMMITTED NO CRIME. WHY SHOULD A MAN BECOME A DENTIST? NOT TO EXTRACT DISEASED TEETH, BUT TO PREVENT TEETH FROM BECOMING DISEASED BY TEACHING DENTAL THERAPY. THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WORLD ARE DOING THIS. OUR SCHOOLS HAVE SCARCELY BEGUN.

WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS? AMERICANS SAY, PROFITS, AND IN ORDER TO MAKE PROFITS LARGE WE ARE SPENDING $50 THOUSAND MILLION A YEAR FOR WAR. THIS WAR IS CARRIED ON TO MAKE EXPLOITATION OF LAND AND LABOR POSSIBLE, TO STEAL MATERIALS AND CHEAT LABORERS.

WHEN NORTHERN RHODESIA SELLS HER COPPER FOR $50 MILLION SHE PAYS NOTHING FOR THE LAND OUT OF WHICH THIS COPPER COMES AND ONLY HALF A MILLION FOR THE BLACK LABOR THAT MINES IT. TWENTY MILLION DOLLARS GOES TO THE INVESTORS AND THE REST TO WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR. THE TRUE OBJECT OF BUISNESS SHOULD NOT BE PROFIT, BUT SERVICE: THE SERVICE OF COLLECTING RAW MATERIAL, PROCESSING IT FOR CONSUMPTION AND BRINGING IT TO THE CONSUMER. FOR THIS SERVICE WAGES SHOULD BE PAID, BUT VAST UNEARNED INCOME SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO THE MAN WHO STEALS THE LAND AND TAKES FROM THE LABORER THAT WHICH IS HIS DUE. THIS IS INCREASINGLY THE BELIEF OF CIVILIZED COUNTRIES, BUT IT IS NOT THE BELIEF OF WESTERN EUROPE NOR OF WHITE AMERICA. THE CORRECT ATTITUDE TOWARD VOCATIONS MUST BE TAUGHT INCREASINGLY IN OUR SCHOOLS; YET TODAY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, WHITE AND BLACK, ECONOMICS, SOCIAL SCIENCE, MONEY AND FINANCE ARE NOT PROPERLY TAUGHT; AND ESPECIALLY MOST SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ARE AFRAID TO TEACH THE REMEDIES WHICH SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM PROPOSE FOR BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF WORK AND INCOME; OR TO TELL HOW THE LARGER PART OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD IS ADOPTING NEW METHODS OF ACCOMPLISHING THESE THINGS.

MOST OF THE MONEY WHICH WE PAY FOR TELEPHONE SERVICE, FOR ELECTRICAL DEVICES AND FOR POWER GOES TO MAKE A FEW INDIVIDUALS RICH AND NOT FOR PAYING GOOD WAGES OR MAKING THESE SERVICES CHEAP. INSURANCE IS A GREAT INVENTION DESIGNED TO PLACE THE COST OF DEATH AND ACCIDENT ON THE WHOLE COMMUNITY INSTEAD OF LETTING IT RUIN THE INDIVIDUAL. HERE IS NO PLACE FOR PRIVATE PROFIT. THE PREMIUMS PAY FOR THE LOSS BUT THEY SHOULD PAY FOR NO MORE. THE WAGES OF MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE INCLUDED, BUT TODAY ABOVE THIS, INDIVIDUALS MAKE MILLIONS AND PRIVATE INSURANCE COMPANIES CONTROL NATIONAL MONEY AND CREDIT. EVIDENTLY INSURANCE IS A PUBLIC FUNCTION AND NOT A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

THE GREAT AMERICAN WORLD OF WHICH WE HAVE FOR CENTURIES BEEN STRIVING TO BECOME A PART AND WHICH HAS ARISEN TO BE ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS

40A.1.37

LOSING ITS INFLUENCE

IN THE WORLD, IS TODAY PASSING AND THAT AMERICAN NEGROES DO NOT REALIZE. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN AS LEADER OF A NEW DEMOCRACY, AS BELIEVERS IN A NEW TOLERANCE IN RELIGION AND AS A PEOPLE BASING THEIR LIFE ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, IN THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND PROPERTY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA STOOD FIRST IN THE HOPES OF MANKIND. THAT DAY HAS PASSED.

I TOOK A TRIP RECENTLY THAT LASTED NEARLY A YEAR. I HAD ALREADY TRAVELLED WIDELY. I HAD BEEN TO EUROPE FIFTEEN TIMES. I HAD BEEN TO ASIA. I HAD CIRCLED THE WORLD. THEN FOR TEN YEARS I WAS IMPRISONED IN THE CONFINES OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE UNAUTHROIZED DICTUM OF THOSE WHO WERE RULING. FROM 1950 UNTIL 1958 I WAS NOT ALLOWED TO TRAVEL ABROAD.

I HAD COOPERATED WITH MILLIONS OF MEN WHO WANTED WAR TO CEASE. EVEN HERE MY ACTION HAD BEEN SIMPLY TO TELL AMERICANS WHAT WAS BEING DONE IN THE WORLD FOR PEACE. FOR THIS I WAS ACCUSED OF BEING THE AGENT OF FOREIGN PEACEMAKERS AND ORDERED TO ADMIT THIS OR GO TO JAIL. IT COST ME OVER $30,000 TO DEFEND MYSELF IN COURT AGAINST THIS ABSURD ACCUSATION. THE COURT THREW THE CASE OUT FOR LACK OF PROOF. DESPITE THIS I

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WAS REFUSED A PASSPORT FOR TRAVEL ABROAD [illegible]. THE SUPREME COURT FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAD NO LEGAL GROUND TO REFUSE ME A PASSPORT. PAUL ROBESON, WHO FOR TEN YEARS HAD BEEN DEPRIVED OF A LIVELIHOOD FOR EQUALLY BASELESS REASONS, AND MYSELF and others WERE GIVEN PASSPORTS.

I WENT ABROAD TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND, TO FRANCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA , TO SWEDEN AND GERMANY, TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. IT WAS THE MOST ASTONISHING TRIP I HAVE EVER HAD. IT RADICALLY CHANGED MY WHOLE POINT OF VIEW. I SAW FIRST THAT AMERICA AND ITS ACTION SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR WAS THOROUGHLY CONDEMNED BY THE CIVILIZED WORLD; THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY WAS SO DISLIKED AND HATED. THE BRITISH AND THE DUTCH WHILE RESTRAINING THEIR EXPRESSION OF DISLIKE BEHIND GOOD MANNERS AND FOR FEAR OF OUR WEALTH OR POWER, NEVERTHELESS DID NOT LIKE AMERICA NOR AMERICANS. THAT THE FRENCH COULD HARDLY MENTION AMERICA WITHOUT CALLING THEM DIRTY; THAT THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GERMANY BLAMED AMERICA FOR THE CRUELTIES WHICH THEY HAD SUFFERED AND FOR THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY WERE FACING; THAT THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION REGARD AMERICANS

AS THEIR GREATEST THREAT AND THE 680 MILLION OF CHINA HATE AMERICA WITH PERFECT HATRED FOR TREATING THEM AS SUB-HUMAN.

OUTSIDE THIS MATTER OF FEELING WAS MY DISCOVERY THAT THE WORLD WAS GOING SOCIALIST; THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD--IN ASIA AND AFRICA WERE EITHER SOCIALISTIC OR COMMUNISTIC. NO MATTER WHAT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM MAY BE, NO MATTER HOW WE JUDGE THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX WE MUST FACE THE TRUTH. NOT ONLY BLACK BUT WHITE AMERICANS MUST KNOW.

THE NEWSGATHERING AGENCIES AND THE PERIODICALS OF OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES ARE DELIBERATELY DECEIVING THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. FOR A LONG TIME THEY HAVE SPREAD THE BELIEF THAT COMMUNISM IS A CRIME OR A CONSPIRACY AND THAT ANYONE EITHER TAKING PART OR EVEN EXAMINING CONDITIONS IN SOCIALIST LANDS IS A SELF-CONSCIOUS CRIMINAL.

FOR DECADES NOW THEY HAVE MADE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM IS A FAILURE; THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKANS WERE PRISONERS, ENSLAVED IN THOUGHT AND ACTION; THAT COMMUNISM ONLY NEEDED OUR HELP TO FALL

IN RUIN; THAT CHINA IS IN RUINS AND TRYING TO CONQUER ASIA. DESPITE ALL THIS PROPAGANDA WE ARE BEGINNING NOW TO REALIZE SOME THINGS THAT ARE CLEAR: THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PROBABLY THE BEST IN THE WORLD AND FAR SUPERIOR TO OURS. THAT SCIENCE THERE IS FORGING AHEAD OF ANYTHING THAT WE HAVE. AND THAT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT PRISONERS AND ARE NOT ASKING OUR HELP IN ORDER TO REVOLT. THEY ARE PROGRESSING AT A RATE SUPERIOR TO US IN ART, LITERATURE AND GENERAL HAPPINESS.

I SPENT SIX WEEKS IN CHINA. I WAS TREATED WITH A COURTESY I HAD MET NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD; AND I WAS CONVINCED THAT HERE WAS A COLORED PEOPLE WHO IN HAPPINESS AND KNOWLEDGE WOULD LEAD AND OUTSTRIP THE WORLD BEFORE THE DAWN OF THE NEXT CENTURY. THE WORK OF CHINA TODAY IS A MIRACLE OF SUCCESS.

WHAT WE AMERICANS WANT IS FREEDOM TO KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE RIGHT, TO THINK AND TO ACT AS SEEMS WISEST TO US UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS; AND WHAT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER IS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES DEMOCRACY HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED. THERE IS NO USE DECEIVING OURSELVES IN THAT RESPECT. HALF OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES DO NOT EVEN GO TO THE POLLS. MOST NEGROES ARE DISFRANCHISED. IT IS THE

CONSIDERED OPINION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN AMERICA THAT THE ELECTION WHICH MADE DWIGHT EISENHOWER PRESIDENT COST OVER $100 MILLION AND PERHAPS $200 MILLION. WHY DOES AMERICA NEED SUCH AN ELECTION FUND? A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION DOESN'T NEED IT AND THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AND USED IT ONLY FOR BRIBING VOTERS DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY OR FRIGHTENING MEN FROMACTING OR THINKING. THIS IS WHAT THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES DEMAND AND THOSE RULERS INSTEAD OF BEING FREE INDIVIDUALS ARE ORGANIZED CORPORATIONS WHO SUPPRESS FREEDOM, BY MONOPOLIZING WEALTH.

IF ALL THIS IS THUE, IT MUST BE TAUGHT TO OUR YOUTH. IT MUST BE TAUGHT BY TEACHERS AND INSTRUCTORS AND PROFESSORS; AND IN THAT CASE WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT THESE TEACHERS MAY LOSE THEIR JOBS. THEY CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED AND EMPLOYED IF THE BULK OF AMERICAN NEGROES SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGES. IF THE NEGRO COLLEGES ARE GOING TO DEPEND ON THE GIFTS OF THE RICH FOR SUPPORT THEY CANNOT TEACH THE TRUTH. IF THEY ARE SUPPORTED TOMORROW, NEGROES MUST GIVE NOT A TENTH, BUT A QUARTER OF THEIR INCOME TO SUPPORT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND TEACHERS MUST SACRIFICE TO THE LAST PENNY. THIS

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE TRUTH-SEEKERS CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED BY EVENTUALLY MAKING THE STATE BEAR THE BURDEN AND THIS IS SOCIALISM. WE MUST VOTE FOR SOCIALISM. WE BEGAN THIS IN THE NEW DEAL AND THEN WERE STOPPED. BUT IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND EVENTUALLY IN AFRICA SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE SPREADING. SOCIALISM WILL TRIUMPH IN THE UNITED STATES IF WE RESTORE THE DEMOCRACY OF WHICH WE HAVE BOASTED SO LONG, AND DONE SO LITTLE. HERE IS WHERE NEGROES MAY AND MUST LEAD.

THIS IS MY SINCERE BELIEF, ARRIVED AT AFTER LONG STUDY, TRAVEL, OBSERVATION AND THOUGHT. MANY DISAGREE WITH ME AND THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. THEY HAVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR BELIEF AND YOU CANNOT ESCAPE LISTENING TO THEM AND SHOULD NOT IF YOU COULD. BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO DEMAND THAT YOU REFUSE TO LISTEN TO THE WORLD-WIDE VOICE OF SOCIALISM OR TO THREATEN YOU WITH PUNISHMENT IF YOU DO LISTEN. THIS IS THE FIRST RIGHT OF DEMOCRACY.

I APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THIS ORGANIZATION; FIRST TO TEACH THE TRUTH AS THEY SEE IT EVEN IF THEY LOSE THEIR JOBS. TO STUDY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND THE

40A-1.43

PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX AND HIS SUCCESSORS. TO TRAVEL IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA AND THEN TO DARE TAKE SUCH A STAND AS THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE WHETHER FOR OR AGAINST COMMUNISM. TO REFUSE TO LISTEN TO AMERICAN PROPAGANDA WITHOUT ALSO LISTENING TO THE PROPAGANDA OF COMMUNISM AND TO GIVE UP TEACHING AND GO TO DIGGING DITCHES BEFORE BOWING TO THE NEW AMERICAN SLAVERY OF THOUGHT. ABOVE ALL TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STOP WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR WHICH IS THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT RULERS OF THIS NATION AND THEIR METHOD OF STOPPING SOCIALISM BY FORCE WHEN THEY CANNOT STOP IT BY WORK NOR REASON.

48-9-6

4/2/1959

SOCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

DEMOCRACY HAS SO DISAPPEARED/IN THE UNITED STATES/THAT THERE ARE SOME SUBJECTS/ THAT CANNOT EVEN BE DISCUSSED.// THE ESSENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/IS FREE DISCUSSION./ THERE WAS A TIME/WHEN MEN WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TALK/OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE,/EDUCATION FOR WOMEN/OR FREEDOM FOR NEGRO SLAVES.// TODAY COMMUNISM/IS ~~A~~ the DIRTY WORD/AND SOCIALISM IS SUSPECT.// I OFTEN REFER TO MY EDUCATION/IN DEMOCRACY.// IN THE LITTLE NEW ENGLAND TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN/WE HAD A HIGH SCHOOL OF ABOUT 25 PUPILS.// I ENTERED IT IN 1880/AT THE AGE OF 12.// AS I ATTENDED TOWN-MEETING/ANNUALLY IN THE SPRING/THERE USED REGULARLY TO APPEAR/ONE OF THE DIRTIEST OLD MEN/I EVER SAW.// HE WAS FAT AND GREASY/AND EVERY YEAR/HE MADE A FIERCE ATTACK/ ON WASTING HIS TAXES/ON A HIGH SCHOOL.// I WAS ALWAYS FURIOUS.//I WONDERED WHY THE CITIZENS/ SAT SILENT AND LET HIM RANT./ BUT THEY DID,/AND THEN QUIETLY THEY VOTED MONEY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL.// THERE I LEARNED MY LESSON IN DEMOCRACY// LISTEN TO THE OTHER SIDE.

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IN THIS STATE/AND IN OUR TIME/OCCURRED, one of THE WORST BLOWS/TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/ WHICH OUR NATION HAS SUFFERED.// SENATOR McCARTHY SUCCEEDED IN MAKING AMERICA/AFRAID TO DISCUSS SOCIALISM/OR TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNISM/AS OUGHT BUT A [redacted] CONSPIRACY.// AND THIS, IN THE STATE OF ROBERT LaFOLLETTE.// I KNEW LaFOLLETTE/AND HIS VALIANT WIFE.// I VOTED FOR HIM/FOR PRESIDENT IN 1924.// AND SAW HIM GIVE HIS LIFE/FIGHTING MONOPOLIZED WEALTH/AND ASKING WORLD PEACE.// MY OWN WORK/AT THE TIME/WAS TRYING TO SECURE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY/FOR AMERICAN NEGROES.// FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY/I EDITED A LITTLE MONTHLY MAGAZINE,/THE CRISIS,/AND DESPITE OPPOSITION/I SPOKE PLAINLY// I WAS CRITICIZED AS BEING "BITTER,"/AS SEEKING NOT SIMPLY POLITICAL/BUT SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES.// FOR FAVORING THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX/ AND FOR JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY.// THESE ACCUSATIONS WERE TRUE,/BUT LARGELY AS A RESULT OF MY WORK/AND THE WORK OF OTHERS,/THE NEGRO MADE PROGRESS TOWARD EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.// PROGRESS,/BUT NOT COMPLETE SUCCESS.// THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM/AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR/BROUGHT POVERTY,/UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISTRESS/WORSE THAN AMERICA/HAD EVER SEEN/AND THEN CAME A SURGE/TOWARD SOCIALISM/CALLED THE "NEW DEAL."// THE NATION RELIEVED DISTRESS,

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BUILT PUBLIC WORKS, HELPED AGRICULTURE AND TRADE, ENCOURAGED LITERATURE AND ART. IT JOINED THE SOVIET UNION IN OVERTHROWING HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND JAPAN AND IN FORMING THE UNITED NATIONS TO AVOID FUTURE WAR. WITH THE DEATH OF ROOSEVELT CAME REACTION. THE UNITED STATES NOT ONLY STOPPED PROGRESS TOWARD SOCIALISM, BUT CEASED TO DISCUSS OR STUDY IT AND CAME TO REGARD THE OBJECT OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AS A CRIME. ESPECIALLY AMERICAN NEGROES, STILL AS A MASS, POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK, WERE GIVEN NO OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE SORT OF PROGRESS THE WORLD WAS MAKING TO AMELIORATE THE PLIGHT OF THE UNFORTUNATE WORKING PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER WHO WERE IN CONDITIONS SIMILAR TO OURS. AMERICAN NEGROES WERE NOT SOCIALISTS NOR DID THEY KNOW WHAT COMMUNISM WAS OR WAS DOING. BUT THEY KNEW THAT NEGRO EDUCATION MUST BE BETTER; THAT NEGROES MUST HAVE BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AND TO RECEIVE A WAGE WHICH WOULD LET THEM ENJOY A DECENT STANDARD OF LIFE. THEY WERE VICTIMS OF DISEASE AND DRIFTING INTO CRIME. TO REMEDY THIS, THEY SOUGHT TO PATTERN THEIR LIFE AFTER SUCCESSFUL AMERICANS. THEY MUST WORK HARD, SAVE MONEY, BECOME EMPLOYERS AND PROPERTY OWNERS AND INVESTORS. THIS THEY THOUGHT WOULD BRING THEM RECOGNITION AS AMERICAN CITIZENS EQUAL TO OTHERS. BUT AMERICA HAD CHANGED.

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THERE WAS STILL A CHANCE FOR SOME TO RISE AND GET RICH, BUT THE WORKING CLASSES WERE NO LONGER GENERALLY ABLE TO BUY LAND, THEIR WAGES DID NOT AMOUNT TO WHAT THEY IN REALITY EARNED AND THOSE HANDICAPPED BY RACE PREJUDICE HAD SMALL CHANCE TO OVERCOME POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. A CLASS STRUCTURE BEGAN TO ARISE WITHIN THE NEGRO GROUP WHICH PRODUCED HAVES AND HAVE NOTS AND TENDED TO ENCOURAGE MORE SUCCESSFUL NEGROES TO JOIN THE FORCES OF MONOPOLOY AND EXPLOITATION AND HELP VICTIMIZE THEIR OWN LOWER CLASSES.

TO REMEDY THIS SITUATION THINKING NEGROES ~~FOR A LONG TIME SAW~~ STILL REGARDED THEIR FIRST STEP TOWARD EMANCIPATION AS BEING POLITICAL POWER. THEY FELT THAT THEIR PRESENT PLIGHT WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT THEY HAD NEVER BECOME VOTING CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY AND THEIR FIRST EFFORTS WERE TOWARD GAINING THE REAL RIGHT TO VOTE.

THE YOUNG COLORED MEN IN 1905 EMPHASIZED THIS. THIS GROUP MEETING AT NIAGARA FALLS, CANADA, IN JUNE 1905 DEMANDED FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND CRITICISM, MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, THE ABOLITION OF ALL DISTINCTIONS BASED ON RACE. RECOGNITION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD AND RESPECT FOR THE WORKING MAN. THEY CALLED THEMSELVES THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

48-9-10

AND DESPITE/ VIOLENT ATTACK ON ALL SIDES/ MET AGAIN AT HARPERS FERRY THE NEXT YEAR.// THERE THEY SAID:/ "IN THE PAST YEAR THE WORK OF THE NEGRO HATER/ HAS FLOURISHED IN THE LAND./ STEP BY STEP/ THE DEFENDERS OF THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS/ HAVE RETREATED.// THE WORK OF STEALING/ THE BLACK MAN'S BALLOT/ HAS PROGRESSED/ AND FIFTY AND MORE REPRESENTATIVES/ OF STOLEN VOTES/ STILL SIT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.// NEVER BEFORE/ IN THE MODERN AGE/ HAS A GREAT AND CIVILIZED FOLK/ THREATENED TO ADOPT SO COWARDLY A CREED/ IN THE TREATMENT OF ITS FELLOW-CITIZENS,/ BORN AND BRED ON ITS SOIL.// STRIPPED OF VERBOSE SUBTERFUGE/ AND IN ITS NAKED NASTINESS,/ THE NEW AMERICAN CREED SAYS:/ FEAR TO LET BLACK MEN EVEN TRY TO RISE/ LEST THEY BECOME/ THE EQUALS OF THE WHITE.// AND THIS IN THE LAND/ THAT PROFESSES TO FOLLOW JESUS CHRIST.// THE BLASPHEMY OF SUCH A COURSE/ IS ONLY MATCHED BY ITS COWARDICE."

II THE NAACP,/ ORGANIZED IN 1909,/ ADDED TO THE PROGRAM OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT/ THE REALIZATION/ THAT THE FIGHT FOR NEGRO FREEDOM/ COULD NOT BE CARRIED ON/ BY NEGROES ALONE/ BUT BY A NATIONAL MOVEMENT/ WHICH UNITED NEGROES AND WHITES.// THEY EMPHASIZED THE ROLE/ WHICH PREJUDICE PLAYED,/ A PREJUDICE OFTEN UNCONSCIOUS/ BUT NEVERTHELESS EFFECTIVE./

48-9-11

THE NAACP MADE A NATIONWIDE FIGHT/ AGAINST THE HORROR OF LYNCHING AND MOB VIOLENCE/ AND THEN MORE AND MORE/ IT BEGAN TO CONCENTRATE/ ON THE LEGAL ASPECTS/ OF RACE DISCRIMINATION/ AND THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO/ WAS OPPRESSED/ BECAUSE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES/ WAS NOT BEING ENFORCED.// THIS FIGHT/ HAD UNPRECEDENTED SUCCESS/ AND CULMINATED IN 1954/ IN THE UNANIMOUS DECISION/ OF THE SUPREME COURT AGAINST SEGREGATION.//

BUT DURING ALL THIS STRUGGLE/ WE KNEW THAT SOMETHING/ STILL WAS LACKING.// IF WE HARKED BACK/ TO THE CRY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION// LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD// IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NOT/ AND COULD NOT BE/ LIBERTY OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION/ UNDER THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION/ WHICH WAS GROWING UP IN THE WORLD LED BY THE UNITED STATES.// PRODUCTION IN INDUSTRY AND TRADE/ INVOLVED PLANNING/ AND PLANNING CURTAILED LIBERTY.// MOREOVER OUR INEQUALITY/ WAS A MATTER OF FACT.// NEGROES WITH THEIR IGNORANCE,/ POVERTY AND SICKNESS/ WERE DISTINCTLY BELOW/ THE AVERAGE/ OF THOSE OF THEIR WHITE NEIGHBORS/ WHO WERE EDUCATED, WELL-TO-DO AND HEALTHY./

FINALLY,/ DESPITE ALL PROPAGANDA/ WE SAW DEMOCRACY FAILING IN AMERICA.// FEWER AND FEWER PEOPLE/ WENT TO THE POLLS.// IT WAS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO KNOW FOR WHOM/ OR FOR

WHAT ONE WAS VOTING AND THE COST OF ELECTIONS AROSE TO SUSPICIOUS HEIGHTS. THE ELECTION IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES COST ABOUT $100,000. THE ELECTION WHICH MADE DWIGHT EISENHOWER PRESIDENT PROBABLY COST MOST THAN $100 MILLION. INDEED IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT COST TWICE THAT AMOUNT. ELECTION EXPENSES TODAY INCLUDE NOT ONLY DIRECT BRIBERY BUT INDIRECT INFLUENCES, MONOPOLY, PROPAGANDA AND DECEPTION. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE APPEAL OF SOCIALISM TO ALL AMERICANS [redacted] INCREASED BUT THE ANSWER TO THE DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX AND THE UTOPIAS OF FOURIER AND OTHERS WAS THAT WITH HUMAN NATURE AS IT IS SOCIALISM SIMPLY WOULD NOT WORK.

TO ME THE OBVIOUS APPROACH TO SOCIALISM SEEMED CONSUMERS' COOPERATION. I TRIED TO PLAN AN ORGANIZATION AMONG NEGROES AS CONSUMERS WHICH WOULD FURNISH EMPLOYMENT, HELP SAVINGS AND BRING UNITY OF ACTION. BUT IT WAS SOON EVIDENT AS MANY OF MY [redacted] FELLOW WORKERS WARNED ME FROM THE BEGINNING, THAT INDIVIDUAL ACTION ALONE COULD NOT BRING CONSUMER'S COOPERATION. THAT WITHOUT THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT IT WOULD FAIL AND WITH GOVERNMENT COOPERATION IT WAS SOCIALISM. MY OWN TRAINING IN THIS THOUGHT CAME FROM

TRAVEL: MY TWO YEARS SOJOURN IN GERMANY AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY WHERE I SAW THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. MY REPEATED VISITS TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY. MY VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926, 1936 AND 1949. THEN AS A PECULIAR AFTERMATH OF THE TWO WORLD WARS AND MY ADVOCACY OF PEACE, MY TRAVEL ABROAD WAS STOPPED FROM 1950 to 1958. IN 1958 I WAS ABLE TO MAKE A TRIP COVERING 11 MONTHS IN WHICH I VISITED WESTERN EUROPE, EASTERN EUROPE INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THIS TRIP COMPLETELY TRANSFORMED MY THINKING. I STARTED ON IT BELIEVING THAT SOCIALISM WAS A POSSIBLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, AND WAS BEING CARRIED ON SUCCESSFULLY IN EASTERN EUROPE; THAT CAPITALISM WAS ALSO A SUCCESSFUL FORM OF ORGANIZATION AND WHILE IT MIGHT DEGENERATE INTO FASCISM AND THE RULE OF WEALTH NEVERTHELESS IT COULD AS HAD BEEN PROVEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, BECOME A PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION. I RETURNED WITH COMPLETELY CHANGED IDEAS. I SAW SOCIALISM AS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL FORM OF GOVERNMENT TODAY POSSIBLE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. I SAW IT EVOLVING INTO COMMUNISM TO AN ASTONISHINGLY SUCCESSFUL DEGREE. ON THE OTHER HAND I WAS FRIGHTENED AND

AM STILL ALARMED AT THE DEGENERACY OF CAPITALISM AND THE POSSIBILITY OF IT BECOMING A FORCE SO DESTRUCTIVE THAT IT CANNOT BE ENDURED.

ONE OF MY FIRST EXPERIENCES WAS IN ENGLAND. I HAD IN LONDON A SEVERE ATTACK OF INTESTINAL DISORDER. A YOUNG PHYSICIAN SUMMONED AT MIDNIGHT CAME AND TREATED ME. HE MADE SIX OR MORE VISITS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS UNTIL HE HAD ME COMPLETELY ON MY FEET. WHEN I ASKED FOR MY BILL I WAS TOLD THAT THERE WAS NO CHARGE. THAT HIS SERVICES WERE PAID FOR BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. I REMINDED HIM THAT I WAS AN AMERICAN AND THAT IN AMERICA WE WERE REPEATEDLY INFORMED THAT SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN GREAT BRITAIN WAS A FAILURE. (HE SMILED) THE ONLY COST OF MY ILLNESS WAS THE MEDICINE WHICH HE PRESCRIBED AND THAT WAS LESS THAN $5.

ON THE OTHER HAND I FOUND GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, HOLLAND AND BELGIUM COUNTRIES WHICH FOR PAST CENTURIES HAD BUILT THEIR COMFORT, PROSPERITY AND CIVILIZATION MAINLY ON THE FREE LAND AND MATERIALS AND CHEAP LABOR PARTLY OF THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS, BUT MAINLY OF COLORED PEOPLE OVERSEAS WHOM THEY DOMINATED BY THEIR COLONIAL ~~ORGANIZATION~~ Empires. IN 1958 IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE END OF THIS COLONIALISM WAS IN SIGHT. ALREADY MOST OF THE COLONIES

OF HOLLAND HAD BECOME INDEPENDENT. BRITAIN HAD LOST THE EMPIRE OF INDIA AND FRANCE WAS FIGHTING in vain TO HOLD NORTH AFRICA. YET DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE COLONIAL ORGANIZATION MUST END THESE THREE GREAT COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND OTHERS LIKE ITALY, West GERMANY AND PORTUGAL ~~SPAIN~~ WERE DEPENDING FOR THEIR FUTURE LIFE ON MATERIALS WHICH THEY UNDERPRICED IN THE WORLD MARKET, ON STOLEN LAND, AND ON LABOR WRETCHEDLY UNDERPAID. THE POLITICAL POWER TO CARRY ON THIS PROCESS DEPENDED UPON THE LABORING CLASS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA AND THAT LABORING CLASS WAS BEING BRIBED BY POLITICAL POWER AND HIGH WAGES WHICH CAME NOT SO MUCH OUT OF THE PROFITS OF THE EMPLOYERS AS OUT OF THE LOW WAGES OF COLORED LABOR. I DID NOT SENSE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND CERTAINLY I HAD NOT SEEN IN AMERICA ANY DISPOSITION SO TO IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AS TO MAKE ANY ESSENTIAL CHANGE IN THE PRESENT CAPITALIST SYSTEM. ON THE OTHER HAND I WAS ASTONISHED AND ENCOURAGED BY WHAT I SAW SOCIALISM DOING. NOT ONLY DID I SEE RESULTS OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN ENGLAND; PROGRESS IN HOUSING, HEALTH AND WORKERS' PENSIONS IN SWEDEN, HOLLAND, BELGIUM AND FRANCE, BUT IN THE SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND EAST GERMANY, I SAW A

48-9-16

CHANGE OF ATTITUDE/WHICH REGARDED THE MASSES OF PEOPLE/ NOT AS THE WARDS/AND BENEFICIARIES/ OF THE RULERS OF THE NATION/ BUT AS THE MAIN BODY/ WHICH ITSELF OWNED THE NATION/AND FOR WHICH/THE NATION EXISTED;//AND AS THE RESERVOIR/OUT OF WHICH WERE BEING RECRUITED/THOSE WHO WERE MAKING CIVILIZATION.

IN CHINA/IT SEEMED TO ME/THAT THE PROCESS/WAS GOING EVEN FURTHER/AND THAT HUMAN NATURE/WAS BEING SO CHANGED/THAT INSTEAD OF THE SELF-SEEKING/AND CLASS -HATRED/WHICH SO CHARACTERIZED THE WEST,//THERE WAS COMING A SENSE OF PARTNERSHIP/IN A VAST AND GROWING NATION;//OF WILLING COOPERATION/AND OF A WIDESPREAD CONTENT AND HAPPINESS/WHICH I HAD SEEN NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD.// ALL THIS/WAS MY DEEP AND FIRM IMPRESSION.// I CANNOT PROVE IT,/ PARTICULARLY NOT TO YOU/WHO HAVE BEEN POISONED/BY LIES AND DISTORTION/FOR TEN YEARS.// AFTER ALL/I SAW THESE COUNTRIES/ONLY PARTIALLY AND FOR BRIEF VISITS.// YET I AM A TRAVELLER OF EXPERIENCE/AND I KNOW PERSONALLY/THE TRIALS OF THE POOR AND DESPISED.// I WAS GIVEN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY/FOR OBSERVATION/AND THUS MY CONCLUSIONS ARE OF VALUE.

48-9-17

I SAW THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.// TODAY MORE THAN HALF THE PEOPLE/OF THE WORLD/LIVE UNDER A SOCIALISM/WHICH IS GROWING TOWARD COMPLETE COMMUNISM.// IN MY MIND/ THERE IS NO DOUBT/THAT THE WORLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY/WILL BE OVERWHELMINGLY COMMUNISTIC.

RETURNING NOW TO THE UNITED STATES,//I LOOK AGAIN UPON THE SCENE.// THE LEGAL FIGHT LED BY THE NAACP/HAS BEEN AN ASTONISHING SUCCESS.// BUT ITS VERY SUCCESS/SHOWS THE LIMITATIONS OF LAW/AND LAW ENFORCEMENT//UNLESS IT HAS AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM;/ UNLESS THE MASS OF Negro PEOPLE/HAVE NOT SIMPLY LEGAL RIGHTS/BUT HAVE SUCH RIGHTS TO WORK AND WAGE/THAT ENABLE THEM/TO LIVE DECENTLY.// HERE IN THE UNITED STATES/WE HAVE HAD A STIRRING/IN THE NEGRO POPULATION/WHICH EMPHASIZED THESE FACTS.// IN THE SLAVE SOUTH/NEGROES IMPOVERISHED AND MISTREATED/HAVE SOUGHT REMEDY/BY POURING INTO THE CITIES/OF THE SOUTH/AND ESPECIALLY THE GREAT CITIES OF THE NORTH.// THERE THEY HAVE CAUSED/PROBLEMS OF HOUSING AND OF CRIME,/ POVERTY AND DISEASE.// IT SPELLS THE DAMNATION OF YOUTH/AND DEATH OF CHILDREN/AND THE DEGRADATION OF WOMEN.// THROUGH THIS/THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS PASSING.// IT EMPHASIZES OUR NATIONAL PROBLEM/OF GAMBLING, PROSTITUTION,/DRUG USING, MURDER AND SUICIDE.// ON THE OTHER

HAND/THE NEGROES WHO HAVE GROWN IN INTELLIGENCE/AND AWARENESS OF THEIR HANDICAPS HAVE BEGUN TO FIGHT BACK/BY THE USE OF THE BOYCOTT AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE.// THE EXPERIENCE IN MONTGOMERY, THE EXTRAORDINARY UPRISING OF THE STUDENTS/ALL OVER THE SOUTH/AND BEGINNING IN THE NORTH/SHOWS AN AWARENESS OF OUR SITUATION/WHICH IS MOST ENCOURAGING.// BUT IT STILL DOES NOT REACH/THE CENTER OF THE PROBLEM.// AND THAT CENTER IS/NOT SIMPLY THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS/TO SPEND THEIR MONEY/AS THEY WISH AND ACCORDING TO LAW.// BUT THE CHANCE FOR AMERICAN NEGROES/TO HAVE MONEY TO SPEND/BECAUSE OF EMPLOYMENT/IN WHICH THEY CAN MAKE A DECENT WAGE.// WHAT THEN IS THE NEXT STEP?/ IT IS FOR AMERICAN NEGROES/IN INCREASING NUMBERS/AND MORE AND MORE WIDELY/TO INSIST UPON THE LEGAL RIGHTS WHICH ARE ALREADY THEIRS/ AND TO ADD TO THAT/INCREASINGLY A SOCIALISTIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT.// AN INSISTENCE UPON THE WELFARE STATE/WHICH DENIES THE FURTHER CARRYING ON OF INDUSTRY/FOR THE PROFIT OF THOSE CORPORATIONS/WHICH MONOPOLIZE WEALTH AND POWER.// THE STOPPING OF A GOVERNMENT/OF WEALTH FOR WEALTH/AND BY WEALTH/AND A RETURNING OF GOVERNMENTAL POWER/TO THE INDIVIDUAL VOTER/ WITH ALL THE FREEDOM/OF ACTION/WHICH CAN BE PRESERVED/ALONG WITH an INDUSTRY/CAREFULLY ORGANIZED

FOR THE GOOD/OF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE/AND NOT FOR THE MANUFACTURES OF MILLIONAIRES.// DOES CAPITALISM OFFER SUCH A PROGRAM?// IT DOES NOT.// IT OFFERS WAR.

WE HAVE GONE INSANE/WITH THE IDEA/THAT WE ARE GOING TO RULE THE WORLD/BY PHYSICAL FORCE.// MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH/WE ARE SPENDING FANTASTIC SUMS OF MONEY/TO PREPARE FOR WAR/AND BASING THIS NECESSITY/OF WAR PREPARATION/ON DISLIKE, DISTRUST AND CONTEMPT/FOR MOST OF THE HUMAN BEINGS/WHO INHABIT THE WORLD.// WE HAVE NO PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES/THAT DESERVES THE NAME.// WE HAVE ALMOST NO MEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND PRESTIGE/WHO DARE SPEAK UP FOR PEACE.// COWED AND SILENT/WE FACE IMMEASURABLE CATASTROPHE/ AND THE FIRST DUTY OF AMERICAN NEGROES/IS TO REALIZE THIS FACT.

TO ILLUSTRATE/WHAT I AM TRYING TO SAY/LET ME REMIND YOU OF CERTAIN RECENT OCCURRENCES.// ON OCTOBER 27, 1951,/ EIGHT½ YEARS AGO, COLLIER'S MAGAZINE,/ A FLAMBOYANT PICTORIAL/ WITH A CIRCULATION/CLAIMED TO BE A MILLION AND A HALF,/ PUBLISHED A NUMBER/TO WHICH THE LEADERS OF AMERICAN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE/CONTRIBUTED.// AT A TIME/WHEN FEW SOCIALISTS IN THE UNITED STATES/DARED OPEN THEIR MOUTHS/AND MANY WERE IN JAIL,// WHEN ECONOMICS AND

48-9-20

SOCIAL SCIENCE/ WERE BEING TAUGHT IN OUR COLLEGES/ WITH THE UTMOST CAUTION/ AND WHEN I WAS BEING HANDCUFFED/ FOR ADVOCATING PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION,// THIS EXTRAORDINARY MAGAZINE WAS ON EVERY NEWSSTAND/ AND ON RADIO AND TELEVISION.// IT PREDICTED AND DESCRIBED/ IN 130 PAGES/ THE AGGRESSIVE WAR OF THE UNITED STATES/ AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.// THE EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS ~~PREDICTED~~ said THAT THIS YEAR/ 1960,/ WOULD SEE THE UTTER DESTRUCTION/ OF COMMUNISM THE WORLD OVER/ AND THE VICTORIOUS AMERICAN TROOPS/ WALKING THE STREETS OF MOSCOW.

WHO WROTE THESE WORDS/ AND MADE THESE PROPHECIES?// THE EDITORS SAY "THIS HISTORICAL REPORT/ WAS WRITTEN BY MANY OF THE WEST'S/ TOP HISTORIANS,/ POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY EXPERTS,/ COMMENTATORS AND ARTISTS."// AMONG THEM WERE ALLAN NEVINS,/ "ONE OF THE FOREMOST AMERICAN HISTORIANS,"/ STUART CHASE,/ EDWIN R. MURROW,/ ROBERT SHERWOOD,/ J. B. PRIESTLY,/ AND MARGARET CHASE SMITH.// SENATOR SMITH WROTE/ ON "RUSSIA'S REBIRTH"/ WHICH SHE PICTURED AS BEING ACCOMPLISHED/ BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS, presumably LIKE THOSE/ THEN RAPING KOREAN WOMEN/ AND BURNING KOREAN CHILDREN, alive AND DROPPING DISEASE GERMS ON CHINA.

FOR MYSELF/ I KNEW THAT THESE WRITERS WERE WRONG.// I HAD BEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

48-9-21

IN 1926 AND 1936.// IN 1949/ TWENTY-FIVE AMERICANS/ HAD BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND, (expenses paid) A SOVIET PEACE CONGRESS.// I WAS THE ONLY ONE WHO ACCEPTED.// I ADDRESSED A CROSS-SECTION/ OF THAT GREAT NATION. ~~& Madam of Peace~~ I DID NOT/ AS I WOULD HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED IN DOING/ DEVOTE THIS OPPORTUNITY/ TO DESCRIBING/ THE PLIGHT OF MY PEOPLE.// ON THE CONTRARY/ I CONTENDED THAT I WAS SPEAKING/ FOR THOSE AMERICANS/ WHO DID NOT WANT WAR/ AND THAT THEY WERE A MAJORITY OF THE NATION.// NO ONE VISITING THE SOVIET UNION/ AT THAT TIME/ COULD FOR A MOMENT DOUBT/ ITS PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. THE REPLY TO MY THESIS/ WAS THIS EXTRAORDINARY ARTICLE/ WHICH BROKE ALL RULES/ OF INTERNATIONAL DECENCY,// TOLD LIES AND SPREAD MISINFORMATION/ AND YET WAS RECEIVED WITH APPLAUSE/ IN MOST QUARTERS/ AND UNFORGIVABLE SILENCE/ IN OTHERS.

THE YEAR 1960 HAS COME/ AND IS OVER A THIRD GONE.// WHAT HAS HAPPENED? COLLIER'S MAGAZINE HAS GONE.// ITS VAUNTED MILLION AND A HALF READERS/ HAVE CEASED TO SUBSCRIBE/ BECAUSE THE ~~SMALL~~ "REDUCED PRICES"/ WHICH THEY CHARGED FOR COLLIER'S/ AND A DOZEN OTHER FLASHY PERIODICALS/ WHICH ARE THRUST DOWN OUR THROATS/ ARE NOT NEEDED BY THE PUBLISHERS/ SAVE as Bait to ~~TO ATTRACT~~ ADVERTISERS/ WHO PAY MILLIONS TO MAKE YOU BUY THEIR GOODS.// THE DAY WILL COME/ WHEN LIFE AND LOOK/ WILL PAY THEIR SUBSCRIBERS/ TO ALLOW THE USE OF THEIR NAMES.

48-9-22

AMERICAN TROOPS ARE NOT IN MOSCOW/AND ARE NOT PLANNING TO BE THERE.//BUT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES//IS GOING/AND WE HOPE/ON AN ERRAND OF PEACE/TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN GRACIOUSLY INVITED/BY THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET STATE//IN ONE OF THE GREATEST SPEECHES/OF OUR DAY.

ON THE OTHER HAND/THERE ARE SIGNS IN THIS NATION/WHICH SHOULD GIVE US PAUSE://THERE IS STEALING,/CHEATING, POISIONING,/GAMBLING AND KILLING/TO A FRIGHTENING DEGREE;// OUR EXPORTS/DO NOT PAY FOR OUR IMPORTS/AND WE ARE SETTLING THE DEFICIT//BY EXPORTING $4 BILLION OF OUR HORDE OF GOLD/IN THE LAST TWO YEARS;//UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG OUR WORKERS,/ DESPITE OUR DESPERATE EFFORTS//TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH,/ IS FAR TOO HIGH;//ADULTERATION OF FOOD/AND OVER-PRICING OF MEDICINES/HAVE REACHED ALARMING HEIGHTS/AND THE COST OF LIVING IS CONTINUOUSLY RISING.

48-9-23

~~SEEMS INEVITABLE.~~

PERHAPS OUR MOST UNFORGIVABLE DEED TODAY/IS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA.// HISTORICALLY IN AMERICA/"CHINKS" HAVE ALWAYS/RATED BELOW "WOPS" AND "NIGGERS."//NEGROES WERE LAZY AND JOLLY/AND THUS INFURIATED SLAVE-DRIVERS;//BUT CHINESE COOLIES/WORKED LIKE DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE.// THEY WERE VALUABLE/BECAUSE THEY WORKED HARD/FOR ALMOST NOTHING.//DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY/THEY WERE NOT ONLY WORKED AT HOME,/ BUT WERE TRANSPORTED IN DROVES / OVERSEAS LIKE SLAVES/To work for A FOR WHITE FOLK.// WHEN THEY SHOWED SIGNS OF REBELLION IN CHINA,/ WE BEGAN TO STEAL THEIR LAND,/ MAKE THEM BUY OPIUM//AND WE PLANNED TO DISTRIBUTE THE CHINESE EMPIRE/AMONG THE SUPERIOR WHITE NATIONS.// AMERICA WILLINGLY AGREED/SO LONG AS WE GOT EQUAL ENTRY/THROUGH THIS "OPEN DOOR."//THE CHRISTIAN WORLD/SENT DROVES OF MISSIONARIES/TO MAKE CHINESE SUBMISSION QUICK AND EASY.// THEN JUST AS WE WERE STRETCHING OUR CLAWS/TO PLUCK THE RICH FRUIT/OF THE "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"/SUN YAT SEN LED THE LAST REVOLT.// THE SOVIET UNION HELPED/AND CHIANG KAI SHEK ASSUMED LEADERSHIP.// OUR WAY WAS CLEAR./ DESPITE THE ADVICE OF OUR OWN GENERAL A STILLWELL,/ WE BRIBED CHIANG/TO BETRAY AND MURDER

48-9-24

COMMUNISTS // WE GAVE HIM MONEY AND ARMS / AND YET WITH DESPERATE DETERMINATION / CHINA WON ITS INDEPENDENCE / AND DROVE THE MURDEROUS TRAITOR / INTO THE SEA / WHERE HE STILL SQUATS ON AN ISLAND / PROTECTED BY OUR ~~GUNS~~ money. // WE HATE CHINA. // WE PROPOSE NEVER TO FORGIVE THE CHINESE. WE COUNT THEM OUTSIDE HUMANITY. // WE CHARGE THEM WITH EVERY CRIME / WE CAN INVENT. // I WAS ON THE BORDERS OF TIBET / LAST YEAR / WHEN CHINA SAVED ~~THE PEOPLE~~ Tibetan slaves / AND WE SHED CROCODILE TEARS. WE HAVE SYMPATHY AND MONEY / FOR THE SLAVE-DRIVERS / WHO HOLD THE DALAI LAMA AS PRISONER; // BUT FOR THE PRISONERS / IN OUR OWN OVERCROWDED JAILS / WHO REBEL EACH DAY / AND CRY IN VAIN FOR JUSTICE AND MERCY / OUR ONLY REMEDY / IS MORE JAILS. // THIS SHOWS THE INCREASE IN OUR RELIGION. / THIS SHOWS WHY WE TAX AMERICANS ~~WITH~~ into CRIME, / POVERTY AND SUICIDE / AND SPEND TEN TIMES / MORE FOR WAR / THAN FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH, / ~~THE~~ AND SOCIAL SECURITY. // OUR NATIONAL DEBT FOR WAR / IS GREATER THAN POSSIBLY / WE EVER WILL / OR CAN PAY.

THIS NATION TRIES TO PROVE ITS PROSPERITY / BY BALANCING THE MONOPOLIZED WEALTH / OF THE OWNERS OF ITS GREAT CORPORATIONS / AGAINST THE POVERTY OF OUR LOWER THIRD. // WHAT DOES THIS CALL FOR? // NOT FOR A COMPULSORY RUSH TOWARD SOCIALISM. // MANY OF US BELIEVE AND HOPE

48-9-25

THAT SOCIALISM / WILL AND MUST / COME TO THIS LAND. // WE SEE NO OTHER WAY. // BUT SCORES OF OTHERS / DO NOT BELIEVE THIS / AND THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. // BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT / TO PREVENT THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM / FROM BEING TOLD. // THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT STUDENTS / FROM STUDYING / THE REMARKABLE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX. // THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT AMERICANS FROM TRAVEL IN CHINA. // ESPECIALLY AMERICANS OF EMINENCE / MUST STOP THE SPREADING OF LIES / ABOUT THE SOCIALIST WORLD. // A FEW YEARS AGO, / I WAS INVITED TO THE HARVARD CLUB / OF NEW YORK / TO HEAR A FORMER PRESIDENT OF HARVARD / LECTURE ON SOVIET EDUCATION. // I WAS LOATHE TO ACCEPT / BECAUSE NO HARVARD CLUB / HAS EVER ADMITTED A NEGRO TO MEMBERSHIP. // BUT IT WAS MY DUTY TO GO. // KNOWLEDGE ALWAYS COSTS SOMETHING / AND THIS IS THE KIND OF CURRENCY / I HAVE OFTEN HAD TO PAY / IN ORDER TO KNOW.

PRESIDENT CONANT, / FORMER COMMISSIONER OF GERMANY / AND LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS THERE, // TOLD HIS AUDIENCE / THAT AFTER TWO VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION / HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO LEARN / ON WHAT BASIS OF EXAMINATION / RUSSIAN STUDENTS WERE GRADUATED / INTO THE UNIVERSITY. // NOW ON HIS RETURN TO AMERICA / HE HAD LEARNED THE TRUTH: THE

48-9-26

THE COMMUNIST PARTY/HAD REFUSED TO ALLOW STUDENTS/TO BE EXAMINED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ONLY FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTY.// HE HAD HARDLY GOT HIS MOUTH CLOSED/BEFORE SPUTNIK HAD CROSSED THE HEAVENS/AND THE BACK OF THE MOON HAD BEEN PHOTOGRAPHED,/ PROVING BEYOND DOUBT/ THE LEADERSHIP OF A COMMUNIST STATE/IN MODERN SCIENCE.// THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOVIET UNION/IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN/BECAME INDISPUTABLE/AND HER LEAD IN INDUSTRY SEEMS SOON INEVITABLE.

AMERICA MUST LET YOUTH KNOW./ AMERICAN STUDENTS MUST DARE/STUDY THE SOVIET UNION/ AND CHINA/AS CAREFULLY AS THEY STUDY/GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.// BUT ESPECIALLY AMERICAN NEGROES/MUST KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON/IN THE WORLD TODAY/AND LEARN FOR THEMSELVES/WHAT THIS HAS TO TEACH THEM/IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE,/GET RID OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/AND HELP AMERICA LIVE UP/AT LEAST TO A SHADOW/OF ITS VAIN BOAST AS THE LAND/OF THE FREE AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE.

48-9-28

REMEMBER HOW ONCE BROWNING SANG

"O TO BE IN ENGLAND, NOW THAT APRIL'S THERE!"

TODAY IN WISCONSIN ONE HEARS THE WINDS OF SPRING

BUT LISTEN LOW AND LONG: THE WAILS WE HEAR ARE NOT ALL SPRING

THERE MOANS BENEATH THE SWISH OF WHIPS THE LITHE THONGS OF SOUTH AFRICA

LASHING CIVILIZATION INTO NIGGERS: WITH DRIP OF BLOOD AND ROAR OF GUNS

AND SOB OF MOTHER AND BABIES!

THIS IS PART OF THE SYSTEM YOU DEFEND

AMERICANS HAVE THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS INVESTED IN SOUTH AFRICA

IT MUST MAKE PROFIT EVEN AS ENGLAND'S APRIL DOES

FOR OUR PROFIT THE BLACKS MUST WORK FOR WHAT WE OFFER. CHANT JEW AND CHRISTIAN:

"COME UNTO ME, ALL YE THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY LADEN," AND I WILL GIVE YOU HELL.

TAKE MY YOKE UPON YOU OR I WILL BASH YOUR BLACK FACES IN.

LISTEN TO THE WINDS

HEAR THE WAIL OF DEATH

AND WEEP.

12/1959

SOCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

DEMOCRACY HAS SO DISAPPEARED IN THE UNITED STATES THAT THERE ARE SOME SUBJECTS THAT CANNOT EVEN BE DISCUSSED. THE ESSENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IS FREE DISCUSSION. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN MEN WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TALK OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, EDUCATION FOR WOMEN OR FREEDOM FOR NEGRO SLAVES. TODAY COMMUNISM IS A DIRTY WORD AND SOCIALISM IS SUSPECT. I OFTEN REFER TO MY EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY. IN THE LITTLE NEW ENGLAND TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN WE HAD A HIGH SCHOOL OF ABOUT 25 PUPILS. I ENTERED IT IN 1880 AT THE AGE OF 12. AS I ATTENDED TOWN-MEETING ANNUALLY IN THE SPRING THERE USED REGULARLY TO APPEAR ONE OF THE DIRTIEST OLD MEN I EVER SAW. HE WAS FAT AND GREASY AND EVERY YEAR HE MADE A FIERCE ATTACK ON WORTHINGTON HIS TAXES ON A HIGH SCHOOL. I WAS ALWAYS FURIOUS. I WONDERED WHY THE CITIZENS SAT SILENT AND LET HIM RANT. BUT THEY DID, AND THEN QUIETLY THEY VOTED MONEY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL. THERE I LEARNED MY LESSON IN DEMOCRACY. LISTEN TO THE OTHER SIDE.

IN THIS STATE AND IN OUR TIME OCCURRED THE WORST BLOW TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WHICH OUR NATION HAS SUFFERED. SENATOR McCARTHY SUCCEEDED IN MAKING AMERICA AFRAID TO DISCUSS SOCIALISM OR TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNISM AS OUGHT BUT A CRIME AND CONSPIRACY. AND THIS, IN THE STATE OF ROBERT LaFOLLETTE. I KNEW LaFOLLETTE AND HIS VALIANT WIFE. I VOTED FOR HIM FOR PRESIDENT IN 1924, AND SAW HIM GIVE HIS LIFE FIGHTING MONOPOLIZED WEALTH AND ASKING WORLD PEACE. MY OWN WORK AT THE TIME WAS TRYING TO SECURE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY FOR AMERICAN NEGROES. FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY I EDITED A LITTLE MONTHLY MAGAZINE, THE CRISIS, AND DESPITE OPPOSITION I SPOKE PLAINLY. I WAS CRITICIZED AS BEING "BITTER," AS SEEKING NOT SIMPLY POLITICAL BUT SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR NEGROES; FOR FAVORING THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX AND FOR JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY. THESE ACCUSATIONS WERE TRUE, BUT LARGELY AS A RESULT OF MY WORK AND THE WORK OF OTHERS, THE NEGRO MADE PROGRESS TOWARD EQUAL CITIZENSHIP. PROGRESS, BUT NOT COMPLETE SUCCESS. THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR BROUGHT POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISTRESS WORSE THAN AMERICA HAD EVER SEEN AND THEN CAME A SURGE TOWARD SOCIALISM CALLED THE "NEW DEAL." THE NATION RELIEVED DISTRESS,

BUILT PUBLIC WORKS, HELPED AGRICULTURE AND TRADE, ENCOURAGED LITERATURE AND ART. IT JOINED THE SOVIET UNION IN OVERTHROWING HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND JAPAN AND IN FORMING THE UNITED NATIONS TO AVOID FUTURE WAR. WITH THE DEATH OF ROOSEVELT CAME REACTION. THE UNITED STATES NOT ONLY STOPPED PROGRESS TOWARD SOCIALISM, BUT CEASED TO DISCUSS OR STUDY IT AND CAME TO REGARD THE OBJECT OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AS A CRIME. ESPECIALLY AMERICAN NEGROES, STILL AS A MASS, POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK, WERE GIVEN NO OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW THE SORT OF PROGRESS THE WORLD WAS MAKING TO AMELIORATE THE PLIGHT OF THE UNFORTUNATE WORKING PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER WHO WERE IN CONDITIONS SIMILAR TO OURS. AMERICAN NEGROES WERE NOT SOCIALISTS NOR DID THEY KNOW WHAT COMMUNISM WAS OR WAS DOING. BUT THEY KNEW THAT NEGRO EDUCATION MUST BE BETTER; THAT NEGROES MUST HAVE BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AND TO RECEIVE A WAGE WHICH WOULD LET THEM ENJOY A DECENT STANDARD OF LIFE. THEY WERE VICTIMS OF DISEASE AND DRIFTING INTO CRIME. TO REMEDY THIS, THEY SOUGHT TO PATTERN THEIR LIFE AFTER SUCCESSFUL AMERICANS THEY MUST WORK HARD, SAVE MONEY, BECOME EMPLOYERS AND PROPERTY OWNERS AND INVESTORS. THIS THEY THOUGHT WOULD BRING THEM RECOGNITION AS AMERICAN CITIZENS EQUAL TO OTHERS. BUT AMERICA HAD CHANGED.

38-9-24

THERE WAS STILL A CHANCE FOR SOME TO RISE AND GET RICH, BUT THE WORKING CLASSES WERE NO LONGER GENERALLY ABLE TO BUY LAND, THEIR WAGES DID NOT AMOUNT TO WHAT THEY IN REALITY EARNED AND THOSE HANDICAPPED BY RACE PREJUDICE HAD SMALL CHANCE TO OVERCOME POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. A CLASS STRUCTURE BEGAN TO ARISE WITHIN THE NEGRO GROUP WHICH PRODUCED HAVES AND HAVE NOTS AND TENDED TO ENCOURAGE MORE SUCCESSFUL NEGROES TO JOIN THE FORCES OF MONOPOLY AND EXPLOITATION AND HELP VICTIMIZE THEIR OWN LOWER CLASSES.

38-9-25

TO REMEDY THIS SITUATION THINKING NEGROES STILL REGARDED [redacted] THEIR FIRST STEP TOWARD EMANCIPATION AS BEING POLITICAL POWER. THEY FELT THAT THEIR PRESENT PLIGHT WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT THEY HAD NEVER BECOME VOTING CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY AND THEIR FIRST EFFORTS WERE TOWARD GAINING THE REAL RIGHT TO VOTE.

THE YOUNG COLORED MEN IN 1905 EMPHASIZED THIS. THIS GROUP MEETING AT NIAGARA FALLS, CANADA, IN JUNE 1905 DEMANDED FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND CRITICISM, MANHOOD SUFFRAGE, THE ABOLITION OF ALL DISTINCTIONS BASED ON RACE, RECOGNITION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD AND RESPECT FOR THE WORKING MAN. THEY CALLED THEMSELVES THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

AND DESPITE VIOLENT ATTACK ON ALL SIDES MET AGAIN AT HARPERS FERRY THE NEXT YEAR. THERE THEY SAID: "IN THE PAST YEAR THE WORK OF THE NEGRO HATER HAS FLOURISHED IN THE LAND. STEP BY STEP THE DEFENDERS OF THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS HAVE RETREATED. THE WORK OF STEALING THE BLACK MAN'S BALLOT HAS PROGRESSED AND THE FIFTY AND MORE REPRESENTATIVES OF STOLEN VOTES STILL SIT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL....NEVER BEFORE IN THE MODERN AGE HAS A GREAT AND CIVILIZED FOLK THREATENED TO ADOPT SO COWARDLY A CREED IN THE TREATMENT OF ITS FELLOW-CITIZENS, BORN AND BRED ON ITS SOIL. STRIPPED OF VERBOSE SUBTERFUGE AND IN ITS NAKED NASTINESS, THE NEW AMERICAN CREED SAYS: FEAR TO LET BLACK MEN EVEN TRY TO RISE LEST THEY BECOME THE EQUALS OF THE WHITE. AND THIS IN THE LAND THAT PROFESSES TO FOLLOW JESUS CHRIST. THE BLASPHEMY OF SUCH A COURSE IS ONLY MATCHED BY ITS COWARDICE."

THE NAACP, ORGANIZED IN 1909, ADDED TO THE PROGRAM OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT THE REALIZATION THAT THE FIGHT FOR NEGRO FREEDOM COULD NOT BE CARRIED ON BY NEGROES ALONE BUT BY A NATIONAL MOVEMENT WHICH UNITED NEGROES AND WHITES. THEY EMPHASIZED THE ROLE WHICH PREJUDICE PLAYED, A PREJUDICE OFTEN UNCONSCIOUS BUT NEVERTHELESS EFFECTIVE.

THE NAACP MADE A NATIONWIDE FIGHT AGAINST THE HORROR OF LYNCHING AND MOB VIOLENCE AND THEN MORE AND MORE IT BEGAN TO CONCENTRATE ON THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF RACE DISCRIMINATION AND THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO WAS OPPRESSED BECAUSE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT BEING ENFORCED. THIS FIGHT HAD UNPRECEDENTED SUCCESS AND CULMINATED IN 1954 IN THE UNANIMOUS DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT AGAINST SEGREGATION.

BUT DURING ALL THIS STRUGGLE WE KNEW THAT SOMETHING STILL WAS LACKING. IF WE HARKED BACK TO THE CRY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NOT AND COULD NOT BE LIBERTY OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION UNDER THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH WAS GROWING UP IN THE WORLD LED BY THE UNITED STATES. PRODUCTION IN INDUSTRY AND TRADE INVOLVED PLANNING AND PLANNING CURTAILED LIBERTY. MOREOVER OUR INEQUALITY WAS A MATTER OF FACT. NEGROES WITH THEIR IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND SICKNESS WERE DISTINCTLY BELOW THE AVERAGE OF THOSE OF THEIR WHITE NEIGHBORS WHO WERE EDUCATED, WELL-TO-DO AND HEALTHY.

FINALLY, DESPITE ALL PROPAGANDA WE SAW DEMOCRACY FAILING IN AMERICA. FEWER AND FEWER PEOPLE WENT TO THE POLLS. IT WAS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO KNOW FOR WHOM OR FOR

WHAT ONE WAS VOTING AND THE COST OF ELECTIONS AROSE TO SUSPICIOUS HEIGHTS. THE ELECTION IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES COST ABOUT $100,000. THE ELECTION WHICH MADE DWIGHT EISENHOWER PRESIDENT PROBABLY COST MOST THAN $100 MILLION. INDEED IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT COST TWICE THAT AMOUNT. ELECTION EXPENSES TODAY INCLUDE NOT ONLY DIRECT BRIBERY BUT INDIRECT INFLUENCES, MONOPOLY, PROPAGANDA AND DECEPTION. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE APPEAL OF SOCIALISM TO ALL AMERICANS AND TO NEGROES INCREASED. BUT THE ANSWER TO THE DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX AND THE UTOPIAS OF FOURIER AND OTHERS WAS THAT WITH HUMAN NATURE AS IT IS SOCIALISM SIMPLY WOULD NOT WORK.

38-9-28

TO ME THE OBVIOUS APPROACH TO SOCIALISM SEEMED CONSUMERS' COOPERATION. I TRIED TO PLAN AN ORGANIZATION AMONG NEGROES AS CONSUMERS WHICH WOULD FURNISH EMPLOYMENT, HELP SAVINGS AND BRING UNITY OF ACTION, BUT IT WAS SOON EVIDENT AS MANY OF MY NEGRO FELLOW WORKERS WARNED ME FROM THE BEGINNING, THAT INDIVIDUAL ACTION ALONE COULD NOT BRING CONSUMER COOPERATION. THAT WITHOUT THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT IT WOULD FAIL AND WITH GOVERNMENT COOPERATION IT WAS SOCIALISM. MY OWN TRAINING IN THIS THOUGHT CAME FROM

TRAVEL: MY TWO YEARS SOJOURN IN GERMANY AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY WHERE I SAW THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY; MY REPEATED VISITS TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY; MY VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION IN 1926, 1936 AND 1949. THEN AS A PECULIAR AFTERMATH OF THE TWO WORLD WARS AND MY ADVOCACY OF PEACE, MY TRAVEL ABROAD WAS STOPPED FROM 1950 to 1958. IN 1958 I WAS ABLE TO MAKE A TRIP COVERING 11 MONTHS IN WHICH I VISITED WESTERN EUROPE, EASTERN EUROPE INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THIS TRIP COMPLETELY TRANSFORMED MY THINKING. I STARTED ON IT BELIEVING THAT SOCIALISM WAS A POSSIBLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, AND WAS BEING CARRIED ON SUCCESSFULLY IN EASTERN EUROPE; THAT CAPITALISM WAS ALSO A SUCCESSFUL FORM OF ORGANIZATION AND WHILE IT MIGHT DEGENERATE INTO FASCISM AND THE RULE OF WEALTH, NEVERTHELESS IT COULD AS HAD BEEN PROVEN BY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, BECOME A PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION. I RETURNED WITH COMPLETELY CHANGED IDEAS. I SAW SOCIALISM AS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL FORM OF GOVERNMENT TODAY POSSIBLE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. I SAW IT EVOLVING INTO COMMUNISM TO AN ASTONISHINGLY SUCCESSFUL DEGREE. ON THE OTHER HAND I WAS FRIGHTENED AND

38-9-29

AM STILL ALARMED AT THE DEGENERACY OF CAPITALISM AND THE POSSIBILITY OF IT BECOMING A FORCE SO DESTRUCTIVE THAT IT CANNOT BE ENDURED.

ONE OF MY FIRST EXPERIENCES WAS IN ENGLAND. I HAD IN LONDON A SEVERE ATTACK OF INTESTINAL DISORDER. A YOUNG PHYSICIAN SUMMONED AT MIDNIGHT CAME AND TREATED ME. HE MADE SIX OR MORE VISITS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS UNTIL HE HAD ME COMPLETELY ON MY FEET. WHEN I ASKED FOR MY BILL I WAS TOLD THAT THERE WAS NO CHARGE, THAT HIS SERVICES WERE PAID FOR BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. I REMINDED HIM THAT I WAS AN AMERICAN AND THAT IN AMERICA WE WERE REPEATEDLY INFORMED THAT SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN GREAT BRITAIN WAS A FAILURE. HE SMILED. THE ONLY COST OF MY ILLNESS WAS THE MEDICINE WHICH HE PRESCRIBED AND THAT WAS LESS THAN $5.

ON THE OTHER HAND I FOUND GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, HOLLAND AND BELGIUM COUNTRIES WHICH FOR PAST CENTURIES HAD BUILT THEIR COMFORT, PROSPERITY AND CIVILIZATION MAINLY ON THE FREE LAND AND MATERIALS AND CHEAP LABOR PARTLY OF THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS, BUT MAINLY OF COLORED PEOPLE OVERSEAS WHOM THEY DOMINATED BY THEIR COLONIAL EMPIRES. IN 1958 IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE END OF THIS COLONIALISM WAS IN SIGHT. ALREADY MOST OF THE COLONIES

OF HOLLAND HAD BECOME INDEPENDENT. BRITAIN HAD LOST THE EMPIRE OF INDIA AND FRANCE WAS FIGHTING IN VAIN TO HOLD NORTH AFRICA. YET DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE COLONIAL ORGANIZATION MUST END, THESE THREE GREAT COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND OTHERS LIKE ITALY, GERMANY AND SPAIN WERE DEPENDING FOR THEIR FUTURE LIFE ON MATERIALS WHICH THEY UNDERPRICED IN THE WORLD MARKET, ON STOLEN LAND, AND ON LABOR WRETCHEDLY UNDERPAID. THE POLITICAL POWER TO CARRY ON THIS PROCESS DEPENDED UPON THE LABORING CLASS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA AND THAT LABORING CLASS WAS BEING BRIBED BY POLITICAL POWER AND HIGH WAGES WHICH CAME NOT SO MUCH OUT OF THE PROFITS OF THE EMPLOYERS AS OUT OF THE LOW WAGES OF COLORED LABOR. I DID NOT SENSE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND CERTAINLY I HAD NOT SEEN IN AMERICA ANY DISPOSITION SO TO IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AS TO MAKE ANY ESSENTIAL CHANGE IN THE PRESENT CAPITALIST SYSTEM. ON THE OTHER HAND I WAS ASTONISHED AND ENCOURAGED BY WHAT I SAW SOCIALISM DOING. NOT ONLY DID I SEE RESULTS OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN ENGLAND; PROGRESS IN HOUSING, HEALTH AND WORKERS' PENSIONS IN SWEDEN, HOLLAND, BELGIUM AND FRANCE, BUT IN THE SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND EAST GERMANY, I SAW A

CHANGE OF ATTITUDE WHICH REGARDED THE MASSES OF PEOPLE NOT AS THE WARDS AND BENEFICIARIES OF THE RULERS OF THE NATION BUT AS THE MAIN BODY WHICH ITSELF OWNED THE NATION AND FOR WHICH THE NATION EXISTED; AND AS THE RESERVOIR OUT OF WHICH WERE BEING RECRUITED THOSE WHO WERE MAKING CIVILIZATION.

IN CHINA IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE PROCESS WAS GOING EVEN FURTHER AND THAT HUMAN NATURE WAS BEING SO CHANGED THAT INSTEAD OF THE SELF-SEEKING AND CLASS-HATRED WHICH SO CHARACTERIZED THE WEST, THERE WAS COMING A SENSE OF PARTNERSHIP IN A VAST AND GROWING NATION; OF WILLING COOPERATION AND OF A WIDESPREAD CONTENT AND HAPPINESS WHICH I HAD SEEN NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD. ALL THIS WAS MY DEEP AND FIRM IMPRESSION. I CANNOT PROVE IT, PARTICULARLY NOT TO YOU WHO HAVE BEEN POISONED BY LIES AND DISTORTION FOR TEN YEARS. AFTER ALL I SAW THESE COUNTRIES ONLY PARTIALLY AND FOR BRIEF VISITS. YET I AM A TRAVELLER OF EXPERIENCE AND I KNOW PERSONALLY THE TRIALS OF THE POOR AND DESPISED. I WAS GIVEN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR OBSERVATION AND THUS MY CONCLUSIONS ARE OF VALUE.

38-9-32

I SAW THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. TODAY MORE THAN HALF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD LIVE UNDER A SOCIALISM WHICH IS GROWING TOWARD COMPLETE COMMUNISM. IN MY MIND THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE WORLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY WILL BE OVERWHELMINGLY COMMUNISTIC.

RETURNING NOW TO THE UNITED STATES, I LOOK AGAIN UPON THE SCENE. THE LEGAL FIGHT LED BY THE NAACP HAS BEEN AN ASTONISHING SUCCESS.. BUT ITS VERY SUCCESS SHOWS THE LIMITATIONS OF LAW AND LAW ENFORCEMENT UNLESS IT HAS AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM; UNLESS THE MASS OF PEOPLE HAVE NOT SIMPLY LEGAL RIGHTS BUT HAVE SUCH RIGHTS TO WORK AND WAGE THAT ENABLE THEM TO LIVE DECENTLY. HERE IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE HAD A STIRRING IN THE NEGRO POPULATION WHICH EMPHASIZED THESE FACTS. IN THE SLAVE SOUTH NEGROES IMPOVERISHED AND MISTREATED HAVE SOUGHT REMEDY BY POURING INTO THE CITIES OF THE SOUTH AND ESPECIALLY THE GREAT CITIES OF THE NORTH. THERE THEY HAVE CAUSED PROBLEMS OF HOUSING AND OF CRIME, POVERTY AND DISEASE. IT SPELLS THE DAMNATION OF YOUTH AND DEATH OF CHILDREN AND THE DEGRADATION OF WOMEN. THROUGH THIS THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS PASSING. IT EMPHASIZES OUR NATIONAL PROBLEM OF GAMBLING, PROSTITUTION, DRUG USING, MURDER AND SUICIDE. ON THE OTHER

38-9-33

HAND THE NEGROES WHO HAVE GROWN IN INTELLIGENCE AND AWARENESS OF THEIR HANDICAPS, THEY HAVE BEGUN TO FIGHT BACK BY THE USE OF THE BOYCOTT AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE. THE EXPERIENCE IN MONTGOMERY, THE EXTRAORDINARY UPRISING OF THE STUDENTS ALL OVER THE SOUTH AND BEGINNING IN THE NORTH, SHOWS AN AWARENESS OF OUR SITUATION WHICH IS MOST ENCOURAGING. BUT IT STILL DOES NOT REACH THE CENTER OF THE PROBLEM. AND THAT CENTER IS NOT SIMPLY THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO SPEND THEIR MONEY AS THEY WISH AND ACCORDING TO LAW, BUT THE CHANCE FOR AMERICAN NEGROES TO HAVE MONEY TO SPEND BECAUSE OF EMPLOYMENT IN WHICH THEY CAN MAKE A DECENT WAGE. WHAT THEN IS THE NEXT STEP? IT IS FOR AMERICAN NEGROES IN INCREASING NUMBERS AND MORE AND MORE WIDELY TO INSIST UPON THE LEGAL RIGHTS WHICH ARE ALREADY THEIRS AND TO ADD TO THAT INCREASINGLY A SOCIALISTIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AN INSISTENCE UPON THE WELFARE STATE WHICH DENIES THE FURTHER CARRYING ON OF INDUSTRY FOR THE PROFIT OF THOSE CORPORATIONS WHICH MONOPOLIZE WEALTH AND POWER. THE STOPPING OF A GOVERNMENT OF WEALTH FOR WEALTH AND BY WEALTH AND A RETURNING OF GOVERNMENTAL POWER TO THE INDIVIDUAL VOTER WITH ALL THE FREEDOM OF ACTION WHICH CAN BE PRESERVED ALONG WITH AN INDUSTRY CAREFULLY ORGANIZED

32-9-34

FOR THE GOOD OF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE AND NOT FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF MILLIONAIRES. DOES CAPITALISM OFFER SUCH A PROGRAM? IT DOES NOT. IT OFFERS WAR.

WE HAVE GONE INSANE WITH THE IDEA THAT WE ARE GOING TO RULE THE WORLD BY PHYSICAL FORCE. MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH WE ARE SPENDING FANTASTIC SUMS OF MONEY TO PREPARE FOR WAR AND BASING THIS NECESSITY OF WAR PREPARATION ON DISLIKE, DISTRUST AND CONTEMPT FOR MOST OF THE HUMAN BEINGS WHO INHABIT THE WORLD. WE HAVE NO PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES THAT DESERVES THE NAME. WE HAVE ALMOST NO MEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND PRESTIGE WHO DARE SPEAK UP FOR PEACE. COWED AND SILENT WE FACE IMMEASURABLE CATASTROPHE AND THE FIRST DUTY OF AMERICAN NEGROES IS TO REALIZE THIS FACT.

32-9-35

TO ILLUSTRATE WHAT I AM TRYING TO SAY LET ME REMIND YOU OF CERTAIN RECENT OCCURRENCES. ON OCTOBER 27, 1951, EIGHT YEARS AGO, COLLIER'S MAGAZINE, A FLAMBOYANT PICTORIAL WITH A CIRCULATION CLAIMED TO BE A MILLION AND A HALF, PUBLISHED A NUMBER TO WHICH THE LEADERS OF AMERICAN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE CONTRIBUTED. AT A TIME WHEN FEW SOCIALISTS IN THE UNITED STATES DARED OPEN THEIR MOUTHS AND MANY WERE IN JAIL; WHEN ECONOMICS AND

SOCIAL SCIENCE WERE BEING TAUGHT IN OUR COLLEGES WITH THE UTMOST CAUTION AND WHEN I WAS BEING HANDCUFFED FOR ADVOCATING PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THIS EXTRAORDINARY MAGAZINE WAS ON EVERY NEWSSTAND AND IN RADIO AND TELEVISION. IT PREDICTED AND DESCRIBED IN 130 PAGES THE AGGRESSIVE WAR OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THE EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS SAID THAT THIS YEAR, 1960, WOULD SEE THE UTTER DESTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM THE WORLD OVER AND THE VICTORIOUS AMERICAN TROOPS WALKING THE STREETS OF MOSCOW.

WHO WROTE THESE WORDS AND MADE THESE PROPHECIES? THE EDITORS SAY "THIS HISTORICAL REPORT WAS WRITTEN BY MANY OF THE WEST'S TOP HISTORIANS, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY EXPERTS, COMMENTATORS AND ARTISTS." AMONG THEM WERE ALLAN NEVINS, "ONE OF THE FOREMOST AMERICAN HISTORIANS," STUART CHASE, EDWIN R. MURROW, ROBERT SHERWOOD, J. B. PRIESTLY, AND MARGARET CHASE SMITH. SENATOR SMITH WROTE ON "RUSSIA'S REBIRTH" WHICH SHE PICTURED AS BEING ACCOMPLISHED BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS, PRESUMABLY LIKE THOSE THEN RAPING KOREAN WOMEN AND BURNING KOREAN CHILDREN ALIVE AND DROPPING DISEASE GERMS OF CHINA.

38-9-36

FOR MYSELF I KNEW THAT THESE WRITERS WERE WRONG. I HAD BEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

IN 1926 AND 1936. IN 1949 TWENTY-FIVE AMERICANS HAD BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND A SOVIET PEACE CONGRESS. I WAS THE ONLY ONE WHO ACCEPTED. I ADDRESSED A CROSS-SECTION OF THAT GREAT NATION, A NATION OF PEACE, I DID NOT AS I WOULD HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED IN DOING DEVOTE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DESCRIBING THE PLIGHT OF MY PEOPLE. ON THE CONTRARY I CONTENDED THAT I WAS SPEAKING FOR THOSE AMERICANS WHO DID NOT WANT WAR AND THAT THEY WERE A MAJORITY OF THE NATION. NO ONE VISITING THE SOVIET UNION AT THAT TIME COULD FOR A MOMENT DOUBT ITS PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. THE REPLY TO MY THESIS WAS THIS EXTRAORDINARY ARTICLE WHICH BROKE ALL RULES OF INTERNATIONAL DECENCY, TOLD LIES AND SPREAD MISINFORMATION AND YET WAS RECEIVED WITH APPLAUSE IN MOST QUARTERS AND UNFORGIVABLE SILENCE IN OTHERS.

38-9-37

THE YEAR 1960 HAS COME AND IS OVER A THIRD GONE. WHAT HAS HAPPENED? COLLIER'S MAGAZINE HAS GONE. ITS VAUNTED MILLION AND A HALF READERS HAVE CEASED TO SUBSCRIBE BECAUSE THE SMALL "REDUCED PRICES" WHICH THEY CHARGED FOR COLLIER'S AND A DOZEN OTHER FLASHY PERIODICALS WHICH ARE THRUST DOWN OUR THROATS ARE NOT NEEDED BY THE PUBLISHERS SAVE AS BAIT TO ADVERTISERS WHO PAY MILLIONS TO MAKE YOU BUY THEIR GOODS. THE DAY WILL COME WHEN LIFE AND LOOK WILL PAY THEIR SUBSCRIBERS TO ALLOW THE USE OF THEIR NAMES.

AMERICAN TROOPS ARE NOT IN MOSCOW AND ARE NOT PLANNING TO BE THERE. BUT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS GOING AND WE HOPE ON AN ERRAND OF PEACE TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN GRACIOUSLY INVITED BY THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET STATE IN ONE OF THE GREATEST SPEECHES OF OUR DAY.

ON THE OTHER HAND THERE ARE SIGNS IN THIS NATION WHICH SHOULD GIVE US PAUSE: THERE IS STEALING, CHEATING, POISONING, GAMBLING AND KILLING TO A FRIGHTENING DEGREE; OUR EXPORTS DO NOT PAY FOR OUR IMPORTS AND WE ARE SETTLING THE DEFICIT BY EXPORTING $4 BILLION OF OUR HORDE OF GOLD IN THE LAST TWO YEARS; UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG OUR WORKERS, DESPITE OUR DESPERATE EFFORTS TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH, IS FAR TOO HIGH; ADULTERATION OF FOOD AND OVER-PRICING OF MEDICINES HAVE REACHED ALARMING HEIGHTS AND THE COST OF LIVING IS CONTINUOUSLY RISING.

38-9-38

~~SEEMS INVINCIBLE.~~

PERHAPS OUR MOST UNFORGIVABLE DEED TODAY IS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA. HISTORICALLY IN AMERICA "CHINKS" HAVE ALWAYS RATED BELOW "WOPS" AND "NIGGERS." NEGROES WERE LAZY AND JOLLY AND THUS INFURIATED SLAVE-DRIVERS; BUT CHINESE COOLIES WORKED LIKE DUMB, DRIVEN CATTLE. THEY WERE VALUABLE BECAUSE THEY WORKED HARD FOR ALMOST NOTHING. DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THEY WERE NOT ONLY WORKED AT HOME, BUT WERE TRANSPORTED IN DROVES OVERSEAS LIKE SLAVES TO WORK FOR WHITE FOLK. WHEN THEY SHOWED SIGNS OF REBELLION IN CHINA, WE BEGAN TO STEAL THEIR LAND, MAKE THEM BUY OPIUM AND WE PLANNED TO DISTRIBUTE THE CHINESE EMPIRE AMONG THE SUPERIOR WHITE NATIONS. AMERICA WILLINGLY AGREED SO LONG AS WE GOT EQUAL ENTRY THROUGH THIS "OPEN DOOR." THE CHRISTIAN WORLD SENT DROVES OF MISSIONARIES TO MAKE CHINESE SUBMISSION QUICK AND EASY. THEN JUST AS WE WERE STRETCHING OUR CLAWS TO PLUCK THE RICH FRUIT OF THE "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" SUN YAT SEN LED THE LAST REVOLT. THE SOVIET UNION HELPED AND CHIANG KAI SHEK ASSUMED LEADERSHIP. OUR WAY WAS CLEAR. DESPITE THE ADVICE OF OUR OWN GENERAL STILLWELL, WE BRIBED CHIANG TO BETRAY AND MURDER

38-9-39

COMMUNISTS. WE GAVE HIM MONEY AND ARMS AND YET WITH DESPERATE DETERMINATION CHINA WON ITS INDEPENDENCE AND DROVE THE MURDEROUS TRAITOR INTO THE SEA WHERE HE STILL SQUATS ON AN ISLAND PROTECTED BY OUR ~~GUNS~~ MONEY AND GUNS. WE HATE CHINA. WE PROPOSE NEVER TO FORGIVE THE CHINESE. WE COUNT THEM OUTSIDE HUMANITY. WE CHARGE THEM WITH EVERY CRIME WE CAN INVENT. I WAS ON THE BORDERS OF TIBET LAST YEAR WHEN CHINA SAVED ITS PEOPLE AND WE SHED CROCODILE TEARS. WE HAVE SYMPATHY AND MONEY FOR THE SLAVE-DRIVERS WHO HOLD THE DALAI LAMA AS PRISONER; BUT FOR THE PRISONERS IN OUR OWN OVERCROWDED JAILS WHO REBEL EACH DAY AND CRY IN VAIN FOR JUSTICE AND MERCY OUR ONLY REMEDY IS MORE JAILS. THIS SHOWS THE INCREASE IN OUR RELIGION. THIS SHOWS WHY WE TAX AMERICANS ~~[illegible]~~ INTO CRIME, POVERTY AND SUICIDE AND SPEND TEN TIMES MORE FOR WAR THAN FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH, AGE AND SOCIAL SECURITY. OUR NATIONAL DEBT FOR WAR IS GREATER THAN POSSIBLY WE EVER WILL OR CAN PAY.

38-9-40

THIS NATION TRIES TO PROVE ITS PROSPERITY BY BALANCING THE MONOPOLIZED WEALTH OF THE OWNERS OF ITS GREAT CORPORATIONS AGAINST THE POVERTY OF OUR LOWER THIRD. WHAT DOES THIS CALL FOR? NOT FOR A COMPULSORY RUSH TOWARD SOCIALISM. MANY OF US BELIEVE AND HOPE

THAT SOCIALISM WILL AND MUST COME TO THIS LAND. WE SEE NO OTHER WAY. BUT SCORES OF OTHERS DO NOT BELIEVE THIS AND THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. BUT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM FROM BEING TOLD. THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT STUDENTS FROM STUDYING THE REMARKABLE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX; THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PREVENT AMERICANS FROM TRAVEL IN CHINA. ESPECIALLY AMERICANS OF EMINENCE MUST STOP THE SPREADING OF LIES ABOUT THE SOCIALIST WORLD. A FEW YEARS AGO, I WAS INVITED TO THE HARVARD CLUB OF NEW YORK TO HEAR A FORMER PRESIDENT OF HARVARD LECTURE ON SOVIET EDUCATION. I WAS LOATHE TO ACCEPT BECAUSE NO HARVARD CLUB HAS EVER ADMITTED A NEGRO TO MEMBERSHIP. BUT IT WAS MY DUTY TO GO. KNOWLEDGE ALWAYS COSTS SOMETHING AND THIS IS THE KIND OF CURRENCY I HAVE OFTEN HAD TO PAY IN ORDER TO KNOW.

38-9-41

PRESIDENT CONANT, FORMER COMMISSIONER OF GERMANY AND LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS THERE, TOLD HIS AUDIENCE THAT AFTER TWO VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO LEARN ON WHAT BASIS OF EXAMINATION RUSSIAN STUDENTS WERE GRADUATED INTO THE UNIVERSITY..NOW ON HIS RETURN TO AMERICA, HE HAD LEARNED THE TRUTH: THE

THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAD REFUSED TO ALLOW STUDENTS TO BE EXAMINED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ONLY FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTY. HE HAD HARDLY GOT HIS MOUTH CLOSED BEFORE SPUTNIK HAD CROSSED THE HEAVENS AND THE BACK OF THE MOON HAD BEEN PHOTOGRAPHED, PROVING BEYOND DOUBT THE LEADERSHIP OF A COMMUNIST STATE IN MODERN SCIENCE. THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN BECAME INDISPUTABLE AND HER LEAD IN INDUSTRY SEEMS SOON INEVITABLE.

AMERICA MUST LET YOUTH KNOW. AMERICAN STUDENTS MUST DARE STUDY THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA AS CAREFULLY AS THEY STUDY GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. BUT ESPECIALLY AMERICAN NEGROES MUST KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD TODAY AND LEARN FOR THEMSELVES WHAT THIS HAS TO TEACH THEM IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, GET RID OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE AND HELP AMERICA LIVE UP AT LEAST TO A SHADOW OF ITS VAIN BOAST AS THE LAND OF THE FREE AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE.

32-9-42

38-9-43

BECAUSE OUR LIVES ARE COWARDLY AND SLY,
BECAUSE WE DO NOT DARE TO TAKE OR GIVE,
BECAUSE WE SCOWL AND PASS EACH OTHER BY,
WE DO NOT LIVE; WE DO NOT DARE TO LIVE.

• • • • • •

LET US GO OUT AND WALK UPON THE ROAD,
AND QUIT FOR EVERMORE THE BRICK-BUILT DEN,
THE LOCK AND KEY, HIDDEN, SHY ABODE
THAT SEPARATES US FROM OUR FELLOW-MEN.

AND BY CONTAGION OF THE SUN WE MAY
CATCH AT A SPARK FROM THAT PRIMEVAL FIRE,
AND LEARN THAT WE ARE BETTER THAN OUR CLAY,
AND EQUAL TO THE PEAKS OF OUR DESIRE.

48-9-30

SOCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

DEMOCRACY HAS SO DISAPPEARED/IN THE UNITED STATES/THAT THERE ARE SOME SUBJECTS/ THAT CANNOT EVEN BE DISCUSSED.//THE ESSENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/IS FREE DISCUSSION./ THERE WAS A TIME/WHEN MEN WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TALK/OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE,/EDUCATION FOR WOMEN/OR FREEDOM FOR NEGRO SLAVES.//TODAY COMMUNISM/IS A DIRTY WORD/AND SOCIALISM IS SUSPECT.// I OFTEN REFER TO MY EDUCATION/IN DEMOCRACY.//IN THE LITTLE NEW ENGLAND TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN/WE HAD A HIGH SCHOOL OF ABOUT 25 PUPILS./// I ENTERED IT IN 1880/AT THE AGE OF TWELVE.// AS I ATTENDED TOWN-MEETING/ANNUALLY IN THE SPRING/THERE USED REGULARLY TO APPEAR/ONE OF THE DIRTIEST OLD MEN/I EVER SAW.//HE WAS FAT AND GREASY/AND EVERY YEAR/HE MADE A FIERCE ATTACK/ON WASTING HIS TAXES/ON A HIGH SCHOOL.// I WAS ALWAYS FURIOUS.//I WONDERED WHY THE CITIZENS/SAT SILENT AND LET HIM RANT./ BUT THEY DID, AND

48-9-29 17 Socialism & the Amer Negro

AMERICAN TROOPS/ARE NOT IN MOSCOW/AND ARE NOT PLANNING TO BE THERE.// BUT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/IS GOING/AND WE HOPE/ON AN ERRAND OF PEACE/TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN GRACIOUSLY INVITED/BY THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET STATE/IN ONE OF THE GREATEST SPEECHES/OF OUR DAY.

ON THE OTHER HAND/THERE ARE SIGNS IN THIS NATION/WHICH SHOULD GIVE US PAUSE:// THERE IS STEALING/ CHEATING, POISONING/ GAMBLING AND KILLING/TO A FRIGHTENING DEGREE;// OUR EXPORTS/DO NOT PAY FOR OUR IMPORTS/AND WE ARE SETTLING THE DEFICIT/BY EXPORTING $4 BILLION OF OUR HORDE OF GOLD/IN THE LAST TWO YEARS//UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG OUR WORKERS,/ DESPITE OUR DESPERATE EFFORTS/TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH,/ IS FAR TOO HIGH://ADULTERATION OF FOOD/AND OVER-PRICING OF MEDICINES/HAVE REACHED ALARMING HEIGHTS/AND THE COST OF LIVING IS/RISING. (Continuously)

48-9-32

THE COMMUNIST PARTY/ HAD REFUSED TO ALLOW STUDENTS/TO BE EXAMINED IN ORDER/TO PROMOTE ONLY FOLLOWERS OF THE PARTY.// HE HAD HARDLY GOT HIS MOUTH CLOSED/ BEFORE ~~WORLD PROOF OF THE SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET EDUCATION WAS KNOWN TO THE WORLD.~~

AMERICA MUST LET YOUTH KNOW. AMERICAN STUDENTS MUST DARE STUDY THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA AS CAREFULLY AS THEY STUDY GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. BUT ESPECIALLY AMERICAN NEGROES MUST KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD TODAY AND LEARN FOR THEMSELVES WHAT THIS HAS TO TEACH THEM IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, GET RID OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE AND HELP AMERICA LIVE UP AT LEAST TO A SHADOW OF ITS VAIN BOAST AS THE LAND OF THE FREE AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE.

48-9-31

SPUTNIK ~~HAS~~ CROSSED THE HEAVENS/AND THE BACK OF THE MOON ~~WAS~~ had been PHOTOGRAPHED.// PROVING BEYOND DOUBT/ THE LEADERSHIP OF A COMMUNIST STATE/IN MODERN SCIENCE.//THE SUPERIORTY OF THE SOVIET UNION/IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN/ ~~WAS~~ became INDISPUTABLE/AND HER LEAD IN INDUSTRY seems soon inevitable

48-9-27

REMEMBER HOW ONCE BROWNING SANG:
"O TO BE IN ENGLAND, NOW THAT APRIL'S THERE!"
TODAY IN WISCONSIN/ONE HEARS THE WINDS OF SPRING/
BUT LISTEN LOW AND LONG/ THE WAILS WE HEAR/ARE NOT ALL SPRING/
THERE MOANS/BENEATH/ THE ~~LASH~~ SWISH OF WHIPS/ THE LITHE THONGS OF SOUTH AFRICA/
LASHING CIVILIZATION/INTO NIGGERS://WITH DRIP OF BLOOD/AND ROAR OF GUNS
AND SOB OF MOTHER AND BABIES!
THIS IS PART/OF THE SYSTEM YOU DEFEND/
AMERICANS/HAVE THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS/INVESTED IN SOUTH AFRICA
IT MUST MAKE PROFIT/EVEN AS ENGLAND'S APRIL DOES
FOR OUR PROFIT/THE BLACKS MUST WORK/FOR WHAT WE OFFER! "COME UNTO ME,
ALL YE THAT LABOR/AND ARE HEAVY-LADEN" CHANT JEW AND CHRISTIAN,
AND I WILL GIVE YOU HELL.
LISTEN TO THE WINDS
HEAR THE WAIL OF DEATH
AND WEEP.

Take my yoke upon you
or I will bash your black
face in

There is one difference in Socialist lands difficult to explain to Americans. In Western Capitalist nations since the 19th century the average worker is indifferent to his work or even dislikes it. He is interested not in the result of his work but in the amount of his wage. Some teachers like to guide youth. Most teachers are indifferent to children, but want the salary. Most lawyers are not interested in Justice but in fees. Some physicians like the study of medicine but hosts of others want income and status. The overwhelming mass of artisans, factory workers and laborers regard work as punishment or even hate it and unite in unions to increase wages and decrease production.

In Socialist lands the worker is chiefly concerned in the results of his work -- justice, health, literacy; tons of steel and coal, better machines, larger crops and cheaper food. They hail methods which lessen toil and allow no private monopoly of invention. They rush to vote and vote to increase production and not to corner a market. Their wage income and happiness does not depend on what each individual can seize or steal but on what all workers can do by working together according to plan.

But if a Socialist tells this to a Western employer or trade unionist the answer is that of the man who first saw a giraffe -- this is impossible. "There ain't no such animal!" What I am trying to say tonight is that there is such a way of life and it works.

c1954

Notes

04-8-32

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In Socialist lands the worker is chiefly concerned in the results of his work — justice, health, literacy; tons of steel & coal, better machines, longer crops & cheaper food. They hail inventions methods which lessen toil & allow no private monopoly of invention. They rush to vote & vote to increase production & not to corner a market. Their wage income and happiness does not depend on what each individual can seize or ~~steal~~ steal but on what all workers can do by ~~united effort~~ working together as only to them

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38-8-41

Burnham Memorial
4/28/60
New York Center
auspices: National Guardian

LOUIS BURNHAM

by W. E. B. DU BOIS

I KNEW LOUIS BURNHAM FOR ABOUT 25 YEARS. // THERE ARE MANY MATTERS OF WHICH I MIGHT SPEAK CONCERNING HIM; // OF THE WORK HE DID; OF THE WORK HE WAS DOING AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH; AND OF WHAT HE MIGHT YET HAVE DONE HAD HE LIVED. // I MIGHT REFER AS ALL OF YOU MUST TO THE FUTURE OF HIS FAMILY AND THE EDUCATION OF HIS CHILDREN. // AND ABOVE ALL NONE CAN FORGET HIS HONESTY AND UTTER SACRIFICE.

I SPEAK, HOWEVER, ONLY OF ONE MATTER WHICH SEEMS TO ME OF GREATEST MOMENT TO THIS AUDIENCE. // WHAT I WANT TO SAY HAS TO DO WITH THE SAVING OF LIVES LIKE THAT OF LOUIS BURNHAM; // THE STOPPING OF THE VAST AND RECKLESS WASTE WHICH GOES ON EACH YEAR IN THIS COUNTRY AND OTHERS, AND DEPRIVES THE WORLD OF IRREPLACEABLE HELP FOR THE TASKS WHICH WE HAVE TO DO.

HERE WAS A MAN OF 44 AT THE BEGINNING OF WHAT WE REGARD AS THE PRIME OF LIFE.

HIS EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP HAD ENDED AND HIS FULL LIFE BEGUN. // SUDDENLY HE IS DEAD. // WHY? LET US TAKE REFUGE IN NO MYSTICAL FATALISM. // HE IS DEAD BECAUSE IN HIS BUSY LIFE HE DID NOT FIND SUFFICIENT TIME TO ATTEND TO THE NEEDS OF HIS BODY. // HE HAD A GOOD BODY, NOT WEAK NOR DEFORMED, COMELY AND NORMAL. // HE HAD WORK TO DO, WORK OF GREAT MOMENT BUT SOME OF THAT WORK AND SOME OF GREAT MOMENT WAS NEGLECTED. // THE NEGLECTED WORK HAD TO DO WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THE WORKING MECHANISM WHICH WAS HIS BODY.

THIS OFTEN IS THE FAULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL. // SOME MEN ABUSE THEIR BODIES; OTHERS NEGLECT THEM. // BUT LOUIS BURNHAM WAS NOT THAT SORT. // IF HE NEGLECTED HIS HEALTH OR OVERWORKED IT WAS BECAUSE OF HIS unconscious and ABSORPTION IN WHAT HE SAW AS HIS DUTY, AND BECAUSE HIS FRIENDS NEGLECTED TO WARN HIM AND THE STATE OF WHICH HE WAS CITIZEN FURNISHED NO ADEQUATE CODE OF HEALTH.

THE HUMAN BODY IS A MARVELOUS INSTRUMENT. // IT CAN BE PROTECTED AND STRENGTHENED. // IT CAN BE MISUSED AND NEGLECTED. // IT HAS IN ITS CENTER AN ENGINE WHICH BEATS IN QUIET REGULARITY 38 MILLION TIMES A YEAR // IT HAS ACRES OF TISSUE WHICH NEED RENEWED SUSTENANCE

AND IRRIGATION.// IT NEEDS ATTENTION,/ MUCH IN SOME CASES, /LESS IN MOST;/ NEVERTHELESS IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

WITH HEART AND LUNGS,/ ARTERIES AND VEINS,/ TEETH, BONE AND SKIN;// WITH FLESH AND MUSCLES;// WITH SENSES CENTERING IN EYES,/ EARS AND TOUCH,// THESE BODIES OF OURS/ MUST BE KEPT LIVING AND AFIRE/ BY EATING AND DRINKING/ AND EXERCISE/ AND WITH ALL THEY MUST REST. THE CEASELESS FUNCTIONS MUST CALM DOWN./ THE REPEATING FUNCTIONS/ MUST EVER AND AGAIN STOP.// THE BODY MUST SLEEP/ AND SLEEP IS A HABIT.// IT CAN BE ACQUIRED.// IT CAN BE LOST. THE BODY THAT IS NOT ALLOWED TO SLEEP/ CAN FORGET HOW TO SLEEP.// AND AROUND THE BODY / MUST CIRCULATE AIR AND WATER,/ RHYTHM AND SILENCE.

38-9-116

HAPPY THE CHILD /THAT STARTS WITH A HEALTHY RHYTHM OF LIFE.// BUT WHEN ONCE HE'S GROWN /THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESERVING HEALTH/ FALLS ON HIMSELF,/ HIS FRIENDS/ AND THE STATE.// THESE THREE.// BUT TODAY INCREASINGLY/ THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY /IS THAT OF THE STATE.// WE EASILY FORGET THIS. /WE BLAME A BUSY MAN FOR NOT RESTING;/ BUT HOW CAN HE REST/ WHEN HIS WORK IS NOT DONE,/ WHEN HIS FAMILY MAY BE IN DANGER OF STARVATION/ AND

WHEN HIS FRIENDS DO/ NOT SENSE THIS OR WARN HIM/ AND THE STATE DOES NOT FURNISH HIM FACILITIES /FOR GOOD HEALTH.

WE FALL INTO THE HABIT/ OF GOING TO A PHYSICIAN/ WHEN WE'RE SICK,/ WHICH IS PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE.// WE SHOULD GO TO THE PHYSICIAN/ BEFORE WE ARE SICK/ SO AS NOT TO BECOME SICK.// OUR FRIENDS SHOULD FEEL IT THEIR DUTY /TO WARN US WHEN WE ARE DRIVING TOO HARD/ AND IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.// BUT ABOVE ALL THE MODERN STATE SHOULD SEE TO IT/ THAT ITS WORKERS REST,/ THAT THEY HAVE RECREATION,/ THAT THEIR WORK IS DONE /UNDER HEALTHY CONDITIONS/ AND THAT THERE IS AN ABUNDANCE/ OF TRAINED PHYSICIANS AND NURSES,/ TEN TIMES AS MANY HOSPITALS AS WE HAVE,/ AND SERVICES AND MEDICINES/ WITHIN EASY REACH OF ALL.

38-9-117

TWO YEARS AGO/ I WAS IN LONDON/ AND WAS TAKEN VIOLENTLY ILL.// I WAS TREATED FOR A WEEK OR TEN DAYS/ BY AN EXCELLENT PHYSICIAN/ AND WHEN I WAS WELL/ AND ASKED FOR MY BILL I WAS TOLD /THAT THERE WAS NO BILL// THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT/ PAID FOR THE PHYSICIAN'S SERVICES /AND THE COST OF MY MEDICINES/ WAS LESS THAN $5.// THIS WAS BRITISH SOCIAL MEDICINE/ WHICH THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION/ HAS SPENT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS/ TO PROVE IS A FAILURE.

¶ ABOUT FIFTY YEARS AGO/A GROUP OF PHYSICIANS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK/ORGANIZED THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE/WHOSE DUTY IT WOULD BE/FOR A SMALL ANNUAL FEE/TO ADVISE CLIENTS JUST WHAT THE STATE/OF THEIR HEALTH WAS/AND WHAT THEY OUGHT TO DO ABOUT IT.// I JOINED THE ORGANIZATION IN 1918.//BUT gradually SUCCESSIVELY THE ORGANIZED PHYSICIANS/OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK/SO LIMITED THE WORK AND FUNCTIONS/OF THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE/AS TO CURTAIL MOST OF ITS USEFULNESS.// THEY TOLD ME AT LAST FRANKLY,/ "UNLESS YOU HAVE SOME SPECIFIC AILMENT/WE REALLY HAVE NO RIGHT NOR FACILITIES/TO ADVISE YOU."// AND I HAD TO REPLY, "IT IS JUST BECAUSE/I HAVE NO PARTICULAR DISEASE OR COMPLAINT/THAT I WANT THE SERVICES OF AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS."

38-9-118

THE PROVISIONS FOR VACATIONS,/TREATMENT, OPERATIONS AND HOSPITALIZATION/IN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LANDS/OF THE WORLD/GOES BEYOND THAT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE/IN BRITAIN.// IT IS HERE IN AMERICA,/ ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST NATIONS/IN THE WORLD/THAT HEALTH IS GRIEVOUSLY NEGLECTED.// THAT THERE ARE FAR TOO FEW NURSES AND PHYSICIANS/AND THAT THE LOSS OF LIFE BECAUSE OF NEGLECT AND POVERTY/IS FAR GREATER THAN IS NECESSARY.

MOST PEOPLE GIVE LITTLE THOUGHT/TO THE HEALTH OF THEIR BODIES. /THEY ARE SURE THAT

THE BODY'S HEALTH IS NATURAL/AND THEY GO ON ENJOYING IT.// IF THEY ARE TAKEN ILL/THEY GO TO A PHYSICIAN./ BUT TO RUSH IN/UPON ANY STRANGE PHYSICIAN/WITH A BODY ALREADY OUT OF ORDER/IS A CRAZY THING TO DO.// THE PHYSICIAN MUST LEARN/WHAT IS THE MATTER/AND THAT IS NOT EASY.// HE MUST BECOME ACQUAINTED/WITH THE PECULIARITIES OF YOUR PARTICULAR BODY/AND THAT CALLS FOR TIME.// THE PHYSICIAN TO WHOM YOU GO/SHOULD BE YOUR PHYSICIAN/WHO ALREADY KNOWS THE CONDITION OF YOUR BODY/AND THE CHARACTER OF YOUR WORK.// AND HIS BUSINESS IS NOT SIMPLY/ TO SEE THAT YOU RECOVER/ FROM A TEMPORARY ILLNESS,/ BUT RATHER TO SEE THAT YOU DO NOT GET ILL.// PHYSICIANS SHOULD DIRECT EATING/ BY ADVICE/AND ABOVE ALL/DIRECT DRINKING.// THE PRESENT USE OF ALCOHOL/IS NOT ONLY UNNECESSARY;/ IT IS IDIOTIC.// ALCOHOL IS A USEFUL AND PLEASANT BEVERAGE,/ BUT IT IS NOT DESIGNED FOR CONTINUOUS GUZZLING.// REFRAINING FROM DRINKING LIQUIDS/ IS IT ANYTHING MORE DANGEROUS.// AND THE DIRECTING OF A CONTINUAL FLOW OF SMOKE-GAS OVER SENSITIVE MUCUOUS MEMBRANES/IS NEITHER REASONABLE NOR IN THE END PLEASANT.// I SUPPOSE/THAT MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE/ONE HAS TO ASK NORMAL PEOPLE/ today TO STOP TRYING/TO TURN NIGHT IN TO DAY/AND DAY IN TO NIGHT/IN THEIR WORK AND PLAY.

38-9-119

38-9-120

¶ THE GREATEST TRIBUTE/ THAT WE CAN NOW PAY/ TO THE LIFE OF LOUIS BURNHAM/ IS TO LOOK AROUND AT OUR FRIENDS/ WHO ARE DOING THE WORLD'S WORK/ AND PICK OUT/ AS WE EASILY CAN/ THOSE WHO ARE WORKING TOO HARD/ AND TRYING TO DO TOO MUCH/ AND NOT GETTING ENOUGH REST/ NOR MEDICAL ADVICE OF THE RIGHT KIND.// THEN WE CAN TAKE A FURTHER STEP/ WHICH IS SO NEEDED TODAY/ AND TRY TO BUILD UP/ IN THE UNITED STATES,/ HEALTH SERVICES/ PAID FOR BY THE STATE, from our Taxes AND SERVANTS OF HEALTH/ TRAINED AND PAID BY THE STATE/ WHICH WILL BRING SOCIAL MEDICINE/ TO THE UNITED STATES;// NOT SIMPLY TO THE YOUNG, NOT SIMPLY TO THE OLD,/ BUT ESPECIALLY TO THE GREAT MASS/ OF PEOPLE/ WHO ARE DOING THE WORLD'S WORK.// WE SHOULD VOTE FOR ADMINISTRATORS/ AND LEGISLATORS/ WHO SEE THIS AS THEIR DUTY/ AND AGAINST THOSE WHO FOR ANY REASON/ NEGLECT THIS DUTY. WE SHOULD TRY TO BRING TO THIS NATION/ SOMETHING OF THE HEALTH SERVICES/ WHICH CAN BE FOUND IN THE SOVIET UNION,/ IN CHINA/ AND IN ALL SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST STATES.// THERE IS NO REASON/ WHY the average A NORMAL HUMAN BEING/ SHOULD NOT LIVE/ AT LEAST SEVENTY YEARS/ IN HAPPY USEFUL LIFE/ DOING HIS SHARE OF WORK/ AND BEING A JOY AND HELP FOR HIS FELLOWS/ AND NOT A BURDEN.

¶ FOR THIS IS A BEAUTIFUL WORLD.// WE KNOW ITS HURT AND EVIL/ ALL TOO WELL.// YET WE MUST

38-9-121

NEVER FORGET/ ITS BEAUTY AND POSSIBILITIES.// I HAVE SEEN THE HIGH ALPS/ BLAZING ABOVE BERNE;// THE ROYAL PALMS SWAYING IN WEST AFRICA;// THE GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII.// I HAVE SEEN [redacted] 500000 CROWDS OF WORKING PEOPLE/ FILLING THE RED SQUARE BEFORE THE KREMLIN// [redacted] AND THOUSANDS [redacted] IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE.// I HAVE HEARD THE BABIES LAUGHING IN THE NURSERIES OF PEKING/ BELOW THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA. THIS BEAUTY CAN/ GROW AND MEN CAN SEE IT/ IF WE BUT LET THEM LIVE,

AND BY CONTAGION/ OF THE SUN/ WE MAY
CATCH AT A SPARK/ FROM THAT PRIMEVAL FIRE,/
AND LEARN/ THAT WE ARE BETTER/ THAN OUR CLAY,/
AND EQUAL/ TO THE PEAKS/ OF OUR DESIRE.

singing the Marseillaise and Carmen

1247

4/28/60

LOUIS BURNHAM

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

40-1-40

I KNEW LOUIS BURNHAM FOR ABOUT 25 YEARS. THERE ARE MANY MATTERS OF WHICH I MIGHT SPEAK CONCERNING HIM; OF THE WORK HE DID; OF THE WORK HE WAS DOING AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH; AND OF WHAT HE MIGHT YET HAVE DONE HAD HE LIVED. I might REFER AS ALL OF YOU MUST TO THE FUTURE OF HIS FAMILY AND THE EDUCATION OF HIS CHILDREN. AND ABOVE ALL NONE CAN FORGET HIS HONESTY AND UTTER SACRIFICE I SPEAK, HOWEVER, ONLY OF ONE MATTER WHICH SEEMS TO ME OF GREATEST MOMENT TO THIS AUDIENCE. WHAT I WANT TO SAY HAS TO DO WITH THE SAVING OF LIVES LIKE THAT OF LOUIS BURNHAM; THE STOPPING OF THE VAST AND RECKLESS WASTE WHICH GOES ON EACH YEAR IN THIS COUNTRY AND OTHERS, AND DEPRIVES THE WORLD OF IRREPLACEABLE HELP FOR THE TASKS WHICH ~~IT HAS~~ We have TO DO.

HERE WAS A MAN OF 44 AT THE BEGINNING OF WHAT WE REGARD AS THE PRIME OF LIFE.

40-1-41

HIS EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP HAD ENDED AND HIS FULL LIFE BEGUN. SUDDENLY HE IS DEAD. WHY? LET US TAKE REFUGE IN NO MYSTICAL FATALISM. HE IS DEAD BECAUSE IN HIS BUSY LIFE HE DID NOT FIND SUFFICIENT TIME TO ATTEND TO THE NEEDS OF HIS BODY. HE HAD A GOOD BODY, NOT WEAK NOR DEFORMED, COMELY AND NORMAL. HE HAD WORK TO DO, WORK OF GREAT MOMENT BUT SOME OF THAT WORK AND SOME OF GREAT MOMENT WAS NEGLECTED. THE NEGLECTED WORK HAD TO DO WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THE WORKING MECHANISM WHICH WAS HIS BODY.

This often is the fault of the individual. Some men abuse their bodies; others neglect them. But Louis Burnham was not that sort. If he neglected his health or overworked it was because his friends ~~and his~~ neglected to warn him and ~~his~~ State of which he was citizen furnished no adequate code of heatth

40-1-42

of his own absorption in what he saw as his duty, and because

40-1-43

THE HUMAN BODY IS A MARVELOUS INSTRUMENT. IT CAN BE PROTECTED AND STRENGTHENED; IT CAN BE MISUSED AND NEGLECTED. IT HAS IN ITS CENTER AN ENGINE WHICH BEATS IN QUIET REGULARITY 38 MILLION TIMES A YEAR, ~~BUT~~ IT NEEDS ATTENTION, MUCH IN SOME CASES, LESS IN MOST; NEVERTHELESS IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

WITH HEART AND LUNGS, ARTERIES AND VEINS, TEETH, BONE AND SKIN: WITH FLESH AND

It has areas of tissue which need renewed sustenance + oxygenation.

MUSCLES; WITH SENSES CENTERING IN EYES, EARS AND TOUCH, THESE BODIES OF OURS MUST BE KEPT LIVING AND AFIRE BY EATING AND DRINKING AND EXERCISE AND WITH ALL THEY MUST REST. THE CEASELESS FUNCTIONS MUST CALM DOWN. THE REPEATING FUNCTIONS MUST ~~NOW~~ over again AND THEN STOP. THE BODY MUST SLEEP, and SLEEP IS A HABIT. IT CAN BE ACQUIRED. IT CAN BE LOST. THE BODY THAT IS NOT ALLOWED TO SLEEP CAN FORGET HOW TO SLEEP. AND AROUND THE BODY MUST BE Circle AIR AND WATER, RHYTHM AND SILENCE.

~~THIS PRESERVATION OF BODILY HEALTH BEGINS AS A HABIT.~~ HAPPY THE CHILD THAT STARTS WITH A HEALTHY RHYTHM OF LIFE. BUT WHEN ONCE HE'S GROWN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESERVING HEALTH FALLS ON HIMSELF, HIS FRIENDS AND THE STATE. THESE THREE. BUT TODAY INCREASINGLY THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY IS THAT OF THE STATE. WE EASILY FORGET THIS. WE BLAME A BUSY MAN FOR NOT RESTING, BUT HOW CAN HE REST WHEN HIS WORK IS NOT DONE, WHEN HIS FAMILY MAY BE IN DANGER OF STARVATION AND WHEN HIS FRIENDS DO NOT WARN HIM AND THE STATE DOES NOT FURNISH HIM FACILITIES FOR GOOD HEALTH.

~~IT IS THEN THAT~~ WE FALL IN THE HABIT OF GOING TO A PHYSICIAN WHEN WE'RE SICK, WHICH IS PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. WE SHOULD GO TO THE PHYSICIAN SO AS before we are sick
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I have seen the crowds at work, heard folk-tales, the Red Square after the Kremlin, parades, the Marseillaise in the Place de la Concorde

AND BY CONTAGION OF THE SUN WE MAY
CATCH AT A SPARK FROM THAT PRIMEVAL FIRE,
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We must never forget its beauty & passionate love

dup

4/24/60

LOUIS BURNHAM

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

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HAPPY THE CHILD THAT STARTS WITH A HEALTHY RHYTHM OF LIFE. BUT WHEN ONCE HE'S GROWN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESERVING HEALTH FALLS ON HIMSELF, HIS FRIENDS AND THE STATE. THESE THREE. BUT TODAY INCREASINGLY THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY IS THAT OF THE STATE. WE EASILY FORGET THIS. WE BLAME A BUSY MAN FOR NOT RESTING, BUT HOW CAN HE REST WHEN HIS WORK IS NOT DONE, WHEN HIS FAMILY MAY BE IN DANGER OF STARVATION AND

WHEN HIS FRIENDS DO NOT SENSE THIS OR WARN HIM AND THE STATE DOES NOT FURNISH HIM FACILITIES FOR GOOD HEALTH.

WE FALL INTO THE HABIT OF GOING TO A PHYSICIAN WHEN WE'RE SICK, WHICH IS PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. WE SHOULD GO TO THE PHYSICIAN BEFORE WE ARE SICK SO AS NOT TO BECOME SICK. OUR FRIENDS SHOULD FEEL IT THEIR DUTY TO WARN US WHEN WE ARE DRIVING TOO HARD AND IN THE WRONG DIRECTION. BUT ABOVE ALL THE MODERN STATE SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT ITS WORKERS REST, THAT THEY HAVE RECREATION, THAT THEIR WORK IS DONE UNDER HEALTHY CONDITIONS AND THAT THERE IS AN ABUNDANCE OF TRAINED PHYSICIANS AND NURSES, TEN TIMES AS MANY HOSPITALS AS WE HAVE, AND SERVICES AND MEDICINES WITHIN EASY REACH OF ALL.

TWO YEARS AGO I WAS IN LONDON AND WAS TAKEN VIOLENTLY ILL. I WAS TREATED FOR A WEEK OR TEN DAYS BY AN EXCELLENT PHYSICIAN AND WHEN I WAS WELL AND ASKED FOR MY BILL I WAS TOLD THAT THERE WAS NO BILL THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT PAID FOR THE PHYSICIAN'S SERVICES AND THE COST OF MY MEDICINES WAS LESS THAN $5. THIS WAS BRITISH SOCIAL MEDICINE WHICH THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION HAS SPENT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO PROVE IS A FAILURE.

ABOUT FIFTY YEARS AGO A GROUP OF PHYSICIANS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK GOT THE IDEA OF ORGANIZING THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE WHOSE DUTY IT WOULD BE TO ADVISE CLIENTS FOR A SMALL ANNUAL FEE JUST WHAT THE STATE OF THEIR HEALTH WAS AND WHAT THEY OUGHT TO DO ABOUT IT. I JOINED THIS ORGANIZATION IN 1918, BUT SUCCESSIVELY THE ORGANIZED PHYSICIANS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK SO LIMITED THE WORK AND FUNCTIONS OF THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE AS TO SPOIL MOST OF ITS USEFULNESS. THEY TOLD ME AT LAST FRANKLY, "UNLESS YOU HAVE SOME SPECIFIC AILMENT WE REALLY HAVE NO RIGHT OR FACILITIES TO TREAT YOU." AND I HAD TO REPLY, "IT IS JUST BECAUSE I HAVE NO PARTICULAR DISEASE OR COMPLAINT THAT I WENT THE SERVICES OF AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS."

THE PROVISION FOR VACATIONS, TREATMENT, OPERATIONS AND HOSPITALIZATION IN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LANDS OF THE WORLD GOES EVEN BEYOND THAT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE IN BRITAIN. IT IS HERE IN AMERICA, ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST NATIONS IN THE WORLD THAT HEALTH IS GRIEVOUSLY NEGLECTED, THAT THERE ARE FAR TOO FEW NURSES AND PHYSICIANS AND

THAT THE LOSS OF LIFE BECAUSE OF NEGLECT AND POVERTY IS FAR MORE THAN WE HAVE THE SLIGHTEST EXCUSE FOR.

MOST PEOPLE GIVE LITTLE THOUGHT TO THE HEALTH OF THEIR BODIES. THEY ARE SURE THAT THE BODY'S HEALTH IS NATURAL AND THEY GO ON ENJOYING IT. IF THEY ARE TAKEN ILL THEY GO TO A PHYSICIAN. IF THEY ARE NOT TAKEN ILL, THEY DO NOT GO TO A PHYSICIAN. TO RUSH IN UPON ANY UNKNOWN PHYSICIAN WITH A BODY ALREADY OUT OF ORDER IS A CRAZY THING TO DO. THE PHYSICIAN MUST LEARN WHAT IS THE MATTER AND THAT IS NOT EASY. HE MUST BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH THE PECULIARITIES OF YOUR PARTICULAR BODY AND THAT CALLS FOR TIME. SO THE PHYSICIAN TO WHOM YOU GO SHOULD BE YOUR PHYSICIAN WHO ALREADY KNOWS THE CONDITION OF YOUR BODY AND THE CHARACTER OF YOUR WORK AND HIS BUSINESS IS NOT SIMPLY TO SEE THAT YOU RECOVER FROM A TEMPORARY ILLNESS, BUT RATHER TO SEE THAT YOU DO NOT GET ILL. PHYSICIANS ~~THEY~~ SHOULD DIRECT EATING BY ADVICE AND ABOVE ALL DIRECT DRINKING. THE PRESENT USE OF ALCOHOL IS NOT ONLY UNNECESSARY; IT IS IDIOTIC. ALCOHOL IS A USEFUL AND

PLEASANT BEVERAGE, BUT IT IS NOT DESIGNED FOR CONTINUOUS GUZZLING. REFRAINING FROM DRINKING LIQUIDS IS IF ANYTHING MORE DANGEROUS. AND THE DIRECTING OF A CONTINUAL FLOW OF SMOKE OVER SENSITIVE MUCUOUS MEMBRANES IS NEITHER REASONABLE NOR IN THE END PLEASANT. I SUPPOSE THAT MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE ONE HAS TO ASK NORMAL PEOPLE TO STOP TRYING TO TURN NIGHT INTO DAY AND DAY INTO NIGHT.

THE GREATEST TRIBUTE THAT WE CAN PAY TO THE LIFE OF LOUIS BURNHAM IS TO LOOK AROUND AT OUR FRIENDS AND TO PICK OUT AS WE EASILY CAN THOSE WHO ARE WORKING TOO HARD AND TRYING TO DO TOO MUCH AND NOT GETTING ENOUGH REST NOR ENOUGH MEDICAL ADVICE OF THE RIGHT KIND. THEN WE CAN TAKE A FURTHER STEP WHICH IS SO NEEDED TODAY AND TRY TO BUILD UP IN THE UNITED STATES, HEALTH SERVICES SUPPORTED BY THE STATE AND SERVANTS OF HEALTH TRAINED AND PAID BY THE STATE WHICH WILL BRING SOCIAL MEDICINE TO THE UNITED STATES, NOT SIMPLY TO THE YOUNG, NOT SIMPLY TO THE OLD, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY TO THE GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE DOING THE WORLD'S WORK. WE SHOULD VOTE FOR ADMINISTRATORS AND LEGISLATORS WHO SEE THIS AS THEIR DUTY AND AGAINST THOSE WHO FOR ANY REASON NEGLECT

THIS DUTY. WE SHOULD TRY TO BRING TO THIS NATION SOMETHING OF THE HEALTH SERVICES WHICH CAN BE FOUND IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN CHINA AND IN ALL SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST STATES. THERE IS NO REASON WHY A NORMAL HUMAN BEING SHOULD NOT LIVE AT LEAST SEVENTY YEARS IN HAPPY USEFUL LIFE DOING HIS SHARE OF WORK AND BEING A JOY AND HELP FOR HIS FELLOWS AND NOT A BURDEN. FOR THIS IS A BEAUTIFUL WORLD. WE KNOW ITS HURT AND EVIL ALL TOO WELL. YET THE WORLD IS BEAUTIFUL. I HAVE SEEN THE HIGH ALPS BLAZING ABOVE BERNE; THE ROYAL PALMS SWAYING IN WEST AFRICA; THE GOLDEN RAIN OF HAWAII AND THE BABIES LAUGHING IN THE NURSERIES OF PEKING ABOVE THE GREAT WALL. THIS BEAUTY CAN GROW AND MEN CAN SEE IT IF WE BUT LET THEM LIVE.

AND BY CONTAGION OF THE SUN WE MAY
CATCH AT A SPARK FROM THAT PRIMEVAL FIRE,
AND LEARN THAT WE ARE BETTER THAN OUR CLAY,
AND EQUAL TO THE PEAKS OF OUR DESIRE.

40-9-370

RIGHT AND REASON

D. Barsky sermon, June 3, 1950, 24

I HAD MEANT TO TALK ~~ON~~ SOMETHING BESIDE OUR RECENT SPYING IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT I FOUND I COULD NOT // SO I AM CONTINUING THE CURRENT DEBATE ~~ON RIGHT AND WRONG~~ // THE NATION FACES A QUESTION OF LAW-BREAKING. // SUPPOSE A CITIZEN ~~DELIBERATELY~~ BREAKS A LAW. HIS GUILT IS PROVEN. HE ADMITS IT AND MUST THEREFOR ALSO ADMIT THAT HIS PUNISHMENT WOULD BE LEGAL. HE MIGHT ADD THAT THE ORIGINAL LAW WAS UNJUST OR often broken ~~USELESS~~ AND DECLARE THAT HE WILL IN THE FUTURE BREAK THE LAW AGAIN IF HE WISHES. // BUT HE CAN NOT DENY THE PRESENT VALIDITY OF THE LAW NOR THE LEGALITY OF PUNISHING HIM. // THIS IS A ~~CLEAR~~ FAIR STATEMENT OF A PRESENT SITUATION. // TRANSLATING THIS FROM INDIVIDUAL TO NATIONS, WE MUST ADMIT THAT THE ACTIONS OF NATIONS ARE LINITED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW. // THIS BODY OF LAW IS STILL VAGUE AND NOT YET COMPLETE BUT IT EXISTS AND IS RECOGNIZED. // BEYOND THIS THERE IS THE CURB OF FORCE WHICH IS WAR ~~OR THREAT OF WAR~~. IF NOW A NATION TRANSGRESSES INTERNATIONAL LAW OR DELIBERATELY PERFORMS AN ACT WHICH ~~NEIGHBOR REGARDS AS CAUSE FOR WAR~~ IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS A CAUSE FOR

40-9-371

WAR THEN THE OFFENDING NATION IS AN AGGRESSOR AND the victim HAS A RIGHT TO DEMAND EXPLANATION, APOLOGY OR TO GO TO WAR. // IT IS NO ANSWER TO TO THIS AGGRESSION TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT THE FIRST AND THAT IT WILL NOT BE THE LAST. // THIS ACT CAN NOT BE EXCUSED BY ALLEGING THAT THE OFFENDED PARTY HAS BEEN GUILTY OF SIMILAR OFFENSES. // IF THAT IS TRUE PROTEST SHOULD HAVE BEEN LODGED. THAT NO PROTEST WAS MADE IS PROOF EITHER THAT THE CHARGE WAS FALSE OR UNPROVABLE. // IN THE CURRENT CASE COMPLAINT WAS MADE AND THE FACTS PROVEN AND ADMITTED. // AT ANY TIME IN MODERN HISTORY BEFORE 1939, SUCH AN AGGRESSION WOULD HAVE MEANT WAR. // WAR IN THIS CASE WAS POSTPONED FOR TWO REASONS: ONE, WEAPONS HAVE BECOME TOO DANGEROUS, AND TWO WE ADOPTED IN 1945 ~~AND~~ a WORLD ALTERNATIVE TO WAR. // THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SAYS, AND I WAS PRESENT AND HEARD ITS ADOPTION: THE nations of the WORLD, DETERMINED TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR WHICH TWICE IN OUR LIFETIME HAS BROUGHT UNTOLD SORROW TO MANKIND, HA VE COMBINED TO UNITE OUR EFFORTS TO AFFIRM FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE DIGNITY AND

WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND OF NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL AND TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM TREATIES AND OTHER SOURSES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE MAINTAINED.

40-9-372

HERE WAS A CASE WHICH SHOULD BE APPEALED TO THE UNITED NATIONS; BUT DUE TO THE UNFORTUNATE TIMING OF THE SPY FLIGHT ANOTHER MATTER HAD FIRST TO BE CONSIDERED. FOR THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS THERE HAS BEEN THREAT OF WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WE REGARDED THE ~~UNION~~ absorption OF THE BALTIC STATES INTO RUSSIA and THE RELATIONS OF POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE BALKAN STATES WITH RUSSIA AS EVIDENCE OF AN ATTEMPT OF COMMUNISM TO CONQUER THE WORLD WE SURROUNDED THE SOVIET UNION WITH A ARMED BASES, DECLARED COMMUNISM A CONSPIRACY AND COMMUNISTS MOSTLY CRIMINALS; WE PAINTED THEIR WOMEN AS PROSTITUTES, THEIR WORKERS AS SLAVES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT AS TYRRANY. WE FINANCED REVOLT, BROADCAST INCENTIVES TO REBELLION AND ACTUALLY PRINTED AND DESCRIBED our RUSSIAN CONQUEST USING some of our best

40-9-373

Writers SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS 4 ~~THEXXEXXXTXXXXXXAN~~ WE BEGAN PREPARATION FOR WAR ON A GIGANTIC AND UNPRECEDENTED SCALE THE SOVIETS our ~~BEGAN A CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE AND COPERATION~~ CULMINATING IN THE VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER KHRUSHOV LAST YEAR THIS VISIT WAS UNEXPECTEDLY SUCESSFUL AND LED TO AN AGREEMENT BETWEEM KHRUSHCHOV AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TOGETHER WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO MEET AND DISCUSS THIER DIFFERENCES AND HOW THEY COULD BE LESSENED IT WAS A DECISIKN OF WORLD-SHAKING IMPORTANCE. ON THE VERY EVE OF THIS MEETING, a ~~THE~~ UHNITED STATES SPY PLANE FLEW AND WAS CAPTURED 1300 MILES INSIDE SOVIET TERRITORY, AS FAR AS KANSAS CITY IS FROM NEW YORK A PHANTASMAGORIA ENSUED THE UNITED STATES PROMPTLY LIED, RETRACTED, CONFESSED. and DECLARED THAT IT HAD MADE SUCH TRIPS IN THE PAST AND WOULD MAKE THEM IN THE FUTURE THAT ALL NATIONS, AND THE SOVIET UNION IN PARTICULAR ENGAGED IN SPYING, BUT THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSGANCES WE WOULD AT LEAST TEMPORARARILY REFRAIN FROM FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT SENDING SPY PLANES. THESE STATDMENTS WERE MADE IN SUCH A MANNER AND

maintained a mkitary establishment equal or superior to ours but their work in science was superior to ours and under civilian control and aimed at goals which were not mainly military. Our science was largely under military control and for military objects. moreover the Soviets maintained a continual proposal for peace and dksarmament [redacted]op eration between the Soviet Union and the United States

BY SO MANY DIFFERENT OFFICIALS/THAT THEIR TOTAL MEANING IS NOT CLEAR.

KHRUSHCHOV WAS IN A QUANDARY//NOT ALL SOVIET CITIZENS/SHARED HIS FAITH IN AMERICA/OR IN THE RISK OF DISARMAMENT/IN THE FACE OF OUR SPENDING/ FORTY THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR/FOR WAR//RUSSIA'S POWERFUL ALLY, CHINA,/ THE MOST POPULOUS NATION ON EARTH/HATES AMERICA FOR EXCLUDING HER FROM THE UNITED NATIONS/ AND FOR ARMING ON HER VERY BORDERS/A MAN WHOM WE HAVE DENOUNCED AS A SCOUNDREL/ TO OVERTHROW NEW CHINA/AT THE FIRST OPPO PORTUNITY//THIS CHINA BITTERLY OPPOSES/ANY ACT OF FAITH IN AMERICA// THERE WAS BUT ONE STEP/THAT KHRUSHCHOV COULD ASSAY// HE COULD DECLARE HIS BELIEF IN THE SINCERITY OF EISENHOWER//BUT THE MILITARY HIERARCHY IN WASHINGTON/ BACKED BY BIG BUSINESS/WHICH FATTENS ON ARMAMENT FOR WAR/AND CONTINUED COLONIAL EXPANSION/IN ASIA AND AFRICA./PROMPTLY KNOCKED THIS KRUTCH FROM UNDER KHRUSHCHOV/BY SHOWING THE PRESIDENT/THAT HE MUST TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY/FOR THE SPY PLANE INCIDENT./ UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTSNCES/ THERE WAS WAS BUT ONE STEP/WHICH ANY SELF-RESPECTING GOVERNMENT/COULD

40-9-374

On our part they were accompanied by the first step toward war: The head of our armed forces ordered an alert all over the world of our military might which is the first step toward declaration of war. This act was startling and cost millions in money. Why it was taken and at whose initiative has never been revealed

(Owen)

40-9-375

TAKE AND THAT WAS TO DEMAND ~~AND THAT WAS TO DEMAND~~ APOLOGY, PUNISHMENT OF THOSE GUILTY AND PROMISE of NO REPETITION OF THE OFFENSE. THIS WAS ALL THAT AMERICAN WAR-MONGERS DESIRED. THIS WAS INSULTING UNLESS TRUE AND ITS TRUE NO PATRIOTIC AMERICAN COULD ADMIT. THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE WAS KILLED. or postponed. BUT IN SUCH CASE APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS WAS UNAVOIDABLE. HERE THE WORLD COULD STEP in AND MAKE A GREAT JUDGMENT WHICH MIGHT ENSURE PEACE IN THE WORLD FOR ALL TIME. THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONVENED.

Bland - Confused, THE UNITED STATES ADMITTED THE SPYING, PAST AND PRESENT. REFUSED TO APOLOGISE FOR IT AND PRESENTED A LIST OF ALLEGED RUSSIAN SPIES IN AMERICA AND A BUGGED SEAL SAID TO HAVE BEEN PLANTED IN THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW. THEREUON THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY A VOTE OF SEVTO TWO SAID IN EFFECT THAT THIS AGGRESSION WAS NOT AGGRESSION AND THAT THE TWO NATIONS should SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS PEACE!

THIS IS NOT ONLY A FAILURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO FUNCTION BUT IT WILL HAVE FATAL EFFECT ON OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER. IF A SOVIET PLANE

40-9-376

HAD FLOWN FROM NEW YORK TO ST. LOUIS /AND BEEN CAUGHT /WE WOULD NOW BE AT WAR// BUT JUST AS TRUE, IF THIS SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL LYING /IS WORLD POLICY, /THEN HOW CAN WE TEACH OUR YOUTH /THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG// AND HOW CAN WE SHOW THIS NATION THAT DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES IS GOVERNED BY REASON /AND NOT FORCE// TO JUSTIFY LYING /BY A QUIBBLE/ WILL NOT DECEIVE THE YOUTH OF TODAY/ OR MAKE THEM DISCIPLINE THEMSELVES / WITH A SELF IMPOSED /CONCEPT OF RIGHT AND WRONG// MOREOVER ADULT AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THEIR GOVERNMENT:// THE PRESIDENT DID NOT KNOW OF THE SPY PLANE/ HE WAS AS ASTONISHED AS THE RUSSIANS/ BUT HE HAD TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY /OR REPUDIATE HIS OUR ADMINISTRATION// IS THIS DEMOCRACY?/ IS THIS THE RULE OF REASON?/ ARE WE CHOSING OUR GOVERNMENT /OR IS THE GOVERNMENT ORDERING US/ TO TO DO AS WE ARE TOLD/ ~~OR FACE~~ ON PAIN OF JAIL AND POVERTY?// AND INCIDENTALLY JUST WHO OR WHAT /IS THE GOVERNMENT// WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DECIDE /AT THE POLLS NEXT NOVEMBER?// WHAT CAN WE DECIDE / IF THE TRUTH IS A LIE/ AND FREEDOM /IS SLAVERY IN SPEECH, TRAVEL, OPINION AND COMPANIONSHIP?// WHAT

40-9-377

IS THE "FREE WORLD" KOREA, ALGERIA, JAPAN, ~~AND~~ TURKEY AND FORMOSA? WHY DID EISENHOWER AFTER THE DEBACLE OF PARIS GO TO PORTUGAL? THE OLDEST AND MOST COMPLETE DICTATORSHIP IN THE WESTERN WORLD? PORTUGAL THE SIZE OF TENNESSEE OWNS A PORTION OF AFRICA TEN TIMES THE SIZE OF PENNSYLVANIA WHICH ~~XXXX~~ FUHRNISHES SLAVE LABOR FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA WHERE THE WORLD OF LUXURY MONOPOLIZES GOLD AND DIAMONDS AND THE WARLORDS GET URANIUM AND WHERE CHEAP LABOR IS FURNISHING RARE PROFITS FOR THE SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS OF CAPITAL WHICH FORD, GEN ERAL MOTORS AND DUPONT HAVE INVESTED THERE. SOMEBODY SUGGESTED THAT EISENHOWER LISTEN SYMPATHETICALLY TO THE PLEA OF THE MASTER OF PORTUGAL NOT TO ENCOURAGE THE WRITING OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIAUE TOWARD INDEPENDDNCE.

HERE LIES THE REASON THAT DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE ARE TIRED OF THE SUBJECT, WE MUST FOR A LONG TIME CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THE AWFUL HISTORY OF THE MONTH OF MAY, 1960.

May 1960

RIGHT AND REASON

I HAD MEANT TO TALK ON SOMETHING BESIDE OUR RECENT SPYING IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT I FOUND I COULD NOT, SO I AM CONTINUING THE CURRENT DEBATE. THE NATION FACES A QUESTION OF LAW-BREAKING. SUPPOSE A CITIZEN BREAKS A LAW. HIS GUILT IS PROVEN, HE ADMITS IT AND MUST THEREFORE ALSO ADMIT THAT HIS PUNISHMENT WOULD BE LEGAL.

HE MIGHT ADD THAT THE ORIGINAL LAW WAS UNJUST OR OFTEN BROKEN AND DECLARE THAT HE WILL IN THE FUTURE BREAK THE LAW AGAIN IF HE WISHES. BUT HE CANNOT DENY THE PRESENT VALIDITY OF THE LAW NOR THE LEGALITY OF PUNISHING HIM. THIS IS A FAIR STATEMENT OF A PRESENT SITUATION. TRANSLATING THIS FROM INDIVIDUAL TO NATION, WE MUST ADMIT THAT THE ACTIONS OF NATIONS ARE LIMITED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW. THIS BODY OF LAW IS STILL VAGUE AND NOT YET COMPLETE BUT IT EXISTS AND IS RECOGNIZED. BEYOND THIS THERE IS THE CURB OF FORCE WHICH IS WAR. IF NOW A NATION TRANSGRESSES INTERNATIONAL LAW OR DELIBERATELY PERFORMS AN ACT WHICH IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS A CAUSE FOR WAR THEN THE OFFENDING NATION IS AN AGGRESSOR AND THE VICTIM HAS A RIGHT TO DEMAND EXPLANATION, APOLOGY OR TO GO TO WAR. IT IS NO ANSWER TO THIS AGGRESSION TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT THE FIRST AND THAT IT WILL NOT BE THE LAST. THIS ACT CANNOT BE EXCUSED BY ALLEGING THAT THE OFFENDED PARTY HAS BEEN GUILTY OF SIMILAR OFFENSES. IF THAT IS TRUE PROTEST SHOULD HAVE BEEN LODGED. THAT NO PROTEST WAS MADE IS PROOF EITHER THAT THE CHARGE WAS FALSE OR UNPROVABLE. IN THE CURRENT CASE COMPLAINT WAS MADE AND THE FACTS PROVEN AND ADMITTED. AT ANY TIME IN MODERN HISTORY BEFORE 1939, SUCH AN AGGRESSION WOULD HAVE MEANT WAR. WAR IN THIS CASE WAS POSTPONED FOR <u>TWO</u> REASONS: <u>ONE</u>, WEAPONS HAVE BECOME TOO DANGEROUS, AND <u>TWO</u> WE ADOPTED IN 1945 A WORLD ALTERNATIVE TO WAR. THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SAYS, AND I WAS PRESENT AND HEARD ITS ADOPTION: THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, DETERMINED TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR WHICH <u>TWICE</u> IN OUR LIFETIME HAS BROUGHT UNTOLD SORROW TO MANKIND, HAVE COMBINED TO UNITE OUR EFFORTS TO AFFIRM FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS,

38-8-73

IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND OF NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL, AND TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM TREATIES AND OTHER SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE MAINTAINED.

HERE WAS A CASE WHICH SHOULD BE APPEALED TO THE UNITED NATIONS; BUT DUE TO THE UNFORTUNATE TIMING OF THE SPY FLIGHT ANOTHER MATTER HAD FIRST TO BE CONSIDERED. FOR THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS THERE HAS BEEN THREAT OF WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. WE REGARDED THE ABSORPTION OF THE BALTIC STATES WITH RUSSIA AS EVIDENCE OF AN ATTEMPT OF COMMUNISM TO CONQUER THE WORLD. WE SURROUNDED THE SOVIET UNION WITH ARMED BASES, DECLARED COMMUNISM A CONSPIRACY AND COMMUNISTS MOSTLY CRIMINALS; WE PAINTED THEIR WOMEN AS PROSTITUTES, THEIR WORKERS AS SLAVES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT AS TYRANNY. WE FINANCED REVOLT, BROADCAST INCENTIVES TO REBELLION AND ACTUALLY PRINTED AND DESCRIBED OUR RUSSIAN CONQUEST USING SOME OF OUR BEST WRITERS AND ARTISTS. WE BEGAN PREPARATION FOR WAR ON A GIGANTIC AND UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT EQUAL OR SUPERIOR TO OURS BUT THEIR WORK IN SCIENCE WAS SUPERIOR TO OURS AND UNDER CIVILIAN CONTROL AND AIMED AT GOALS WHICH WERE NOT MAINLY MILITARY. OUR SCIENCE WAS LARGELY UNDER MILITARY CONTROL AND FOR MILITARY OBJECTS. MOREOVER THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED A CONTINUAL PROPOSAL FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT CULMINATING IN THE VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER KHRUSHCHOV LAST YEAR. THIS VISIT WAS UNEXPECTEDLY SUCCESSFUL AND LED TO AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN KHRUSHCHOV AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, TOGETHER WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO MEET AND DISCUSS THEIR DIFFERENCES AND HOW THEY COULD BE LESSENED. IT WAS A DECISION OF WORLD-SHAKING IMPORTANCE.

ON THE VERY EVE OF THIS MEETING A UNITED STATES SPY PLANE FLEW AND WAS CAPTURED 1300 MILES INSIDE SOVIET TERRITORY, AS FAR AS KANSAS CITY IS FROM NEW YORK. A PHANTASMAGORIA ENSUED. THE UNITED STATES PROMPTLY LIED, RETRACTED, CONFESSED, AND DECLARED THAT IT HAD MADE SUCH TRIPS IN THE PAST AND WOULD MAKE THEM IN THE FUTURE, THAT ALL NATIONS, AND THE SOVIET UNION

38-8-74

in particular engaged in spying, but that under the circumstances we would at least temporarily refrain from further attempts at sending spy planes. These statements were made in such a manner and by so many different officials that their total meaning was not clear.

On our part they were accompanied by the first step toward war: the head of our armed forces ordered an alert all over the world of our military might which is the first step toward declaration of war. This act was startling and cost millions in money. Why it was taken and at whose initiative has never been revealed.

Khrushchov was in a quandary. Not all Soviet citizens shared his faith in America or in the risk of disarmament in the face of our spending forty thousand million dollars a year for war. Russia's powerful ally, China, the most populous nation on earth hates America for excluding her from the United Nations and for arming on her very borders a man whom we have denounced as a scoundrel, to overthrow new China at the first opportunity-- thus China bitterly opposes any act of faith in America. There was but one step that Khrushchov could assay. He could declare his belief in the sincerity of Eisenhower. But the military hierarchy in Washington backed by big business which fattens on armament for war and continued colonial expansion in Asia and Africa, promptly knowked this crutch from under Khrushchov by showing the President that he must take full responsibility for the spy plane incident or discredit his own administration. Under these circumstances there was but one step which any self-respecting government could take and that was to demand apology, punishment of those guilty and promise of no repetition of the offense. This was all that American war-mongers desired. This was insulting unless true and its truth no patriotic American could admit. The Summit Conference was killed or postponed. But in such case appeal to the United Nations was unavoidable. Here the world could step in and make a

38-8-75

great judgment which might ensure peace in the world for all time. The Security Council convened. Blase, confident, the United States admitted the spying, past and present, refused to apologise for it and presented a list of alleged Russian spies in America and a bugged seal said to have been planted in the American Embassy in Moscow. Thereupon the Security Council by a vote of seven to two said in effect that this aggression was not aggression and that the two nations should now sit down and discuss peace!

38-8-74

This is not only a failure of the United Nations to function but it will have fatal effect on our national character. If a Soviet plane had flown from New York to St. Louis and been caught we would now be at war. But just as true, if this solemn international lying is world policy, then how can we teach our youth the difference between right and wrong and how can we show this nation that democracy in the United States is governed by reason and not force. To justify lying by a quibble will not deceive the youth of today or make them discipline themselves with a self-imposed concept of right and wrong. Moreover adult Americans understand their government: the President did not know of the spy plane; he was as astonished as the Russians, but he had to assume responsibility or repudiate his own administration. Is this democracy? Is this the rule of reason? Are we choosing our government or is the government ordering us to do as we are told on pain of jail and poverty? And incidentally just who or what <u>is</u> the government. What are we going to decide at the polls next November? What can we decide if the truth is a lie and freedom is slavery in speech, travel, opinion and companionship? What is the "free world"? Korea, Algeria, Japan, Turkey and Formosa? Why did Eisenhower after the debacle of Paris go to Portugal? The oldest and most complete dictatorship in the western world? Portugal, the size of Tennessee, owns a portion of Africa ten times the size of Pennsylvania, which furnishes slave labor for the Union of South Africa

where the world of luxury monopolizes gold and diamonds and the warlords get uranium and where cheap labor is furnishing rare profits for the six hundred millions of capital which Ford, General Motors and Du Pont have invested there. Somebody suggested that Eisenhower listen sympathetically to the plea of the master of Portugal not to encourage the writhing of Black Angola and Mozambique toward independence!

Here lies the reason that despite the fact that we are tired of the subject, we must for a long time continue to discuss the awful history of the month of May, 1960.

38-8-77

Hold Turn Later

THE WRONGS WHICH SUPPRESS OUR RIGHTS June 15 1960

I AM DEEPLY OBLIGED TO THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE FOR THIS TRIBUTE TO MY EFFORTS. I KNOW WHAT IT HAS COST THEM IN WORK AND COURAGE. I ASK FURTHER TO TRESPASS ON THEIR GOOD WILL BY SPEAKING CLEARLY AND FRANKLY ON MANY CONTROVERSIAL MATTERS. I ASK THIS SINCE MANY OF MY FRIENDS ARE NOW IN JAIL BECAUSE THEY HAD OPINIONS AND VOICED THEM. THEY WERE NOT TRAITORS TO THEIR COUNTRY BUT THEY DID NOT AGREE WITH IT RIGHT OR WRONG. Neither do I

THIS NATION BEGAN WITH TWO BASIC IDEALS WHICH FROM THE FIRST CLASHED MORE OR LESS OPENLY. IT WAS REGARDED ON THE ONE HAND AS A SOURCE OF WEALTH AND ON THE OTHER AS A REFUGE FOR THE OPPRESSED. ADVENTURERS CAME FROM EUROPE AND SILVER AND GOLD POURED BACK. REFUGEES FOLLOWED: CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS: METHODISTS AND BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS, ASKING FREEDOM OF BELIEF AND VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. LAND, DESPITE ITS INDIAN OWNERS, WAS ENDLESS BUT LABOR WAS NEEDED AND WAS BROUGHT FROM EUROPE AND AFRICA. FOR 150 YEARS 13 SMALL COMMUNITIES DEVELOPED ALONG THE ATLANTIC

COAST WEALTH ACCUMULATED AND SOCIAL CLASSES DEVELOPED, RANGING FROM RICH AND PRIVILEGED ARISTOCRATS TO SLAVE LABORERS BUT WITH WIDE EQUALITY OF INCOME AND DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT. TOBACCO, SUGAR AND COTTON CROSSED THE OCEAN IN INCREASING QUANTITIES AND EUROPE WAS TEMPTED TO SEIZE AND CONTROL AS MUCH OF THIS COLONIAL PRODUCTION AS WAS POSSIBLE FOR ITS OWN USE. REVOLUTION FOR UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE ENSUED WHICH ALSO BECAME REVOLUTION FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND FOR CLASS EQUALITY, EVEN TO THE FREEING OF SOME OF THE SLAVES.

THE NEW NATION WHICH AROSE IN 1776 WAS FOUNDED ON THE ENLIGHTENED THOUGHT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND DECLARED ALL MEN BORN EQUAL WITH THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

THUS OUR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS WERE BORN ALTHOUGH CONTRADICTED FROM THE START BY THE FACT THAT A FIFTH OF THE POPULATION WERE STILL SLAVES.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS REALIZED THIS AND WERE DETERMINED TO CORRECT IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. BUT WEALTH AND WAR OPPOSED THEM: WEALTH BECAUSE THE AFRICAN

(War reduced the number of slaves

SLAVE TRADE/ HAD GROWN TO BE/ THE MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENT IN THE WORLD./ THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY/ IN THE AMERICAS/ HAD BECOME A STRONG AND GROWING PART/ OF OUR ECONOMY.// IT WAS THEREFORE ATTACKED SLOWLY/ AND WITH REASONABLE DELIBERATION/ A METHOD WHICH STILL HAUNTS THE NATION.// HERE WAS THE FIRST WRONG/ WHICH ATTACKED OUR BASIC RIGHTS.// SLAVERY INCREASED/ AND PERSISTED FOR (87) YEARS/ AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.// IT CAUSED DEEP-SEATED RACE DISCRIMINATION/ AND WAS THE EXCUSE FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF ALL LABOR.// IMMIGRANT EUROPEAN LABOR,/ SEEKING FREEDOM AND WORK,/ RECOILED FROM COMPETITION WITH SLAVES/ AND THE SLAVES BEGAN SYSTEMATICALLY/ TO RUN AWAY FROM SLAVERY/ AND SEEK REFUGE/ IN THE NORTH AND CANADA.// SLAVEHOLDERS DEMANDED/ MORE LAND FOR SLAVERY/ AND MORE SLAVES.// WHITE LABOR DEMANDED/ FREE SOIL IN THE WEST/ WHERE INDIANS ~~HAD BEEN~~ were DRIVEN OFF.// WEALTHY EASTERN INVESTORS/ DEMANDED FACILITIES/ FOR FARMING AND TRADE/ AND JOHN BROWN PLOTTED SLAVE REVOLT. THE RESULT WAS CIVIL WAR/ AIMED TO RESTRICT SLAVERY/ AND SAVE THE WEST/ for FREE WHITE LABOR,/ BUT ENDING/ IN THE USE OF NEGRO TROOPS/ AND EMANCIPATION FOR SLAVES.

389-46

THE GREAT DAY OF THE REPUBLIC/ DAWNED WITH LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD/ AS OUR FOUNDING STONE.// BUT WE FALTERED./ THE COST OF WAR HAD BEEN ENORMOUS./ THE MORAL STANDARDS OF THE NATION/ HAD BEEN LOWERED.// WE TURNED TO RUTHLESS MONEY MAKING. PR BEFORE THE INK WAS DRY/ ON THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION/ WE HAD Re-franchised and REINSLAVED THE NEGRO/ UNDER A CASTE OF SKIN COLOR/ WHICH LED TO INCREASED EXPLOITATION OF ALL LABOR.// DESPITE THE SLAVE BARONS,/ WE HAD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY/ BROADENED THE BASIS OF OUR DEMOCRACY/ AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR/ WE ~~HAD~~ TRIED TO BECOME A LAND OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY/ WITH NO STANDING ARMY/ AND NO TRAINING OF YOUTH FOR WAR.// BUT NOW INCREASINGLY/ WE GAVE OUR WHOLE ENERGIES/ TO ACCUMULATING WEALTH/ UNDER PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.// WE INVITED MILLIONS/ OF POOR IMMIGRANT WORKERS FROM ABROAD/ PAINTING FOR THEM/ A LAND OF FREEDOM/ WHERE EVERYONE COULD WORK AND SAVE/ WHERE POVERTY WAS DUE ONLY TO LAZINESS/ AND LAND WAS FREE TO ALL.// INDUSTRY AND TRADE BOOMED/ AND THE RICH AND THE STRONG,/ THE GAMBLER AND THE LIAR/ AMASSED FABULOUS INDIVIDUAL FORTUNES.// WHEN, DUE TO LOW WAGES/ AND IMPOSSIBLE CONDITIONS OF WORK,/ LABOR REVOLTED/ WE KILLED AND JAILED

38-9-47

STRIKERS/AND THEN/FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF EUROPE,/ WE BECAME AN AGGRESSIVE NATION,/ ANNEXED COLONIES,/ AND INVESTED IN CHEAP LABOR/IN EAST AND SOUTH EUROPE,/ ASIA, AFRICA/ AND THE AMERICAS TO THE SOUTH.// (WE SATISFIED THE DEMANDS/OF WHITE SKILLED UNION LABOR/ FROM OUR INCREASED PROFITS/WITHOUT LOWERING THE EMPLOYER'S INCOME.// THE WHITE UNIONS/INCREASED THEIR POWER/BY EXCLUDING FROM MEMBERSHIP/NEGROES AND MOST FOREIGNERS.// WE ENTERED THE FIRST WORLD WAR/AGAINST THE WILL/OF THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS/ BECAUSE THE PROFIT FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY/ WOULD BE ENORMOUS/FROM SELLING MATERIALS/AND FURNISHING LABOR TO THE ALLIES.// WE MADE SO MUCH MONEY/OUT OF THE DISTRESS OF EUROPE,/ THAT THE WHOLE NATION/RUSHED TO UNPRECEDENTED GAMBLING/AND NEARLY WRECKED/THE INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF THE WORLD.// A GREAT DEPRESSION DROVE US INTO TEMPORARY SOCIALISM.// WE BECAME CONSCIOUS OF RUSSIA./ WE HAD AT FIRST SYMPATHIZED/ WITH THE REVOLT OF THE PEASANTS,/ BUT AFTERWARD,/ WE JOINED WEST EUROPE/IN OPPOSING THE ATTEMPT OF SOCIALISTS TO RULE RUSSIA.// WE WERE SURE COMMUNISM WOULD NOT WORK/ AND JOINED BRITAIN AND FRANCE/TO PREVENT IT/FROM MAKING THE ATTEMPT.

38-9-48

~~WE WANTED TO SAVE RUSSIA~~/FOR PROFIT ON OUR INVESTMENTS.// WE THREW OUR WEALTH, ARMS AND INFLUENCE AGAINST LENIN,/ BUT AFTER THE DEPRESSION/FOUND THAT WE MUST CHOOSE/ BETWEEN THE IMPOSSIBLE DEMANDS/OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI/ OR ACCEPT ALLIANCE WITH STALIN.// WE CHOSE STALIN/AND HE AT FEARFUL COST/ RESCUED AMERICA AND EUROPE/FROM FASCISM.

38-9-49

WE FACED THEN/A POSSIBLE WORLD OF PEACE/AND THE OVERTHROW/OF THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR/AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT/TURNED TO FOLLOW IT.// BUT HE DIED/AND WITH HIM DIED WORLD PEACE./ TRUMAN BECAME THE TOOL/OF THOSE FORCES/WHICH MADE US THE MOST WARLIKE NATION OF THE WORLD.// IN NO DANGER OF ATTACK, WE BELTED THE WORLD WITH OUR TROOPS AND WAR MACHINES;// WE EXPLOITED LABOR ALL OVER THE WORLD; OUR DEMOCRACY DID NOT FUNCTION;// FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH WAS LIMITED; EDUCATION CURTAILED, TRAVEL RESTRICTED/AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH/ REACHED A POINT OF SINISTER DANGER.

THUS IT WAS | THAT OUR RIGHTS WERE INVADED || BUT TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE | OUR RULERS ADOPTED THE HITLER LIE TECHNIQUE | TO MISLEAD THE PEOPLE. // WE MADE AMERICA BELIEVE | THAT WE WERE THREATENED BY COMMUNISM, | THAT COMMUNISM WAS A CONSPIRARCY | AND DOOMED TO FAILURE; // THAT OUR SURVIVAL | DEPENDED ON OUR SPENDING MORE FOR WAR | THAN FOR ANYTHING ELSE, // AND THAT WE MUST TRAIN OUR YOUTH | TO CONQUER THE WORLD. // WE TRIED | THROUGH THE MARSHALL PLAN | TO CONTROL CAPITAL IN EUROPE | AND KEEP LABOR FROM SOCIALISM. // AND THROUGH CHIANG KAI CHECK TO BUY CHINA. // LOSING THERE | WE TRIED AGAIN THROUGH KOREA | TO CONQUER CHINA; WE HELPED FRANCE IN VIETNAM, | AND WE RINGED RUSSIA WITH MILITARY BASES. // ~~HELPED~~ Assisted BY THE GOVERNMENT | AND SOME OF OUR BEST WRITERS | WE OPENLY ADVERTISED IN 1951 | A WAR OF CONQUEST of the Soviet Union | WHICH WAS TO CULMINATE IN 1960.

38-9-50

WE FAILED, | AND INDEED AFTER THE TRIUMPH OF SOVIET SOCIENCE, | THE KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT SOVIET EDUCATION WAS DOING | AND THE SUCCESSFUL VISIT OF KHRUSCHEV, | WITH HIS MAGNIFICENT PLEA FOR DISARMAMENT, | WORLD PEACE AGAIN SEEMED POSSIBLE. // BUT SINCE THE AWFUL MONTH OF MAY, 1960, | THERE CAN NO LONGER BE DOUBT | BUT THAT THERE IS IN WASHINGTON TODAY | A GROUP OF MILITARY LEADERS | BACKED BY ~~THOSE~~ many WHO CONTROL | OUR ORGA-

NIZED INDUSTRY AND TRADE, | DETERMINED TO FORCE US | INTO A WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, | TO CONQUER CHINA | AND TO CONTROL ASIA-AFRICA | BY INVESTED CAPITAL.

THIS WAR PARTY | WE MUST FIGHT. // IT CANNOT BE IGNORED | OR ITS EXISTENCE DENIED. | THE MAIN REASON | ~~BACK OF~~ which allows THIS AWFUL PROGRAM | IS THAT KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING | OF THE NATURE OF WEALTH AND MONEY | IS NO LONGER TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS, | VOICED IN OUR CHURCHES, | OR PUBLISHED IN BOOKS, | OR PRINTED IN THE PRESS. // MOST AMERICAN ADULTS | BELIEVE THAT WEALTH | IS TYPIFIED BY A PILE OF MATERIAL | WHICH THIS MAN HAS MADE, | NOW OWNS | AND HAS A RIGHT TO USE | AS HE PLEASES // AND THAT | WITHIN CERTAIN WIDE LIMITS | IT IS THE BUSINESS | OF NO ONE | HOW HE USES IT. // YET IN TRUTH, | WEALTH IS THE LEGAL RIGHT | TO CONTROL THE WORKER TODAY, | TO DECIDE WHAT HE SHOULD DE, | HOW HE SHALL LIVE, | AND WHAT HE SHALL RECEIVE | IN RETURN FOR HIS EFFORT. // THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH | IS NEVER AN INDIVIDUAL ACT, | BUT ALWAYS A MASS EFFORT | BASED ON THE FREE GIFTS OF NATURE; // THEREFORE, | THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH | IN LARGE AMOUNTS | IN INDIVIDUAL HANDS | IS A

38-9-51

DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY/AND INVOLVES THE SUBJECTION/OF THE MANY TO THE FEW.//THE FRIGHTFUL COST OF WAR/IS DENYING THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION/THE EDUCATION BY WHICH WE CAN UNDERSTAND/THE NATURE OF WEALTH AND WORK.// AND THE INFORMATION/WHICH SHOULD COME THROUGH HONEST NEWSGATHERING/ TRUTHFUL PAPERS/AND PERIODICALS/AND WIDE PUBLICATION OF BOOKS.//(FOR THE SAME REASON/WE ARE DENIED MEDICAL CARE,/(RESTRICTED IN HOUSING / AND ENCOURAGED/IN EVERY FORM OF GAMBLING.// APPARENTLY/THE AVERAGE AMERICAN/CAN NO LONGER UNDERSTAND/THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WORK AND THOUGHT/ AND GAMBLING IN BINGO, PLAYING THE RACES OR TAKING FLIERS IN THE STOCK MARKET.//OUR WHOLE ECONOMY IS TOTTERING/AS SHOWN BY POVERTY/ UNEMPLOYMENT,/HIGH PRICES AND INCREASING DEBT.// A MAN IN CALIFORNIA/BREAKS HIS BACK/RAISING A TOMATO/FOR WHICH HE GETS 5 CENTS.// THAT TOMATO SELLS IN NEW YORK/FOR 25 CENTS/AND YET WE PRETEND THAT, none of those ~~THE MEN~~ WHO GET ~~MOST~~ OF THE DIFFERENCE ARE NOT THIEVES./ /THE MAN WHO COMPLAINS/IS LIABLE TO BE POUNCED ON/BY THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE/AND SENT TO JAIL.// WHILE THE COMMITTEE ALLOWS A MILLIONAIRE, DRAPER,/ WHO HATES "NIGGERS"/TO HELP PAY ITS EMPLOYEES.

38-9-51

OUR ORGANIZED AMERICAN BUSINESS ENTERPRIZE/HAS BEATEN DOWN COMPETITION/AND CENTERED IN THEIR HANDS/THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION.// THEY DETERMINE THE CHARACTER OF ITS INDUSTRY/ THE IDEALS OF ITS EFFORT/AND MAKE THE CHIEF END/OF OUR LIVES NOT WHAT WE DO, BUT WHAT THEY GET.

38-9-55

MEANTIME/WE CAN ONLY SUPPORT/THE LIE OF THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM/AND THE CRIME OF COMMUNISM/BY REFUSING TO LET AMERICANS/JUDGE FOR THEMSELVES/~~AND~~ BY RESTRICTING DEMOCRACY/AND LIMITING TRAVEL.// WE ARE OPENLY BUYING ELECTIONS.// THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION/COST AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS.// THE NEXT/AT PRESENT BIDDING/WILL RUN TO A HALF BILLION.// FOR WANT ARE THESE HUGE SUMS USED?

YESTERDAY IN MISSISSIPPI,/AN ~~IGNORANT BLATHERSKITE~~ impossible man/ WAS RE-ELECTED A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE/WHERE HE CONTROLS THE POWERFUL COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.// OUT OF A POPULATION OF FOUR MILLIONS/ONLY 150,000 PERSONS VOTED.// NEARLY ALL THE NEGROES/AND THREE FOURTHS OF THE WHITES/WERE DISFRANCHISED BY COLOR/OR POVERTY/OR IGNORANCE.// THIS MAN WILL EXERCISE MORE POWER/THAN ANY SENATOR FROM NEW YORK.// IN

MOST ELECTIONS/ THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS/ DO NOT VOTE.// BECAUSE THEY FEEL/ IT IS USELESS. THEY HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY/ TO VOTE ON PEACE OR WAR,/ ON THE UNIVERSAL DRAFT,/ ON SOCIALIZED MEDICINE,/ ON DECENT HOMES,/ ON PENSIONS FOR THE AGED,/ ON SAFE TRANSPORTATION,/ ON JUSTICE IN THE COURTS.// WE ARE NOT ONLY/ NOT FREE TO VOTE ON THESE MATTERS,/ BUT WE ARE OFTEN/ NOT FREE TO THINK ABOUT THEM/ OR TO EXPRESS OUR OPINIONS.// WE ARE KEPT FROM FORMING correct OPINIONS/ BY THE CURRENT LYING/ IN GATHERING THE NEWS/ AND IN ITS INTERPRETATION.

38-9-54

WE TAKE NO ACTION,/ FIRST, BECAUSE/ IN SO MANY CASES WE ARE IGNORANT,/ AND SECONDLY, AND ESPECIALLY,/ BECAUSE WE ARE AFRAID./ WE KNOW THAT TELEPHONES ARE TAPPED,/ THAT SECRET POLICE ARE SPYING,/ THAT TATTLING ON NEIGHBORS/ IS ENCOURAGED AND REWARDED/ AND THAT MAIL IS TAMPERED WITH.// WE ARE THEREFORE AFRAID/ AND DO NOT PROTEST/ BECAUSE WE MAY GO TO JAIL/ OR LOSE OUR JOBS,/ NOT FOR WAHT WE DO/ BUT FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE.

OUR JAILS ARE FULL/ NOT SIMPLY OF GUILTY CRIMINALS/ BUT OF INNOCENT PERSONS,/ WHO HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES// AND OF THOUSANDS/ WHOSE ONLY CRIME IS THEIR COLOR,/ of skin AMERICAN PRISONERS/ HAVE RISEN IN REPEATED AND IMPOTENT REVOLT.// OUR ONLY REPLY IS THE BUILDING OF MORE JAILS.// YET THE GRADUATES OF THESE JAILS/ LEAVE THEM WORSE

IN BODY AND THOUGHT/ THEN WHEN THEY ENTERED.

IT IS INEVITABLE/ THAT OUR POWERFUL BUSINESS ENTERPRIZE/ SHOULD INFULENCE OUR CHURCHES AND OUR SCHOOLS.// IN ACTUAL LIFE/ RELIGION IS CARRIED OUT/ BY CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS/ CONDUCTED BY HUMAN BEINGS/ WITH HUMAN FRAILITIES.// THEY ARE SUPPORTED MAINLY BY THE RICH/ AND THUS ARE CONSERVATIVE/ IF NOT REACTIONARY.// THE CHURCH THEREFORE ALMOST NEVER LEADS REFORM./ THE CHURCH HISTORICALLY/ DEFENDED SLAVERY, OPPOSED POPULAR EDUCATION AND THE EQUALITY OF WOMEN,/ AND FOUGHT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.// ALWAYS REBELS TO CHURCH AUTHROITY/ DISSENTED/ EVEN IF EXCOMMUNICATED OR BURNED.// LATER, OFTEN, THE CHURCH RECOGNIZED THEIR TRUTH/ AND TOOK CREDIT/ FOR WHAT THEY ADVOCATED.

38-9-53

THIS PROCEDURE/ HAS LATELY BEEN ILLUSTRATED/ IN BROOKLYN.// A CHURCH/ ONCE FREQUENTED BY A RICH ARISTOCRACY,/ BECAME SURROUNDED/ BY THE POOR/ INCLUDING PORTO RICANS, JEWS AND NEGROES.// UNDER LIBERAL RECTORS/ THEY WERE INVITED TO MEMBERSHIP.// THE BISHOP AND RICH MINORITY OBJECTED/ WHEN A YOUNG RECTOR/ PREACHED PEACE WITH RUSSIA.// ON THIS PRETEXT/ THE CHURCH WAS CLOSED/ AND ITS ENDOWMENT SEIZED/ IN SPITE OF THE FACT/ THAT IT

WAS LONG/THE BEST CENTER/FOR TRAINING YOUTH/IN THE WHOLE CITY.// BIG BUSINESS BOUNTIFULLY/SUPPORTS BILLY GRAHAM/TO ENTERTAIN AND DIVERT/THE PEOPLE.//BUT NO ONE CLAIMS THAT HIS REVIVALS/REDUCE CRIME/OR UPLIFT OUR ETHICAL STANDARDS./MORAL REARMAMENT IS HEAVILY FINANCED/BUT IT SERVES MAINLY/TO KEEP GOOD PEOPLE/FROM COMPLAINING AGAINST EVIL/AND LETS THEM SIT SILENT/BEFORE IT.

32-9-52

WEALTH RULES OUR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS./ COLLEGES BIG GIFTS FROM THE WEALTHY/AND IN TURN/THE WEALTHY FILL THEIR BOARDS OF CONTROL.//THEY DEPEND ON STATE APPROPRIATIONS/AND BIG BUSINESS/RUNS THE STATE.

IT MAY BE THE BEST THING/FOR THE UNITED STATES/TO BE WATCHED BY SECRET POLICE/TO BE TOLD/WHERE ITS CITIZENS CAN TRAVEL/ TO BE JAILED FOR THOUGHTS AND SPEECHES,/TO BE MADE TO MURDER/HUMAN BEINGS/AND DESTROY PROPERTY/AT A COST WHICH KEEPS MILLIONS/POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT.// BUT IF THIS IS BEST/WHY NOT SAY SO?/ WHY LIE ABOUT IT/AND CALL THIS LAND FREE?//DOES THIS TEACH OUR CHILDREN/TO TELL THE TRUTH?//WE ARE TRYING DESPERATELY/TO MAKE AMERICANS BELIEVE/THAT HERE AS NOWHERE ELSE/IN THE WORLD/YOUTH HAS SUCH FREEDOM/OF INITIATIVE/AS MAKES HIM/MASTER OF HIS FATE.//I DO NOT BELIEVE

THIS IS TRUE.//I HAVE SEEN AUTOMATION,/THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE MACHINE FOR MUSCLE,/WELCOMED BY THE WORKERS IN SOCIALIST LANDS,/ BECAUSE THEY OWN THE MACHINES./ WHILE HERE AUTMATION THREATENS STARVATION,/ because the employer/owns the machines .

32-9-52

I BELIEVE/THAT THE YOUTH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA/TODAY ARE FREER IN MIND/THAN AMERICAN YOUTH,/ MORE AMBITIOUS AND HOPEFUL,/ HAPPIER AND MORE ALERT.// NO ONE/CAN BE COMPLETELY FREE/IN A WORLD OF NATURAL LAW/AND IN A SOCIETY/WHERE THE NEEDS OF THE GROUP/ARE SUPERIOR TO THE WHIMSIES/OF ANY ONE MAN.//THE DECISION AS TO WHERE THE LINE MUST BE DRAWN/BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM/AND NATIONAL NEED/IS MORE LOGICALLY LEFT TO DEMOCRATIC DECISION/THAN TO INDIVIDUAL CHOICE.//HOWEVER,/ABOVE THIS NECESSARY REALM OF LAW/THERE IS A FREEDOM/IN COMMUNIST LANDS/WHICH I BELIEVE/IS FAR GREATER THAN TODAY/IN THE UNITED STATES.

THIS THESIS/IS PROVEN BY THE EXTRAORDINARY RISE/IN THE SOVIET UNION,/ IN CHINA, IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA/AND OTHER SOCIALIST LANDS/OF MEN OF EXCEPTIONAL ABILITY/AS COMPARED WITH THE UNITED STATES.//THESE COUNTRIES HAVE PRODUCED/IN THIS CENTURY/A SERIES

OF LEADERS/DRAWN FROM THE RANKS/OF THE FORMERLY DESPISED MASSES.//AS COMPARED WITH THEM/THE UNITED STATES HAS/CERTAINLY FOR THE LAST 15 YEARS/BEEN DOMINATED BY MEN/ OF SECOND RATE ABILITY,/ LACK OF INITIATIVE/AND PITIFUL WANT OF COURAGE.

38-9-57

WE HAVE DEVELOPED IN THIS LAND/AN ASTONISHING LOW STANDARD OF MORALS.// STEALING IS ALMOST CONVENTIONAL;/ CHEATING IN BUYING AND SELLING/IS NO LONGER NEWS;/ MURDER IS COMMONPLACE;//OUR SYSTEM OF TAXATION/IS FEARFULLY HIGH/AND WRETCHEDLY UNFAIR.//THE POOR PAY THE BILLIONS/AND THE RICH SECURE EXEMPTION/HELPED BY LAWYERS/ WHO MAKE THE LAWS/AND MAN THE COURTS.//THE WORLD STANDS AGHAST,/NOT ONLY AT WHAT WE ARE DOING,/ BUT AT OUR ALLIES.

WHO TODAY ARE THE FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES? /FRANCO OF SPAIN, THE PAL OF HITLER;/ SALAZAR OF PORTUGAL, FOR TWENTY YEARS AN ABSOLUTE DICTATOR;/ MENDERES OF TURKEY, JUST DRIVEN FROM POWER;/ NGO DIEM OF VIETNAM/ACCUSED OF THEFT AND DEGENERACY;/ KISHII OF JAPAN,/ON THE EDGE OF DOWNFALL;/ CHIANG KAI CHEK OF FORMOSA/ WHOM WE HAVE ourselves OFFICIALLY CALLED A SCOUNDREL;/AND SINGMAN RHEE OF KOREA/ DISOWNED BY HIS NATIVE LAND. THIS IS NOT A PRETTY PICTURE.

Such ~~THIS~~ IS MY BELIEF./ IT MAY BE WRONG, IN PART/ OR AS A WHOLE.// MANY OF YOU WILL NOT AGREE WITH ME/AND THAT IS YOUR RIGHT.//BUT I HAVE VOICED THE TRUTH AS I SEE IT./ FOR MORE THAN NINETY YEARS/ I HAVE WATCHED THIS NATION.//I HAVE SEEN VAST IMPROVEMENT, FOR WHICH I HAVE BEEN THANKFUL.//BUT ALSO I HAVE SEEN FAILURE/AND RETROGRESSION/ AGAINST WHICH I HAVE COMPLAINED.//I WILL NOT BOW TO CONVENTION/ TO MAKE A HAPPY ENDING/TO THIS TALK/AND SEND YOU HOME/CONTENT THAT SOMEONE ELSE/WILL DO WHAT YOU yourselves OUGHT TO BE DOING/AND WHAT/THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTY COMMITTEE/IS ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH/UNDER ENDLESS DIFFICULTIES.

38-9-58

THE WRONGS WHICH SUPPRESS OUR RIGHTS

I am deeply obliged to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for this tribute to my efforts. I know what it has cost them in work and courage. I ask further to trespass on their good will speaking clearly and frankly on many controversial matters. I ask this since many of my friends are now in jail because they had opinions and voiced them. They were not traitors to their country but they did not agree with it right or wrong.

40-9-378

This nation began with two basic ideals which from the first clashed more or less openly. It was regarded on the one hand as a source of wealth and on the other as a refuge for the oppressed. Adventurers came from Europe and silver and gold poured back. Refugees followed: Catholics and Protestants; Methodist, and Baptists, and Quakers, asking freedom of belief and voice in government. Land, despite its Indian owners, was endless but labor was needed and was brought from Europe and Africa. For 150 years 13 small communities developed along the Atlantic coast. Wealth accumulated and social classes developed, from rich and privileged aristocrats to slave laborers but with wide equality of income and democracy in government. Tobacco, sugar and cotton crossed the ocean in increasing quantities and Europe was tempted to seize and control as much of this colonial production as was possible for its own use. Revolution for unity and independence ensued which also became revolution for democratic government and class equality, even to the freeing of some of the slaves.

The new nation which arose in 1776 was founded on the enlightened thought of the Eighteenth Century and declared all men born equal with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Thus our fundamental rights were born although contradicted from the start by the fact that a fifth of the population were still slaves.

The founding fathers realized this and were determined to correct it as soon as possible. But wealth and war opposed them: wealth because the African

40-9-379

slave trade had grown to be the most profitable investment in the world. The institution of slavery in the Americas had become a strong and growing part of our economy. It was therefore attacked slowly and with reasonable deliberation, a method which still haunts the nation. Here was the first wrong which attacked our basic rights. Slavery increased and persisted for 87 years after the Declaration of Independence. It caused deep seated race discrimination and was the excuse for the exploitation of all labor. Immigrant European labor, seeking freedom and work, recoiled from competition with slaves and the slaves began systematically to run away from slavery and seek refuge in the North and Canada. Slaveholders demanded more land for slavery and more slaves. White labor demanded free soil in the West where Indians had been driven off. Wealthy eastern investors demanded facilities for farming and trade and John Brown plotted slave revolt. The result was Civil war aimed to restrict slavery and save the West to free white labor, but ending in the use of Negro troops and emancipation for slaves.

The great day of the Republic dawned with Liberty, equality and Brotherhood as our founding stone. But we faltered. The cost of war had been enormous. The moral standards of the nation had been torn and lowered. We turned to ruthless money making. Before the ink was dry on the Emancipation Proclamation we had reinslaved the Negro under a caste of skin color, which led to increased exploitation of all labor. Despite the slave barons, we had in the Nineteenth Century broadened the basis of our democracy and after the Civil War we had tried to become a land of peace and democracy with no standing army and no training of youth for war. But now increasingly we gave our whole energies to accumulating wealth under private ownership. We attracted millions of poor immigrant workers from abroad, painting for them a picture of a land of freedom, where everyone could work and save, where poverty was only due to laziness and land was free to all. Industry and trade boomed and the rich and the strong, the gambler and the liar amassed fabulous fortunes. When, due to low wages and impossible conditions of work, labor re-

40-9-380

volted, we killed and jailed strikers and then following the lead of Europe, we became an aggressive nation, annexed colonies, and invested in colonies in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas to the South. We satisfied the demands of white skilled union labor from our increased profits without lowering the employer's income. The white unions increased their power by excluding from membership Negroes and most foreigners. We entered the First World War against the will of the majority of Americans because the profit for American industry would be enormous from selling materials and furnishing labor to the Allies. We made so much money out of the distress of Europe, that the whole nation rushed to unprecedented gambling and nearly wrecked the industry and trade of the world. The great depression drove us into temporary socialism. We became conscious of Russia. We had at first sympathized with the revolt of the peasants, but afterward, we joined West Europe in opposing the attempt of Socialists to rule Russia. We were sure Communism would not work and joined Britain and France to prevent it from making the attempt. We wanted to save Russia for profit on our investments. We threw our wealth, arms and influence against Lenin, but after the Depression found that we must choose between the impossible demands of Hitler and Mussolini or accept alliance with Stalin. We chose Stalin and he at fearful cost rescued America and Europe from Fascism.

We faced then a possible world of Peace and the overthrow of the exploitation of labor and Franklin Roosevelt turned to follow it. But he died and with him died World Peace. Truman becamse the tool of those forces which made us the most warlike nation of the world. In no danger of attack, we belted the world with our troops and war machines: we exploited labor all over the world; our democracy did not function; freedom of thought and speech was limited; education curtailed, travel restricted and the distribution of the national wealth reached a point of sinister danger.

Thus it was that our rights were invaded but to make this possible our rulers adopted the Hitler lie technique to mislead the people. We made America

40-9-381

believe that we were threatened by Communism, that Communism was a conspiracy and doomed to failure; that our survival depended on our spending more for war than for anything else, and that we must train our youth to conquer the world. We tried through the Marshall Plan to control the capital of Europe and keep labor from socialism, and through Chiang-kai Chek to buy China. Losing there we tried again through Korea to conquer China; we helped France in Vietnam, and we ringed Russia with Military bases. We openly advertised a war of conquest which was to culminate in 1960.

We failed, and indeed after the triumph of Soviet science and the successful visit of Khrushchev, World Peace again seemed possible. But since the awful month of May, 1960, there can no longer be doubt but that there is in Washington today a group of military leaders backed by those who control our organized industry and trade, determined to force us into a war with the Soviet Union, to conquer China, and to control Asia-Africa by invested capital.

This war party we must fight. It cannot be ignored or its existence denied. The main reason back of this awful program is that knowledge and understanding of the nature of wealth and money is no longer taught in our schools, voiced in our churches, or published in books, or printed in the press. Most American adults believe that wealth is typified by a pile of gold which this man has made, now owns and has a right to use as he pleases and that within wide limits it is the business of no one how he uses it. Yet in truth, wealth is the legal right to control the worker today, to decide what he should do, how he shall live, and what he shall receive in return for his effort. The production of wealth is never an individual act, but always a mass effort based on the free gifts of nature; therefore, the accumulation of wealth in large amounts is a denial of democracy and involves the subjection of the many to the few. The frightful cost of war is denying the people of this nation the education by which we can understand the nature of wealth and work, and the information which should come through honest newsgathering, truthful papers and periodicals and wide publication of books. For the same reason, we are denied medical care, restricted in housing

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and encouraged in every form of gambling, led by the stock exchange, called investment of savings when it is more often concealment of loot.

Our organized American business enterprize has beaten down competition and centered in their hands the government of the nation. They determine the character of its industry, the ideals of its effort and make the chief end of our lives not what we do, but what they get.

Meantime we can only support the lie of the failure of Socialism and the crime of Communism by refusing to let Americans judge for themselves and by restricting democracy and limiting travel. We are openly buying elections. The last presidential election cost at least one hundred million dollars. The next at present bidding will run to a half billion. For what are these huge sums used?

Yesterday in Mississippi, an ignorant blatherskite was re-elected a member of the United States Senate where he controls the powerful committee on the Judiciary. Out of a population of four millions only 150,000 persons voted. Nearly all the Negroes and three fourths of the whites were disfranchised by color or poverty or ignorance. In most elections the majority of Americans do not vote, because they feel it is useless. They have no opportunity to vote on peace or war, on the universal draft, on socialized medicine, on decent homes, on pensions for the aged, on safe transportation, on justice in the courts. We are not only not free to vote on these matters, but we are often not free to think about them or to express our opinions. We are kept from forming opinions by the current lying in gathering the news and in its interpretation.

We take no action first because in so many cases we are ignorant, and secondly, and especially, because we are afraid. We know that telephones are tapped, that secret police are spying, that tattling on neighbors is encouraged and rewarded and that mail is tampered with. We are therefore afraid and do not protest because we may go to jail or lose our jobs, not for what we do but for what we believe.

40-9-383

Our jails are full not simply of guilty criminals but of innocent persons, who have not been able to defend themselves and of thousands whose only crime is their color. American prisoners ha ve risen in repeated and impotent revolt. Our only reply is the building of more jails. Yet the graduates of these jails leave them worse in body and thought than when they entered.

It is inevitable that our powerful business enterprize should influence our churches and our schools. In actual life Religion is carried out by church organizations conducted by human men with human frailities. They are supported mainly by the rich and thus are conservative if not reactionary. The Church therefore almost never leads reform. The Church historically defended slavery, opposed popular education and the equality of women, and fought universal sufferage. Always rebels to church authority forged forward even if excommunicated or burned. Later, often, the Church recognized their truth and took credit for what they advocated. This procedure has lately been illustrated in Brooklyn. A church once frequented by ~~the~~ a rich aristocracy, became surrounded by the poor; by Porto Ricans, Jews and Negroes, and under liberal rectors they joined in membership. The Bishop and rich minority objected when a young rector asked peace with Russia. The church was closed and its endowment seized in spite of the fact that it was long the best center for training youth in the whole city. Big Business bountifully supports Billy Graham to entertain and divert the people but no one claims that his revivals reduce crime or uplift our ethical standards. Moral Rearmament is heavily financed but it serves mainly to keep good people from complaining against evil instead of sitting silent before it.

Wealth rules our colleges and schools. They beg gifts from the wealthy and in turn the wealthy fill their boards of control. They depend on state appropriations and Big Business runs the state.

It may be the best thing for the United States to be watched by secret police,

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to be told where its citizens can travel, to be jailed for thoughts and speeches, to be made to murder human beings and destroy property at a cost which keeps millions poor, sick and ignorant. But if this is best why not say so? Why lie about it and call this land free? Does this teach our children to tell the truth? we are trying desperately to make Americans believe that here as nowhere else in the world youth has such freedom of initiative as makes him master of his fate. I do not believe this is true.

I believe that the youth of the Soviet Union and China today are freer in mind than American youth, more ambitious and hopeful. No one can be completely free in a world of natural law and in a society where the needs of the group are superior to the whimsies of any one man. The decision as to where the line must be drawn between individual freedom and national need is more logically left to democratic decision than to individual choice. However, above this necessary realm of law there is a freedom in Communist lands which I believe is far greater than today in the United States.

This thesis is proven by the extraordinary rise in the Soviet Union, in China, in Czechoslovakia and other Socialist lands of men of exceptional ability as compared with the United States. These countries have produced in this century a series of leaders drawn from the ranks of the unknown masses. As compared with them the United States has for the last 15 years been dominated by men of second rate ability, lack of initiative and pitiful want of courage.

We have developed in this land an astonishing low standard of morals. Stealing is almost conventional; cheating in buying and selling is no longer news; murder is almost common. Our system of taxation is fearfully high and wretchedly unfair. The poor pay the billions and the rich secure exemption helped by lawyers who make the laws and man the courts. The world stands aghast, not only at what we are doing, but at our allies.

Who today are the friends of the United States?

40-9-385

Franco of Spain, the pal of Hitler; Salazar of Portugal, for twenty years an absolute dictator; Menderes of Turkey just driven from power; Ngo Diem of Vietnam accused of theft and degeneracy; Kishii of Japan, on the edge of downfall; Chiang kai Chek of Formosa, whom we have officially called a scoundrel; and Singman Rhee of Korea, disowned by his native land. Is this a pretty picture?

This is my belief. It may be wrong in part or as a whole. Many of you will not agree with me and that is your right. But I have voiced the Truth as I see it. For more than ninety years I have watched this nation. I have seen vast improvement, but also failure and retrogression. I will not bow to convention to make a happy ending and send you home content that someone else will do what you ought to be doing and what the Emergency Civil Liberty Committee is attempting to accomplish under endless difficulties.

For Release: 8 P.M. June 15, 1960

SPEECH BY DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS

New Yorker Hotel - June 15, 1960

at a meeting in his honor sponsored by the

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

40/10/54

THE WRONGS WHICH SUPPRESS OUR RIGHTS

I am deeply obliged to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for this tribute to my efforts. I know what it has cost them in work and courage. I ask further to trespass on their good will by speaking clearly and frankly on many controversial matters. I ask this since many of my friends are now in jail because they had opinions and voiced them. They were not traitors to their country but they did not agree with it right or wrong.

This nation began with two basic ideals which from the first clashed more or less openly. It was regarded on the one hand as a source of wealth and on the other as a refuge for the oppressed. Adventurers came from Europe and silver and gold poured back. Refugees followed: Catholics and Protestants; Methodist, and Baptists, and Quakers asking freedom of belief and voice in government. Land, despite its Indian owners, was endless but labor was needed and was brought from Europe and Africa. For 150 years 13 small communities developed along the Atlantic coast. Wealth accumulated and social classes developed, from rich and privileged aristocrats to slave laborers but with wide equality of income and democracy in government. Tobacco, sugar and cotton crossed the ocean in increasing quantities and Europe was tempted to seize and control as much of this colonial production as was possible for its own use. Revolution for unity and independence ensued which also became revolution for democratic government and class equality, even to the freeing of some of the slaves.

The new nation which arose in 1776 was founded on the enlightened thought of the Eighteenth Century and declared all men born equal with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Thus our fundamental rights were born although contradicted from the start by the fact that a fifth of the population were still slaves.

The founding fathers realized this and were determined to correct it as soon as possible. But wealth and war opposed them: wealth because the African slave trade had grown to be the most profitable investment in the world. The institution of slavery in the Americas had become a strong and growing part of our economy. It was therefore attacked slowly and with reasonable deliberation, a method which still

4/10/51

haunts the nation. Here was the first wrong which attacked our basic rights. Slavery increased and persisted for 87 years after the Declaration of Independence. It caused deep seated race discrimination and was the excuse for the exploitation of all labor. Immigrant European labor, seeking freedom and work, recoiled from competition with slaves and the slaves began systematically to run away from slavery and seek refuge in the North and Canada. Slaveholders demanded more land for slavery and more slaves. White labor demanded free soil in the West where Indians had been driven off. Wealthy eastern investors demanded facilities for farming and trade and John Brown plotted slave revolt. The result was Civil war aimed to restrict slavery and save the West to free white labor, but ending in the use of Negro troops and emancipation for slaves.

The great day of the Republic dawned with Liberty, equality and Brotherhood as our founding stone. But we faltered. The cost of war had been enormous. The moral standards of the nation had been lowered. We turned to ruthless money making. Before the ink was dry on the Emancipation Proclamation we had reinslaved the Negro under a caste of skin color, which led to increased exploitation of all labor. Despite the slave barons, we had in the Nineteenth Century broadened the basis of our democracy and after the Civil War we had tried to become a land of peace and democracy with no standing army and no training of youth for war. But now increasingly we gave our whole energies to accumulating wealth under private ownership. We attracted millions of poor immigrant workers from abroad, painting for them a land of freedom, where everyone could work and save, where poverty was only due to lazinessand land was free to all. Industry and trade boomed and the rich and the strong, the gambler and the liar amassed fabulous individual fortunes. When, due to low wages and impossible conditions of work, labor revolted, we killed and jailed strikers and then following the lead of Europe, we became an aggressive nation, annexed colonies, and invested in cheap labor in East and South Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas to the South. We satisfied the demands of white skilled union labor from our increased profits without lowering the employer's income. The white unions increased their power by excluding from membership Negroes and most foreigners. We entered the First World War against the will of the majority of Americans because the profit for American industry would be enormous from selling materials and furnishing labor to the Allies. We made so much money out of the distress of Europe, that the whole nation rushed to unprecedented gambling and nearly wrecked the industry and trade of the world. A great depression drove us into temporary socialism. We became conscious of Russia.

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We had at first sympathized with the revolt of the peasants, but afterward, we joined West Europe in opposing the attempt of Socialists to rule Russia. We were sure Communism would not work and joined Britain and France to prevent it from making the attempt. We joined West Europe in saving East Europe for profit on our investments. We threw our wealth, arms and influence against Lenin, but after the Depression found that we must choose between the impossible demands of Hitler and Mussolini or accept alliance with Stalin. We chose Stalin and he at fearful cost rescued America and Europe from Fascism.

We faced then a possible world of Peace and the overthrow of the exploitation of labor and Franklin Roosevelt turned to follow it. But he died and with him died World Peace. Truman became the tool of those forces which made us the most warlike nation of the world. In no danger of attack, we belted the world with our troops and war machines: we exploited labor all over the world; our democracy did not function; freedom of thought and speech was limited; education curtailed, travel restricted and the distribution of the national wealth reached a point of sinister danger.

Thus it was that our rights were invaded but to make this possible our rulers adopted the Hitler lie technique to mislead the people. We made America believe that we were threatened by Communism, that Communism was a conspiracy and doomed to failure; that our survival depended on our spending more for war than for anything else, and that we must train our youth to conquer the world. We tried through the Marshall Plan to control capital in Europe and keep labor from socialism, and through Chiang-kai Chek to buy China. Losing there we tried again through Korea to conquer China; we helped France in Vietnam, and we ringed Russia with military bases. Helped by the government and some of our best writers, we openly advertised in 1951 a war of conquest which was to culminate in 1960.

We failed, and indeed after the triumph of Soviet science the knowledge of what Soviet education was doing, and the successful visit of Khrushchev, with his magnificent plea for disarmament, World Peace again seemed possible. But since the awful month of May, 1960, there can no longer be doubt but that there is in Washington today a group of military leaders backed by those who control our organized industry and trade, determined to force us into a war with the Soviet Union, to conquer China, and to control Asia-Africa by invested capital.

This war party we must fight. It cannot be ignored or its existence denied. The main reason back of this awful program is that knowledge and understanding of the nature of wealth and money is no longer taught in our schools, voiced in our

churches, or published in books, or printed in the press. Most American adults believe that wealth is typified by a pile of material which this man has made, now owns and has a right to use as he pleases and that within certain wide limits it is the business of no one how he uses it. Yet in truth, wealth is the legal right to control the worker today, to decide what he should do, how he shall live, and what he shall receive in return for his effort. The production of wealth is never an individual act, but always a mass effort based on the free gifts of nature; therefore, the accumulation of wealth in large amounts in individual hands is a denial of democracy and involves the subjection of the many to the few. The frightful cost of war is denying the people of this nation the education by which we can understand the nature of wealth and work, and the information which should come through honest newsgathering, truthful papers and periodicals and wide publication of books. For the same reason, we are denied medical care, restricted in housing and encouraged in every form of gambling. Apparently the average American can no longer understand the difference between work and thought, and gambling in bingo, playing the races or taking fliers in the stock market. Our whole economy is tottering as shown by poverty, unemployment, high prices and increasing debt. A man in California breaks his back raising a tomato for which he gets 5 cents. That tomato sells in New York for 25 cents and yet we pretend that the man who get most of the difference are not thieves. The man who complains is liable to be pounced on by the Un-American committee and sent to jail, while this committee allows a millionaire, Draper, who hates "niggers" to help pay its employees.

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Yesterday in Mississippi, an impossible man was re-elected a member of the United States Senate where he controls the powerful committee on the Judiciary. Out of a population of four millions only 150,000 persons voted. Nearly all the Negroes and three-fourths of the whites were disfranchised by color or poverty or ignorance. This man will exercise more power than any Senator from New York.

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I believe that the youth of the Soviet Union and China today are freer in mind than American youth, more ambitious and hopeful, happier and more alert. No one can be completely free in a world of natural law and in a society where the needs of the group are superior to the whimsies of any one man. The decision as to where the line must be drawn between individual freedom and national need is more logically left to democratic decision than to individual choice. However, above this necessary realm of law there is a freedom in Communist lands which I believe is far greater than today in the United States.

This thesis is proven by the extraordinary rise in the Soviet Union, in China, in Czechoslovakia and other socialist lands of men of exceptional ability as compared with the United States. These countries have produced in this century a series of leaders drawn from the ranks of the formerly despised masses. As sooper compared with them the United States has certainly for the last 15 years been dominated by men of second rate ability, lack of initiative and pitiful want of courage.

We have devloped in this land an astonishing low standard of morals. ~~Steal~~ Stealing is almost conventional; cheating in buying and selling is no longer news; murder is commonplace; our system of taxation is fearfully high and wretchedly unfair. The poor pay the billions and the rich secure exemption helped by lawyers who make the laws and man the courts. The world stands aghast, not only at what we are doing, but at our allies.

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This is my belief. It may be wrong in part or as a whole. Many of you will not agree with me and that is your right. But I have voiced the Truth as I see it. For more than ninety years I have watched this nation. I have seen vast improvement for which I have been thankful. But also I have seen failure and retrogression against which I have complained. I will not bow to convention to make a happy ending to this talk, and send you home content that someone else will do what you ought to be doing and what the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is attempting to accomplish under endless difficulties.

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Cuul Libertus Speech -
New Yorker - 1960

Talk made by Dr. Du Bois at his home at setting up of Marxist School by Harlem Apartheid

40-9-44

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IS THE PATH TO REAL HUMAN PROGRESS. I WAS FORTUNATE IN MY SCHOOLING BUT I HAVE TWO COMPLAINTS: FIRST, I DID NOT KNOW UNTIL I HAD FINISHED MY EDUCATION AND WAS TEACHING ANYTHING ABOUT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA EXCEPT THAT OF EGYPT AND EGYPT WAS TREATED IN MY TEXTBOOKS AND BY MY TEACHERS AS NOT BEING AFRICAN. AGAIN, IN ALL MY COLLEGE TRAINING KARL MARX AND HIS PHILOSOPHY WAS NEVER FRANKLY TREATED. HE WAS REFERRED TO AT HARVARD AND IN BERLIN AS A MAN WHOSE THEORIES HAD LONG BEEN ANSWERED AND IT WAS THESE ANSWERS WHICH WE STUDIED AND NOT THE STATEMENTS OF MARX. IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1934 THAT I MYSELF COULD GIVE TO A CLASS OF STUDENTS A COURSE ON THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO PUTTING THE ACTUAL TEXT IN THEIR HANDS AND FURNISHING THEM WITH A LIBRARY OF MARX'S WRITINGS AND OF HIS OPPONENTS. THE OBJECT OF MY COURSE WAS NOT TO TRAIN SOCIALISTS OR COMMUNISTS BUT TO TRAIN YOUNG PEOPLE TO REASON BY GIVING THEM ACCESS TO FACTS. SO TODAY HERE IN NEW YORK WE NEED A SCHOOL NOT FOR PROPAGANDA BUT FOR INFORMATION, WHERE YOUNG PEOPLE CAN READ THE WRITINGS OF MARX AND OTHERS, CAN HEAR THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM EXPOUNDED BY PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE FACTS AND CAN EXPLAIN THEM AND THEN THESE YOUNG FORLK CAN GO INTO THE WORLD EQUIPPED WITH THE TRUTH AND ABLE TO REASON INTELLIGENTLY ABOUT THE PRESENT AND FUTURE. WITHOUT SUCH A SCHOOL

40-9-45

COMPLETE EDUCATION IS IMPOSSIBLE. SOME SEEM TO THINK THAT IF A BOY HAS TAKEN WHAT APPEARS THE RIGHT PATH, IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHETHER THIS HAPPENED BY CHANCE, BY OUTSIDE PRESSURE OR BECAUSE HE FOLLOWED WHAT WAS RESPECTABLE OR POPULAR, BUT IT DOES MAKE A VAST DIFFERENCE. THE WORLD IS IN CONTINUAL CHANGE. NEW DECISIONS, NEW CHOICES ARE REPEATEDLY ASKED IF A BOY ACTS FROM TRUTH AND REASON HE WILL FIND THE RIGHT WAY. IF HE ACTS FROM DIRECTION OR FASHION HE WILL BE A DANGEROUS CITIZEN. LET US THEM AS WE CAN PROVIDE BROAD FAIR EDUCATION FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF OUR DAY.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Spring 1960

W.E.B.D

June 1940

THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER IS THE PATH TO REAL HUMAN PROGRESS. I WAS FORTUNATE IN MY SHHOOLING BUT I HAVE TWO COMPLAINTS: FIRST, I DID NOT KNOW UNTIL I HAD FINISHED MY EDUCATION AND TEACHING ANYTHING ABOUT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA EXCEPT THAT OF EGYPT AND EGYPT WAS TREATED IN MY TEXTBOOK AND BY MY TEACHERS AS NOT BEING AFRICAN. AGAIN, IN ALL MY COLLEGE TRAINING KARL MARX AND HIS PHILOSOPHY WAS NEVER FRANKLY TREATED. HE WAS REFERRED TO AT HARVARD AND IN BERLIN AS A MAN WHOSE THEORIES HAD LONG BEEN ANSWERED AND IT WAS THESE ANSWERS WHICH WE STUDIED AND NOT THE STATEMENTS OF MARX. IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1934 THAT I MYSELF COULD GIVE TO A CLASS OF STUDENTS A COURSE ON THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO PUTTING THE ACTUAL TEXT IN THEIR HANDS AND FURNISHING THEM WITH A LIBRARY OF MARX'S WRITINGS AND OF HIS OPPONENTS. THE OBJECT OF MY COURSE WAS NOT TO TRAIN SOCIALISTS OR COMMUNISTS BUT TO TRAIN YOUNG PEOPLE TO REASON BY GIVING THEM ACCESS TO FACTS. SO TODAY HERE IN NEW YORK WE NEED A SCHOOL NOT FOR PROPAGANDA BUT FOR INFORMATION, WHERE YOUNG PEOPLE CAN READ THE WRITINGS OF MARX AND OF OTHERS, CAN HEAR THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

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40-1-191

(Your Lordship / Your Excellency) ~~Mr. Chairman~~, / Members of the Ghana academy of Learning, / Ladies and Gentlemen: /

May I first / express ~~to you~~ / the very great pleasure / which it gives me / and my wife / to be present here / and to enjoy your hospitality / on this historic occasion. / I have seen the Glory of ancient Africa / shining Through / in crimson and gold, / the / hard / won Conquest of western culture // I have witnessed / the deserved Triumph / of the first President of Ghana // As a brief expression / of my thankfulness / I shall essay in / 15 minutes / a survey of 3000 years / of / African history / a glance at ~~the future~~ its present and future

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR LORDSHIP, MEMBERS OF THE GHANA ACADEMY OF LEARNING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: MAY I FIRST EXPRESS THE VERY GREAT PLEASURE WHICH IT GIVES ME AND MY WIFE TO BE PRESENT HERE AND TO ENJOY YOUR HOSPITALITY ON THIS HISTORIC OCCASION. I HAVE HERE SEEN THE GLORY OF ANCIENT AFRICA SHINING THROUGH THE CRIMSON AND GOLD BEHIND THE HARD*WON CONQUEST OF WESTERN CULTURE. I HAVE WITNESSED THE DESERVED TRIUMPH OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF GHANA.

AS A BRIEF EXP ESSION OF MY THANKFULNESS I SHALL ASSAY IN FIFTEEN MINUTES A SURVEY OF THREE THOUSAND YEARS OF AFRICAN HISTORY, A GLANCE AT ITS PRESENT AND ITS FUTURE.

40-1-190

40-1-192

A HISTORY OF AFRICA

A Black man, TAHARQA, King of the Kings of Ethiopia was

700 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST ~~THE BLACK ETHIOPIAN KING, TAHARKA, WAS IN POWER.~~ THE MASTER OF THE WORLD FOR A HALF CENTURY. // NO ONE IN ASIA, EUROPE OR AFRICA WAS HIS EQUAL. THE EGYPTIAN POWER HAD RISEN AND FALLEN, THE KINGDOMS OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES HAD LOST THEIR ~~POWER~~ rule AND UNIFIED GOVERNMENT WAS ONLY BEGINNING IN ASIA. // THEN EASTERN ASIA in Persia pierced ~~BEGAN~~ ACROSS THE NILE VALLEY FOLLOWED BY Greece ROME AND GREECE. // ROME FELL (400 ~~200~~) YEARS AFTER CHRIST AND BETWEEN 700 and 1000 A.D. ASIA AGAIN CROSSED INTO AFRICA AND ASIANS AND AFRICANS TOGETHER WENT UP INTO EUROPE UNTIL THEY WERE TURNED BACK AT THE BATTLE OF TOURS. CIVILIZATION AMONG THE ASIATICS AND AFRICANS BEGAN TO DEVELOP IN NORTH AFRICA AND BETWEEN 1000 and 1600 A.D. CAME THE GREAT BLACK KINGDOMS OF THE SUDAN. // THEY FELL IN 1651 AT THE BATTLE OF TENKADIBO BEFORE THE ONSLAUGHT OF THE PORTUGUESE FOLLOWED BY THE SPANISH, THE FRENCH AND ~~THE~~ BRITISH. Africa + Arab struggled in East Africa

FROM 1650 to 1850 AFRICA SLEPT with UNEASY DREAMS AND DURING THIS TIME BEGINNING IN 1713 WITH THE ASSIENTO A SLAVE TRADE DEVELOPED BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE NEWLY FOUND AMERICA

-2-

TO THE WEST. // IN EUROPE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY CAME A REVOLUTION IN INDUSTRY STARTED BY (a new science) THE DISCOVERY OF THE FUNCTION OF CAPITAL AND BY WIDE INVENTION AND USE OF TOOLS AND MACHINES. // CAPITAL CONSISTS OF GOODS NOT CONSUMED DIRECTLY BUT USED TO PRODUCE OTHER GOODS FOR LATER CONSUMPTION. // IN PRIMITIVE STATES AND IN VERY MODERN STATES THIS CAPITAL WAS OWNED BY THE COMMUNITY AND THE GOODS WHICH IT MADE CONSUMED BY ~~THE COMMUNITY~~ ALL. // BUT IN EUROPE AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION CAPITAL GOODS WERE increasingly OWNED BY PRIVATE PERSONS WHO SEIZED THEM (the LAND, and) AND WITH A STOCK OF CONSUMER GOODS ~~THEY~~ HIRED LABOR TO USE THE TOOLS AND MACHINES AND MAKE MORE GOODS. // THUS AROSE THE PRIVATE CAPITALIST SYSTEM CONTRADICTING AND REPLACING PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM. // (Revolt ensued in Europe as) ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY THE REVOLT BEGAN IN AFRICA. IT WAS WIDESPREAD, BUT ONLY PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE BECAUSE IT WAS FIGHTING ORGANIZED EUROPEAN CAPITAL armed WITH MACHINE GUNS. // (For 1 500 years) THE BANTU STRUGGLED SOUTH To SOUTH AFRICA, THE MAHDI DROVE THE BRITISH OUT OF THE SUDAN, THE ASHANTI FOUGHT SIX WARS AGAINST BRITAIN, RELIGIOUS WAR IN UGANDA OVERTHREW A GREAT

40-1-193

(Italy was overthrown at Adua)

FEUDAL STATE.// THE ZULUS FOUGHT AND COMMITTED SUICIDE IN VAIN,/ and ETHIOPIA AND FRANCE FAILING TO JOIN FORCES AT FASHODA/ LEFT BRITAIN AS MASTER OF THE NILE VALLEY/ WITH THE WAY OPEN/ FROM CAIRO TO THE CAPE.// CECIL RHODES IN 1888/ BECAME MASTER OF THE DIAMONDS AND GOLD OF THE WORLD, (and so of Luxury & Credit.

40-1-194

AGAINST THIS ORGANIZATION OF EUROPEAN CAPITAL/ WHICH USED EUROPEAN LABOR AS SOLDIERS/ ARMED WITH MODERN GUNS,// REVOLUTION IN AFRICA WAS IN VAIN.// BUT AT THE OPENING OF THE 20th CENTURY/ AFRICANS,/ AND PARTICULARLY THEIR CHILDREN/ WHO HAD BEEN STOLEN AND TRANSPORTED TO AMERICA,/ BEGAN TO THINK OF A WAY OUT.// IN 1900 A WEST INDIAN BARRISTER CALLED A MEETING IN LONDON/ AND THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/ WAS FORMED/ OF WHICH BISHOP WALTERS OF NEW YORK/ WAS CHAIRMAN/ AND I WAS SECRETARY.// I WROTE OUT THE RESOLUTIONS WHICH WERE MERELY/ A PLAN FOR PERIODIC CONSULTATIONS/ ON THE PART OF NEGRO LEADERS/ IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.// BISHOP WALTERS TOOK no further ACTION,/ BUT IN 1911/ THE ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY OF ENGLAND/ CALLED A RACES CONGRESS/ WHICH BROUGHT INTO CONSULTATION/ EUROPEANS,

(Brought the problem of Africa to the Congress of Versailles and

AFRICANS/ AND PEOPLES OF ASIA.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ KILLED THIS MOVEMENT/ BUT AFTER THE WAR/ I/ CALLED IN PARIS THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/ THIS WAS FOLLOWED IN 1921/ BY THE SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/ MEETING IN LONDON, PARIS AND BRUSSELS.// THIS WAS SO IMPORTANT/ AND so LARGELY ATTENDED/ THAT IT AROUSED THE OPPOSITION/ OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD/ WHICH WAS NOW EXPANDING/ INTO IMPERIALIST COLONIALISM.// THAT IS, IT HAD TAKEN PHYSICAL CONTROL/ OF COLONIES/ IN ASIA AND AFRICA,/ SEIZING LAND AND MATERIALS/ AND REDUCING THE NATIVES TO COMPULSORY LABOR/ & making huge profit. Chaka, Kadalie & Chilembwe revolted in vain

40-1-195

MEANTIME A NEW IMPULSE/ CAME OUT OF THE WEST INDIES.// MARCUS GARVEY CONCEIVED THE IDEA/ OF NEGROES SEIZING PART CONTROL/ OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM TO ~~CONDUCT THEMSELVES~~ it, ~~AND~~ TO USE it AS A LEVER/ FOR EXPELLING THE WHITES FROM AFRICA.// THE SCHEME WAS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE THE NEGROES/ LACKED ~~THE~~ CONTROL OF CAPITAL/ AND MILITARY MIGHT, (& knowledge of technique BUT THE PAN-AFRICAN IDEA/ OF PLANNING AND CONSULTATION/ CONTINUED IN THIRD AND FOURTH/ PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS MEETINGS/ IN 1924 and 1927.// ~~BUT~~ THEY WERE ONLY MEETINGS/ AND COULD NOT BE HELD

(However local organizations spread in every part of the Continent

IN AFRICA ITSELF/WHERE PLANNING AND CONSULTATION/MIGHT HAVE LED TO CONCERTED ACTION.) THE SECOND WORLD WAR STOPPED THESE CONGRESSES/ BUT IN 1945 A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS WAS CALLED BY MEMBERS OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS/WHO HAD BEEN MEETING/THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD IN PARIS.

WE MET IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND/AND THERE WERE PRESENT/JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA,/ KWAME NKRUMAH,/ THE PRESIDENT OF GHANA,/WALLACE JOHNSON OF LIBERIA,/ GEORGE PADMORE OF THE WEST INDIES AND BRITAIN/AND I CAME FROM AMERICA TO PRESIDE.//IT WAS A FRUITFUL MEETING/AND WE PLANNED/A SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/WHICH FINALLY MET IN ACCRA IN 1958/UNDER THE NAME OF THE ALL-AFRICA CONGRESS.

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HERE AFRICA DEMANDED FREEDOM ~~AND~~ INDEPENDENCE (and Unity)/AND THE RESULTS OF THAT DEMAND ARE ALREADY EVIDENT.// BUT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE/IN THE MODERN WORLD/MEAN INDUSTRY,/ THE USE AND CONTROL OF CAPITAL/AND ~~SHALL~~ must BE BUILT UPON THIS BASIS.

HERE AGAIN/AFRICA FACES SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES.//THE MODERN WORLD HAS BECOME DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS,/ ONE PART FOLLOWING THE PRINCIPLES/LAID DOWN BY KARL MARX/WHO SAW THAT CAPITAL IN PRIVATE HANDS/WAS DOING INFINITE HARM/AND PROPOSED A SOCIALISM/WHICH IN

TIME/WOULD LEAD TO COMMUNISM,//THAT IS, THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL BY THE STATE,/ with INDIVIDUAL WORK/DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO ABILITY/AND INCOME ACCORDING TO NEED.

40-1-197

OPPOSING THIS/WAS NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE/WHO HAD DEVELOPED PRIVATE CAPITAL/TO A TREMENDOUS DEGREE/AND THROUGH IT/~~WAS~~ were DOMINATING EASTERN EUROPE,/ALL OF ASIA,/ ALL OF AFRICA,/ THE WEST INDIES,/ CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.//THEY BELIEVED/ IN LEAVING THE INDIVIDUAL/ FREE TO ACT AS HE PLEASED/AND DECLARED THAT INDIVIDUAL ADVANTAGE/THUS GAINED/WOULD ADD UP/TO THE BEST GOOD OF ALL.//THEIR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WAS UNPRECEDENTED,/ THEIR TECHNIQUE UNEQUALED/AND THEIR PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL/IN THE SHAPE OF TOOLS AND MACHINES/AND CONSUMER GOODS/USED FOR A WAGES FUND/ WAS HELPED/BY A MARVELOUS ORGANIZATION OF CREDIT.//ALL THIS/WAS URGING THEM/TO KEEP THEIR CONTROL OF CHEAP LABOR/AND FREE MATERIALS/ ESPECIALLY IN ASIA AND AFRICA/WHERE THE GREATEST LATENT WEALTH OF THE WORLD LIES.

(Foreign powers of Natives) (LAND MONOPOLY Etc)

AFRICA,/ THEREFORE, FACES A MOST DIFFICULT/AND INTRICATE STRUGGLE.// THE STATES WHICH ARE BECOMING FREE/NEED CAPITAL.// CAPITAL IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST INVENTIONS,/BUT ~~MUCH~~ all DEPENDS/ON WHO OWNS IT.//IN NEW AFRICA/WHO IS GOING TO OWN CAPITAL?

IF THE RAW MATERIALS, TOOLS AND MACHINES ARE OWNED BY FOREIGNERS, FOREIGNERS WILL EVENTUALLY OWN THE GOODS PRODUCED. THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL REMAIN POOR, IGNORANT AND DISEASED. CAN THESE STATES SAVE AND PRODUCE THEIR OWN CAPITAL? VERY SLOWLY AND WITH IMMENSE SACRIFICE THEY CAN AND MUST SAVE SOME, BUT THEY CANNOT SAVE ENOUGH TO HASTEN THEIR ATTEMPT TO CATCH UP WITH THE MODERN WORLD QUICKLY, IN EDUCATION, TECHNIQUE, HEALTH AND STANDARD OF LIVING. THEY CAN SAVE MUCH: DO WITHOUT LUXURIES, ~~Sacrifice~~, LIVE SIMPLY, WORK HARD AND REGULARLY; STUDY ECONOMICS AND THE THEORY OF MONEY AND CREDIT SO AS TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND MODERN INDUSTRY; TEACH THE THEORY OF WORK AND WAGE IN THE SCHOOLS AND THE HISTORY OF PAST INDUSTRY IN AFRICA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, EUROPE AND AMERICA HAVE GEARED THEIR INDUSTRY TO THE MAKING OF CAPITAL -- CAPITAL FOR SALE AND EXPORT IS BY FAR THE LARGEST PART OF THEIR PRODUCT. THE MATERIALS WHICH THEY USE THEY HAVE OBTAINED FOR ALMOST NOTHING FROM THE COLONIES AND QUASI-COLONIES WHICH THEY CONTROL. THEIR LABOR AT HOME THEY HAVE KEPT SATISFIED BY HIGHER WAGES TAKEN NOT MAINLY FROM THEIR OWN (home) PROFITS BUT FROM THE PROFITS WHICH

(Britain, France, West Germany & the Netherlands are seeking profit in new spheres, but especially)

THEY REAP FROM CHEAP LABOR ~~FROM~~ (in) AFRICA, ASIA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. THEIR OWN LABORING CLASS HAS HELPED THEM KEEP COLONIES UNDER CONTROL BY ~~SERVING~~ (Killing them) IN WAR WITH MODERN WEAPONS.

ON WHAT TERMS CAN THE AFRICAN STATES BORROW THIS CAPITAL? THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR THEM TO ASSUME THAT THE LOAN OF THIS CAPITAL BY EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IS A MATTER OF FAVOR OR OF CHARITY. THIS IS NOT TRUE. WEST EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA MUST SELL THE CAPITAL WHICH THEY ARE ACCUMULATING OR THEIR WHOLE ECONOMY WILL COLLAPSE. MOREOVER, THEY CANNOT CONTINUE TO PRODUCE THIS CAPITAL UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS BECAUSE THAT INVOLVES SLAVERY AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF COLONIES (and it threatens World War (and the end of MAN) ~~Britain, France & Germany~~) IS THEN, A MATTER OF (grave) BARGAIN AND AMERICA IS TODAY FILLING WITH ORGANIZATIONS TO (Borrowing) SELL CAPITAL TO AFRICA ON TERMS WHICH WILL GIVE AMERICANS (control of Africa) ~~A LARGE PROFIT~~. IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY THERE IS THE BUREAU ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WHICH IS SPENDING MONEY TO SEND PERSONS TO AFRICA CONTINUOUSLY TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION HERE, TO SELL GOODS, TO INVEST CAPITAL. THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE IS ALSO HELPING IN THIS LINE. THERE IS AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE AFRICAN TRADE AND TRAVEL

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FAIR.// IT IS GOING TO HOLD IN SEPTEMBER/AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY/A CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN RESOURCES/ATTENDED BY 33 COUNTRIES.// INTERESTED IN THIS/ARE GREAT CORPORATIONS LIKE U.S. STEEL,/ THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA,/CHEMICAL CORPORATIONS,/ COCA COLA ! ~~PEPSI COLA~~ /AND THE MORGAN AND OTHER FINANCIAL INTERESTS.// THEY ESTIMATE THAT ALREADY NEARLY ~~A~~ MILLION DOLLARS/OF AMERICAN MONEY IS INVESTED IN AFRICA,/ HALF OF WHICH IS INVESTED/IN THE UNION OF SOURTH AFRICA/WITH RESULTS WHICH YOU KNOW.// THIS ORGANIZATION IS IN BUSINESS NOT FOR ~~THE~~ HEALTH/BUT FOR ~~THE~~ PROFIT.

NOT ONLY THAT,/ BUT THERE ARE A NUMBER/OF SO-CALLED PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS/HELPING THESE INVESTMENT SCHEMES:/ THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA,/ HEADED BY A MAN NAMED HOUSER;/ /THE AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN WASHINGTON,/ HEADED BY A FORMER MISSIONARY, EMORY ROSS,/AND HELPED BY THE ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS;// THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF AFRICAN CULTURE,/ WHICH IS THE AMERICAN DIVISION/OF THE FRENCH PRESENCE AFRICAINE, ~~HEADED BY HORACE BOND, MERCER COOK AND OTHERS.~~ THE AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS FOUNDATION:/THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR AFRO-AMERICAN RELATIONS/ THE AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND.// FOUR UNIVERSITIES/HAVE DEPARTMENTS OF AFRICAN STUDIES/AND 12 UNIVERSITIES ARE GIVING

SOME TIME TO SUCH STUDIES. (and studies)

I DO NOT DOUBT/THAT THESE ORGANIZATIONS/HAVE PHILANTHROPIC OBJECTIVES./ BUT I AM QUITE SURE/THAT MOST OF THEM/ARE THINKING OF THE MONEY/THAT THEY OR THEIR FRIENDS/ ARE GOING TO MAKE/THROUGH INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA// PARTICULARLY IN WEST AFRICA./ THERE IS, FOR INSTANCE,/ THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON FUND/WHICH CONTRIBUTES TO STUDENT EXPENSES;/ AND AMONG THE 1500 AFRICAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA/THERE HAS BEEN FOUNDED/THE ALL-AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION IN WASHINGTON.//THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON FUND/HAS RECENTLY THREATENED THE UNION/THAT BECAUSE THEY INVITED ME TO SPEAK LAST YEAR/THE FUND MUST hereafter HAVE THE RIGHT/ TO APPOINT ~~ITS~~ the Union's SECRETARY/OR ~~IT~~ the Fund WILL GIVE NO more MONEY.// THE STUDENTS REPLIED THAT THEY COULD KEEP THEIR MONEY.// BUT THIS MEANS/THAT UNLESS THEY GET HELP direct FROM AFRICA ITSELF/THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE/TO MAINTAIN THEIR ORGANIZATION/AND THEIR FREEDOM.

I AM NOT ~~INTERESTED~~ arguing/AS TO WHETHER THE LEADERS OF INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM/IN AFRICA/ be ~~ARE~~ COMMUNISTS OR CAPITALISTS// FAVORING BRITAIN,/ FRANCE OR THE UNITED STATES/ON THE ONE HAND/OR THE SOVIET UNION,/ CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND CHINA ON THE OTHER.// BUT I AM INTERESTED/IN THE QUESTION/AS TO WHETHER YOU ARE GOING/TO OWN YOUR LANDS AND MATERIALS; /AND CONTROL

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40-1-201

40-1-202

YOUR OWN LABOR/AND BE MASTERS/IN YOUR OWN HOUSE//OR WHETHER THE POWER IS GOING TO BE EXERCISED BY FOREIGNERS;//AND THAT DEPENDS/ON HOW AND FROM WHOM YOU BORROW MONEY.// ALGERIA,/ TUNISIA,/ MOROCCO AND EGYPT/ BORROWED VAST SUMS FROM AMERICA/AND BRITAIN/IN THE 19th CENTURY,/LOST THEIR FREEDOM/AND ARE STRUGGLING NOW TO REGAIN IT.// ETHIOPIA, UNDER THE GREAT EMPEROR MENELIK,/REFUSED TO BORROW,/RETAINED ITS FREEDOM AND DESPITE THE recent FASCIST ATTACK/HAS REGAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE.

THE CAPITAL WHICH YOU BORROW/MUST HAVE NO STRINGS.// IT MUST BE LOANED/AT LOW INTEREST,//IT MUST INCLUDE NO DOMINATION OF FOREIGNERS,/IT MUST INVOLVE NO PROMISE ON YOUR PART/ TO FIGHT ANYBODY;/AND THE TECHNICAL AID/WHICH IS FURNISHED/MUST BE FURNISHED FREELY/WITH DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF THE WORKERS/SENT HERE/TEACHING NEGRO APPRENTICES,/ AND ~~WITHOUT~~ not BUILDING/A SEPARATE SOCIAL CLASS/OF WHITE SKILLED WORKERS/WHO WILL SIT HERE IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY/IN FAVORED POSITIONS/AND TAX AND RULE YOU/AS IS THE CASE IN RHODESIA AND OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN STATES,/ write yesterday/, in the Congo

IF YOU CAN GET MACHINES AND TECHNIQUES/FROM THE SOVIET UNION AT TWO PERCENT/AND NO

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STRINGS ATTACHED./ IT WOULD BE CRAZY OF YOU/TO BORROW FROM THE UNITED STATES/AND BRITAIN AT 4, 5, or 6 PERCENT/WITH THE RESULTANT INDUSTRY/UNDER THEIR CONTROL/AND WITH THEM/STRUTTING AS MASTERS IN YOUR MIDST.// YOU MUST REMEMBER/THAT IN THE HISTORY OF YOUR OWN INDUSTRY/RIGHT HERE IN GHANA/YOU BEGAN WITH A COMMUNIST STATE.// YOU BEGAN WITH THE CHIEF AND TRIBE/OWNING ACCUMULATED CAPITAL/AND SPENDING IT FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE TRIBE/AND NOT FOR A SELECT FEW.// THAT IS THE REASON WHY YOUR ~~CHIEF~~ main INDUSTRY,/ THE RAISING OF COCOA,/ IS TODAY DOMINATED BY THE STATE/IN A SYSTEM WHICH IS ALMOST COMPLETELY SOCIALISTIC.// SUCH OTHER INDUSTRY/AS YOU ORGANIZE SHOULD ALSO/BE UNDER SOCIAL CONTROL.// (Medicine & insurance should be socialized) THIS IS THE FUTURE OF THE MODERN WORLD/AND IT IS THE MODERN WORLD/THAT YOU ARE TRYING TO JOIN,/COOPERATE WITH/AND EVENTUALLY HELP TO LEAD, Through Thoughtful plan, severe discipline, to a hard-earned freedom. Thus may Africa, live again, as in the mighty Past, through Peace without Force & Violence.

Aug 9, 1960

WEBD - Speech in Ghana

700 years before Christ the black Ethiopian king, Taharka, was in power, the master of the world for a half century. No one in Asia, Europe or Africa was his equal. The Egyptian power had risen and fallen, the Kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates had lost their power and unified government was only beginning in China. Then Eastern Asia swept across the Nile Valley followed by Rome and Greece. Between 700 and 1000 A.D. Asia again crossed into Africa and Asians and Africans together went up into Europe until they were turned back at the Battle of Tours. Civilization among the Asiatics and Africans began to develop in North Africa and between 1000 and 1600 A.D. came the great black kingdoms of the Sudan. They fell in 1651 at the Battle of Tenkadibo before the onslaught of the Portuguese followed by the Spanish, the French and the British. From 1650 to 1850 Africa slept uneasy dreams and during this time beginning in 1713 with the Assiento ax slave trade developed between Africa and the newly found America to the West. In Europe at the beginning of the 19th century came a revolution in industry started by the discovery of the function of capital and by wide and invention and use of tools and machines. Capital consists of goods not consumed directly but used to produce other goods for later consumption. In primitive states and in very modern states this capital was owned by the community and the goods which it made consumed by the community. But in Europe after the Industrial Revolution capital goods were owned by private persons who seized them and in the shape of tools, machines and a stock of sunsumer goods they hired labor to do the necessary work. Thus arose the private capitalist system contradicting and replacing primitive communism. When now about the middle of the 19th century the African Revolt began it was widespread, but only partially effective because it was fighting organized European capital. The Zulu and Bantu struggled in South Africa, the Mahti drove the British out of the Sudan, the Ashanti fought six wars against Britain, religious war in Uganda overthrew a great feudal state. The Zulus fought and committed suicide in

vain and Ethippia and France failing to meet at Fashoda left Britain as master of the Nile Valley with the way open from Cairo to the Cape and with Cecil Rhodes in 1888 becoming master of the diamonds and gold of the world. Against this organization of European capital which used European labor as soldiers armed with modern guns revolution in Africa was in vain. But at the opening of the 20th century Africans, and particularly their children who had been stolen and transported to America, began to think of a way out. In 1900 a West Indian barrister called a meeting in London and the Pan-African Congress was formed of which Bishop Walters of New York was chairman and I was secretary. I wrote out the resolutions which were merely a plan for periodic consultations on the part of Negro leaders in all parts of the world. Bishop Walters took no action, but in 1911 the Ethical Culture Society of England called a Races Congress which brought into consultations Europeans, Africans and peoples of Asia. The World War killed this movement but after the first World War I called in Paris the First Pan-African Congress and this was followed in 1921 by the second Pan-African Congress in London, Paris and Brussels. This was so important and largely attended that it aroused the opposition of the capitalist world which was now expanding into imperialist colonialism, that is, taking physical control of countries in Asia and Africa, seizing land and materials and reducing the natives to compulsory labor. Meantime a new impulse came out of the West Indies. Marcus Garvey conceived the idea of Negroes seizing a part of the capitalist system to conduct themselves and to be a lever for expelling the whites from Africa. The scheme was impossible because the Negroes lacked the control of capital and the military might, but the Pan-African idea of planning and consultation continued in a third and fourth Pan-African Congress meeting in 1924 and 1927. But they, too, were only meetings and could not be held in Africa itself where planning and consultation might have led to concerted action. The second World War stopped these Congresses, but in 1945 a fifth Pan-African Congress was called by members

of African trade unions who had been meeting the trade unions of the world in Paris. We met in Manchester, England and there were present Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, Johnson of Liberia, George Padmore of the West Indies and I came from America to preside. It was a fruitful meeting and we planned a sixth Pan-African Congress which finally met in Accra in 1958 under the name of the All-Africa Congress. Here Africa demanded freedom and independence and the results of that demand are already evident. But freedom and independence in the modern world means industry, the use and control of capital and a freedom and independence built upon this basis.

Here again Africa faces serious difficulties. The modern world has become divided into two parts, one part following the principles laid down by Karl Marx who saw that capital in private hands was doing infinite harm and proposed a socialism which in time would lead to communism. Opposing this was North America and Western Europe who had developed private capital to a tremendous degree and through it was dominating Eastern Europe, all of Asia, all of Africa, the West Indies, Central and South America. Their industrial organization was unprecedented, their technique unequaled and their production of capital in the shape of tools and machines and consumer goods used for a wages fund, and a marvelous organization of credit. All this is urging them to keep their control of cheap labor and free materials especially in Africa where the greatest latent wealth of the world lies.

Africa, therefore, faces a most difficult and intricate struggle. The states which are becoming free and independent need capital. Capital is one of the world's greatest inventions, but in independent Africa who is going to own that capital if the raw materials, tools and machines are owned by foreigners, foreigners who will eventually own the goods produced? The African states will remain poor, ignorant and diseased. Can these states save and produce their own capital? Very slowly and with immense sacrifice they can and must save some, but not enough to hasten their attempt to catch up with the modern world quickly in education, technique, health and standard of

living. On the other hand Europe and America have geared their industry to the making of capital -- capital for sale and export is by far the largest part of their product. The materials which they use they have obtained for almost nothing from the colonies and quasi-colonies which they control. Their labor at home they have kept satisfied by higher wages taken not mainly from their own profits but from the profits which they reap from cheap labor from Africa, Asia and other parts of the world. In time their labor has helpped them keep colonies under control by war with modern weapons. How can the African states therefore obtain this capital? There is a tendency for them to assume that the loan of this capital by Europe and North America is a matter of favor or of charity. This is not true. West Europe and North America must sell the capital which they are accumulating or their whole economy will collapse. On the other hand they cannot continue to produce this capital under present conditions because that involves slavery and political control of Africa. It is then, a matter of bargain and America is today filled with organizations to sell capital to Africa on terms which will give Americans the largest possible profit. In the United States today there is the Bureau on African Affairs in the Department of State which is spending money to send persons to Africa continuously to influence public opinion here, to sell goods, to invest capital. The Department of Commerce is helping in this line. There is an organization called the African Trade and Travel Fair. There is going to be held in September at New York University a conference on African resources attended by 33 countries. Interested in this are great corporations like U.S. Steel, the Aluminum Company of America, chemical corporations, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, the Nadium Corporation and the Morgan and other financial interests. They estimate that already nearly a billion dollars of American money is invested in Africa, half of which is invested in the Union of South Africa. This organization is in business not for its health but for the profit it proposes to make out of Africa in the coming century. Not only that, but

there are a number of so-called private organizations-- the America Committee on Africa, headed by a man named Houser; the ~~Afric~~ Afro-American Institute in Washington, headed by a former missionary, Emory Ross and the Rockefeller interests; the American Societyof African Culture, which is the American division of the Presence Africaine, headed by Horace Bond, Mercer Cook and ; The African American Students Foundation; the American Association for Afro-American Relations, the Africa Defense and Aid Fund. Four universities have departments of African studies and 12 universities are giving some time to such studies.

Now I do not doubt that many of these organizations have philanthropic objectives but I am quite sure that most of them are thinking of the money that they are going to make or their friends are going to make through investments in Africa, particularly in West Africa. There is, for instance, the Alexander Hamilton Fund which contributes to student expenses and among the 1500 African students in America there has been founded the All-African Students Union in Washington. The Alexander Hamilton Fund has recently threatened the Union because they invited me to speak last year and told the Union that unless the Fund has the right to appoint the secretary it will give no more money. The students replied that they can keep their money. But this means that unless they get help from Africa itself they will not be able to maintain ~~them~~ their organization.

I am not interested as to whether the leaders of independence and freedom in Africa are communists or capitalists favoring the British, French or the United States on the one hand or the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and China on the other. But I am interested in the question as to whether you are going to own your lands and goods and control your own labor and be masters in your own house, and that depends on how and from whom you borrow money. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt borrowed vast sums from America and Britain in the 19th century , lost their freedom and are still struggling to regain it.

Ethiopia, under the great emperor Menelik, refused to borrow, retained its freedom and despite the fascists has regained its independence. The capital which you borrow must have no strings. It must be loaned at low interest, it must include no domination of forms, it must involve no promise on your part to fight the Soviet Union or the Chinese and the technical aid which is furnished must be furnished freely with democratic association of the workers and without building a separate social class of skilled workers who will sit here in your own country and tax and rule you as is the case in Rhodesia and other South African states. If you can get capital from the Soviet Union and China at two per cent and no strings attached, it would be crazy of you to borrow from the United States and Britain at 4, 5, or 6 percent with the resultant industry under their control. You must remember that in the history of your own industry right here in Ghana you began with a communist state. You began with the chief and tribe owning accumulated capital and spending it for the interests of the whole tribe and not for a select few. That is the reason why your chief industry, the raising of cocoa, is today dominated by the state in a system which is almost completely socialistic. Such other industry as you organize should also be under social control. This is the future of the modern world and it is the modern world that you are trying to join, cooperate with and eventually help to lead.

KUMASI, JULY22, 1960

TIME GOES SLOWLY, BEAT BY BEAT AND ONE BEAT IS very LIKE ANOTHER. BUT HISTORY WHICH IS OUR CONCEPT OF THE MEANING OF EVENTS IN TIME GOES BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS, PAUSES A D ALMOST STOPS AT TIMES. TODAY WE ARE LIVING WHEN HISTORY TAKES A LEAP FORWARD AND THAT IS A GREAT PRIVILEGE. A PERIOD LIKE THE FALL OF ROME, 1500 YEARS AGO WHEN THE EAST OVERWHELMED THE WEST AND THE WEST NO LONGER RULED THE WORLD. OR AGAIN 500 YEARS AGO WHEN THE TURKS CAPTURED CONSTANTINOPLE AND OVERTHREW THE BYSANTINE EMPIRE AND GREEK CULTURE. SINCE 1651, AFRICA SLEPT BECAUSE EUROPE HAD WEAPONS OF GREATER VIOLENCE. BUT IN THE LAST TWO CENTURIES, AFRICA HAS DREAMED UNEASILY, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE WITH NEW SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE FASTENEENED ITS GRIP ON ASIA AND AFRICA, BUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BROUGHT REVOLT IN THE FORM OF WORLD WAR WITH NEW WEAPONS AND IN THIS SECOND HALF OF THIS AFRICA RISES AGAIN. IN ONE MIR CULOS DECADE, , TWENTY INDEPENDENT BLACK NATIONS FACE THE WORLD. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN AND WHAT CAN WE DO TO INSURE THAT THIS MOMENTOUS CHANGE IS FOR THE WELL-BEING OF MAN AND NOT A THREAT TO HUMAN KIND. GOVERN-

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IS FOR THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND, BUT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE MASTERS OF THE WORLD, WHITE EUROPEANS, CAME TO BELIEVE THAT HAPPINESS FOR ALL WAS IMPOSSIBLE AND THAT HAPPINESS FOR A FEW WAS ALL THAT MEN COULD HOPE FOR. IT WAS EASY TO BELIE LIEVE THAT THE FAVORED FEW FOR WHOM OTHER MEN EXISTED WERE WHITE EUROPEANS AND MORE ESPECIALLY THE WESTERN WHITES; WHILE ALL OTHERS , PARIICULARLY THE YELLOW, BROWN AND BLACK EXISTED SOLELY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FAVORED FEW, WHO ALONE COULD BUILD CIVILIZATION. THIS AFRICA NEVER BELIEVED. ALL MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT AFRICAN TRIBE COULD NOT BE HAPPY BUT NONE MUST BE NEGRLECTED. THIS SOLICITUDE FOR THE WHOLE TRIBE HELD THE TALENTED AND LUCKY BACK, NEVRTHELES THIS ANCIENT AFRICAN COMMUNISM WAS A HOLY THING AS THE WORLD IS COMING TO KNOW AND OUT OF THE SLOW AND BACKWARD MASS CAN COME A RESERVOIR OF ABILITY AND GENIUS WHICH IN TIME WILL SAVE THE WORLD AND NOT MERELY A SMALL PART. THIS BELIEF OF THE PRIMITIVE WORLD ALMSOT EVERYWHERE, WAS FIERCELY ATTACKED BY EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ASIA, AFRICA, , EASTERN EUROPE, THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

40-1-165

BECAME THE HUNTING GROUND FOR CHEAP LABOR, LAND FREE TO INVADERS AND MATERIALS AT THE DISPOSAL OF ~~THOSE~~ ABLE TO SEIZE ~~AND USE~~ THEM. IT BECAME THE BELIEF OF THE M MOST CIVILIZED MEN THAT ONLY BY UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS COULD UNIVERSAL WELFARE BE ATTAINED. REVOLT AGAINST THIS BELIEF IN THE FORM OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM BEGAN TO ARISE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, ~~AND~~ WITH NEW AND TERRIBLE WEAPONS ~~THE WORLD WENT OF~~ WAR IN THE TWENTIETH, WITH THE WEAPONS AVAILABLE, REVOLT IN ASIA AND AFRICA WAS IN VAIN UNTIL THE WORLD BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT FORCE AND VIOLENCE COULD NO LONGER BE THE ANSWER TO THE CRY FOR LIBERTY. THAT EUROPE MUST LOOSE HER GRIP ON ASIA; THAT EASTERN EUROPE MUST PURSUE HER OWN PATH AND THAT SOCIALISM MUST BE ALLOWED TO MARCH FORWARD IN BRITAIN, SCANDINAVIA AND EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES. HERE CAME THE OPORTUNIY OF ~~EXR~~ AFRICA. MANY ATTEMPTS WERE MADE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH, MOST FAILED. BUT WE SEE IN GHANA THE MOST OUTSTANDING ~~SUCESS~~. WITHLITTLE VIOLENCE, AND ALMOST NO BLOODSHED THIS NATION HAS BECOM A INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC.

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WILL THIS NEW NATION SUCCEED IN BECOMING AN INDEPENDENT, FREE AND HAPPY NATION, HELPING TO LEAD ALL AFRICA TO A JUST AND ~~H~~Y UNITY? MANY DOUBT ~~THIS~~ AND SOME OF THESE DOUBTERS LIVE RIGHT HERE IN THIS LAND AND IN THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY. AS ONE WHO COMES FROM AFAR AND YET IS BOUND TO YOU BY TIES OF BLOOD, MAY I EXPRESS MY OWN CONCLUSIONS. I SENSE IN GHANA A DETERMINED EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE WHO DO THE NATIONS WORK, ELECT ITS RULERS AND CHOOSE ITS IDEALS. FEW NATIONS TODAY HAVE THIS PRIVILEGE. WITH THIS YOU DO NOT FORGET THE PAST. YOU REMEMBER YOU STUBBORN WARS AGAINST THE BRITISH AND HOW YOUR PARAMOUNT CHIEFS CONQUERED THE BRITISH IN FIVE WARS AND BOWED ONLY TO SHAMEFUL FORCE IN THE LAST. FOR THIS YOU REVERE YOUR CHIEFTAINSHIP AND SEEK TO PRESERVE IT. BUT A NEW DAY HAS DAWNED, WITH NEW KNOWLEDGE, NEW WEAPONS, NEW WAYS OF WORK, NEW WAYS OF THINKING. YOU HAVE INAUGURATED A NEW REPUBLIC AND EXPELLED THE FORMER RULERS, IN GOOD WILL AND UNBROKEN FRIENDSHIP. YOUR NEW CONSTITUTION

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MAKES THE PRESIDENT BOTH ~~PRESIDENT~~ Chief Executive AND PRIME MINISTER IN ONE PERSON. THIS IS A GREA
DECISION. IT IS WHAT NEITHER BRITAIN NOR AMERICA, FRANCE NOR GERMANY HAVE DARED TO
DO. YET IT IS A WISE AND THOUGHTFUL MOVE, SINCE UNLESS THE SOVEREIGN AND THE ELEC
TEDHEAD OF THE STATE ARE ONE, DISUNITY AND CONTRADICTION ARE BOUND TO ENSUE. ON THE
OTHER HAND, THE UNION OF THESE TWO GREAT OFFICES PUTS THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY ON
YOU THE PEOPLE WHERE IT BELONGS. THIS IS REAL DEMOCRACY. BUT IT CALLS FOR DISCIPLINE
AND SACRIFICE. . IT CALLS FOR EDUCATION, AND SCHOOLS COST MONEY. YOUR SONS AND YOUR
DAUGHTERS MUST GO ABROAD AND LEARN WHAT THE MODERN WORLD KNOWS , WHAT IT HAS LEAR
NED FROM THE PAST, WHILE AFRICA SLEPT, OR SQUIRMED BENEATH THE HEEL OF THE INVADER
AND OPPRESSOR. THIS WORLD TREASURE OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE, IS THE HERITAGE OF ALL
AND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE , AFRICA MUST OWN ITS SHARE. BUT YOUR ROLE AS A SELF-GOVERN
ING NATION WHO ELECTS ITS OWN ~~XXXXX~~ PARLIAMENT AND THROUGH IT, ITS OWN RULER, IS
NOT CALLED UPON, SIMPLY TO GIVE, ~~XX~~ BUT ALSO TO CREATE AND ENJOY. YOU HAVE A MAG-
NIFICENT HERITAGE OF HISTORY, AND ART. THIS MUST BE PRESERVED AND DEVELOPED. IT

40-1-168

RESTS TODAY MAINLY IN THE HANDS AND ON THE MINDS OF YOUR CHIEFS. THENCE IT MUST
BE REVERENTLY LIFTED AND CAREFULLY PRESERVED. THIS MUST NO LONGER BE THE PASTIME
OF FOREIGNERS, BUT THE DUTY AND SOLEMN RESPONSIBILITY OF NATIVE SONS OF THIS
SOIL.. THE STARTLINGLY BEAUTIFUL COLOR OF THIS CULTURE, THE RARE MUSIC OF
YOUR BIRDS AND CHILDREN, THE SONG OF YOUR MAGIC MOUNTAINS, MUST BLEND WITH
THE GREAT EPIC OF THE HISTORY OF ASHANTI, FROM THE MIGHTY OSEI TUTU TO THE
ASANTEHENE OF TODAY, Nana Osei Agyeman Prempeh II WHO GUARDS THE GOLDEN STOOL. THE
ART OF WEST AFRICA, IN IRON AND BRONZE, IN WEAVING, PAINTING AND CARVING, IN
DRUMMING AND DANCING , IS RECOGNIZED AS UNDERLYING THE ART OF THE MODERN WORLD;
IT IS FOR YOU TO REVIVE IT AND RAISE IT TO GUIDE THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE

I SEE IN GHANA AND IN ITS BEST KNOWN PROVINCE ASHANTI, THE MOST VIVID
ideal
HOPE OF THE MODERN WORLD, DESTINED TO RENEW HOPE IN DEMOCRACY; TO REVIVE FAITH
IN THE MASSES OF MANKIND, TO EXALT THE WORKER ABOVE THE IDLER, AND TO SET THE
ARTIST ABOVE ALL. CARRYING ON MEANTIME THAT FIGHT OF THE WORKER AGAINST THE

40-1-169

THE DICTATORSHIP OF BIG BUSINESS, MASQERADING IN THE ANARCHY OF UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS, AND PRETENDING TO EMANCIPATE FREE ENTERPRISE WHILE IN TRUTH IT ENSLAVES THE MASS OF MEN

OCT-1-04

THE GREAT WORLD ABOUT YOU, WHICH SO LONG HAS FORCED YOU TO DO ITS WILL, HAS SET YOUR FASHIONS, TOLD YOU WHAT TO SAY AND HOW TO THINK-- TODAY THAT WORLD ~~IS~~ seems CUT IN TWO, EACH HALF THREATENING the other with WAR TO THE DEATH. YOU PAUSE IN AMAZEMENT AND REFUSING TO JOIN EITHER SIDE, SEEK A THIRD AND NEUTRAL PATH TO PEACE AND PLENTY. BUT ~~PAUSE~~ stop HERE AND, LOOK ABOUT YOU. IS IT SO CLEAR THAT THE WORLD IS DIVIDED INTO TWO ANTAGONISTIC PARTS?. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT. I BELIEVE THAT SLOWLY AND BY INEVITABLE GROWTH, MANKIND IS BECOMING ONE. MY TRAVELS OVER MANY THOUSAND MILES AND AMONG MANY PEOPLES IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, CONVINCS ME OF INCREASING AGREEMENT IN AMERICA, EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY COUNT, AMONG THOSE WHO DO THE WORLD'S WORK AND THINK THE REAL THOUGHT OF MANKIND. IN THIS BEGINNING OF YOUR FREEDOM, LOOK FOR SIGNS OF UNION AND REFUSE TO FOLLOW COUNCILS OF HATE AND ENMITY. PEACE COMES BECAUSE VIOLENCE IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE IF MEN WANT TO LIVE AND DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE. REMEMBER THAT TOO MANY MEN TODAY BELIEVE IT IS TO THEIR INTEREST TO HAVE NATIONS HATE EACH OTHER, TO HAVE FOLK ~~FEA~~

OCT-1-04

fear

TO KNOW EACH OTHER AND TO LET MEN BELIEVE THE WORST OF EACH OTHER. REFUSE TO FOLLOW THIS ADVICE. LEARN TO KNOW RUSSIA, CHINA AND INDIA, AMERICA NORTH AND SOUTH AND ALL THE ISLANDS of the seas, visit Europe, KNOW NOT ONLY YOUR AFRICA BUT ALL THE OTHER AFRICAS AND COME TO THE FIRM BELIEF THAT MANKIND ~~ARE~~ is ONE, THAT WE CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND PLENTY, IF ONLY WE ARE WILLING TO LEARN, TO SACRIFICE OUR OWN ADVANTAGE TO THE WELFARE OF ALL, AND TO STAND AND BE COUNTED WHEN OUR VOTE AND DEED IS ~~CALLED~~ ~~FOR AND~~ NEEDED

40-1-172

TIME GOES SLOWLY, / BEAT BY BEAT / AND ONE BEAT IS VERY LIKE ANOTHER. // BUT HISTORY / WHICH IS OUR CONCEPT / OF THE MEANING OF EVENTS IN TIME / GOES BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS, // PAUSES AND ALMOST STOPS / AT TIMES / RUSHING WILDLY ON / AT OTHERS. // TODAY, / WE ARE LIVING / WHEN HISTORY IS TAKING A LEAP FORWARD / AND THIS IS A GREAT PRIVILEGE. // A PERIOD LIKE THE FALL OF ROME, / 1,500 YEARS AGO / WHEN THE NORTH EAST OVERWHELMED THE WEST / AND THE WEST NO LONGER COULD RULE THE WORLD. // OR AGAIN, 500 YEARS AGO / WHEN THE NEAR EAST CAPTURED CONSTANTINOPLE / AND OVERTHREW THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE / AND GREEK CULTURE / WHICH HAD LED THE WORLD / A THOUSAND YEARS.

SINCE 1651, / AFRICA SLEPT / BECAUSE EUROPE BROUGHT AGAINST IT, / GUNPOWDER AND WEAPONS OF GREAT VOILENCE. // BUT IN THE LAST TWO CENTURIES, / AFRICA HAS DREAMED UNEASILY, / WHILE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, / EUROPE WITH NEW SCIENCE / AND STARTLING TECHNIQUE / FASTENED ITS GRIP ON ASIA / AND AFRICA / AND REDUCED THEM TO SLAVERY. // THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BROUGHT REVOLT / IN THE

40-1-154

FORM OF WORLD WAR/ BETWEEN ENVIOUS EMPIRES/ WITH NEW WEAPONS 1 AND IN THIS SECOND HALF/ OF THIS CENTURY/ ASIA BECAME FREE AND NOW AFRICA RISES AGAIN.// IN ONE MIRACULOUS DECADE, /TWENTY INDEPENDENT BLACK NATIONS/ FACE THE WORLD.// WHAT DOES THIS MEAN AND WHAT CAN WE DO /TO INSURE THAT THIS MOMENTOUS CHANGE/ IS FOR THE WELL-BEING OF MAN /AND NOT A THREAT TO CIVILISATION?

40-1-155

GOVERNMENT IS FOR THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND./ BUT DURING THAT MAD NINETEENTH CENTURY,/ THE MASTERS OF THE WORLD,/ WHITE WESTERN EUROPEANS,/ CAME TO BELIEVE /THAT HAPPINESS FOR ALL MEN /WAS UNTHINKABLE /AND THAT HAPPINESS FOR A SELECT FEW/ WAS ALL THAT MEN COULD HOPE FOR.// IT WAS EASY /FOR THE FAVOURED FEW /TO BELIEVE THAT OTHER MEN/ EXISTED FOR THE WELFARE OF WHITE EUROPEANS / WHO ALONE COULD BUILD CIVILISATION,// WHILE ALL OTHERS,/ PARTICULARLY THE YELLOW,/ BROWN AND BLACK/ EXISTED SOLELY /FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FAVOURED FEW.// THIS, AFRICA NEVER BELIEVED.

40-1-156

ALL MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT AFRICAN TRIBE COULD NOT, OF COURSE, BE HAPPY BUT NONE MUST BE NEGLECTED. THIS SOLICITUDE FOR THE WHOLE TRIBE WHICH ALLOWED NO POVERTY, NO PROSTITUTION, NO ORPHANS; OFTEN HELD THE TALENTED AND LUCKY BACK, BUT NEVERTHELESS THIS ANCIENT AFRICAN COMMUNISM WAS A HOLY THING AS THE WORLD TODAY IS COMING SLOWLY TO KNOW AND TO BELIEVE THAT OUT OF THE SLOW AND BACKWARD MASS CAN COME A RESERVOIR OF ABILITY AND RARE GENIUS WHICH IN TIME WILL SAVE THE WORLD.

THIS BELIEF OF THE PRIMITIVE WORLD ALMOST EVERYWHERE WAS FIERCELY ATTACKED BY EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ASIA, AFRICA, EASTERN EUROPE, THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA BECAME THE HUNTING GROUND FOR CHEAP LABOUR, FOR LAND FREE TO MURDERERS AND INVADERS AND MATERIALS AT THE DISPOSAL OF ANY ABLE TO SEIZE THEM. IT BECAME THE BELIEF OF THE MOST CIVILISED MEN THAT ONLY BY UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS COULD UNIVERSAL WELFARE BE ATTAINED. REVOLT AGAINST THIS BELIEF IN

40-1-157

THE FORM OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM/BEGAN TO ARISE IN EUROPE/ IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:// [redacted] SCIENCE/USED TO CONTRIVE/NEW AND TERRIBLE WEAPONS/DROVE THE WORLD TO WAR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY// WITH THE WEAPONS AVAILABLE, OUTSIDE EUROPE/REVOLT IN ASIA AND AFRICA/WAS IN VAIN/UNTIL THE WORLD BEGAN TO REALISE/ THAT FORCE AND VIOLENCE/COULD NO LONGER BE THE ANSWER/TO THE CRY FOR LIBERTY.// THAT EUROPE MUST LOOSE/HER GRIP ON ASIA;/THAT EASTERN EUROPE/MUST PURSUE HER OWN PATH/AND THAT SOCIALISM/ MUST BE ALLOWED TO MARCH FORWARD/IN BRITAIN, SCANDINAVIA AND EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES.// HERE CAME THE OPPORTUNITY OF AFRICA.// MANY ATTEMPTS WERE MADE/IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY/AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY// MOST FAILED.// BUT WE SEE IN GHANA/ THE MOST OUTSTANDING SUCCESS TODAY// WITH LITTLE VOILENCE,/AND ALMOST NO BLOODSHED/THIS NATION HAS BECOME/AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC.

WILL THIS NEW NATION/SUCCEED IN BECOMING/AN INDEPENDENT,

FREE AND HAPPY NATION, / HELPING TO LEAD ALL AFRICA / TO A JUST AND EFFICIENT UNITY? // MANY DOUBT THIS / AND SOME OF THESE DOUBTERS / LIVE RIGHT HERE IN ~~THIS LAND~~ ASHANTI / AND IN THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY. // AS ONE WHO COMES FROM AFAR / AND YET IS BOUND TO YOU / BY TIES OF BLOOD, / MAY I EXPRESS MY OWN CONCLUSIONS.

I SENSE IN GHANA / A DETERMINED EXPRESSION / OF THE WILL OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE / WHO DO THE NATIONS WORK, / ELECT ITS RULERS / AND CHOOSE ITS IDEALS. // FEW NATIONS TODAY / HAVE THIS PRIVILEGE. // WITH THIS, / YOU DO NOT FORGET THE PAST. / YOU REMEMBER YOUR STUBBORN WARS / AGAINST THE BRITISH / AND HOW YOUR PARAMOUNT CHIEFS CONQUERED THE BRITISH IN FIVE WARS / AND BOWED ONLY TO SHAMEFUL FORCE / IN THE LAST. // FOR THIS YOU REVERSE YOUR CHIEFTAINSHIP / AND SEEK TO PRESERVE IT. // BUT A NEW DAY HAS DAWNED, / WITH NEW KNOWLEDGE / NEW WEAPONS / NEW WAYS OF WORK, / NEW WAYS OF THINKING. // YOU HAVE INAUGURATED / A NEW REPUBLIC / AND EXPELLED

851-1-04

LARGEY

THE FORMER white RULERS, IN GOOD WILL AND UNBROKEN FRIENDSHIP.// YOUR NEW CONSTITUTION MAKES THE PRESIDENT BOTH CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND PRIME MINISTER IN ONE PERSON.// THIS IS A GREAT DECISION.// IT IS WHAT NEITHER BRITAIN NOR AMERICA, FRANCE NOR GERMANY HAVE DARED TO DO.// YET IT IS A WISE AND THOUGHTFUL MOVE,// SINCE UNLESS THE SOVEREIGN AND THE ELECTED HEAD OF THE STATE ARE ONE, DISUNITY AND CONTRADICTION ARE BOUND TO ENSUE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNION OF THESE TWO GREAT OFFICES PUTS THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY ON YOU THE PEOPLE WHERE IT BELONGS.// THIS IS REAL DEMOCRACY.// BUT IT CALLS FOR DISCIPLINE AND SACRIFICE.// IT CALLS FOR EDUCATION, AND SCHOOLS COST TIME and MONEY.// YOUR SONS AND YOUR DAUGHTERS MUST GO ABROAD AND LEARN STUDY HERE WHAT THE MODERN WORLD KNOWS,// WHAT IT HAS LEARNED FROM THE PAST, WHILE AFRICA SLEPT, OR SQUIRMED BENEATH THE HEEL OF THE INVADER AND OPPRESSOR.// THIS WORLD TREASURE OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IS THE

40-1-159

40-1-160

HERITAGE OF ALL /AND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE,/ AFRICA MUST OWN ITS SHARE.

BUT YOUR ROLE /AS A SELF-GOVERNING NATION /WHO ELECTS ITS OWN PARLIAMENT /AND THROUGHT IT, ITS OWN RULER,/ IS NOT CALLED UPON /SIMPLY TO GIVE,/ BUT ALSO TO CREATE AND ENJOY. // YOU HAVE A MAGNIFICENT HERITAGE/ OF HISTORY, AND ART // THIS MUST BE PRESERVED AND DEVELOPED.// IT RESTS TODAY/ MAINLY IN THE HANDS /AND ON THE MINDS OF YOUR CHIEFS.// THENCE IT MUST BE /REVERENTLY LIFTED AND CAREFULLY PRESERVED.// THIS MUST NO LONGER /BE THE PASTIME OF FOREIGNERS,/ BUT THE DUTY AND SOLEMN RESPONSIBILITY/ OF NATIVE SONS OF THIS SOIL.// THE STARTLING BEAUTIFUL COLOUR /OF THIS CULTURE/ THE RARE MUSIC OF YOUR BIRDS AND CHILDREN, /THE SONG OF YOUR MAGIC MOUNTAINS.//MUST BLEND WITH THE GREAT EPIC /OF THE

HISTORY OF ASHANTI,/ FROM THE MIGHTY OSEI TUTU /TO THE ASANTEHENE OF TODAY,/ NANA SIR OSEI AGYEMAN PREMPEH II., /WHO GUARDS THE GOLDEN STOOL.// THE ART OF WEST AFRICA,/ IN IRON AND BRONZE, /IN WEAVING,/ PAINTING AND CARVING,/ IN DRUMMING AND DANCING, / IS RECOGNISED /AS UNDERLYING THE ART /OF THE MODERN WORLD.//IT IS FOR YOU TO REVIVE IT/AND RAISE IT /TO GUIDE THE WORLD /OF THE FUTURE.

40-1-161

I SEE IN GHANA /AND IN ITS BEST KNOWN PROVINCE /ASHANTI, / THE MOST VIVID IDEAL /OF THE MODERN WORLD, /DESTINED TO RENEW HOPE IN DEMOCRACY;/ TO REVIVE FAITH /IN THE MASSES OF MANKIND,/ TO EXALT THE WORKER /ABOVE THE IDLER,/ AND TO SET THE ARTIST ABOVE ALL.// CARRYING ON MEANTIME/ THAT FIGHT OF THE WORKER /AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP OF BIG BUSINESS,/ MASQUERADING IN THE ANARCHY OF UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS,/ AND PRETENDING TO EMANCIPATE FREE

ENTERPRISE/WHILE IN TRUTH/IT ENSLAVES THE MASS OF MEN.//

THE GREAT WORLD ABOUT YOU/ WHICH SO LONG HAS FORCED YOU/ TO DO ITS WILL/ HAS SET YOUR FASHIONS/ TOLD YOU WHAT TO SAY/AND HOW TO THINK// TODAY THAT WORLD/SEEMS CUT IN TWO/ EACH HALF THREATENING THE OTHER/WITH WAR TO THE DEATH.//YOU PAUSE IN AMAZEMENT/AND REFUSING TO JOIN EITHER SIDE,/SEEK A THIRD AND NEUTRAL PATH/TO PEACE AND PLENTY.//BUT STOP HERE/AND LOOK ABOUT YOU.// IS IT SO CLEAR/THAT THE WORLD/IS DIVIDED INTO TWO ANTAGONISTIC PARTS?//I DO NOT BELIEVE IT./ I BELIEVE THAT SLOWLY/AND BY INEVITABLE GROWTH,/MANKIND IS BECOMING ONE.//MY TRAVELS OVER TENS OF ~~MANY~~ THOUSAND MILES/AND AMONG MANY PEOPLES/IN THE LAST TWO YEARS/ CONVINCES ME/OF INCREASING AGREEMENT/IN AMERICA, EUROPE,/ASIA AND AFRICA/AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY COUNT,//AMONG THOSE/WHO DO THE WORKD'S WORK/AND THINK THE REAL THOUGHT/OF MANKIND.//IN THIS

40-1-162

BEGINNING OF YOUR FREEDOM, /LOOK FOR SIGNS OF UNION /AND REFUSE TO FOLLOW COUNCILS /OF HATE AND ENMITY. / /PEACE COMES /BECAUSE VIOLENCE IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE /IF MEN WANT TO LIVE AND DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE. / /REMEMBER THAT TOO MANY MEN TODAY /BELIEVE IT IS TO THEIR INTEREST /TO HAVE NATIONS HATE EACH OTHER, / TO HAVE FOLK FEAR TO KNOW EACH OTHER /AND TO LET MEN BELIEVE /THE WORST OF EACH OTHER. //REFUSE TO FOLLOW THIS ADVICE. //LEARN TO KNOW RUSSIA, /CHINA AND INDIA, //AMERICA NORTH AND SOUTH /AND ALL THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS //VISIT EUROPE. // KNOW /NOT ONLY YOUR AFRICA /BUT ALL THE OTHER AFRICAS /AND COME TO THE FIRM BELIEF /THAT MANKIND IS ONE; /THAT WE CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND PLENTY / IF ONLY WE ARE WILLING TO LEARN, / TO SACRIFICE OUR OWN ADVANTAGE /TO THE WELFARE OF ALL, / AND TO STAND AND BE COUNTED /WHEN OUR VOTE AND DEED /IS NEEDED.

40-1-163

IN NIGERIA, NOVEMBER, 1960 (not used)

I WITNESS WITH PRIDE AND HOPE THE INAUGURATION OF THE FIRST BLACK GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF A DOMINION OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. I HAIL NIGERIA AS THE GREATEST BLACK NATION OF THE WORLD AND AS A WORTHY SUCCESSOR OF THE AFRICAN IMPERIAL RULE WHICH BEGAN WITH THE SONGHAY SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST AND BECAME UNDER MOHAMMED ASKIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AN EMPIRE AS LARGE AS ALL EUROPE TODAY AND AS CULTURED AS THE EUROPE OF THAT DAY WITH ITS GREAT UNIVERSITY OF SANKORE AND WITH PEACE AND PLENTY FOR ALL.

41-3-145

THEN SUCCEEDED THE RULE OF THE HAUSA WITH THEIR SEVEN INDUSTRIAL CITIES LED BY KANO AND ACCOMPANIED IN DEVELOPMENT TO THE EAST BY THE KINGS OF KANEM AND THE LORDS OF BORNU. WESTWARD THEN MARCHED THE FULANI AND THERE ROLLED UP FROM THE GULF OF GUINEA THE YORUBA, THE IBO AND THE PEOPLE OF BENIN. WITH THESE CAME INDUSTRY, ART AND ARCHITECTURE WHICH HAS TAUGHT THE WHOLE MODERN WORLD. BUT ALL THIS MARVELOUS DEVELOPMENT WAS DISTORTED AND OVERTHROWN BY THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA AND FOLLOWED IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY BY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH REDUCED THIS PART OF AFRICA TO SUBJECTION TO CAPITALIST WEST EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

41-3-1420

BUT THE TIDE HAS TURNED FROM THE EFFORT OF A BRITISH ADVENTURER RAISED TO THE PEERAGE AND GOVERNING AS LORD LUGARD WHO TRIED TO MAKE AFRICA SUBDUE ITSELF UNDER INDIRECT RULE. BUT AT LAST THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF NNANDI AZIKIWE, KWAME NKRUMAH AND OTHERS INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RULE ARE BEING RESTORED AND THIS DAY MARKS A GREAT STEP IN THIS DIRECTION.

BUT THE BATTLE FOR AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IS BUT BEGUN BECAUSE YOU EMERGE INTO A WORLD DIVIDED AND AT WAR AND THE QUESTION OF YOUR AIM AND IDEAL MUST BE UPPERMOST. I HAVE ONLY TO IMPRESS UPON YOU THAT HERE THERE SHOULD BE ON YOUR PART LITTLE HESITANCY. SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM UNDER THE TEACHING OF KARL MARX AND LENIN ARE BEGINNING TO TRIUMPH AND YOU SHOULD NOT HESITATE IN CHOSING BETWEEN THESE DOCTRINES AND THE TEMPORARY TRIUMPH OF PRIVATE CAPITAL UNDER WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. YOUR LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT STEMS DIRECTLY FROM THE COMMUNALISM OF YOUR FATHERS WHERE CAPITAL OR WEALTH USED TO PRODUCE WEALTH WAS OWNED BY THE CHIEFS WHO REPRESENTED THE TRIBE, JUST AS TODAY

41-3-146

LAND AND WATER ARE OWNED IN A SIMILAR WAY AND THE PROFIT MADE IN EARLY DAYS THROUGH THIS CAPITALISM BELONGED TO ALL AND NOT TO ANY INDIVIDUAL. THIS SOCIALISM CAN AND SHOULD BE RESTORED IN THE GREAT INDEPENDENT DOMINION OF NIGERIA.

YOU MUST BUILD A SOCIALISM BASED ON THE WELFARE STATE AND MOVE TOWARD A COMMUNISM WHERE ALL MEN WORK FOR THE STATE TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY AND RECEIVE FROM THE STATE NOT EVERYTHING THAT THEY WANT, BUT EVERYTHING THAT THEY NEED FOR THE GREATEST DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE. THIS WILLINVOLVE SACRIFICE. THIS WILL MEAN NOT THE RULE OF THE RICH AND THE SMART, BUT THE UPLIFT OF THE GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE OUT OF WHICH WILL COME POWER AND GENIUS AND IDEALS WHICH WILL RESTORE AFRICA TO THE PLACE IT ONCE OCCUPIED IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE WORLD.

IN THE HARD AND BITTER STRIFE TOWARD THIS END YOU WILL FIND ALLIES: SOME FEW IN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, BUT NOT MANY FOR THEY WANT NOT SO MUCH YOUR PROGRESS AS PROFIT FROM FREE LAND AND CHEAP LABOR. THEY ARE WILLING TO SHARE THIS LOOT WITH THOSE OF YOU WHO CAN BE BOUGHT. BUT IN THE GREAT AND SUCCESSFUL NATIONS LIKE THE

41-3-147

SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, EAST GERMANY AND HUNGARY WHO ARE TODAY LEADING THE WORLD YOU WILL FIND ALLIES AND FRIENDS WHO WILL HELP YOU TOWARD FREEDOM AND PEACE.

PAN-AFRICA 1960

By W.E.B.DU BOIS

I HAVE LIVED LONG ENOUGH TO SEE SOME OF MY DREAMS COME TRUE. AND ONE OF THESE IS THE DREAM OF PAN-AFRICA. I SAW THE VISION FIRST IN THE LAST YEAR OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. I HAD VISITED THE WORLD EXPOSITION IN PARIS AND STOPPED IN LONDON TO ATTEND A PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY A YOUNG WEST INDIAN BARRISTER AND ATTENDED BY A HANDFUL AND PHILANTHROPISTS, MISSIONARIES AND COLOURED FOLK.

40-1-141

JUST WHAT IDEA GAVE RISE TO THIS MEETING I DO NOT KNOW. BUT SINCE I WAS MADE SECRETARY I SET DOWN IN THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED MY OWN IDEAS. THEY WERE SIMPLE AND AIMED AT BRINGING TOGETHER AFRICANS AND THEIR FRIENDS AND DECENDANTS IN REGULAR MEETINGS TO DISCUSS AND CLARIFY THEIR VARIOUS PROBLEMS. I RETURNED TO MY WORK OF STUDYING THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH I WAS THEN BEGINNING AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN GEORGIA. BUT MY WORK WAS INTERRUPTED AND MADE DIFFICULT BY LYNCHINGS AND MOB VIOLENCE AND SOON

I FOUND MYSELF OPPOSING THE DOCTRINES OF BOOKER WASHINGTON A GREAT NEGRO LEADER WHO WAS PROMINENT AT THAT TIME.

I FOUNDED THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT TO OPPOSE HIS DOCTRINE OF ~~A~~ COMPROMISE // EVENTUALLY, THIS LED TO THE WIDER ORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE // AND TO THE FOUNDING OF THE "CRISIS" MAGAZINE. // NOTHING, THEREFORE, WAS DONE TOWARD ANY PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT UNTIL THE MEETING OF THE RACES CONGRESS IN LONDON IN 1911. // THIS MEETING WAS CALLED BY THE ETHICAL ~~AND~~ CULTURE SOCIETIES IN ~~1911~~ AND HERE I MET A NUMBER OF EDUCATED COLOUREDFOLKS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. // MY DREAMS OF PAN-AFRICA REVIVED, BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THE WORLD WAR FOLLOWED IN 1914 AND IT WAS ONLY AFTER THE ARMISTICE IN 1918 THAT I HAD ANY CHANCE TO ACT. // I WROTE PRESIDENT WILSON SUGGESTING THAT THE ~~XXXXXXX~~ PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE WHICH WAS ABOUT TO MEET SHOULD USE THE GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA AS THE NUCLEUS OF A FREE AFRICA IN WHICH AFRICANS ~~WILL~~ WOULD HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

24-1-04

THE ONLY RESULT OF THIS PROPOSAL WAS THE MANDATES COMMISSION WHICH WAS ORGANISED LATER.

IN THE MEANTIME I SUGGESTED THAT A PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS BE CALLED IN PARIS SITTING SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE PEACE CONFERENCE. VERSAILLES THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OPPOSED THIS, ALTHOUGH COLONEL HOUSE WHO WAS PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADVISER GAVE ME A SYMPATHETIC HEARING.

40-1-143

I TURNED, HOWEVER, TO THE BLACK SENEGALESE MEMBER OF THE FRENCH CABINET BLAISE DIAGNE WHO HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING THOUSANDS OF NEGRO TROOPS FROM AFRICA TO DIE FOR FRANCE. DIAGNE, AFTER SOME EFFORT, SECURED PERMISSION FROM THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER CLEMENCEAU AND THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS WAS HELD IN PARIS IN FEBRUARY 1919. A FEW DELEGATES FROM OUTSIDE FRANCE WERE ALLOWED TO ATTEND BUT THERE WERE SOME AFRICANS AND COLOURED FOLKS IN PARIS SO THAT WE HAD ABOUT TWENTY DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE. THE RESOLUTIONS WHICH AGAIN I WROTE, WERE IN

40-1-44

ESSENCE A DEMAND THAT CIVILISED PEOPLE BE TREATED AS CIVILISED NO MATTER WHAT THEIR RACE OR COLOUR WAS. THEN TWO YEARS LATER IN 1921, I WENT TO WORK TO ASSEMBLE A REAL CONGRESS OF AFRICANS. WITH LITTLE FINANCIAL OR POLITICAL BACKING, I SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING TOGETHER 200 DELEGATES FROM AFRICA, WEST INDIES AND THE UNITED STATES WE HELD SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS IN LONDON, BRUSSELS AND PARIS. WE GAINED A WORLD-WIDE HEARING AND AROUSED THE FEAR AND ENMITY OF THE GREAT COLONIAL POWERS. WE DEMANDED FREEDOM FOR THE NATIVES XXX OF AFRICA AND A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND WE ATTACKED THE WHOLE COLONIAL SUSTEM. WE MET A GOOD DEAL OF OPPOSITION. EVEN INSIDE THE NEGRO RACE, THERE WERE AMERICAN NEGROES WHO HAD NO INTEREST IN AFRICA, HAVING BEEN TAUGHT TO IGNORE AND DESPISE IT. THERE WERE WEST INDIAN NEGROES WHO WANTED WEALTH AND POWER NO MATTER WHENCE IT CAME. THERE WERE DEMAGOGUES SUCH AS MARCUS GARVEY WHO THREATENED TO DRIVE THE WHITES OUT OF AFRICA ALTHOUGH THEY WERE

WITHOUT CAPITAL OR FORCE TO DO ANYTHING EXCEPT PARADE AND TALK.

OUR MOST THREATENING POSSITION WAS THE ORGANISED CAPITALISTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA WHO WERE IN SEARCH OF CHEAP LABOUR, FREE LAND AND VALUABLE MATERIALS IN ORDER TO BUILD UP THEIR RULE OVER THE WORLD. THEY NEARLY STOPPED OUR MOVEMENT.

THE BELGIANS VILLIFIED US, THE BRITISH EXPRESSED LITTLE SYMPATHY AND THE FRENCH WOULD NOT LET US MEET IN FRENCH AFRICA FOR ANOTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. IN ADDITION TO ALL THIS THE WORLD DEPRESSION WHICH FOLLOWED THE FIRST WORLD WAR, DEPRIVED US OF FUNDS AND COMPELLED ME TO STOP PROPAGANDA, TO GIVE UP MY EDITORSHIP OF THE "CRISIS" MAGAZINE, AND TO GO BACK TO TEACHING AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. DURING THE NEXT FEW YEARS WE HELD SMALL PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES: A THIRD ONE IN LONDON AND IN LISBON IN 1923 AND A FOURTH ONE IN NEW YORK IN 1937. THEN CAME THESECOND WORLD WAR AND WE HAD TO STOP. HOWEVER, THE SEED HAD NOT DIED. THE NEGRO LEADERS

40-1-145

OF WEST AFRICA, FOR INSTANCE, IN 1920 CALED A WEST AFRICAN CONGRESS. THIS WAS A REMARKABLE SUCCESSFUL MEETING AND IT SECURED FOR THE AFRICANS VERY MANY CONCESSIONS FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS SELF-RULE.

40-1-146

OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA HEARD OF THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT AND OF THE WORDS OF MARCUS GARVEY. IN NEARLY EVERY COLONY SOME FORM OF NATIVE ORGANISATION BEGAN TO APPEAR. ALSO DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AFRICANS FOUGHT FOR EUROPE, HELPED CAPTURE THE GERMAN COLONIES AND BEGAN TO ACT AND THINK FOR THEMSELVES. FINALLY, WHEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR ENDED IN 1945 THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD MET IN PARIS FOR UNITED ACTION. THE UNIONS OF AFRICA APPEARED IN FORCE, DEMANDING AUTONOMY AND VOICE, AND REFUSING TO HAVE THEIR DECISIONS MADE BY THE WHITE UNIONS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA. THEY WON MOST OF THEIR DEMANDS AGAINST THE WHITE BRITISH AND AMERICAN UNIONS. AND IMMEDIATELY THE YOUNG LEADERS DEMANDED A FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS. GEORGE PADMORE, A BRITISH WEST INDIAN,

ORGANISED THIS MOVEMENT. AND HE WROTE TO ME IN NEW YORK ASKING IF I WOULD ATTEND THE CONGRESS AND PRESIDE. HE ORGANISED A GROUP OF AFRICANS IN MANCHESTER AND THERE THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TOOK PLACE. MANY INTERESTING PERSONS WERE PRESENT. KWAME NKRUMAH, NOW PRESIDENT OF GHANA WAS THE SECRETARY. JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA WHO WAS LATER IMPRISONED ON ACCOUNT OF THE MAU MAY CONSPIRACY WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER. WALLACE-JOHNSON OF LIBERIA TOOK PART; AND IN ALL SOME 200 YOUNG AFRICANS BECAME ACTIVE MEMBERS. THUS PAN-AFRICA WAS BORN XXXXXXX AGAIN.

40-1-147

WHEN GHANA BECAME AN INDEPENDENT BRITISH DOMINION UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PREMIER KWAME NKRUMAH, A SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS WAS PLANNED. IT FINALLY MET IN 1958 UNDER THE NAME OF THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLES CONFERENCE. I WAS INVITED TO ATTEND BUT UNFORTUNATELY, MY HEALTH DID NOT PERMIT ME. HOWEVER, MY WIFE READ MY MESSAGE AND IT WAS RECEIVED WITH ACCLAIM. I CALLED THE ATTENTION OF AFRICA TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO CHINA AND TO THE COLONIAL

IMPERIALISM OF WEST EUROPE AND AMERICA. THEREAFTER, ACCRA BECAME THE CENTRE OF THE NEW AFRICAN WORLD. AND IN 1960 I HAD THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY OF SPENDING A MONTH HERE. IT HAS BEEN AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE.

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AS A STUDENT I KNEW ABOUT THE GOLD COAST AND I STUDIED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE ALONG THE WHOLE COAST OF GUINEA. I FOLLOWED THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF ASHANTI AGAINST THE BRITISH. I KNEW OF THE OLD KINGDOM OF GHANA AND OF THE KINGDOMS OF THE MELLESINE AND THE SONGHAN. I READ ABOUT THE PROPOSED FANTI CONFEDERATION AND OF THE REPUTED EFFORT OF THE AFRICANS TO JOIN WITH THE BRITISH IN THE RULE OF THE GOLD COAST.

AFTER THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, KWAME NKRUMAH CAME FROM HIS STUDY IN AMERICA TO LONDON AND WORKED THERE WITH THE AFRICANS, FINALLY, AS YOU KNOW, COMING HERE TO THE GOLD COAST TO ORGANISE THE NATIVES FOR INCREASED SELF-RULE. HE BEGAN TO ORGANISE THE MASSES, AND SUCCEEDED TO AN UNUSUAL DEGREE. THE BRITISH PUT HIM IN GAOL BUT WHILST HE WAS THERE THE MASSES ELECTED HIM TO

Parliament AND FINALLY, A WISE BRITISH GOVERNMENT PERMITTED HIM TO BECOME THE PRIME MINISTER, AND NKRUMAH TURNED GHANA INTO A DEMOCRACY. IT BECAME FIRST, A BRITISH DOMINION AND FINALLY, THIS YEAR, AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC.

I SAW THE OPENING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT. I SAW THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW PRESIDENT AND I HEARD THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST MESSAGE. IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING AND BEAUTIFUL CEREMONIES I HAVE EVER SEEN. I WONDER HOW MANY OF YOU REALISE THE GREAT FORWARD STEP WHICH YOUR NEW CONSTITUTION HAS TAKEN? IN GREAT BRITAIN THE SOVEREIGN INHERITS OFFICE AND THE PRIME MINISTER WHO REALLY RULES THE NATION IS CHOSEN BY PARLIAMENT. IN THE UNITED STATES THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESSMEN ARE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE AND THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE POWER IS DIVIDED BETWEEN THEM AND NOT UNITED, IN ONE PERSON. IN FRANCE THE SAME THING TAKES PLACE: THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT ARE SEPARATE PERSONS. BUT IN GHANA FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN HISTORY, THE PRESIDENT IS THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE POWER OF THESTATE IS UNITED IN HIM. PARLIAMENT

40-1-147

ELECTS THE PRESIDENT AND THUS THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE IS COMPLETE.

NO OTHER MODERN COUNTRY HAS DARED TO CARRY DEMOCRACY SO FAR AS THIS, AND THIS IS A GREAT ADVANCE. IT FACES FRANKLY THE DANGER THAT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES WILL NOT ALWAYS ACT WISELY: BUT IN THE CASE OF GHANA THE ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND HISTORY OF THE STATE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CHIEFS AND NOW, THE CHIEFS, WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER, STILL HOLD THE POWER OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND OF THE REVERENCE WHICH THE PEOPLE HAVE FOR THEM. THEY ARE THE CUSTODIANS OF THE LANDS OF THE STATE. THEY ARE THE REPOSITORIES OF ANCIENT HISTORY AND WISDOM; AND SO LONG AS THE STATE HOLDS THEM IN REVERENCE AND ESTEEM THEIR POWER KEEPS THE PEOPLE FROM DOING UNWISE THINGS. HERE THEN IN THE ANCIENT PAST AND THE MODERN CONCENTRATION OF POLITICAL POWER LIES THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE IN GHANA. THIS HOPE IS TODAY THREATENED BY THE ORGANISED ECONOMIC POWER OF THE WHITE WORLD. THE GREAT CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF WESTERN CAPITALISTS AND INVESTORS IN CHEAP LABOUR AND FREE LAND AND MATERIALS IN ASIA

40-1-150

AND AFRICA. AGAINST THEM COMES THE FIRST GREAT BATTLE OF THE EAST. THEIR POWER MUST BE OVERTHROWN BY SOCIALISM AND PAN-AFRICAN SOCIALISM IS THE WEAPON THAT GHANA IS USING. THIS MEANS THE PRESERVATION OF THE PEOPLE'S MARKET AND TRADING CENTRES IN AFRICA, and the STRICT CONTROL OF THE GREAT POWER OF FOREIGN TRADE, AND THE DETERMINATION TO PREVENT FOREIGN INVESTMENT FROM OVERCOMING YOUR POLITICAL POWER.

THE INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF GREAT SOCIALIST STATES LIKE THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA CAN BE A SOURCE OF HELP TO YOU AND THIS YOU MUST UNDERSTAND AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF. ON THE OTHER HAND YOU CAN BY THOUGHT AND CARE, RAISE MUCH CAPITAL FOR YOURSELVES, WORK HARD AND HONESTLY, AND PARTICULARLY, EDUCATE YOUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN INTO THE VAST KNOWLEDGE WHICH MODERN ~~XXIX~~ SCIENCE HAS OPENED UP TO THE WORLD.

40-1-151

WITH EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES; WITH HEALTH AND PREVENTION OF DISEASE, AND WITH CONTINUOUS RAISING OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING, AFRICA WILL BECOME A LEADER OF FUTURE CIVILISATION. ~~IT HAS RECENT~~LY

AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN L(L(THERE WERE TWO INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATIONS. TODAY THERE ARE TWENTY-FIVE AND TWENTY OF THESE ARE IN BLACK AFRICA, SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. THEY ARE NOT ONLY INDEPENDENT BUT ARE INCREASINGLY ACTING IN UNISON WITH A DISTINCT VISION OF A FUTURE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA. AT THE FOREFRONT OF THIS MOVEMENT STANDS THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA AND ITS PRESIDENT, DR. KWAME NKRUMAN. THIS LEADERSHIP, TOGETHER WITH HIS NEW CONSTITUTION, HIS PROGRESS IN EDUCATION AND HIS STATE SOCIALISM, MARKS HIM AS ONE OF THE FOREMOST STATESMAN OF OUR DAY. .

GHANA HAS RECENTLY TAKEN TWO FURTHER STEPS IN LEADERSHIP:

40-1-152

~~TAKEN TWO STEPS TOWARDS THIS~~. FIRST IN RUSHING ITS SOLDIERS TO PROTECT THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE CONGO; AND SECONDLY IN BOYCOTTING THE TRADE OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA; WHICH IS ONE OF THE LAST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TO DRAW A NATIONAL COLOUR LINE. THESE TWO STEPS STAND TO THE CREDIT OF YOUR NATION AND ARE A PROMISE OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT.

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I HAIL THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA; ITS ART AND INDUSTRY; ITS COLOUR AND HAPPINESS AND THE ASTONISHING PROGRESS WHICH IT HAS MADE IN KNOWLEDGE AND POWER. I THANK YOUR PRESIDENT FOR THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH I AND MY WIFE HAVE HAD TO VISIT YOUR BEAUTIFUL LAND.

A PROGRAMME FOR GHANA

By

W.E.B. DU BOIS

THIS IS A NEW NATION, BORN BUT YESTERDAY OUT OF THE ~~BLOOD~~ sweat AND ~~DUST~~ tears OF STRUGGLE. TURNING FROM THE RECENT UNHAPPY PAST YOU MUST NOW GIVE YOUR ATTENTION TO KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRESENT WORLD ABOUT YOU. THEN TO PLANNING WHAT YOU CAN MAKE OF THIS WORLD IN THE FUTURE. HOW YOU SHALL TRAIN YOURSELVES FOR THIS GREAT TASK AND WHAT YOU WILL DO WITH THE FREEDOM WHICH THIS DISCIPLINE GIVES YOU.

THAT WHICH IS FAIRLY EASY FOR MOST NATIONS IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT FOR YOU AND THAT IS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST AND COMPREHENSION OF THE ~~WEST~~ PRESENT WORLD. ONCE MEN SAID THAT AFRICA HAD NO HISTORY BUT THEY WERE WRONG. AFRICA HAS A MIGHTY PAST AND IT HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN IN PART DELIBERATELY FOR SAKE OF GAIN; IN PART BY REASON OF NEGLECT.

THIS HISTORY MUST BE BROUGHT BACK NOT FOR VAIN GLORY BUT FOR GUIDANCE AND FAITH IN THE FUTURE. THE HISTORY OF GHANA IS YET TO BE

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WRITTEN | AND THIS IS ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS | FOR YOUR UNIVERSITY AND SCHOOLS | SO THAT ~~MEN~~ you HEREAFTER | CAN KNOW ~~THEIR~~ your- PAST | IN TEXT BOOKS AND in ART.

THEN THE PAST HISTORY | OF WEST AFRICA | MUST BE TOLD AGAIN, ~~AND~~ COMPLETING THE HISTORY OF THE NILE VALLEY, | THE HEIGHTS OF ETHIOPIA | AND THE EPIC | ES SADI BEGAN IN HIS TARACH ES SUDAN, || AND FINALLY BLACK SCHOLARS | MUST WRITE A NEW HISTORY OF all AFRICA | OUTLINING ITS LIFE | AND INTERPRETING ITS MEANING. || THIS CANNOT BE DONE BY WHITE FOLKS. || IT IS THE BOUNDEN DUTY OF BLACKS.

40-1-180

TO THIS GREAT TASK | MUST BE ADDED THE HISTORY OF EUROPE-AMERICA. | THIS VAST AND VITAL BODY OF HISTORY | MUST NOT now BE NEGLECTED, | BECAUSE ~~SO~~ IT HAS BEEN SO OVER-EMPHASISED | IN THE PAST; || AND TO THIS MUST BE ADDED | THE HISTORY OF ASIA, | AND OF THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA, | WHICH also ~~HAVE~~ HAVE BEEN INEXCUSABLY FORGOTTEN | IN MODERN DAYS.

THIS AFRICAN AND MODERN HISTORY | WILL GIVE GHANA | THAT BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE | WHICH WILL HELP IT | BUILD THE FUTURE. || YOU WILL then GRASP

THAT CRY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE WHICH SHRIEKED FOR FREEDOM AND FORGOT DISCIPLINE. EARLY EUROPE SUFFERED FROM TYRANNY AND SUPPRESSION UNTIL AT LAST (LIKE YOU) IT HAD TO BE FREE OR DIE.

THERE ENSUED THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE ANARCHY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHEN MIGHT WAS RIGHT AND DEMOCRACY WON SMALL DOMAIN IN EUROPE, ~~BUT NEVER PERISHED~~ (was killed dead in) ASIA AND AFRICA; FLARED AND FAILED IN AMERICA. THE NATURAL RETRIBUTION WAS A TWENTIETH CENTURY OF WORLD WAR WHICH THREATENED US AT ONCE WITH DESTRUCTION ~~AND~~ UNITY FOR REBIRTH. HERE NOW IN THE LAST HALF OF THIS CENTURY, YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY AND DUTY TO HELP REBUILD THE WORLD, USING A CAREFULLY LEARNED GRASP (and knowledge of Science) OF HISTORY, TO FACE THE QUESTION OF A DECENT PLANNED LIFE.

40-1-181

40-1-182

WHAT CAN MAN DO TODAY TO MAKE A DECENT AND HAPPY WORLD ? HE CANNOT RELY ON CHANCE, GUESSING AND GAMBLING. LIFE IS NOT A LOTTERY. HE CANNOT FOLLOW THE WELL-MEANT FAIRYTALES OF DOGMATIC RELIGION. HE MUST KNOW, ~~BEFORE ACCEPTING ANYTHING~~, HE MUST WORK, HE (nor yield to Superstition)

SCIENCE IS A STERN UNYIELDING MASTER./ IT BROOKS NO RIVAL/ NEITHER IN CHURCH NOR STATE/ NEITHER IN WISH NOR DREAM.// IT seeks ETERNAL AND IMMUTABLE TRUTH/ ATTAINED SLOWLY/ AND PAINFULLY./ WITH INFINITE TOIL AND ENDLESS SACRIFICE./ EITHER IT GUIDES CIVILIZATION/ OR CIVILIZATION DIES.// YOU MUST MASTER SCIENCE./ YOU MUST OBEY ITS LAWS./ YOU AND THE WORLD MUST ADMIT/ THAT IN EXACT SCIENCE TODAY/ THE SOVIET UNION LEADS MANKIND/ NOT IN WAR/ BUT IN SEARCH FOR TRUTH.// IN MAY, 1959, I ASKED PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV/ TO ESTABLISH AN AFRICAN INSTITUTE IN THE FAMED RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.// LAST OCTOBER IT WAS OPENED./ THERE AFRICAN HISTORY AND AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP/ WILL BECOME KNOWN TO THE WORLD.// I HOPE GHANA WILL BE REPRESENTED.

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MUST EARN AND SACRIFICE.

40-1-184

YEAR BEFORE LAST, IN 1958, I TOOK A MARVELOUS JOURNEY. ALREADY BEFORE THAT I HAD TRAVELLED WIDELY. BEGINNING AS A YOUNG MAN I HAD TRAVERSED THE UNITED STATES, NORTH, EAST, WEST AND SOUTH. (I had seen Canada, Mexico) THEN I MADE IN THE NEXT SIXTY ~~YEARS~~ YEARS / FIFTEEN TRIPS TO EUROPE. I ALSO SAW SOMETHING OF CHINA AND JAPAN AND A BIT OF AFRICA. IN THESE YEARS I SAW MOSTLY WHAT I ALREADY KNEW BY READING AND LISTENING. I WAS EUROPEAN-CULTURED. I BELIEVED IN THE [redacted] NECESSITY OF WEALTH AND POVERTY, IN THE INEVITABILITY OF DISEASE, IN THE NATURAL BACKWARDNESS OF ASIA AND AFRICA. OF COURSE, THIS BELIEF WAS NOT COMPLETE. MY FAITH IN EUROPE WAS NOT ABSOLUTE. BUT ON THE WHOLE I THOUGHT I WAS LIVING IN A WORLD ABOUT AS GOOD AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE.

THEN I SPENT A sudden YEAR ABROAD, MOSTLY IN A NEW WORLD OF SOCIALISM! IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN CHINA, IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND EAST GERMANY,

~~AND~~ In SWEDEN. // AND THEN BACK TO A NEW VIEW OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. Holland
I RETURNED TO AMERICA A MAN RENEWED IN FAITH AND SPIRIT, ~~REBORN~~ IN vision
~~DETERMINATION~~, REVIVED IN STRENGTH.

I ~~HAVE~~ had NOT VISITED PARADISE. I HAD NOT SEEN PERFECT HUMANBEINGS OR PEOPLE UNIVERSALLY HAPPY, WITHOUT FEAR OR APPREHENSION. // BUT I DID SEE A THOUSAND MILLION PEOPLE WHO WERE TRYING A NEW WAY OF LIFE. LIFE IN WHICH PROGRESS AND POVERTY DID NOT LIVE SIDE BY SIDE. like out WITH STARVATION AND LUXURY, CHEEK BY JOWL: WITHOUT MEN HOLDING MILLIONS WHICH THEY NEVER EARNED, WITH CHILDREN IN SCHOOL AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL, WITH NO BARRIERS OF CASTE AND COLOUR, BIRTH AND HERITAGE, WITH PENSIONS FOR THE OLD, AND HOSPITALS FOR THE SICK, WITH NO MAN UN-EMPLOYED.

40-1-185

WHAT STRUCK ME IN THESE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WAS THE DISCIPLINE UNDER WHICH THE PEOPLE WERE WORKING. // IT WAS NOT SLAVERY. IT WAS DISCIPLINE BORN OUT OF ~~THE~~ a CONCEPTION OF RIGHT AND WRONG, // OF RESPECT FOR THE MANNERS OF FORMER DAYS; // OF OBEDIENCE TO LAW, WILLINGNESS

TO SACRIFICE /AND ~~THE SENSE OF~~ belief in JUSTICE FOR ALL.

WHEN WE, IN AMERICA/AND YOU, IN AFRICA,/ THINK OF FREEDOM WE THINK/~~OFTEN~~ OF THE RIGHT OF A MAN/TO DO ANYTHING HE PLEASES/~~TO DO~~. BUT MANIFESTLY THIS KIND OF FREEDOM/LEADS NOWHERE.// THERE MUST BE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL/AND FOR THE NATION/A PLAN OF LIFE BASED ON LAW.//NO MATTER WHAT YOUR OPINION MAY BE,/ THE LAW OF GRAVITY HOLDS./ IF YOU LEAN TOO FAR OUT OF THE WINDOW,/YOU FALL AND ARE HURT.//IF YOU DO NOT OBEY/THE LAWS OF HEALTH/YOU DIE BEFORE YOUR TIME.// EFFECT HAS A CAUSE/AND WRONGDOING BRINGS inevitably RETRIBUTION.

40.1-173

THESE ARE LAWS OF NATURE;/WE CANNOT CHANGE THEM.//IF WE DISOBEY THEM,/WE SUFFER ACCORDINGLY.//IN ADDITION TO THIS/THERE IS CUSTOMARY LAW,/ THAT WHICH IS CALLED/THE CULTURE OF A TRIBE,/OR A NATION/OR A CONTINENT./ IT IS THE ANCIENT WAY/IN WHICH PEOPLE FOR GENERATIONS/HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON LIFE/AND WHILE IT IS NEVER COMPLETE AND PERFECT/IT IS AT ANY PARTICULAR TIME/A DIGEST/OF THE WISDOM OF MEN/WHO have LIVED AND THOUGHT.//AS SUCH IT MUST

BE FOLLOWED/UNTIL IT IS PROVEN/UNFIT FOR THE PRESENT.// IT MUST CHANGE FROM TIME TO TIME,/ IT CAN NEVER BE COMPLETE/AND DONE AWAY WITH.// THE CULTURE OF A LAND,/ IS ITS LIFE.

IN ALL CIVILISED COUNTRIES/THERE IS STATUTORY LAW/WHICH LIMITS THE FREEDOM OF EVERY MAN.// HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD LAW/IS THE MARK OF A CIVILISED MAN.// ALL LAWS ARE NOT JUST,/SOME LAWS ARE MANIFESTLY UNJUST;/ BUT NEVERTHELESS,/LAW IS THE ONLY WAY/IN WHICH LIFE CAN BE PLANNED/FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.// IF LAWS ARE WRONG/THEY MUST BE CHANGED BUT NOT BY INDIVIDUAL WHIM,/ RATHER BY THE DECISION/OF THE MASS OF MEN WHO LIVE UNDER THEM./ This Mass of Men/are the Last Appeal.

40-1-74

THUS WITH A KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE/LIFE MUST BE PLANNED INDIVIDUALLY/AND NATIONALLY/ACCORDING TO WHAT WE THINK IS BEST// AND BOWING TO DISCIPLINE/WHICH GUIDES TOWARDS RIGHT/AND WITH MANNERS THAT MAKE HUMAN CONTACT/DECENT AND REASONABLE;/ WITH OBEDIENCE AND SACRIFICE/AND A SENSE OF JUSTICE,/ WE EARN THE FREEDOM/WHICH ALL MEN STRIVE.// BUT THIS FREEDOM MUST BE EARNED,/IT DOES NOT COME EASILY.

IT IS NOT THE FREE GIFT OF NATURE. // IT IS THE ORDERLY RESULT / OF KNOWLEDGE, / OF PLANNING / AND OF DISCIPLINE.

WHEN, HOWEVER, ONCE IT IS GAINED / IT SHOWS ITSELF IN SELF-RESPECT, / IN REALISATION OF OUR POWER, / IN SELF-EXPRESSION // IT BECOMES THE BASIS OF LITERATURE AND ART, / AND HERE IN WEST AFRICA, / YOUR CHANCE TO DEVELOP A GREAT EXPRESSION OF ART / AND THE GREAT LITERATURE / IS UNLIMITED. // AS I SAW THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT / WITH ITS CEREMONY, / WITH ITS RIOT OF COLOUR AND WITH ITS ~~MUSIC~~ dignity + humour, I REALISED AGAIN / WHAT A RICH HERITAGE AFRICA HAS / AND HOW NECESSARY IT IS / FOR US TO LOOK TOWARDS SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM / FOR THAT PLANNING AND DISCIPLINE / WHICH WILL LEAD TOWARDS GREATER FREEDOM.

Sound

40-1-175

THERE IS A WIDELY HELD BELIEF / THAT CITIZENS OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LANDS / ARE PRISONERS / AND THAT PRISONERS OF THE STATE / ARE SLAVES. // ON THE CONTRARY, / I HAVE NOWHERE IN THE WORLD / SEEN SUCH SATISFIED WORKERS / AS IN THE SOVIET UNION / OR SUCH HAPPY WORKERS / AND HEALTHY CHILDREN / AS IN CHINA. // WHILE THE PRISONS OF THE UNITED STATES / ARE FILLED WITH DISCONTENT

P

AND DESPAIR,/ THE PRISONS OF RUSSIA/ ARE SCHOOLS/ WHICH ~~AND~~ lead CRIMINALS TO CITIZENSHIP/ ~~AND~~ TRAINED Von IN TRADES/ ~~WITH~~ To HAPPINESS IN FAMILY LIFE.

40-1-176

I DO NOT SAY /THAT ALL THE WORLD WILL FOLLOW /RUSSIA OR CHINA,/ CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND EAST GERMANY,/ HUNGARY, RUMANIA, AND BULGARIA;// BUT I AM ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN /THAT THE OVERWHELMING TREND OF HUMANITY TODAY / IS TOWARDS SOCIALISM.// INDIA IS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, IN SCANDINAVIA ARE SOCIALIST STATES;/ BRITAIN resists Socialism in vain ~~IS STRONGLY SOCIALIST.~~ / WEST GERMANY HAS ~~MANY~~ Inherited a SOCIALIST INSTITUTIONS.// ITALY AND FRANCE /ARE OWNING AND CONTROLLING CAPITAL.// EVEN THE UNITED STATES/ IS CONTINUALLY/ TAKING STEPS TOWARDS STATE CONTROL OF CAPITAL /AND OWNERSHIP OF ~~PRIVATE~~ natural RESOURCES.// AND ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES /ARE GRADUALLY ENVISIONING/ A COMPLETE COMMUNISM /OF EQUAL MEN,/ EACH DOING WHAT HE CAN DO BEST,/ AND RECEIVING WHAT HE NEEDS FOR HEALTH AND COMFORT /AND AS FREE /AS THE WELFARE OF ALL MEN/ ALLOWS MEN TO BE FREE.// TO THIS GREAT END/ I WANT AFRICA TO ~~FOLLOW.~~ March.

40-1-177

THEN GHANA WILL SHOW THE WORLD /NOT THE OLD 19TH CENTURY PATTERN /OF A GROUP OF THE RICH /FOLLOWING THE LUXURY OF A DECADENT EUROPE /AND THE WASTE OF A RUTHLESS AMERICA, /SURROUNDED BY A WRITHING MASS /OF POVERTY-STRICKEN PEOPLE; //BUT THE NATION /WILL BE REPRESENTED /BY FIVE MILLION HARD AND HAPPY WORKERS /DOING WHAT THE NATION NEEDS DONE /FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL. // WITH THE WORKERS LIVING IN SIMPLE SANITARY HOMES /AMID THE FLOWERS AND FOLIAGE /OF THIS BEAUTIFUL LAND. //WITH NO TIRED BABIES STRAPPED TO ~~TIRED~~ WEARY BACKS, /BUT NURSERIES FOR ALL CHILDREN, /WITH SCIENTIFIC CARE /AND THOUGHTFUL TRAINING; //WITH CHILDREN IN KINDERGARTENS /AND YOUTH IN SCHOOL /AND THE NATION TAUGHT TO READ AND THINK /, AND SING AND DANCE /AND GROW IN POWER AND ACCOMPLISHMENT. //THERE ARE PEOPLE /WHO WILL TELL YOU /THAT THIS DREAM IS IMPOSSIBLE. //THAT ALWAYS MOST MEN MUST BE POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT /AND THAT ONLY THE LUCKY FEW /CAN HOPE FOR A DECENT LIFE. //THIS IS A LIE. // ~~MEN~~ THE VAST MAJORITY OF MEN /IN THE 21ST CENTURY /WILL BE HAPPIER THAN THE ARISTOCRACY /OF THIS WAR-TORN TWENTIETH, /IF ONLY YOU WILL LEAD THE WAY. //WILL LOOSE THE GENIUS /NOW PRISONED BY POVERTY /AND EMANCIPATE THE ~~GENIUS~~ ABILITY NOW ENSLAVED BY IGNORANCE. //IN PEACE AND PLENTY LET GHANA JOIN /THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA /AND USHER IN THE NEW WORLD.

A PROGRAMME FOR GHANA

BY W.B.DU BOIS

THIS IS A NEW NATION BORN BUT YESTERDAY OUT OF THE BLOOD AND DUST OF STRUGGLE TURNING FROM THE RECENT UNHAPPY PATH YOU MUST NOW GIVE YOURATTENTION THE KNOWLEGE OF THE PRES

39-1e-7

THIS IS A NEW NATION; BORN BUT YESTERDAY, OUT OF THE BLOOD AND DUST OF STRUGGLE, TURNING FROM THE recent unhappy PAST ~~THEN WITH ALL THAT IT HAS TO TEACH US~~ you WE MUST NOW GIVE YOUR ATTENTION TO KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRESENT WORLD ABOUT you ~~US~~; THEN TO PLANNING WHAT ~~WE~~ S you can ~~SHALL~~ MAKE OF THIS WORLD IN THE FUTURE: HOW you ~~WE~~ SHALL TRAIN OURSELVES FOR THIS GREAT TASK AND WHAT you will ~~WE SHALL~~ DO WITH THE FREEDOM WHICH THIS DISCIPLINE GIVES you ~~US~~ THAT WHICH IS FAIRLY EASY FOR OLDER NATIONS IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT FOR YOU AND THAT IS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST, AND COMPREHENSION OF THE VAST present WORLD ~~ABOUT~~. ONCE MEN SAID THAT AFRICA HAD NO HISTORY BUT THEY WERE WRONG. AFRICA HAS A MIGHTY PAST BUT IT HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN, IN PART DELIBERATELY for sake of gain IN PART BY UNTHINKING NEGLECT, AND NOW this history MUST BE BROUGHT BACK, NOT FOR VAINGLORY, BUT FOR GUIDANCE AND FAITH in the Future. THE HISTORY OF GHANA IS YET TO BE WRITTEN AND THIS IS ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS FOR YOUR UNIVERSITY AND SCHOOLS, SO THAT MEN HER AFTER CAN KNOW THEIR PAST IN TEXTBOOKS AND ART. THEN THE PAST ~~GLORY~~ story OF WEST AFRICA MUST told ~~LIMNED~~ AGAIN ~~BY CARRYING OUT~~ AND COMPLETING ~~THE WORK~~ WHICH EL SADI BEGAN IN THE his TARICK ES SUDAN. FINALLY BLACK SCHOLARS MUST WRITE A NEW HISTORY OF AFRICA, OUTLINING ITS LIFE AND INTERPRETING ITS MEANING. THIS CANNOT BE DONE BY WHITE FOLK, IT IS THE BOUNDEN DUTY OF BLACKS

TO THIS GREAT TASK MUST BE ADDED THE HISTORY OF EUROPE-AMERICA, ~~THE STORY OF ASIA AND OF THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA~~. THIS VAST AND FATAL BODY OF HISTORY MUST not be

over

40-1-178

4 Things
Knowledge
Plan
Discipline
Freedom

The cry of the 18th century in Europe
Anarchy 19th century
War in 20th "

1950 - 2000 - What

Not Freedom
Natural Law
Customary Law (Custom)
Enacted Law

1st KNOWLEDGE
History of Ghana
W. Africa
Africa
Europe, Asia
America

2nd Planning
Chance, Gambling
Work & Wage — Scene

3. Discipline — manners, obey, Entitlement
4 Freedom — Ind & Liberation

The story of Europe - the Industrial Revolution, the knights of Elizabeth
the epic of the

NEGLECTED BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN (lately) SO OVER-EMPHASIZED, AND TO THIS MUST BE ADDED THE HISTORY OF ASIA AND TE ISLANDS OF THE SEA, WHICH AGAIN HAS BEEN INEXCUSABLY FORGOTTEN IN MODERN DAYS.

THIS AFRICAN AND MODERN HISTORY WILL GIVE GHANA THAT BASIS OF KNOLEDGE WHICH WILL HELP IT BUILD A FUTURE. YOU WILL GRASP THAT CRY OF THE 18TH CENTRY IN EUROPE, WHICH SHRIEKED FOR FREEDOM AND FORGOT DISCIPLINE. EARLY EUROPE HAD SUFFERED FROM TYRRANY AND OPPRESSION UNTIL, AT LAST IT had to BE FREE OR DIE. THERE ENSUED, and THE ANARCHY OF THE 19TH CENTURY, WHEN MIGHT WAS RIGHT AND DEMOCRACY WON A SMALL DOMAIN IN EUROPE BUT NEVER REACHED ASIA AND AFRICA, THE NATURAL retribution WAS A TWENTIETH CENTURY OF WORLD WAR, WHICH THREATENED THE WORLD AT ONCE WITH DESTRUCTION AND UNITY FOR REBIRTH. HERE NOW IN THE LAST HALF OF THIS CENTURY YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY AND DUTY YO HELP REBUILD THE WORLD. USING A CAEFULLY LEARNED GRASP OF HISTORY, YOU NOW FACE THE QUESTION OF A PLANNED LIFE. WHAT CAN MAN DO TODAY TO MAKE A DECENT AND HAPPY WORLD? HE CANNOT RELY ON CHANCE; ON GUESSING AND GAMBLING, (Life is not a Roller) HE CANNOT FOLLOW THE WELL-MEANT FAIRY TALES OF DOGMATIC RELIGION. HE MUST KNOW, HE MUST WORK, HE MUST EARN AND SACRIFICE. Y AR

Before Last, in 1958, I took a marvellous journey

RACE INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH

IT WAS THE CONCLUSION OF HEBREW PHILOSOPHY THAT WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP. // THE TACIT ASSUMPTION HERE IS THAT SOWER AND REPER WOULD BE THE SAME PERSON. // THIS WOULD BE JUSTICE. // IF THE MEN WHO MAKE AND DECLARE WAR WERE ALWAYS THE ONES WHO LED THE FRONT LINES IN BATTLE WE WOULD BE MORE SATISFIED TO LET MR. DULLES LEAD US TO THE BRINK. // BUT IN REAL LIFE IT IS THE LEADERS OF 1850 WHO PLUNGE THE YOUNG MEN OF 1950 INTO DISASTER. // THE TRADERS AND PLANTERS WHO LANDED 15,000,000 AFRICANS IN AMERICA BETWEEN 1500 and 1900 DID NOT ASK WHAT EVENTUALLY WOULD BECOME OF THESE SLAVES. // THOSE WHO THOUGHT AT ALL ASSUMED THAT THE BLACKS AFTER BEING DRIVEN TO EXHAUSTION IN A STRANGE CLIMATE WOULD DIE OUT. // THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. ON THE CONTRARY THEY BECAME SUCH VALUABLE BEASTS OF BURDEN THAT THEY WERE CONSERVED AND MORE AND MORE DEMANDED AND IMPORTED AS LATE AS 1850 // THEY STILL SURVIVE AND THEIR FUTURE MUST BE SOLVED AFTER THEIR CAPTORS AND EXPLOITERS ARE CENTURIES DEAD. // IT HAPPENS, THEREFORE, THAT PART OF THE BILL DUE FOR INDEBTEDNESS TO SOCIETY WAS PRESENTED TO THE SOUTH BY THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT IN 1950. // THIS WAS NOT PLOT NOR VINDICTIVENESS. // IT WAS BUT AN ECHO OF THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION. // THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITE RACE OVER THE COLORED RACES OF THE WORLD IS ENDING. WITH IT ENDS THE RACIAL PHILOSOPHY WHICH WAS INVENTED TO SUPPORT IT. // THE INHERENT INFERIORITY

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OF BLACK, BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLES TO THE WHITE. // THIS PHILOSOPHY HAD A LONG AND TRIUMPHANT VOGUE. // IT RE-ESTABLISHED THE DYING INSTITUTION OF HUMAN SLAVERY IN THE NEW, FREE WORLD. // IT MADE THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH LIE, STEAL AND KILL. // IT RUINED THE MANNERS OF WHITE FOLK. // EVEN IN THE 20th CENTURY RIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES THE BURNING OF HUMAN BEINGS ALIVE WAS DEFENDED. ENGLISHMEN MADE CHINESE BUY OPIUM AND WHITE TRAVELLORS IN CHINA USED TO THROW THE FARE OF THE RICKSHAW MEN WHO DRAGGED THEM ABOUT ON THE GROUND, LEST THEY TOUCH THE FILTHY HANDS. // SOUTHERN WHITE FATHERS SOLD THEIR OWN COLORED CHILDREN INTO SLAVERY AND WHITE MEN DISTRIBUTED THEIR BASTARDS ALL OVER THE WORLD WHERE THEY COULD, CATOLIC a RAPE COLORED WOMEN. // ABOVE ALL, THE COMFORT AND LUXURY OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION CAME TO BE BUILT ON THE BLOOD AND BRAWN OF A THOUSAND MILLION COLORED SERFS. // THE END OF THIS SYSTEM HAD TO COME. // IT HAS COME. // HEREAFTER, IF EUROPE AND AMERICA WANT THE LAND AND LABOR OF ASIA AND AFRICA AND OF THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA, THEY MUST BE PREPARED TO TREAT AS EQUALS THE DARK INHABITANTS OF THESE LANDS. // THEY ARE DOING SO. // FOR 20 YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDING OF LIBERIA, THE UNITED STATES REFUSED TO EXCHANGE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION. // LAST MONTH WE SENT THE VICE-PRESIDENT TO GREET A NEW NEGRO NATION; // ~~AND~~ A BRITISH PRINCESS DANCED WITH THE BLACK PRIME MINISTER OF A NATION WHOSE CONQUERED KING IN 1871 WAS

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REQUIRED TO KISS/ THE BRITISH GENERAL'S FEET.

AS A CIVILIZED NATION/ THE UNITED STATES/ MUST NOT LAG BEHIND THE WORLD.// THIS WOULD COST US/ THE TRADE AND COOPERATION OF THE WORLD/ AND INCUR THE HATRED AND SUSPICION/ OF MOST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH.// THEREFORE, THE SUPREME COURT/ DECLARED THAT NO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ COULD CONSTITUTIONALLY/ SEPARATE ITS PUPILS/ ACCORDING TO RACE OR COLOR.// THIS WAS NOT A NEW LAW.// IT WAS BUT A TARDY RECOGNITION/ OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT/ RATIFIED IN 1868. FOR 86 YEARS/ THE COURTS WINKED AT THE DELIBERATE BREAKING/ OF THIS LAW/ BY THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" SUBTERFUGE.// NOT ONLY WERE NEGROES/ NOT ADMITTED TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS/ BUT THE SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEM/ PROVIDED THEM ~~WERE~~ WAS IN NINE CASES OUT OF TEN/ DISTINCTLY AND DELIBERATELY INFERIOR.// I KNOW WHEREOF I SPEAK.// FOR 23 YEARS/ I LIVED AND WORKED/ IN THE SOUTH.// I HAVE TRAVELLED ~~AND LIVED~~ IN EVERY SINGLE SOUTHERN STATE.// I KNOW THE SYSTEM.// I WOULD DRIVE INTO A TOWN.// ON OR NEAR THE CENTRAL SQUARE/ WAS A WHITE HIGH SCHOOL/ COMMODIOUS AND WELL-EQUIPPED.// ON THE OUTSKIRTS/ WAS AN OLD CHURCH/ OR A DILAPIDATED NEGRO SCHOOL/ USUALLY OVERCROWDED BY GRADE PUPILS/ WITH A FEW IN HIGH SCHOOL GRADES.// THE WHITE PRINCIPAL/ AND HIS TEACHERS/ ALWAYS GOT MORE PAY/ THAN NEGROES QUITE AS WELL EDUCATED/ // AND SOMETIMES TWICE AS MUCH.// THE WHITE SCHOOL TERM/ IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS WAS LONGER/ THAN THE NEGRO/ AND IN MANY PLACES/ THE NEGROES HAD NO SCHOOLS AT ALL/ DURING THE SEASON

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of gathering the crops.

This was standard procedure/ throughout the south./ Now and then IN A FEW CITIES,/ THERE WAS SOME ATTEMPT/ TO BETTER NEGRO SCHOOL ACCOMODATIONS/ ESPECIALLY IN LATER YEARS/ WHEN SOME FEARED/ THAT THIS CRASS INJUSTICE/ COULD NOT ALWAYS PREVAIL.// IN ALL THE SOUTH/ THE MASS OF NEGROES THROUGHOUT THEIR LIVES/ WERE HANDICAPPED/ BY INFERIOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TRAINING/ WHICH LENT PROOF/ TO THEIR RACIAL INFERIORITY.

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WHO SET THIS FASHION/ AND OPENLY OR SILENTLY INSISTED/ ON ITS CARRYING OUT?// IT WAS NOT THE POOR WHITES -- THEY BUT IMITATED THEIR SUPERIORS/ AND DID THEIR DIRTY WORK/ AS LYNCHERS AND MURDERERS.// IT WAS THE BEST PEOPLE;/ THE CHURCH LEADERS,/ THE WELL-BORN AND SOCIALLY DISTINGUISHED. FOR A CENTURY/ THE BEST THOUGHT/ AND CONSCIENCE OF THE SOUTH/ HAS TAUGHT THREE GENERATIONS/ OF SOUTHERN YOUTH// THAT SLAVERY OF NEGROES/ WAS NOT WRONG;/ THAT THE CIVIL WAR/ WAS NOT FOUGHT OVER SLAVERY;/ THAT NEGROES BY ACT OF GOD/ WERE INHERENTLY SO INFERIOR TO WHITES/ THAT IT WAS DEGRADING/ TO WORK BESIDE THEM,/ LIVE WITH THEM,/ EAT WITH THEM,/ LEARN WITH THEM/ OR PLAY WITH THEM.// WHEN THEN/ A GENERATION OF YOUNG FOLK/ WITH ORDINARILY GOOD INTENTIONS/ ARE TODAY SUDDENLY ASKED/ TO GO

TO SCHOOL WITH NEGROES/WHAT IS GOING TO BE THEIR REACTION?//MOST OF THEM/ARE GOING TO RECOIL./ IF THEIR NATURAL REACTION/BASED ON THEIR TEACHING/AND THE TEACHING OF THEIR FATHERS/IS RE-ENFORCED/BY THE SURROUNDING PUBLIC OPINION,/ SMALL WONDER THAT MOST OF THE SOUTH/REFUSES TO OBEY THE LAW/AND FOR MANY YEARS/WILL CONTINUE TO REFUSE.

BUT THERE IS A SILENT TREND/WHICH IS EVEN MORE DANGEROUS/THAN OPEN REBELLION;//AND THAT IS PLANS/FOR OBEYING THE LETTER OF THE LAW/AND SABOTAGING ITS SPIRIT.// FOR EIGHTY YEARS/THE SOUTH HAS BEEN SCHOOLED/IN DELIBERATELY BREAKING THE LAW.// NEGROES HAVE BEEN ENFRANCHISED SINCE 1868/ AND TODAY/MOST NEGROES IN THE SOUTH/STILL CANNOT VOTE.// THIS ACTION HAS BEEN PLANNED/AND CARRIED OUT/BY THE BEST PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH/AND IS STILL DEFENDED.// I LIVED 23 YEARS IN ATLANTA/ AND COULD NOT VOTE./ I COULD GO TO THE POLLS/AT ELECTION TIME/BUT BEFORE THEN/ THE WHITE PRIMARY HAD DETERMINED/WHO WOULD BE ELECTED.// LATELY/IN SOME CITIES OF GEORGIA,/ SOME NEGROES VOTE IN THE PRIMARIES.// MOST NEGROES OF GEORGIA/STILL DO NOT VOTE.// NEGROES ARE TAXED FOR PUBLIC FACILITIES/ WHICH THEY ARE PREVENTED FROM ENJOYING.// THEY ARE SYSTEMATICALLY INSULTED.// I HAVE RIDDEN IN FREIGHT ELEVATORS:/ I HAVE PAID FIRST CLASS RAILROAD FARES/FOR THIRD-CLASS ACCOMMODATIONS.// A FELLOW TEACHER OF MINE,/ A BEAUTIFUL AND WELL-BRED WOMAN/STARTED TO BOARD A STREETCAR.// A WHITE

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MAN/PUSHED HER BACK OF A WOMAN/NEXT IN LINE.// "LET THIS WHITE WOMAN BOARD FIRST",/ HE SAID.// LAST FEBRUARY/ I WAS IN COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.// I WENT TO GET MY AIRPLANE TICKET VALIDATED/ THE CLERK/LET ME STAND/UNTIL HE HAD WAITED ON THREE WHITE PERSONS/WHO HAD COME TO HIS DESK/AFTER I HAD.

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USING EVERY EXCUSE/OF NEIGHBORHOOD GHETTOS,/OF DIFFERENCES OF CERTIFICATION/AND VARIATIONS IN ABILITY,/ THE SOUTH WILL ENFORCE RACIAL SEPARATION/DESPITE THE LAW/FOR MANY YEARS. THE SUFFERERS FROM THIS/WILL BE THE CHILDREN:// THE COLORED CHILDREN/UNDER TEACHERS WHO DISPISE THEM;/ THE WHITE CHILDREN/WHO WILL EXPECT FAVORITISM, LAWLESSNESS AND CHEATING/TO GIVE THEM WHAT THEY DO NOT EARN.// THE WHOLE COMMUNITY/WHICH WILL CONTINUE THE LAWLESSNESS/WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THE SOUTH/SINCE THE EMANCIPATION/AND SET IT CULTURALLY BEHIND/THE CIVILIZED WORLD./ CLASS AND CASTE EDUCATION WILL CONTINUE./ THE RICH WILL GO TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS/TO ESCAPE NEGROES/AS THE NORTH/ESCAPED JEWS AND FOREIGNERS.// THE DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION/OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL/WILL FOR A LONG TIME/NOT ENTER THE SOUTH.// ALL THIS,/ ADDED TO PAST LYING AND LAW-BREAKING/WILL HURT THE CHARACTER/NOT ONLY OF THE SOUTH/BUT OF THE NATION.

ALL THIS HAS DIRECT EFFECT ON THE PRESENT LOWERING OF CULTURE STANDARDS IN THIS NATION. // FEW ~~NONE~~ TODAY APPEALS TO HONOR, COURTESY, SACRIFICE AND LOVE OF ONE'S FELLOW MEN. // WE REALLY ON FORCE, SMARTNESS, ~~LYING~~, GAMBLING AND STEALING. // NOT TO MENTION UNIVERSAL TRAINING ~~IN MURDER~~ FOR WAR THROUGH WHICH EVERY AMERICAN YOUTH MUST TODAY GO. // WE HAVE BUT ONE GREAT GOAL WHICH THE HARVARD ALUMNI MONTHLY PUT BARELY AND BLUNTLY LAST MONTH. // SPREAD ACROSS ITS CRIMSON PAGE, UNQUALIFIED AND UNEXPLAINED WAS ONE SENTENCE: "HARVARD'S GOAL IS $82,500,000".

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THE BLAME FOR THIS SITUATION DOES NOT REST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE SOUTH. // THE WHOLE NATION SHARED IN PROMOTING THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; HELPED ESTABLISH THE SLAVE SYSTEM; ABOLISHED SLAVERY NOT ON MORAL GROUNDS BUT IN ORDER TO ENSURE CONTROL OF LAND AND LABOR ON WHICH NORTHERN INDUSTRY WAS FOUNDED; // AND AFTER EMANCIPATION WILLINGLY ALLOWED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLOR CASTE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE IN THE SOUTH. // AND THEN ~~WE~~ MISREPRESENTED WHAT WE WERE (DOING)

WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT? // IF YOU VISIT EUROPE OR ASIA TODAY YOU WILL FIND THE UNITED STATES REGARDED EVERYWHERE WITH DISBELIEF BORDERING ON HATRED. // YOU MAY ATTRIBUTE THIS TO ENVY AND IN PART THIS MAY BE TRUE. // BUT IT IS BY NO MEANS THE SOLE REASON WHY FRENCH CALL AMERICANS "DIRTY". WHY ~~THE~~ BRITISH REGARD THEM WITH PAINED PERPLEXITY AND THE SCANDINAVIANS STARE IN DISBELIEF.

The world everywhere and continually interrupts our loud TALK WITH "BUT, WHAT ABOUT YOUR NEGRO CITIZENS." // THE DISLIKE OF AMERICA IS BASED ON DISBELIEF IN OUR HONESTY AND SINCERITY. WE LONG BOASTED OF A DEMOCRACY BASED ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND YET WE HAD FOUR MILLION CHATTEL SLAVES WHOM WE FOUGHT TO KEEP. // WE ABOLISHED SLAVERY BUT SUBSTITUTED COLOR CASTE, PEONAGE AND DISFRANCHISEMENT. // LATELY WE ANNOUNCED THE ABOLITION OF CASTE AND ASK LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE WORLD; BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE DO NOT INTEGRATE THE SCHOOLS; WE ALLOW INJUSTICE IN THE COURTS TO OVERTHROW ALMOST EVERY ONE OF THE OLD SAFEGUARDS OF HUMAN LIBERTY. // AND WE SPEND MORE MONEY PREPARING FOR WAR THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD EVER DREAMED OF SPENDING.

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THEREFORE THE MAJORITY OF THE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE OF THE WORLD BELIEVE THAT WE ARE HYPOCRITES. // THAT WE DO NOT PRACTICE DEMOCRACY AND THAT THE ONE THING WE WANT IS TO GET RICH. // WE CAN TO AN EXTENT IGNORE THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD AND CHARGE IT LARGELY TO JEALOUSY BECAUSE OF OUR TREMENDOUS AND ASTONISHING INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. // BUT WE CANNOT DECEIVE OURSELVES. // WE MUST FRANKLY ASK OURSELVES IF WE ARE SATISFIED WITH OUR PRESENT MORAL AND CULTURAL STATUS.

WHILE EVERYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD/ COMMUNISM IS RECOGNIZED/AS THE GREATEST SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF OUR DAY,/ AND AS SUCH, is BEING STUDIED AND DISCUSSED/OPENLY AND RATIONALLY,/ DESPITE WIDE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.// * HERE IN THE UNITED STATES/ WE HAVE GONE HYSTERICAL/AND WILL ALLOW NEITHER STUDY/ NOR RATIONAL APPROACH/ WITHOUT THREAT AND PERSECUTION,/ OSTRACISM AND IMPRISONMENT. WHAT MAKES THIS DIFFERENCE?/ I MAINTAIN THE DIFFERENCE/LIES MAINLY IN NEGRO SLAVERY/AND COLOR PREJUDICE.// THIS HAS CONDITIONED US/TO DENY TRUTH,/ TO BREAK LAWS,/ TO STEAL THE RESULTS OF LABOR/ TO COMPEL FOLK TO BE IGNORANT/AND TO MURDER THE INNOCENT.// AND ON ALL THIS/TO ERECT PRETENSE/OF SOCIAL SUPERIORITY/TO MOST OF THE WORLD.

WE ARE PAINFULLY AWARE/THAT SLAVERY HAS LEFT ITS MARK/ ON THE NATION,// ON ITS RELIGION/ SINCE THE INSTITUTION/STILL MOST SEGREGATED/IN ACTIVITY AND MEMBERSHIP/IS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.// AND THE MOST RELIGIOUS PORTION/OF THE NATION/IS THE FORMER SLAVE-HOLDING SOUTH.// BEYOND THAT,/ COLOR PREJUDICE/MADE IT EASIER FOR US/TO ACCEPT COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/BY WHICH ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY/ESTABLISHED CONTROL/OVER THE COLORED RACES/AND MADE WAR/TO KEEP THEM IN SUBJECTION/ ALMOST CONTINUOUS DURING THE 19th CENTURY.// UNTIL IN THE 20th/ THE WORLD BURST INTO THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WARS/OF ALL HUMAN HISTORY/TO DETERMINE WHO SHOULD CONTROL/ THE LAND AND LABOR OF THE COLORED WORLD.

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN LOGICAL/IF THE FIRST AND GREATEST DEMOCRACY/ OF THE WORLD,// THE ONE WHICH BOASTED LOUDEST/OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY/ SHOULD HAVE LED THE STRUGGLE/OF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN/ DISEASED AND IGNORANT PEOPLES/ AGAINST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION.// WE DID NOT./ WE FOUGHT WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE/ TO KEEP COLONIES FROM GERMANY.// WE ANNEXED THE PHILLIPINES, PORTO RICO/, and HAWAII/AND CONTROLLED CUBA.// WE FAVORED HITLER AND MUSSOLINI/UNTIL THEIR DEMANDS FOR COLONIAL CONTROL/ INTERFERED WITH OUR OWN PLANS/AND THEN WE RESISTED/TO THE LAST/ ANY PARTNERSHIP WITH RUSSIA/TO CRUSH FASCISM.// TODAY WE LEAD WORLD IMPERIALISM:// WE REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE/THE AUTONOMY OF 600,000,000 CHINESE.// WE SUPPORT TYRANTS/LIKE CHIANG KAI CHEK/ SYNGMAN RHEE/AND NGO DIEM.// WE LEAD THE WORLD/IN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.// OUR COMMERCIAL POWER/IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA/FORMS THE CHIEF FORCE/AGAINST THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY THERE.// AND IN AFRICA,/ and THE FAR AND MIDDLE EAST/WE ARE REGARDED/AS THE FOE OF NATIONALISM AND AUTONOMY.// WE HAVE ADOPTED WAR/AND COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE/AND ADVOCACY OF PEACE/MAY BE PUNISHED AS A CRIME.

I CAN SPEAK HERE WITH FEELING. // IN MY SCHOOL DAYS / PEACE WAS REGARDED AS THE OBJECT OF CIVILIZATION. / / UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE / WAS CALLED A CRIME. // WE SIGNED PLEDGES / NEVER TO TAKE PART IN WAR. // AFTER SEEING TWO WARS / I WITNESSED THAT PEACE CONGRESS / IN PARIS IN ~~1926~~, 1948 WHICH WAS THE GREATEST MEETING / OF HUMAN BEINGS / I EVER SAW. // I SAW 500,000 PEOPLE / MARCH THROUGH THE STADIUM / IN PARIS / DEMANDING PEACE. // I RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES / DETERMINED TO WORK FOR PEACE. // I HELPED FORM THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER / TO LET AMERICA KNOW / WHAT THE WORLD WAS SAYING AND DOING / ABOUT PEACE. // I WAS ARRESTED AND HANDCUFFED / AND THREATENED WITH FIVE YEARS IMPRISONMENT / FOR NOT REGISTERING / AS REPRESENTING A "FOREIGN POWER". // I HAD TO BEG $30,000 / from MY FRIENDS / TO DEFEND MYSELF IN COURT / AND SECURE ACQUITTAL! // I COULD NOT SAVE THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER.

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THIS IS NOT ALL / NOR IS IT THE WORST OF OUR SINS / AGAINST AMERICA. // IN THE LAST CENTURY / OUR CULTURAL AND MORAL STANDARDS / HAVE BEEN LOWERED! / TODAY / WE ARE GUILTY OF LYING, STEALING / GAMBLING / ~~CRIME~~ AND MURDER / TO A DEGREE WHICH FRIGHTENS ALL OF US // IN THE PAST / IT WAS OUR DEFENSE AND HOPE / THAT WHEN THE NATION WENT WRONG / IT WOULD LEARN THE TRUTH / AND TURN TO THE RIGHT. // TODAY THAT PROSPECT IS DIM. / IT IS DIFFICULT FOR AMERICANS NOW / TO KNOW THE TRUTH / OR TO

(IN THE NAME OF PROPAGANDA, INVESTMENT IN DEFENSE)

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DISCUSS WHAT THEY BELIEVE.

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WHEN THE MOST WIDELY READ NEWS WEEKLY / WAS STARTED IN 1923 / it said / "NEUTRALITY ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS / AND IMPORTANT NEWS / IS AS UNDESIRABLE AS IMPOSSIBLE," // WHICH MEANS TODAY / THAT FACTS ARE EDITED, / SCREENED AND SUPPRESSED / AND "PREJUDICES AND OPINION" / DETERMINE WHAT YOU READ. // IN THE LAST 40 YEARS / THE NUMBER OF OUR NEWSPAPERS / HAS BEEN REDUCED A THIRD / AND NINETY PERCENT OF THEM / ARE OWNED BY BIG BUSINESS / AND TALK AS THEY ARE TOLD. // FREE SPEECH HAS BEEN CURTAILED / AND MADE DANGEROUS // AND COLLEGES OFTEN DO NOT EXPLORE / NOR DISCUSS / THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS OF THE DAY.

FOR EXAMPLE, / WE ARE TOLD BY THE PRESIDENT / OF THE UNITED STATES / THAT WE MUST SPEND 57 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR / FOR WAR / IN ORDER TO KEEP THE PEACE. // INSTEAD OF THIS BEING GREETED / AS A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS / THE CONCENSUS OF AMERICAN OPINION / IN PRESS, ON PLATFORM AND PULPIT / AND IN COLLEGE HALLS / IS THAT THIS IS TRUE / AND THAT IT IS BECAUSE COMMUNISM / THREATENS TO ENGULF THE WORLD // AND THAT COMMUNISM / IS NOT A MERE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION / OR OF INDUSTRIAL METHOD / BUT IS A CONSPIRACY OF CRIMINALS / TO BE MET RUTHLESSLY / BY EVERY MEANS, / LEGAL OR ILLEGAL / MORAL OR BARBAROUS. // THIS BELIEF IS SO UNPRECEDENTED / (I do uncommon in the rest of the world) / THAT IT CALLS FOR CALM AND WIDE

EXAMINATION AND DISCUSSION.// THIS IS NOT ALLOWED./ PERSONS ADVOCATING DISCUSSION/ARE LIABLE TO ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT.

QUITE OUTSIDE THE MERITS OF THE QUESTION,/ THIS SITUATION/ IS ONE WHICH CHALLENGES THE INTEGRITY OF THE NATION.// IT CONDONES UNCONTRADICTED LYING/ABOUT THE TRUTH,/ WHICH IS A FATAL CONCESSION.// BUT BEYOND THIS,/AND SINCE SUCH THOUGHT CONTROL/ IS COSTLY,/ WE FIND OURSELVES IN THE GRIP OF STEALING/ON A VAST SCALE.// I REFER TO THE RASH OF CHEATING IN BUSINESS,/ OF DEFALCATION,/ OF GAMBLING/ON A HUGE AND INCREASING SCALE;/ TO CRIMES (SUICIDE, INSANITY) OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE/AND TO KILLING BY CARELESSNESS.// YET, 200 YEARS AGO/WHEN BUSINESS/FIRST BEGAN TO TAKE ITS MODERN SHAPE, THE LEADERS AND THINKERS OF THE WORLD/ BEGAN TO CRITICIZE PRIVATE CAPITALISM/AND PLAN ITS IMPROVEMENT./ MANY OF THESE PLANS FOR SOCIALISM/ HAVE BEEN ADOPTED/AND HAVE CEASED TO BE REGARDED/AS IMPOSSIBLE OR ABNORMAL.// COMMUNISUM IS ~~A PROPOSED PATH TO~~ COMPLETE SOCIALISM/ AND HAS HAD/SUCH EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESS/AS MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE/TO ~~SHOVE~~ SHRUG IT OFF/OR KILL IT BY DEFAMATION.

WHAT THEN IS THE BASIC CAUSE/ FOR FEAR OF TRUTH/AND CURTAILMENT OF FREEDOM?

IT IS,/ AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE,/ DUE LARGELY TO NEGRO SLAVERY,/ COLOR CASTE AND THE CURRENT REFUSAL OF THIS GENERATION/TO PAY THE DEBT TO HUMAN DECENCY AND PROGRESS/ INCURRED BY THEIR FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS/ BY SLAVEHOLDERS WHO DECLARED SLAVERY BEST FOR NEGROES/ AND

LYNCHING NECESSARY TO PROTECT WOMANHOOD.// YOU HAVE INHERITED /LAWLESSNESS AND GREED/AND HATE/ FROM RECONSTRUCTION/AND WHAT YOU PRACTICED AGAINST NEGROES/ YOU ARE NOW PRACTISING AGAINST THE WORLD.

BECAUSE OF OUR AGE-LONG HABIT/ OF TREATING HUMAN BEINGS/AS JUSTLY SUBJECT TO OUR LUST/ WE ARE READY TODAY/ TO JOIN AND LEAD/ THOSE WORLD FORCES/ WHO ARE SET TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION/ IN A THIRD WORLD WAR/BECAUSE OF THEIR DETERMINATION/TO KEEP MOST MEN/AS THEIR SERVANTS AND LABORERS.// WHEN AMERICANS ARE ASKED/ TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN/AS EQUALS WITH BLACKS/ THEY ARE IN VAST MAJORITY/ REPLYING "NO".// YET THE DEBT WE OWE /MUST BE PAID.// WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWTH/ THAT SHALL HE/OR HIS CHILDREN'S CHILDREN/ALSO REAP.

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JANUARY 18, 1961

THE MOST SINISTER THING ABOUT THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS ITS REPUDIATION OF ITS ARTISTS. THE TURNING OF ITS FACE AGAINST BEAUTY AS A FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT OF LIFE. OUR MILITARISM IS DANGEROUS, OUR COMMERCIALISM IS DISHEARTENING, OUR IGNORANCE IS APPALLING; BUT MOST SINISTER OF ALL IS THE FACT THAT THE AVERAGE AMERICAN PARENT TODAY IS FRIGHTENED IF HIS CHILD SHOULD CHOOSE AS A CAREER TO BE A WRITER OR A MUSICIAN, A PAINTER OR A SCULPTOR. AS AN AVOCATION, PERHAPS; AS A PASTIME NOW AND THEN; BUT FOR REAL LIFE WORK WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO BE ENGINEERS, BUSINESSMEN, TECHNICIANS, BANKERS AND TRADERS. WE SAY DO SOMETHING; DON'T DREAM; PHOTOGRAPH, DON'T DRAW; WRITE FACT, NOT FANCY. THINK, IF THINK YOU MUST, BUT THINK OF REALITY, NOT OF INCREDIBLE IDEAL. WRITE IF YOU HAVE NOTHING ELSE TO DO, BUT WRITE OF WHAT IS, NOT OF WHAT MIGHT BE; OF AMERICA, NOT OF UTOPIA. IF THIS PICTURE SEEMS OVERDRAWN, REMEMBER THAT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS FOUNDED TO TEACH "PIETY, MORALITY AND LEARNING" NOW HAS IN THE CENTER OF ITS CAMPUS AS ITS MIGHTIEST ENTITY A "SCHOOL OF BUSINESS". OF THE SIXTY-EIGHT MILLION EMPLOYED

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AMERICANS NOT A TENTH OF ONE PERCENT EVEN CLAIM TO BE ARTISTS OF ANY DESCRIPTION, COMPARED WITH SEVEN MILLION "MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS".

IN SUCH A SITUATION IT TAKES COURAGE FOR AN AMERICAN ARTIST TO STICK TO HIS ART AND GREATER COURAGE FOR HIM TO AFFRONT HIS COUNTRY IN ANY WAY WHICH MAY INTERFERE WITH HIS POPULARITY. IF HIS COUNTRY BELIEVES OR PRETENDS TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOCIALIST HALF OF THE WORLD IS CRIMINAL AND CONSPIRING TO DESTROY US, THEN ALL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS MUST BELIEVE THIS OR AT LEAST ACT AS THOUGH THEY DO. IF THEY DISAGREE, THIS DISAPPROVAL WILL HINDER THEIR RIGHT TO PAINT FLOWERS. IF ANY AMERICAN TODAY PRESUMES TO REGARD THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND CHINA, AS MEMBERS OF THE GREAT HUMAN FAMILY, DESERVING OUR FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND LOVE, THEN WE ARE REGARDED by thousands AS UNPATRIOTIC TRAITORS TO OUR FATHERLAND. TO DENY THIS MEANS OSTRACISM. ONCE AMERICANS WERE PROUD TO DISAGREE ESPECIALLY WITH THE GREAT AND POWERFUL. MANY FOUGHT THE TORIES, SCORES DENOUNCED THE SLAVE POWER, NOT A FEW REFUSED TO HANDLE TAINTED MONEY. BUT NOT TODAY. SOMETHING HAS FIRGHTENED THE NATION; TO ACT AS IF COMMUNISTS DESERVED OUR RESPECT TAKES RARE COURAGE.

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SUCH COURAGE/ROCKWELL KENT SHOWED/WHEN HE HUNG HIS LIFE'S WORK/IN MOSCOW ~~WHEN~~ since NEW YORK/ FAILED TO APPRECIATE IT.// IT WAS A FINE EXAMPLE FOR AMERICANS, WHO TODAY, FOR THE MOST PART,/ACT AS THE MOST COWARDLY OF MEN.//MAY KENT'S EXAMPLE ~~SPREAD~~ grow/AND MAY OUR ART AND LITERATURE,/ SPREAD AROUND THE WORLD,/AND SPEAK PEACE AND GOOD WILL TO ALL MANKIND.

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January ~~December~~ 18, 1961

The most sinister thing about the United States today is its repudiation of its artists, the turning of its face against Beauty as an fundamental aspect of life. Our militarism is dangerous, our commercialism is disheartening, our ignorance is appalling; but most sinister of all is the fact that the average American parent today is ~~aghast~~ horrified if his child should choose as a cafeer to be a musician, a painter or a sculpter.. As an avocation, perhaps; as a pastime; but for the real life work, we want our children to be engineers, businessmen, technicians bankers, traders ~~and transporters~~ carriers. We say Do Something, Dont dream; Think, if think you must, but think of Reality, not of incredible Ideals. Write if you have nothing else to do, but write of what is, not of what might be, of America not of Utopia. If this picture seems overdrawn, remember that the Harvard University which was founded to teach "Piety, Morality and Learning" now has in the center of its campus as its mightiest entity a "School of Business". Of the sixty-eight million employed Americans not a tenth of one percent even claim to be artists of any description, ~~further than~~ compared with seven million "managers, officials and proprietors".

In such a situation it takes courage for an American artist to stick to his art and greater courage for him to affront his country in any way. If his country believes or pretends to believe that the Socialist half of the world is criminal and conspiring to destroy us, then all patriotic Americans must ~~also~~ believe this or at least act as tho they do. If ~~the~~ anyone presumes to regard the people of the Soviet Union, ~~of~~ Poland, Czechoslovakia and China, as members of the great Human family, ~~due from us~~ deserves our friendship, cooperation and love, then we are unpatriotic traitors to ~~the United States~~ our fatherland. To deny this means ostracism; to act as if Communists deserved our respect takes rare courage. Such courage Rockwell Kent showed when he hung his life's work in Moscow. It was a fine example for Americans who today, for the most part, act as the most cowardly of men. May Kent's example spread and may our art and literature, spread around the world, and spread Peace + Good Will to all Mankind

Once Americans were proud to disagree especially with the great and powerful. Many fought the Tories; scores denounced the slave power not a few refused to handle taintee money. But not today. Something has frightened the nafion

38-105

C I T A T I O N

Presented to Dr. CHEDDI B. JAGAN by DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS in Great Neck, New York, United States of America, on behalf of the GREAT NECK FRIDAY FORUM this thirteenth day of October in the year nineteen hundred and sixty-one.

Freedom stirs, and breaks its bonds. Throughout the world small nations, long suffering under the colonial yoke, advance toward liberation.

In this historic time we salute you, Cheddi Brett Jagan, Prime Minister of British Guiana. Just as your great leadership now wins independence for your own country, so too has it inspired oppressed men everywhere; and among all who love liberty there is rejoicing.

REPORT TO THE GHANA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

December 21, 1961

38-11-96

THE SLAVE TRADE/ TRANSPLANTED MILLIONS OF AFRICANS TO AMERICA/ AND DISRUPTED AFRICAN CULTURE. / THERE AROSE NEW CENTERS OF AFRICAN CULTURE IN AMERICA / AND A REBUILDING OF CULTURES IN AFRICA. / IN SOUTH AMERICA/ OLD AFRICAN CULTURE GREW IN BRAZIL; / IN MEXICO A NEW AFRICAN CULTURE WAS INITIATED/ AND IN A SCORE OF WEST INDIAN ISLANDS / NEW AND INTERESTING AFRICAN CULTURES STARTED. / PARTICULARLY IN THE UNITED STATES WHERE I WAS BORN, / A GROWING GROUP OF AMERICANS / OF AFRICAN DESCENT / BEGAN TO CONSIDER THEIR AFRICAN ANCESTRY / AND NAMED THEIR NEW ORGANIZATIONS / IN SOCIAL ACTION AND RELIGION / AFRICAN. / THE RETURN TO AFRICA WAS PLANNED.

IT WAS THEREFORE NATURAL / THAT AS A YOUNG SCHOLAR / I SHOULD BECOME INTERESTED IN AFRICA. / ALTHOUGH OF AFRICA ITSELF / I KNEW LITTLE AND LEARNED LITTLE IN SCHOOL, / I KNEW AMERICANS OF AFRICAN DESCENT / AND STUDIED THEIR HISTORY AND WRITINGS. / MY FATHER WAS BORN IN THE WEST INDIES / AND I KNEW SOMETHING OF AFRICANS THERE. / IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA I

38-11-97

STUDIED THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICA. / FINALLY I BEGAN A CAREFUL SCIENTIFIC STUDY / OF AFRO-AMERICANS / WHICH GAINED A WIDE RECOGNITION. / I WROTE FOR THE BRITISH HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY / A SMALL HISTORY OF BLACK PEOPLE / WHICH HAD WIDE READING. / IN 1909 I PROPOSED AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA; / I SECURED THE COOPERATION / OF PRACTICALLY ALL THE NEGRO SCHOLARS / IN THE UNITED STATES / INCLUDING KELLY MILLER, / RICHARD GREENER, FIRST NEGRO GRADUATE OF HARVARD / W.S. SCARBOROUGH, THE GREEK SCHOLAR, / A.H. GRIMKE AND WILLIAM PICKENS. / FROM AFRICA / I HAD THE COOPERATION / OF CASELY HAYFORD, / J.O. SMITH AND J.S. DAVIES OF SIERRA LEONE, / HENRY CARR OF LAGOS / AND ELLIS OF LIBERIA. / I TRIED TO REACH DR. BLYDEN, BUT WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL. / FROM GREAT BRITAIN / I ENLISTED THE SYMPATHY / OF SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, / PROFESSOR FLINDERS PETRIE / AND WILLIAM ARCHER: / PROFESSOR GUISEPPI SERGI OF ITALY, / DR. DENIKER OF FRANCE, / WILLIAM JAMES AND FRANZ BOAZ OF THE UNITED STATES / JOINED MY EFFORTS. / I PROPOSED THAT THIS ENCYCLOPAEDIA / BE PUBLISHED IN 1919, / THE TERCENTENARY / OF THE FIRST LANDING OF AFRICAN SLAVES / IN AMERICA / IN 1619. / I WAS HOWEVER UNABLE TO GET THE FUNDS / NECESSARY FOR THIS ENTERPRISE / AND THE FIRST

38-11-98

WORLD WAR/STOPPED MY EFFORTS./ HOWEVER THIS WAR/TURNED MY ATTENTION TOWARD AFRICA ITSELF./ I MET BLACK AFRICANS/AS STUDENTS IN AMERICA/ WHERE I TAUGHT THE DUBES AND CHARLOTTE MANYE/ OF SOUTH AFRICA;/ IN ENGLAND IN 1911/WHEN I HELPED ARRANGE A RACES CONGRESS/IN LONDON./ THERE I MET A NUMBER OF AFRICANS/FROM WEST AND SOUTH AFRICA/AS WELL AS MEN OF AFRICAN DESCENT/FROM THE WEST INDIES,/CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA./ I REALIZED THAT MY VISION HAD BEEN TOO NARROW,/ THAT AMERICAN NEGROES/WERE NOT THE CENTER OF THE AFRICAN WORLD,/ BUT THAT BESIDE THESE OFF-SHOOTS OF AFRICA/THERE WAS AFRICA ITSELF./ THAT IN AFRICA/LAY A HISTORY AND CULTURE/WHICH ONE DAY WOULD ASSERT ITSELF./ I DETERMINED TO TRY TO GET AFRICANS/ AND THE CHILDREN OF AFRICA/INTO CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER/ SO THAT THEY WOULD GET PERSONALLY ACQUAINTED./ ALREADY, AS EARLY AS 1900/A PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE/HAD BEEN CALLED IN LONDON BY A YOUNG WEST INDIAN BARRISTER,/ H. SYLVESTER WILLIAMS./ I WAS IN PARIS AT THE TIME/AND WAS INVITED/came AND WROTE THE RESOLUTIONS/WHICH THIS LONDON CONFERENCE ADOPTED./ HERE I FIRST SAID/"THE PROBLEM OF THE 20th CENTURY IS THE PROBLEMS OF THE COLOR LINE"./ WILLIAMS DIED SOON AFTER THE CONFERENCE/AND NOTHING MORE WAS DONE/UNTIL AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR/

38-11-99

WHEN I CALLED IN PARIS/THE FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN 1919./ THESE CONGRESSES MET/IN 1921, 1924, 1927,/in LONDON, PARIS, BRUSSELLS, LISBON AND NEW YORK./ THEY MET FOR CONSULTATION/BUT NEVER HAD ANY DEFINITE PLAN OF ACTION./ THEY DID, HOWEVER,/ TRY TO HOLD MEETINGS IN AFRICA ITSELF/AND LOOKED TOWARD UNION AND ACTION/ON THE PART OF AFRICANS THEMSELVES./ THIS AROUSED THE FEAR/AND OPPOSITION OF THE COLONIAL POWERS./ FRANCE REFUSED TO LET US MEET IN TUNIS/IN 1928/AND SOON THE GREAT DEPRESSION/FOLLOWED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ INTERRUPTED FURTHER MEETINGS/OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES/UNTIL 1945.

¶ MEANTIME THERE AROSE IN THE WEST INDIES/THE GARVEY MOVEMENT/WHICH DEMANDED AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS/AND FOUND WIDE ECHO IN AFRICA./ AFRICANS NOW BEGAN TO RESPOND TO THESE MOVEMENTS/WITH MEETINGS AND ORGANIZED EFFORT./ IN WEST AFRICA A SIGNIFICANT CONGRESS/MET IN 1920,/ AND DEMANDED INCREASED SELF GOVERNMENT./ IT HAD WIDE AND TELLING INFLUENCE./ IN OTHER PARTS OF THE CONTINENT/THE PAN-AFRICAN IDEA/BECAME WIDE SPREAD./ HOWEVER NO MEETING

38-11-100

OF THE CONGRESS/COULD BE ARRANGED ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT./ WHEN, HOWEVER,/ AFTER WORLD WAR II,/ THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD/MET IN PARIS,/BLACK UNIONISTS FROM AFRICA/APPEARED AND TOOK PROMINENT PART. /ESPECIALLY THEY SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSED/THE EFFORTS OF WHITE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN UNIONISTS/ TO SPEAK AND ACT FOR THEM./ THEY DECLARED THEIR RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. /FINALLY A NUMBER OF THEM/CALLED FOR ANOTHER PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS./ GEORGE PADMORE OF LONDON/VOLUNTEERED HIS SERVICES AND APPEALED TO ME,/ AS PRESIDENT OF THE LAST CONRESS,/ TO TAKE PART. / A MEETING IN LONDON/COULD NOT BE ARRANGED,/BUT A GROUP OF PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT/LIVING IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND/ TOGETHER WITH PROMINENT WHITE ENGLISHMEN/INVITED THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS/ TO MEET THERE IN 1945./ PADMORE ORGANIZED THE CONGRESS;/ I CAME FROM NEW YORK AND PRESIDED./ KWAME NKRUMAH OF THE GOLD COAST WAS SECRETARY/ JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA/ WALLACE JOHNSON OF LIBERIA,/A YOUNG MAN FROM CEYLON/ AND MANY OTHERS/WHO HAVE SINCE risen TO LEADERSHIP/WERE PRESENT./ A STRONG PROGRAM WAS ADOPTED/AND FUTURE CONGRESSES PLANNED ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. /RETURNING TO AMERICA /

38-11-101

I BEGAN STUDYING AND WRITING AGAIN ON AFRICA/AND WAS EVENTUALLY ASKED/BY THE PHELPS STOKES FUND/TO HEAD THEIR PROPOSED ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO./ THIS WAS TO BE A WORK BASED ON THE NEGRO RACE,/ DIFFUSED OVER THE EARTH,/ INCLUDING AFRICA,/ BUT CENTERED IN AMERICA. / WE TRIED TO MAKE CAREFUL ARRANGEMENTS/FOR ITS FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY/AND ASKED FOR AN APPROPRIATION OF $250,000/FROM THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD. / THIS BOARD WAS UNWILLING/ TO ENTRUST SUCH A SUM/TO A MOVEMENT HEADED BY A NEGRO./ HOWEVER WE KEPT AT WORK/WITH SMALL APPROPRIATIONS FROM THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND/AND FINALLY PUBLISHED A PROPOSED BIBLIOGRAPHY/ OF AN ENCYCLOPEADIA/ WHICH MAY YET BE OF USE./ IN 1960,/ I WAS IN GHANA/TO WITNESS THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT NKRUMAH/AS HEAD OF INDEPENDENT GHANA. /AS I WAS ABOUT TO LEAVE FOR HOME/DR. NKRUMAH PROPOSED/THAT I REVIVE MY IDEA/OF AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA/UNDER THE PATRONAGE/OF THE STATE OF GHANA. /I WAS GREATLY INTERESTED AND PROMISED TO THINK THE PROJECT OVER. / RETURNING TO NEW YORK,/ I BEGAN CORRESPONDENCE/WITH PERSONS INTERESTED IN AFRICA/ THE WORLD OVER. / THE RESULT OF THIS INTERCHANGE/OF A HUNDRED OR MORE LETTERS,/

38-11-102

TOGETHER WITH INTERVIEWS AND VISITS/ HAS BEEN OF UNUSUAL ENCOURAGEMENT. / I HAVE CORRESPONDED WITH THE LEADING STUDENTS OF AFRICA/ IN AFRICA, /IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AMERICA/ BLACK AND WHITE./ THERE ARE STILL NUMBERS OF OMISSIONS/BUT LETTERS ARE STILL BEING RECEIVED. / ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS/WHICH I WOULD NOW LIKE TO DO/WOULD BE TO PREPARE/A DIGEST OF THE OPINIONS RECEIVED. / ALREADY MANY SCHOLARS/HAVE ASKED FOR THIS /AND IT COULD BE PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION NEXT YEAR/AT THE SAME TIME THAT FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE/WAS BRINGING IN ADDITIONAL MATERIAL./ IT WOULD MAKE A PAMPHLET OF PERHAPS ONE HUNDRED PAGES.

/ MEANTIME THE NATURE OF OUR TASK HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR. / THE BRITISH, AMERICAN,/ FRENCH AND GERMAN PEOPLE/HAVE LONG SINCE GATHERED IN THEIR ENCYCLOPAEDIAS /THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD /AS IT SEEMS TO THEM. / IT SEEMS TO THEM TODAY/AND EVEN TO MOST OF US/THAT THE FIELD OF HUMAN HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY/HAS BEEN COVERED AND NEEDS NOW/ONLY TO BE CORRECTED AND EXTENDED. / HOWEVER, IN THESE WORKS/ AND IN MODERN LITERATURE,/THE HISTORY OF AFRICA/ HAS USUALLY BEEN OMITTED. / AS A GREAT FRENCH WRITER HAS PUT IT/"OF ALL THE CONTINENTS, AFRICA ALONE HAS NO HISTORY." / IS THIS TRUE? / ALREADY THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

38-11-103

IS QUESTIONING THIS DICTUM. / IT AROSE FROM THE FACT /THAT BETWEEN THE FIFTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES,/ EUROPE SO DOMINATED THE WORLD /AND THE SLAVE TRADE HAD SO DISRUPTED AFRICA/ THAT ~~MEN~~ EUROPE FORGOT /OR NEVER KNEW /WHAT THE REST OF THE WORLD HAD DONE/OR WAS DOING. / TODAY THE HISTORY OF ASIA/AND PARTICULARLY OF AFRICA/IS EMERGING./ MY CORRESPONDENTS ALL AGREE/THAT MODERN LITERATURE/MUST BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND /AND RESTORE THE STORY /OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN NORTH AFRICA /AND BELOW THE SUDAN/IN THE FIFTEENTH AND LATER CENTURIES/AND TO KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW. / BUT WHO SHALL DO THIS? / MOST MEN WOULD AGREE THAT CURRENT SCHOLARS /SHOULD DO IT,/ BUT THESE SCHOLARS ARE OVERWHELMINGLY EUROPEAN /AND NO MATTER HOW FAIR THEY MAY WANT TO BE /THEY INHERIT MODERN EUROPEAN PREJUDICE/AGAINST BLACK AND COLORED RACES/ ~~THEY~~ most of them CANNOT WRITE/FROM THE AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW/BECAUSE THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT IT IS. / FOR THE MOST PART THEY HAVE NO IDEA/ WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO BE A BLACK MAN/ IN THE LAST 500 YEARS. / ON THE OTHER HAND,/ SAY MANY HONEST SCHOLARS,/ WHERE ARE THE BLACK SCIENTISTS/ WHO CAN MAKE A NEW INQUIRY/ AND DO A SCIENTIFIC ~~WORK~~ JOB AND NOT A SERIES/OF PAMPHLETS

38-11-104

FILLED WITH EMOTION AND PROPAGANDA? | ONE OF OUR FOREMOST NEGRO SCHOLARS | WROTE ME FRANKLY, | "WE HAVE NO BLACK SCHOLARS | FOR THIS WORK OF SCIENCE". | ON THE OTHER HAND | OTHERS SAY THERE ARE AN INCREASING NUMBER | OF WHITE SCHOLARS | WHO WISH TO WRITE FAIRLY | ABOUT NEGROES. | FORTY YEARS AGO, | SIR JULIAN HUXLEY REFUSED ME AN INTERVIEW | ON MY ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA. | YESTERDAY, | AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, | HE NOTED THE CONTRIBUTIONS | WHICH AFRICA HAD FOR THE WORLD. | LET US NOT AGREE TOO FAST | ON THE LACK OF NEGRO SCHOLARS. | THERE ARE SOME | OF RECOGNIZED RANK. | DIKÉ OF IBADAN | IS RATED HIGH IN EUROPE: | WILLIAMS OF THE WEST INDIES | HAS WRITTIN THE BEST ANALYSIS OF CAPITALISM | AND THE SLAVE TRADE. | THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE HARVARD HISTORICAL SERIES | IS ON THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE | AND WAS WRITTEN BY A NEGRO. | THERE ARE YOUNG NEGRO STUDENTS TODAY | IN A DOZEN OF THE BEST UNIVERSITIES | STUDYING UNDER MODERN METHODS | THE SCIENCES OF HISTORY, | ETHNOLOGY, | ARCHAEOLOGY | AND OTHER LINES OF RESEARCH. | THERE MUST BE MORE OF SUCH STUDENTS | AND AFRICAN STATES MUST FURNISH THEM. | THERE ARE ALSO MANY WORKS | WORTH PUBLICATION ~~WHICH MUST~~ yet to BE PRINTED. | IN FINE, WHEN WE EXAMINE THE FIELD | THE PROSPECT IS BY NO MEANS DISCOURAGING. || BUT ONE THING IS CLEAR, |

38-11-105

THIS TASK | WHICH WE PROPOSE IS NO EASY, | QUICK JOB. | IT IS A LONG TIME EFFORT. | A REPORTER SAID TO ME LATELY, | "I UNDERSTAND YOU ARE GOING TO WRITE AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA" | "NO," I ANSWERED, | "SINGLE AUTHORS DO NOT WRITE ENCLOPAEDIAS. | ENCYCLOPAEDIAS ARE THE PRODUCT OF HUNDREDS OF MEN | WRITING FOR TENS OF YEARS. | I AM SIMPLY | TRYING TO PLAN | THE BEGINNING OF AN EFFORT | WHICH WILL NOT SHOW RESULTS | IN MANY YEARS. | IF, IN TEN YEARS | THE FIRST VOLUME OF THIS WORK | SHALL APPEAR, | IT WILL BE A GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENT. | I MYSELF CAN SCARCELY HOPE TO SEE | EVEN THIS START TOWARD THE GREAT WORK. || WE ARE, IN REALITY | UNDERTAKING AN ENORMOUS TASK, | INDEED SOME WOULD SAY AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK * | - THAT OF CHANGING THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY | TOWARD AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLES. | WE ARE SEEKING TO BRING AFRICANS | TO BELIEVE IN THEMSELVES | AND NO LONGER RECEIVE AS TRUTH | WHAT THEY LEARN IN CURRENT EDUCATION. | I MYSELF WAS A GROWN MAN | AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY | BEFORE I HAD EVER HEARD | OF THE GREAT EMPIRES OF THE SUDAN | OR OF ~~ZIMBABWE~~ ZYMBABWE OR THE MONOPOTAPA | ONCE I LEARNED THAT MANKIND IN AFRICA | HAD A HISTORY, | THAT BLACK MEN HAD ~~AS MUCH~~ MORE TO DO WITH

38-11-106

BUILDING EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA THAN WHITE, ~~AND INDEED MORE,~~ / MY WHOLE LIFE EFFORT / WAS CHANGED. / THERE ARE CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS / WHICH MOST PERSONS TODAY / DO NOT QUESTION. / THEY LEARN THEM AT HOME AND IN SCHOOL / AND IN BOOKS AND periodicals WHICH THEY READ. / AMONG THESE ARE BELIEF / THAT ALL MODERN CIVILIZATION / IS THE WORK OF WHITE PEOPLES, / THAT HUMAN BEINGS ARE DIVIDED INTO RACES / WHICH DIFFER IN ABILITY: / THE DARKER PEOPLES BEING INFERIOR / TO THE WHITES / AND EXISTING FOR THE BENIFIT OF THE WHITES, / WHO ALONE ARE CAPABLE OF HIGH CULTURE: / THAT WHEREVER IN AFRICA / HIGH CULTURE OCCURS, / THIS HAS BEEN BROUGHT IN BY WHITES / OR AT LEAST, NOT BY AFRICANS. / MOST OF these DICTA have BEEN DISPROVEN / BY SCIENCE / BUT ~~IT~~ STILL PERSISTS / IN THE BELIEF OF the Mass of PEOPLE / BLACK AND WHITE. / IT IS THE TASK OF AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA / TO CORRECT THESE FALSEHOODS / AND HELP THEIR REMOVAL / FROM TEXTBOOKS AND COMMON BELIEF. / THIS EFFORT WILL NOT ONLY REQUIRE TIME, / BUT WILL COST MONEY. / IF IT APPEARS IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH / AND PERHAPS SWAHILI, / IN AN EDITION, SAY OF TEN VOLUMES, / THE TOTAL COST WILL APPROACH $500,000 OR MORE. / ON THE OTHER HAND / THE INITIAL COST

38-11-107

NEED NOT BE LARGE. / I SUGGEST THAT WE BEGIN WITH A DIRECTOR, / A SECRETARY AND A STENOGRAPHER / TO CARRY ON CORRESPONDENCE / AND SPREAD THE IDEA: / TO PUBLISH A DIGEST OF OPINION / AND GATHER MATERIAL. / DURING THE YEAR OF 1962 / THIS MIGHT INCREASE TO A HALF DOZEN SECRETARIES / AND A SCORE OF HELPERS. / THERE SHOULD BE MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES. / I HAD HOPED PERSONALLY / TO VISIT MANY PARTS OF AFRICA / AND TALK WITH LEADERS. / I AM NOT SURE HOW MUCH OF THIS I CAN DO. / BUT CERTAINLY VISITORS / INCLUDING WRITERS AND SCHOLARS, / WHITE BLACK Brown AND YELLOW, / SHOULD BE BROUGHT HERE / FOR CONFERENCE. / THIS BRINGS US TO THE FACT THAT THIS PROJECT / SHOULD BE CENTERED IN ONE PLACE. / THERE SHOULD NOT BE A HALF DOZEN ENCYCLOPAEDIAS IN THE MAKING. / THIS effort CALLS FOR CONCENTRATION. / WORK ON VARIOUS ASPECTS CAN BE DONE IN MANY PLACES, / BUT THE MAIN AND CONCENTRATED EFFORT / SHOULD BE CENTERED IN ONE PLACE / AND SINCE GHANA INISIATED THE PROJECT, / GHANA SHOULD REMAIN ITS CENTER. / THIS DOES NOT MEAN / THAT ALL AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE INVITED / AND URGED TO PARTICIPATE / AND TO

38-11-108

SHARE IN AUTHORITY AND SUPPORT./ FOR INSTANCE, THE EDITORIAL BOARD/SHOULD EVENTUALLY INCLUDE WIDE REPRESENTATION OF ALL AFRICA./ THE SELECTION OF THIS BOARD/AND ITS COMPOSITION WILL BE FAR EASIER THAN MANY THINK./ FROM THE VERY BEGINNING/CERTAIN PERSONS WILL NATURALLY BE NAMED/AS MEMBERS OF ANY SCIENTIFIC BODY/STUDYING AFRICA./ THEY WILL ADD TO THEIR NUMBERS/AS NEW NAMES APPEAR./ NOONE AT ANY TIME/SELECTED THE EDITORS OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITTANICA/OR THE CORRESPONDING FRENCH AND GERMAN WORKS./ THE EDITORIAL BOARDS GREW SLOWLY AND NATURALLY (They should not be limited by nationality, religion, race or color) HERE IN ACCRA A LIBRARY OF BOOKS ON AFRICA SHOULD BE GATHERED UNTIL IT HAS NO RIVAL IN THE WORLD./ I HAVE BROUGHT WITH ME MY OWN AFRICAN LIBRARY/OF ~~SEVERAL~~ a THOUSAND BOOKS/OF CONSIDERABLE VALUE./ CONFERENCES ON AFRICAN HISTORY, SOCIOLOGY, ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY, LARGE AND SMALL, MUST MEET HERE AND CONFER./ YOUNG STUDENTS OF ABILITY/MUST ATTEND THE UNIVERSITIES HERE/AND SCHOLARSHIP FUNDS/MADE AVAILABLE BY GHANA/AND ALL AFRICAN STATES/FOR OUR OWN AFRICAN AND, for FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES/ EXPEDITIONS AND EXPLORATIONS/MUST BE ENCOURAGED AND UNDERTAKEN.

I HAVE SET DOWN THESE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION. I HOPE YOU WILL CORRECT THEM FROM YOUR OWN KNOWLEDGE AND IDEAS, REMEMBERING THAT I COME NOT TO TEACH BUT TO LEARN AND THAT MY ONLY CONTRIBUTION IS A LONG LIFE, CONSIDERABLE TRAVEL AND SOME EXPERIENCE IN WRITING AND ARRANGING THE CURRENT WORLD ENCYCLOPAEDIAS. THERE IS ONE GREAT REASON FOR STARTING THIS EFFORT NOW. THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL ERAS IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. TWO WARS AND THE THREAT OF A THIRD HAS DISTRACTED MANKIND AND MADE NORMAL THOUGHT AND ACTION ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. WE ARE THINKING AND MUST THINK OF FORCE AND BLOOD: OF NEW FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, OF INDUSTRY AND TECHNIQUES, OF POVERTY, DISEASE, IGNORANCE AND WORK. WE ARE DISTRAUGHT BY THE IMPACT, BY THE ACCUMULATION OF THESE PROBLEMS. BUT ABOVE ALL THESE MATTERS LIES TRUTH! WHAT IS THIS WORLD ABOUT US? WHAT HAS IT BEEN AND WHAT CAN IT BE? MAY WE NOT IN THIS DAY OF FRUSTRATION AND FEAR DEVOTE SOME TIME AND ENERGY TO BEING SURE OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO MANKIND IN THE PAST AND WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW AND THUS, IN CALM AND QUIET, KNOW OURSELVES SO AS TO BE READY TO MEET WHATEVER COMES IN THE GREAT FUTURE WITH FEET FIRM ON THE TRUTH.

W.E.B. Du Bois

38-11-109

1961(?)

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MY PART IN THIS PROGRAM WAS TO INTRODUCE MR. THOMAS KANZA, A NATIVE OF THE CONGO AND THE FIRST DELEGATE OF PRIME MINISTER PATRICE LUMUMBA TO THE UNITED NATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, MR. KANZA IS NOT YET PRESENT. HE MAY ARRIVE LATER BUT IN ANY CASE, IT WILL PERHAPS NOT BE OUT OF PLACE IF I SAY A FEW WORDS AT THIS TIME.

38-9-275

THE CONGO IS THE CRUCIAL CENTER OF FUTURE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT. ITS PEOPLE HAVE A GREAT HISTORIC PAST IN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT NOW KNOWN ONLY IN PART BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN OVERLOOKED OR DELIBERATELY IGNORED.

DURING THE LAST 20 CENTURIES IT HAS BEEN THE CENTER OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE BUSHONGO, OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BA-LUBA, OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CIVILIZATION OF ZIMBABWE AND THE RISE OF THE STATES KNOWN AS THE KINGDOM OF CONGO, THE ZENG CULTURE, AND THE EMPIRE OF THE MONOMOTAPA.

IN MODERN DAYS ITS MANUFACTURE OF BROCADES AND VELVETS, ITS IRON-MAKING AND WORK IN COPPER AND BRONZE HAS BEEN NOTABLE. THEN CAME THE IMPERIAL EXPANSION OF THE SUDAN, THE WESTWARD GROWTH OF WEST AFRICAN ART AND THE THOUSAND YEAR MARCH OF

38-9-276

THE BANTU FROM THE DESSICATION OF THE SAHARA TO THE CAPE OF FALSE HOPE AND THEN THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. EUROPE SEIZED AFRICA AND LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM, SLIPPING IN BETWEEN THE RIVALRIES OF FRANCE, BRITAIN AND GERMANY, ORGANIZED, WITH THE HELP OF AN AMERICAN, HENRY M. STANLEY, THE SO-CALLED CONGO FREE STATE. THAT STATE, INSTEAD OF BECOMING AS WAS PROMISED A CENTER OF CIVILIZATION AND INDUSTRY, BECAME SUCH A SINK OF CRUELTY AND EXPLOITATION THAT THE WORLD SCREAMED IN PROTEST. LEOPOLD GAVE THE CONGO TO THE STATE OF BELGIUM. ONCE I TALKED WITH VANDERVELD, THE SOCIALIST MINISTER OF BELGIUM CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF THE CONGO. HE PROMISED MUCH AND TRIED. BUT HE WAS ALMOST HELPLESS BEFORE ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND THE GREAT CORPORATIONS OF THE 20TH CENTURY OWNED BY BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. THEY SEIZED THE LAND, EXPLOITED THE LABOR AND MADE HUGE PROFIT FROM IVORY, COPPER, DIAMONDS AND URANIUM. THEY APPEASED THE NATIVES WITH HOME RULE FOR THE TRIBES, SKILLS AND WAGES FOR THE WORKERS AND PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR MANY OF THE CHILDREN. BUT THEY DELIBERATELY WITHHELD HIGHER AND PRO-

38-9-277

FESSIONAL EDUCATION AND POLITICAL POWER FROM THE CONGOLESE. // YET THEY FAILED. THE NATIVES DEMANDED NOT SIMPLY EDUCATION AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, BUT A LARGE SECTION, LED BY LUMUMBA COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE. // THE RESULT HAS BEEN TWO EFFORTS: ONE TO CONTINUE BELGIAN AND WESTERN EUROPEAN CONTROL THROUGH BRIBERY OF NATIVE CONGOLESE ALLIES AND APPEASEMENT; // THE OTHER, TO BUILD A MODERN STATE DESPITE THE LACK OF TRAINED LEADERSHIP, BUT WITH THE COOPERATION OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS. // THE RESULT IS ON THE KNEES OF THE GODS.

WHAT WE WANT IS TO KNOW THE FACTS; TO UNDERSTAND JUST WHAT IS GOING ON IN THIS CRITICAL STRUGGLE. // WE HEAR CONTINUALLY WHAT PEOPLE WANT TO BE TRUE AND WHAT THEY WISH MAY BE TRUE; AND WE ARE TOLD WHAT MANY WOULD HAVE THE WORLD BELIEVE IS TRUE. // WHAT WE NEED IS OPEN DISCUSSION OF MEN WHO PERSONALLY KNOW THE TRUTH, // NOT NECESSARILY THE WHOLE TRUTH, BUT KNOW WHAT THEY THEMSELVES HAVE SEEN AND EXPERIENCED. // WE WANT TO HAVE IN THE MAGAZINE WHICH IS LAUNCHED HERE TONIGHT, A FORUM IN WHICH EVERYONE MAY SAY WHAT HE BELIEVES WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE.

39-46-99

IT IS MY PLEASANT DUTY TO INTRODUCE TO THIS AUDIENCE A NATIVE-BORN CITIZEN OF THE CONGO WHO WAS THE FIRST DELEGATE APPOINTED BY PRIME MINISTER PATRICE LUMUMBA TO REPRESENT THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO IN THE UNITED NATIONS. // THIS YOUNG MAN WAS EDUCATED IN THE CONGO AND GIVEN A SCHOLARSHIP TO STUDY IN BRUSSELS. // HE RETURNED TO HIS NATIVE COUNTRY TO BECOME A LEADER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

THE MAGAZINE, "FREEDOMWAYS" WELCOMES HIM AS REPRESENTING ITS BASIC AIM: TO LEARN THE TRUTH BY ~~GIVING~~ EVERYONE WHO KNOWS A CHANCE TO GIVE INFORMATION. // I HAVE THE HONOR TO PRESENT HIS EXCELLENCY MR. THOMAS KANZA.

1961(c)

I HAVE GIVEN UP MAKING SPEACHES. // BUT I AM TEMPTED / TO SAY JUST A WORD TODAY BECAUSE THIS MEETING / TEACHES A SIMPLE TRUTH / ON WHICH ALL OF US / SHOULD THINK // ILIVED ON GREEN AVENUE / BROOKLYN / FROM 1915 TO 1920. // AT THAT TIME / THIS ~~WE~~ MEETING / COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE. // MOST PERSONS / SUCH AS YOU REPRESENT / WOULD HAVE REGARDED / SUCH A MEETING / AS A DISASTER. // YET TO US / ITIS NATURAL AND HOPEFUL. // . HOW MANY OTHER / OF THE THINGS WE FEAR, / LIKE WAR, COMMUNISM / AND NEGRO NEIGHBORS / ARE EQUALLY WITHOUT REAL DANGER? // . WHEN I WAS A BOY OF 12 / IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS, / A YMCA WAS STARTED IN THE TOWN. / IT WAS MERELY A SUNDAY AFTERNOON MEETING / WITHOUT BUILDING / OR PROGRAM. / WE SANG GOSPEL HYMNS, / LIKE "HOLD THE FORT" / AND HAD PEP TALKS. // I ATTENDED REGULARLY /. OF COURSE I ATTENDED. / IT NEVER OCCURRED TO ME / OR TO ANY OTHER INHABITANT / OF HE LITTLE TOWN / THAT I SHOULD NOT ATTEND. / YET ONLY 20 YEARS LATER / WHEN A SIMI LAR ORGANIZATION / IN COLORADO SPRINGS / OPENED A SWIMMING POOL / FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS / A COLORED SOPHOMORE / WAS REFUSED ADMISSION. // THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED WIRH TEARS / HOW SORRY HE WAS / BUT IT ~~WAS~~ HOW UNTHINKABLE IT WAS / TO

38-9-223

ADMIT THIS CHILD. // BUT TO THE ASTONISHED CHILD / IT WAS THE END OF A WORLD. // FROM THAT DAY UNTIL THIS, / AMONG MY CLOSEST FRIENDS / WAS A FAMILY / WHOSE FATHER FOUGHT A LIFE TIME / TO MAKE THE YMCA AN INSTITUTION / WHICH DREW NO COLOR LINE / WILLIAM HUNTON / WAS A HANDSOME MAN. / A GENTLEMEAN IN EVERY SENSE / OF THE WORD WITH EDUCATION AND MANNERS / YET HE SPENT HIS LIFE / TRYING TO CONVINCE MEN LIKE YOU / THAT HE / AND HIS / WERE HUMAN. // SLOWLY, SLOWLY, / WITH ANGER AND TEARS, / WITH ~~HA~~ HATE AND THREAT / THE TRUTH PREVAILED. // I HAD SOME PART IN THE BATTLE. / I RE_ MEMBER COMING / FROM MY WORK IN GEORGIA TO NEW YORK / AND BEING ASKED / WITH SOME HESITATION AND MISGIVING / TO SPEAK AT THE TWENTY-THIRD STREET BRANCH / OF THE YMCA. // IT WAS ABOUT 1905. / I COULD NOT JOIN THIS BRANCH. / THEY DID NOT ADMIT NEGROES / BUT THEY HAD AN EXCELLENT BRANCH IN HARLEM. // THEY WANTED TO HEAR OF NEGRO BRANCHES / IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE. // THEY HEARD OF A YMCA / WITHOUT A COLOR LINE / AND THEY DID NOT LIKE IT. / NOR WAS I HAPPY AT THE SITUATION IN WHICH / I WAS PLACED. // TODAY ALL THIS IS CHANGED. / WHY? / IS IT REALLY BECAUSE WE ARE SO DIFFERENT / OR RATHER BECAUSE WE DARE DO / STRAIGHTER THINKING?

38-9-224

GREETINGS TO THE WORLD FROM AFRICA!

This New Year of 1962 sees Revolution in Africa; but revolution in all stages and alike only in that everywhere it means fundamental change: change in individual condition, change in class structure, change in government. For instance, speaking tentatively as a newcomer: In the Union of South Africa a handful of fanatic Whites hold millions in slavery for the benefit of the richest nation on earth while the Blacks writh; In the Rhodesias and Katanga, Britain, Belgium and North America get copper by paying black miners a wage just large enough to avoid actual war but bringing murder and blood. In Kenya the white thieves of the land are bribing the rising mass of labors with promises while letting the masses choose their own leaders and the nation teeters on the edge of war. In Nigeria, the last and largest mass of exploited labor in the world, all is vast contradiction: the leader, Azikiwe has had his hands tied by a powerless governorship; the Prime Minister Balewa represents a mighty past but utterly fails to see the present, while Awolowa alone realizes the salvation of Socialism built on ancient communalism. Above this soar the western birds of prey, hoping for the worst. Think what leisure, luxury and culture could exist in London and New York on the half-slave labor of forty million Nigerian blacks!

Ahead of all leap the seven million of Ghana: With Roads, Schools, Industries, Contentment and their faces set sternly toward Socialism. Capital they furnish themselves. Britain and the United States dare not deny them a hundred million dollars in loans at good interest because the U.S.S.R., China and East Europe gives three hundred million dollars at any interest they want to pay. The Volta dam will seal Ghanaian economic independence, which cocoa alone could never do if New York controlled the price.

Thus, Revolution rides over all Africa. Greetings from the field of battle, Comrades of the World!

W.E.B. Du Bois

38-11-111

STATEMENT
by
W. E. B. DU BOIS
At the Opening Session of the Accra Assembly
Thursday, June 21, 1962.

IF WE CAN CONCEIVE OF A WORLD WITHOUT ATOMIC BOMBS, THEN WE CAN CONCEIVE OF A REAL WORLD PEACE.

THE ONLY HOPE OF MANKIND TODAY IS PEACE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT WHICH PEACE PERMITS. ATOMIC POWER AND WAR MAKE PEACE IMPOSSIBLE. WE STRIVE THEREFORE FOR A WORLD WITHOUT BOMBS FOR WORLD PEACE; FOR A WORLD WHERE MEN THINKING AND ACTING FOR THE SOCIAL GOOD OF ALL WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE THIS AIM WHICH WAR MAKES IMPOSSIBLE.

AFRICA, WHICH IS JUST AT THE POINT OF RECOVERING ITS PAST GREATNESS AFTER CENTURIES OF DOMINATION AND OPPRESSION, FACES THE DANGER OF HAVING ITS BRIGHT FUTURE BLOTTED OUT BEFORE IT CAN EVEN ATTEMPT TO REALIZE IT.

38-11-110

IT SEEMS CURIOUS THAT SOME OF THE GREAT MODERN DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS, INSTEAD OF BEING USED TO HELP MANKIND, ARE USED FOR ITS DESTRUCTION OR CERTAINLY TO THREATEN ITS DESTRUCTION.

PLEASE, THEREFORE, LET US STRIVE FOR A WORLD WITHOUT ATOMIC BOMBS, - WHICH MEANS A WORLD OF PEACE.

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PEACE, THEREFORE, LET US STRIVE FOR A WORLD WITHOUT ATOMIC BOMBS, - WHICH MEANS A WORLD OF PEACE.

W.E.B. Du Bois

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AFRICANIST
WEDNESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 12, 1962

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ONE WHO HAS FOR OVER HALF A CENTURY BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF AFRICAN LIFE AND HISTORY, I CAN ATTEST THAT THIS PRESENT CONGRESS MARKS A MOST IMPORTANT TURNING POINT IN AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP.

"AFRICA IS THE ONE CONTINENT," SAID A FRENCH SCIENTIST, "WHICH HAS NO HISTORY". NONSENSE! ON THIS VAST CONTINENT HISTORY BECAME A RECORDED SCIENCE ONLY IN SOME DRY CLIMATES; IN THE WET LANDS AND SWAMPS IT WAS ORAL TRADITION HANDED DOWN FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER, NOT AS FANTASY, BUT ACCORDING TO RULE AND METHODS OF RECORDING TRUTH WHILE HOLDING TRUTH ALWAYS AS THE FOUNDATION OF LIFE. UP UNTIL BARELY TWO DECADES AGO, SERIOUS WORKS ON AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE WERE TO BE FOUND UNDER THE NAMES OF ONLY HALF A DOZEN OR SO GERMAN OR OTHER EUROPEAN SCHOLARS.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMANISTIC STUDIES DURING THE PAST DECADE HAS BEEN THE SUDDEN AWAKENING OF A VAST INTEREST, GLOBAL IN SCOPE, IN THE STUDY OF AFRICAN LIFE AND HISTORY. THERE ARE FEW COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TODAY WITHOUT SOME INSTITUTE OR PROGRAM OF AFRICAN STUDIES.

HAPPILY, IT CAN BE SAID NOW THAT IN AFRICA ITSELF, THERE ARE COMING INTO BEING IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, INSTITUTES AND SOCIETIES FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF AFRICA'S PAST AND PRESENT LIFE, AND THAT SUCH A CONGRESS AS THE PRESENT ONE SHOULD BE SPONSORED BY AFRICANS AND HELD IN AN AFRICAN COUNTRY IS AN INDICATION, I BELIEVE, OF A GROWING AWARENESS THAT AFRICA IS THE LOGICAL AND NECESSARY CENTRE FOR THE COORDINATION AND INSPIRATION OF THE WORK OF AFRICANISTS WHEREVER THEY MAY BE.

IT IS IN THIS SENSE THAT WE ARE MOST DEEPLY INDEBTED TO DR. DIKE AND HIS ASSOCIATES WHO HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THIS GREAT GATHERING OF SCHOLARS TO MEET HERE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA FOR THE SAKE OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF OUR COMMON TASK IN MAKING KNOWN TO THE WORLD THE TRUE AND COMPLETE STORY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ~~AND THEIR HISTORY~~. ~~I, THEREFORE, PROPOSE A RISING VOTE OF THANKS TO THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE AND LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE OF THIS CONGRESS.~~

CIVIL RIGHTS

By

W. E. B. DU BOIS

38-13-87

IN NEW YORK THE OTHER DAY, I SAW A FRENCH FILM ILLUSTRATING THE LIFE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL. IT WAS A PICTURE OF THE 17th CENTURY, AND WE KNOW THE 17th CENTURY AS THAT PERIOD IN EUROPEAN HISTORY WHEN THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SCIENCE APPEARED AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AMONG MEN BEGAN TO BECOME RECOGNIZED. BUT WHAT STRUCK ALL WHO SAW THIS PICTURE WAS THE TERRIBLE MISERY OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF HUMAN BEINGS IN FRANCE AT THAT TIME; THEIR ABJECT POVERTY, WITH LACK OF FOOD AND DIRTY AND INADEQUATE CLOTHING AND HOMES: THEIR SUFFERING FROM DISEASE AND WAR: THEIR UTTER HOPELESS-NESS IN THE FACE OF A FATE WHICH IT SEEMED ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE TO CHANGE. YET CONTRASTING WITH THIS WAS THE SPLENDOR AND WEALTH OF THE FEW, AND ~~YET~~ THEIR REAL PUZZLEMENT IN KNOWING HOW TO FACE SO TREMENDOUS A PROBLEM OF POVERTY: AND ~~SIMILAR~~ THEN THE WORK OF ONE LITTLE HESITATING

38-13-88

DEVOTED MAN, GIVING HIS VERY LIFE TO AT LEAST RELIEVE SOMETHING OF THE MISERY.

THREE CENTURIES LATER, TODAY, WE HAVE A SCENE WHICH DIFFERS IN DEGREE BUT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY DIFFERENT. WE HAVE THE ~~VERY~~ RICH FEW, BUT WE HAVE ALSO MANY WHO ARE COMFORTABLE WE STILL HAVE THE POVERTY OF THE MASS ALTHOUGH, PERHAPS THE AVERAGE DEPTH OF THAT POVERTY IS NOT AS GREAT, ~~IN THIS CENTURY~~ MEANTIME WE HAVE BUILT UP CERTAIN IDEALS: IDEALS WHICH WE CALL EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. THEY WERE STARTED IN THE 18th CENTURY IN MODERN FORM. THEY WERE SOUGHT AFTER IN THE 19th CENTURY AND STILL STAND BEFORE US IN THE 20th CENTURY AS GUIDING LIGHTS.

BUT THERE ARE CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES OF LOGIC WHICH ALL DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE. WE KNOW OF COURSE PERFECTLY WELL THAT EVERYBODY CANNOT HAVE EVERYTHING: THAT THIS IS NOT ONLY PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, BUT SPIRITUALLY INCONCEIVABLE. THERE ARE CERTAIN SCARCITIES IN THE WORLD AND THEY ARE INEVITABLE AND ETERNAL. WE THEREFORE SATISFY OURSELVES BY SAYING, WHEN PEOPLE POINT OUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, THAT WITH THE NUMBER OF THINGS THAT ARE SCARCE IN THE WORLD AND THE LIMITATIONS OF HUMAN

ABILITIES, WE MUST ALWAYS FACE SCARCITY AS A NATURAL PHENOMENON. WE CAN OF COURSE DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT: WE CAN REARRANGE MATERIALS AND RE-ALLOCATE THEM: BUT HOW AND WHY? THERE IS OUR PRESENT PROBLEM | INCREASED PRODUCTION IS NOT ENOUGH. UNLESS JUSTICE IN DISTRIBUTION ALSO INCREASES ARE WE GOING TO REARRANGE SCARCE MATERIALS SO THAT THOSE WHO HAVE LEAST SHALL BE MADE MORE EQUAL TO THE AVERAGE? OR ARE WE GOING TO REARRANGE THEM, SO THAT THOSE WHOM WE THINK DESERVE MORE, SHALL HAVE MORE? OR ARE WE GOING TO LEAVE ~~THE~~ ALL REARRANGEMENT TO CHANCE AND POWER? TO SOME PEOPLE THEREFORE THE FACT OF SCARCITY IN THE WORLD'S GOODS AND IN THE WORLD'S ABILITIES ANSWERS AND CHECKS THE IDEAL OF EQUALITY. BUT THE PROBLEM IS NOT THAT OF HAVING EVERYBODY ENJOY EVERYTHING, IT IS RATHER THE QUESTION, IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ALL PEOPLE TO HAVE ENOUGH FOR A DECENT LIFE--A REASONABLE MINIMUM OF INCOME AND TRAINING?

38-13-89

THAT BRINGS US TO THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT IS "ENOUGH"? IF WE MEAN ENOUGH TO GIVE PEOPLE WORK, KEEP THEM HEALTHY, GIVE THEM ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, A RIGHT TO VOTE, SECURITY IN AGE AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION? (THAT IS TODAY UNDOUBTEDLY POSSIBLE. BUT) THE NEXT QUESTION IS, WOULD WE WANT TO LIVE IN SUCH A WORLD OF WIDE EQUALITY? WOULD YOU FOR INSTANCE LIKE TO SEE THE GIRL ACCROSS THE STREET HAVE A WINTER COAT JUST AS GOOD AS YOURS, ~~DIFFERENT PERHAPS~~ OR WOULD YOU PREFER A COAT BETTER THAN HERS?

~~IN MATERIAL, AND IN FASHION, BUT NEVERTHELESS QUITE AS GOOD AS YOURS.~~ WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE THE NEGRO FAMILY IN YOUR BLOCK EARN AS MUCH MONEY AS YOU DO? OR DO YOU SECRETLY OR OPENLY SUBSCRIBE TO WHAT ONE MIGHT CALL THE "MUD-SILL THEORY" OF SOCIETY: THE FACT THAT YOU WOULD RATHER HAVE INEQUALITY? AND THAT YOU ~~RATHER~~ THINK IT NECESSARY TO HAVE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF POVERTY UPON WHICH PROSPERITY AND CIVILIZATION CAN AND MUST BE BUILT?

38-13-90

IS IT POSSIBLE THAT YOUR HAPPINESS DEPENDS, NOT ON WHAT YOU HAVE, BUT ON WHAT OTHERS LACK? THIS BASIC ETHICAL QUESTION UNDERLIES OUR CONCEPTION OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. ~~MXXMAKE~~ IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A ~~WIDER~~ more equal DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND ENJOYMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF MOST MEN WE MUST BE WILLING TO SACRIFICE ANY EXCESS OF GOODS OR OPPORTUNITIES THAT WE HAVE (BEYOND THAT REALLY NECESSARY FOR HEALTH AND COMFORT) THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE UNNECESSARY, THOSE WHICH ARE SUPERFLOUS ~~AND CERTAINLY THOSE WHICH ARE DISTINCTLY EVIL~~ SHOULD GO TO OTHERS. ~~OR TO THE STATE~~. THERE ARE FOR INSTANCE CERTAIN RARE CUTS OF MEAT IN EVERY BUTCHERED STEER. EVERYBODY CANNOT HAVE THEM, FOR THE MOST PART THOSE PEOPLE WITH HEALTHY DIGESTIONS AND GOOD TEETH CAN GET JUST AS MUCH ~~ENJOY-~~ NOURISHMENT ~~MENT~~ OUT OF A ROUND STEAK AS OUT OF A FILET MIGNON. NEVERTHELESS THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE RARE CUTS ARE NICER — WHO SHOULD GET THEM, THE STRONG AND RICH OR THE WEAK AND SICK?

5

READING THE PAPER THE OTHER DAY, I FOUND THAT A NEIGHBOR OF MINE IN NEW YORK CITY WHO MANUFACTURERS CLOTH HAD BEEN ROBBED OF $160,000. IT SEEMED AT FIRST THAT THAT WAS A TERRIFIC LOSS AND I PICTURED INVOLUNTARILY THE DISTRESS AND MISERY THAT MUST HAVE FOLLOWED. THEN WHEN I READ THE DETAILS I CHANGED MY MIND: BECAUSE WHAT HAD BEEN LOST BY THIS MAN WAS A TEN-CARAT DIAMOND RING WORTH $ 27,500; AN EMERALD AND DIAMOND BRACELET WORTH $ 36,000; ~~ANOTHER~~ A PLATINUM BRACELET WORTH $22,500 AND ANOTHER WORTH $15,000, AND A COCKTAIL DIAMOND RING WORTH $5000. THESE MUST HAVE BEEN VERY LOVELY ORNAMENTS: ~~BUT~~ THEIR DESTRUCTION WOULD BE TRAGIC FOR THE WORLD OF BEAUTY, ~~BUT THEIR POSSESSION~~

38-13-91

But we CANNOT CLOSE OUR EYES TO the FACT, THAT IT IS A GRAVE MORAL QUESTION AS TO HOW FAR WORK, EFFORT AND SACRIFICE CAN BE ALLOWED TO GO FOR DIAMOND BRACELETS ~~WHEN~~ TO ADORN INDIVIDUALS, WHEN MILLIONS NEED FOOD, CLOTHES, HOSPITALS AND HOUSES! THIS IS THE PRESSING PROBLEM of OUD DAY WE CANNOT STOP ITS ASKING. IT MUST BE ANSWERED.

IT MAY BE SAID THAT ATTACK ON FREEDOM of EXPENDITURE IS SLAVERY

38-13-92

THE ANSWER IS ~~5~~ 5½ THAT (FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING)

~~THAT THE RARE CUTS ARE MUCH NICER BUT FEW IN NUMBER. SECONDLY,~~ FREEDOM ALWAYS INVOLVES SLAVERY. THAT IS COMPULSION IN SOME FORM. EVERYBODY CANNOT OCCUPY THE BEST SEATS AT THE GAME OR IN THE THEATER. EVERYBODY CANNOT AT THE SAME TIME USE THE BEST TOOLS OR THE BEST VEHICLES: THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS COMPLETE FREEDOM, ALWAYS FOR EVERYBODY

WHAT WE STRIVE FOR THEN IS THE WIDEST AREA OF FREEDOM, CONSONANT WITH NATURAL LAW AND SPIRITUAL ~~LAW~~ JUSTICE, ~~WHICH THE VERY CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD INVOLVES.~~ TO UNDERSTAND THIS, PEOPLE MUST BE EDUCATED ~~THERE~~ MASS EDUCATION, THE WIDE EDUCATION OF ALL ~~PEOPLE~~ PERSONS INVOLVES DIFFICULTIES. HUMAN BEINGS DIFFER WIDELY IN GIFT AND APTITUDE: THEY LEARN IN DIFFERENT WAYS; THEY ACCOMPLISH DIFFERENT RESULTS. HOW THEN SHALL MEN BE EDUCATED ~~FOR THE WIDEST GOOD OF ALL.~~ THE PROCESS MUST BE LONG AND EXPENSIVE. THE RESULTS WILL BE DIFFERENCES IN CHARACTER AND OPINIONS. THERE ARE, THERE ALWAYS HAVE BEEN IN THE WORLD, ~~PEOPLE~~ PERSONS WHO BITTERLY RESENT THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE; ~~PEOPLE~~ PERSONS WHO SAY THAT EDUCATION IS FOR THE FEW, OR FOR THE SELECTED, FOR THE EXCEPTIONAL. THAT THE GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE HAVE NO ~~USE~~ need FOR ~~SUCH~~ TRAINING ~~AS~~ WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE ~~THEIR~~ FREEDOM OF THINKING AND DOING. TODAY, THEORETICALLY, WE BELIEVE IN MASS EDUCATION. DO WE BELIEVE IN IT PRACTICALLY? ~~WOULD YOU LIKE ALL~~ No, DO MOST AMERICANS TODAY

CIVIL RIGHTS

By

W. E. B. DU BOIS

unedited

IN NEW YORK THE OTHER DAY, I SAW A FRENCH FILM ILLUSTRATING THE LIFE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL. IT WAS A PICTURE OF THE 17th CENTURY, AND WE KNOW THE 17th CENTURY AS THAT PERIOD IN EUROPEAN HISTORY WHEN THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SCIENCE APPEARED AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AMONG MEN BECAME RECOGNIZED. BUT WHAT STRUCK ALL WHO SAW THIS PICTURE AS THE TERRIBLE MISERY OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF HUMAN BEINGS IN FRANCE AT THAT TIME; THEIR ABJECT POVERTY, WITH LACK OF FOOD AND DIRTY AND INADEQUATE CLOTHING AND HOMES: THEIR SUFFERING FROM DISEASE AND WAR: THEIR UTTER HOPELESS-NESS IN THE FACE OF A FATE WHICH SEEMED ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE TO CHANGE . YET CONTRASTING WITH THIS THE SPLENDOR AND WEALTH OF THE FEW, AND YET THEIR PUZZLEMENT IN KNOWING HOW TO FACE SO TREMENDOUS A PROBLEM OF POVERTY: AND SIMILAR THE WORK OF ONE LITTLE HESITATING

38-13-125

DEVOTED MAN, GIVING HIS VERY LIFE TO AT LEAST RELIEVE SOMETHING OF THE MISERY.

THREE CENTURIES LATER, TODAY, WE HAVE A SCENE WHICH DIFFERS IN DEGREE BUT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY DIFFERENT. WE HAVE THE VERY RICH FEW, BUT WE HAVE MANY WHO ARE COMFORTABLE WE STILL HAVE THE POVERTY OF THE MASS ALTHOUGH, PERHAPS THE AVERAGE DEPTH OF THAT POVERTY IS NOT AS GREAT. IN THIS CENTURY WE HAVE BUILT UP CERTAIN IDEALS: IDEALS WHICH WE CALL EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. THEY WERE STARTED IN THE 18th CENTURY: THEY WERE SOUGHT AFTER IN THE 19th CENTURY AND STILL STAND BEFORE US IN THE 20th CENTURY AS GUIDING LIGHTS.

BUT THERE ARE CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES OF LOGIC WHICH ALL DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE. WE KNOW OF COURSE PERFECTLY WELL THAT EVERYBODY CANNOT HAVE EVERYTHING: THAT THIS IS NOT ONLY PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, BUT SPIRITUALLY INCONCEIVABLE. THERE ARE CERTAIN SCARCITIES IN THE WORLD AND THEY ARE INEVITABLE AND ETERNAL. WE THEREFORE SATISFY OURSELVES BY SAYING, WHEN PEOPLE POINT OUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, THAT WITH THE NUMBER OF THINGS THAT ARE SCARCE IN THE WORLD AND THE LIMITATIONS OF HUMAN

ABILITIES, WE MUST ALWAYS FACE SCARCITY AS A NATURAL PHENOMENON. WE CAN OF COURSE DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT: WE CAN REARRANGE MATERIALS AND RE*ALLOCATE THEM: BUT HOW AND WHY?

ARE WE GOING TO REARRANGE SCARCE MATERIALS SO THAT THOSE WHO HAVE LEAST SHALL BE MADE MORE EQUAL TO THE AVERAGE? OR ARE WE GOING TO REARRANGE THEM, SO THAT THOSE WHO WE THINK DESERVE MORE, SHALL HAVE MORE? OR ARE WE GOING TO LEAVE THE REARRANGEMENT TO CHANCE AND POWER? TO SOME PEOPLE THEREFORE THE FACT OF SCARCITY IN THE WORLD'S GOODS AND IN THE WORLD'S ABILITIES ANSWERS AND CHECKS THE IDEAL OF EQUALITY. THE PROBLEM IS NOT THAT OF HAVING EVERYBODY ENJOY EVERYTHING, IT IS RATHER THE QUESTION, IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ALL PEOPLE TO HAVE ENOUGH FOR A DECENT LIFE--A REASONABLE MINIMUM OF INCOME AND TRAINING?

THAT BRINGS US TO THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT IS "ENOUGH"? IF WE MEAN ENOUGH TO GIVE PEOPLE WORK, KEEP THEM HEALTHY, GIVE THEM ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, A RIGHT TO VOTE, SECURITY IN AGE AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION? THE NEXT QUESTION IS, WOULD WE WANT TO LIVE IN SUCH A WORLD OF EQUALITY? WOULD YOU FOR INSTANCE LIKE TO SEE THE GIRL ACCROSS THE STREET HAVE A WINTER COAT JUST AS GOOD AS YOURS, DIFFERENT PERHAPS

IN MATERIAL, AND IN FASHION, BUT NEVERTHELESS QUITE AS GOOD AS YOURS. WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE THE NEGRO FAMILY EARN AS MUCH MONEY AS YOU DO? OR DO YOU SECRETLY OR OPENLY SUBSCRIBE, TO WHAT ONE MIGHT CALL THE "MUD-SILL THEORY" OF SOCIETY: THE FACT THAT YOU WOULD RATHER HAVE INEQUALITY? AND THAT YOU RATHER THINK IT NECESSARY TO HAVE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF POVERTY UPON WHICH PROSPERITY AND CIVILIZATION CAN AND MUST BE BUILT?

38-13-126

IS IT POSSIBLE THAT YOU HAPPINESS DEPENDS, NOT ON WHAT YOU HAVE, BUT ON WHAT OTHERS LACK? THIS BASIC ETHICAL QUESTION UNDERLIES OUR CONCEPTION OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM. ~~WEXXXXX~~ IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND ENJOYMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF MOST MEN WE MUST BE WILLING TO SACRIFICE ANY EXCESS OF GOODS OR OPPORTUNITIES THAT WE HAVE: THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE UNNECESSARY, THOSE WHICH ARE SUPERFLOUS AND CERTAINLY THOSE WHICH ARE DISTINCTLY EVIL. THERE ARE FOR INSTANCE CERTAIN RARE CUTS OF MEAT IN EVERY BUTCHERED STEER. EVERYBODY CANNOT HAVE THEM, FOR THE MOST PART THOSE PEOPLE WITH HEALTHY DIGESTIONS AND GOOD TEETH CAN GET JUST AS MUCH ENJOYMENT OUT OF A ROUND STEAK AS OUT OF A FILET MIGNON. NEVERTHELESS THE FACT REMAINS

THAT THE RARE CUTS ARE MUCH NICER BUT FEW IN NUMBER. SECONDLY, FREEDOM ALWAYS INVOLVES SLAVERY, THAT IS COMPULSION IN SOME FORM. EVERYBODY CANNOT OCCUPY THE BEST SEATS AT THE GAME OR IN THE THEATER: EVERYBODY CANNOT AT THE SAME TIME USE THE BEST TOOLS OR THE BEST VEHICLES: THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS COMPLETE FREEDOM.

WHAT WE STRIVE FOR THEN IS THE WIDEST AREA OF FREEDOM, CONSONANT WITH NATURAL LAW AND SPIRITUAL LAW, WHICH THE VERY CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD INVOLVES. THIRD, MASS EDUCATION, THE WIDE EDUCATION OF ALL PEOPLE INVOLVES DIFFICULTIES. HUMAN BEINGS DIFFER WIDELY IN GIFT AND APTITUDE: THEY LEARN IN DIFFERENT WAYS: THEY ACCOMPLISH DIFFERENT RESULTS. HOW THEN SHALL MEN BE EDUCATED FOR THE WIDEST GOOD OF ALL. THE PROCESS MUST BE LONG AND EXPENSIVE. THE RESULTS WILL BE DIFFERENCES IN CHARACTER AND OPINIONS. THERE ARE, THERE ALWAYS HAVE BEEN IN THE WORLD, PEOPLE WHO BITTERLY RESENT THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE: PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT EDUCATION IS FOR THE FEW, OR FOR THE SELECTED, FOR THE EXCEPTIONAL: THAT THE GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE HAVE NO USE FOR SUCH TRAINING AS WILL ENCOURAGE THEIR FREEDOM OF THINKING AND DOING. TODAY, THEORETICALLY, WE BELIEVE IN MASS EDUCATION. DO WE BELIEVE IN IT PRACTICALLY? WOULD YOU LIKE ALL

38-B-127

YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE THE CHANCETO GO TO COLLEGE?

THERE IS IN THE WORLD A GREAT DEAL OF SHEER DRUDGERY IN THE WORK WHICH HAS TO BE DONE: DIGGING OF DITCHES, DISPOSAL OF FILTH, WASHING OF DISHES, CLEANING OF CLOTHES. HOW SHALL THIS BE DONE? TO AN EXTENT IT CAN BE DONE BY MACHINERY, BUT NOT ENTIRELY. PROBABLY ALWAYS, SO FAR AS WE CAN CONCEIVE, THERE WILL BE SOME UNPLEASANT DRUDGERY TO BE DONE IN THE WORLD, INCLUDING CHANGING OD DIAPERS. SOMEBODY MUST DO THIS WORK. SHALL IT BE DONE BY PEOPLE COMPELLED TO DO DRUDGERY EXCLUSIVELY, OR SHALL WE ALL SHARE? AGAIN IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR EVERYBODY TO PLAY ALL OF THE TIME. IT WOULD NOT BE PLAY IN THE LONG RUN, AND IT CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HELP THE WORLD'S WORK. PLAY THEREFORE MUST BE LIMITED EVEN THOUGH SOME WANT TO CARRY IT ON FOR LONG PERIODS IF NOT PERPETUALLY: BUT IN ORDER THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD PLAY HEALTHFULLY AND INSPIRINGLY MOST OF THE PEOPLE , MOST OF THE TIME MUST WORK AT THE WORLD'S WORK.

THE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY IS NOT SIMPLY THE IDEA OF YOU SECURING BY YOUR VOTE THE DOING OF THE THINGS THAT YOU WANT DONE: IT INVOLVES ALSO THE CONCEPTION OF YOUR BOWING TO AN ADVERSE VOTE AND HELPING TO CARRY OUT POLICIES WANTED BY PEOPLE WHO DO

NOT AGREE WITH YOU. WITHOUT THIS IDEA OF THE RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY: AND THOSE PEOPLE WHO TRY IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS TO PREVENT THE HONEST EXPRESSION OF OPINION AND THE CARRYING OUT OF THAT OPINION WHEN IT TRIUMPHS AT THE POLLS, ARE THOSE WHO NEVER BELIEVED IN DEMOCRACY.

OLD AGE MUST TOLERATE YOUTH, AND YOUTH MUSTTOLERATE OLD AGE. THE INEXPLICABLE FIGHT BETWEEN THOSE WHO KNOW LIFE AND THOSE WHO HAVE THE STRENGTH TO LIVE, HAS RUINED CIVILIZATION IN SOME OF ITS FINEST PHASES. THE OLD HAVE A RIGHT TO LIVE AND TO EXPRESS THEIR EXPERIENCE. THE YOUNG HAVE A RIGHT TO LEARN AND TO EXPERIMENT.

HERE THEN WE LAND UPON THE ETHICAL BASIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS: NO FREEDOM WITHOUT SLAVERY, BECAUSE FREEDOM MEANS LIMITATION, AND THE SLAVERY IS NOT TO BE ENDURED BY A MISERABLE FEW BUT BY EACH HUMAN BEING. NO WEALTH WITHOUT POVERY BECAUSE WEALTH IS LIMITED, ABILITY IS LIMITED AND ALL OF US MUST SHARE IN THAT LIMITATION. NO EDUCATION WITHOUT IGNORANCE, WITHOUT PITTING THE HUMILITY OF THE SCHOLAR AGAINST THE DOGMATISM OF THE PRIEST, AND KNOWING THAT NO MATTER HOW GREAT SCIENTIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS, OUR IGNORANCE OF THIS WORLD IS COLOSSAL. NO WORK WITHOUT PLAY, NO PLAY WITHOUT WORK,

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NO FREE VOTE WITHOUT BOWING TO AUTHORITY, NO YOUTH WITHOUT AGE, NO AGE WITHOUT YOUTH.

HERE THEN STANDS THE CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE OF THAT LITTLE SHY GERMAN PHILOSOPHER OF THE 17th CENTURY, EMMANUEL KANT: EXPRESSED AGAIN BY THE GREAT GOETHE, "DU SOLLST ENTBEHREN ENTBEHREN SOLLST DU:" THOU SHALL FOREGO--SHALT DO WITHOUT!

THE RIGHTS FOR WHICH WE FIGHT INVOLVE THE WRONGS WHICH THE WORLD HAS TO ENDURE BECAUSE OF ITS CONSTITUTION: BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE ARE NO RIGHTS FOR WHICH WE MUST FIGHT, OR WRONGS WHICH WE CANNOT CURTAIL AND REDUCE. WE CANNOT ABOLISH DEATH BUT WE CAN POSTPONE IT: WE CANNOT MAKE ALL PEOPLE GENIUSES BUT WE CAN FIGHT IGNORANCE AND STUPIDITY. FOR THAT REASON WE LOOK UPON THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THIS COUNTRY AS INVOLVING THE VERY FUNDAMENTALS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. HERE IS A GREAT NATION WHICH IS AFRAID TO LET PEOPLE THINK AND SPEAK FREELY. HERE ARE A PEOPLE WHO BUY AND SELL OPINIONS, NOT ACCORDING TO THEIR TRUTH, BUT ACCORDING TO THE PROFIT THAT CAN BE MADE UPON PROPAGANDA AND DECEPTION. HERE IS A NATION WHERE NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF HIS JOB UNLESS HIS EXPRESSED OPINIONS ARE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE OF HIS EMPLOYERS.

HERE IS A DEMOCRACY WHERE BY MEANS OF FORCE AND CHEATING A LARGE MINORITY OF THE VOTERS ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE AND MOST OF THE VOTERS HAVE CEASED TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY USE IN VOTING. HERE IS A RICH COUNTRY WHERE MOST PEOPLE ARE POOR AND WHERE A DISGRACEFULLY LARGE MINORITY ARE IN ABJECT POVERTY. IT IS NO EXCUSE FOR US THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE BETTER OFF THAN THE PEOPLE OF OTHER LANDS AND CONTINENTS: RATHER IT IS TO OUR SHAME THAT WITH THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT WE HAVE HAD AND THE ABUNDANCE OF NATURAL RESOURSES WE STILL POSSESS THE DISTRIBUTION OF OUR WEALTH IS NOT MORE IN ACCORD WITH JUSTICE AND RIGHT. IT IS PARTICULARLY DISGRACEFUL AND TO THE THOUGHTFUL, IMPOSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE THAT WE ARE SPENDING TODAY AND PLANNINGTO SPEND TOMORROW THE MASS OF OUR INCOME FOR WAR, THE RESULTS OF PAST WARS, AND THE PLANNING FOR FUTURE WARS, WHILE MONEY IS NOT ABAILABLE IN ANYTHING LIKE DECENT AMOUNTS TO CURTAIL DISEASE AND INCREASE THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR THIS SORT OF THING, EXCEPT OUR LETHARGY AND OUR PLACID ACCEPTANCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE INEVITABLE SCARCITY, OF THE THEORY OF THE MUD-SILL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION AND OF OUR CURIOUSLY FIRM BELIEF THAT MOST MEN MUST AND OUGHT TO BE STUPID.

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OUR FUTURE PROGRESS MUST BE BASED UPON FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION UPON THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF MEN, UPON THE UNIVERSAL RIGHT TO VOTE AND THE EXERCISE OF THAT RIGHT, AND UPON THE RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT ALL MEN WITH OUR PRESENT TECHNIQUES CAN BE FED AND CLOTHED AND HOUSED AND MADE REASONABLY COMFORTABLE IF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WANT THIS SORT OF THING TO OCCUR.

READING THE PAPER THE OTHER DAY, I FOUND THAT A NEIGHBOR OF MINE IN NEW YORK CITY WHO MANUFACTURERS CLOTH HAD BEEN ROBBED OF $160,000. IT SEEMED AT FIRST THAT THAT WAS A TERRIFIC LOSS AND I PICTURED INVOLUNTARILY THE DISTRESS AND MISERY THAT MUST HAVE FOLLOWED. THEN WHEN I READ THE DETAILS I CHANGED MY MIND: BECAUSE WHAT HAD BEEN LOST BY THIS MAS WAS A TEN*CARAT DIAMOND RING WORTH $ 27,500; AN EMERALD AND DIAMOND BRACELET WORTH $ 36,000, ANOTHER PLATINUM BRACELET WORTH $22,500 AND ANOTHER WORTH $15,000, AND A COCKTAIL DIAMOND RING WORTH $5000. THESE MUST HAVE BEEN VERY LOVELY ORNAMENTS: ~~BUT~~ THEIR DESTRUCTION WOULD BE TRAGIC FOR THE WORLD OF BEAUTY, BUT THEIR POSSESSION DID NOT MEAN HAPPINESS NOR THEIR LOSS MISERY. THE PROSPERITY OF THE MASS OF MEN DOES NOT CALL FOR INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP OF DIAMOND BRACELETS: IT CALLS FOR

FOOD, HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS AND HOUSES. NO MAN NEEDS DISMONDS WHILE ANY MAN NEEDS BREAD. AND IT IS POSSIBLE TODAY TO HAVE BREAD FOR ALL HUMAN BEINGS.

THERE IS NO DOUBT TODAY OF THE TECHNICAL POSSIBILITIES OF OUR MASTERY OF NATURE IN SUPPLYING THE WANTS OF MEN IN DOING THE WORK OF THE WORLD, AND GIVING TO THE INHABITANTS LEISURE FOR THOUGHT AND COMFORT. WE HAVE NOT ONLY THE POWER OF STEAM AND ELECTRICITY, THE MARVELS OF TRANSPORTATION AND MANUFACTURE, THE ASTONISHING SPREAD OF THE USE OF ELECTRICITY: BUT WE HAVE ALSO AN ALMOST UNLIMITED PROMISE OF ATOMIC FISSION. IT DOES NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION, IF INSTEAD OF EAGERLY GIRDING OURSELVES FOR THE POSSIBILITIES OF CHEAP POWER, THE ABOLITION OF DRIDGERY AND A SUPPLYING OF GOODS BEYOND THE DREAMS OF OTHER AGES, THAT WE INSTEAD OF TURNING OUR ATTENTION TO THIS, ARE THINKING OF THE ATOM IN TERMS OF MURDER: ALL THIS IS THE ABBERATION OF A CRAZY ERA, AND OF A NATION LIKE OURS--GONE MAD WITH DREAMS OF WORLD POWER. IT WILL PASS, IF WE MAKE IT PASS: IF WE SAY TO THE WORLD: THE FACT OF SCARCITY OF BASIC GOODS, IS NOT ONLY LESS TODAY---BUT THE LIMIT OF POSSIBILITIES OF ABUNDANCE HAS BEEN PUSHED BACK SO

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WIDELY THAT THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT LEFT, BUT WHAT IN PHYSICAL GOODS WE COULD MAKE THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD REASONABLY COMFORTABLE IF WE WANTED TO, AND IF WE WERE WILLING TO CURTAIL THE EXCESSES OF THE FEW AND THE MONOPOLIES OF THE POWERFUL.

BUT ALL THIS WE MUST FACE NOT IN ANGER AND EXCITEMENT BUT IN GRIM DETERMINATION THAT KNOWS NO END OF EFFORT AND NO CHANGING OF IDEAL AND OBJECT: WHICH SAYS POVERTY AND IGNORANCE MUST GO, AND HEALTH BE MADE COMPULSORY: THAT THERE IS NO EXCUSE OF LACK OF WEALTH FOR THIS, BECAUSE THE ABUNDANCE OF THE WEALTH WHICH WE HAVE, NO MATTER WHO HAS LEGAL TITLE TO IT SHOULD BE TURNED TO THE PRIMARY OBJECT OF MAKING THE WORLD COMFORTABLE IN ITS PHYSICAL LIFE, INTELLIGENT IN ITS THINKING AND FREE FROM CURABLE DISEASES.

RIGHTS WHICH HUMAN BEINGS TODAY CONSIDER THEMSELVES INTITLED TO, ARE FIRST, WORK: NOT SIMPLY WORK FOR WORK'S SAKE BUT FOR WORK THAT CAN ACCOMPLISH AND FOR THE JOY OF EFFORT: SECONDLY, AN INCOME SUFFICIENT TO SUSTAIN A REASONABLE STANDARD OF LIVING, THIRD, PROTECTION AGAINST DISEASE: FOURTH, EDUCATION ACCORDING TO BENT AND ABILITY,

FIFTH, RECREATION AND LEISURE FOR HAPPINESS: SIX, PROTECTION AGAINST ARBRITRARY ARREST FAIR TRIAL BEFORE JUST COURTS, SEVENTH, THE RIGHTTO VOTE AND SHARE IN GOVERNMENT, EIGHTH SECURITY IN OLD AGE WHEN THE ABILITY TO WORK IS LIMITED OR NON EXISTENT: NINE, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND BELIEF AND THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ONE'S BELIEF, TEN, FREEDOM OF ACTION, SO LONG AS MY ACTION DOES NOT INTERFERE WITH YOURS.

WHILE THESE RIGHTS ARE REASONABLE AND RECOGNIZED, NEVERTHELESS THERE IS WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT THEY SHOULD BE REALIZED: THAT WORK DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE WORK OF EVERYBODY IS NEEDED, AND THERE IS UNLIMITED WORK TO BE DONE, NEVERTHELESS WORK CANNOT BE ALWAYS FURNISHED, AND INCOME IN GOODS AND MATERIAL THINGS MUST BE LIMITED BECAUSE OF THE SCARCITY OF GOODS AND THE LIMITATION OF ACTION: THAT HEALTH SERVICE TO ALL IS TOO COSTLY, THAT EDUCATION IS NOT ONLY COSTLY FOR THE MASS, BUT IS INADVISABLE BECAUSE OF LIMITATIONS AND DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN ABILITY, AND BECAUSE OF MISCHIEVOUS THINKING MANY AMERICAN BELIEVE THAT ALL PEOPLE CANNOT BE DEPENDED UPON TO VOTE INTELLIGENTLY AND THAT MAJORITY RULE IS OFTEN WRONG: RECREATION MAY BECOME LICENSE AND LEISURE MERE IDLENESS: WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE TO SUPPORT THE OLD, THEY MUST

SAVE ENOUGH TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT MAY LEAD TO DANGEROUS RADICALISM AND FREEDOM OF ACTION TO REVOLUTION.

BECAUSE OF WAR, GREED AND IGNORANCE INDUSTRY HAS ALMOST COLLAPSED AND CIVILIZATION HAS BEEN SHAKEN TO ITS ROOTS, WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF TREMENDOUS FEARS: THE FEAR OF WORKING PEOPLE LESS THEY HAVE NO EMPLOYMENT, THE FEAR OF THOSE WHO ARE RECEIVING INCOMES OF VARIOUS SORTS, THAT THE INCOME WILL SUDDENLY BE LESSENED OR EVEN STOPPED AND THAT THEREFORE AT ANY COST THEY MUST PROTECT THEIR FUTURE AND THE FUTURE OF THEIR FAMILIES. THE BELIEF THAT INCOME IS SO LIMITED THAT WE CANNOT SPEND LARGE SUMS FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND RECREATION: THE CONVICTION THAT DEMOCRACY WILL NOT WORK IN MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AREAS OF LIFE AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN INDUSTRY AND ORGANIZED WORK. AND ESPECIALLY THAT FREEDOM OF THOUGHT CONCERNING GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND HUMAN ACTION IS DANGEROUS AND THREATENS THE VERY EXISTENCE OF CIVILIZATION AND ORGANIZED LIFE.

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS, WE ARE LIVING IN AN ERA OF REPRESSION ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE, CERTAINLY IN MODERN TIMES, AND IN THE ERA OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.

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MEN ARE AFRAID TO THINK LEST THEY LOSE THEIR JOBS: THEY ARE AFRAID TO ACT, LEST THEIR WHOLE CAREERS BE RUINED: THEY ARE AFRAID TO VOTE, FOR WHAT THEY MAY BELIEVE IS RIGHT, BECAUSE IT MAY LEAD TO DISASTER FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR THEIR COUNTRY. CONSEQUENTLY, WE HAVE LOST FAITH IN COURAGE AND ACTION, IN PIONEERING: THE FASHION OF SELLING BELIEFS FOR MONEY IS WIDESPREAD: IN OUR SO CALLED FREE PRESS, WE DO NOT GET THE FREELY EXPRESSED OPINION OF INTELLIGENT PEOPLE AND TRAINED MINDS, BUT RATHER OPINIONS WHICH ARE ORGANIZED AND EXPRESSED ACCORDING TO THE AMOUNT THAT IS OFFERED FOR SUCH OPINIONS. IT IS RECOGNIZED TODAY AS PERFECTLY ETHICAL THAT A LAWYER SELL HIS TRAINING AND ABILITY TO SUPPORT A CAUSE IN WHICH HE NOT ONLY DOES NOT BELIEVE BUT KNOWS IS WRONG AND ANTI SOCIAL. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT A NEWSPAPER REPORTER OR COLUMNIST WILL COLLECT AND COLOR FACTS AND EXPRESS OPINIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EDITORIAL POLICY LAID DOWN BY THE OWNERS OF PAPERS WHICH HE KNOWS ARE FALSE. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE VAST INDUSTRY OF ADVERTISING WARES FOR SALE CAN BE BASED UPON NOT FACT AND TRUTH BUT UPON WHAT PROFITS THE ADVERTISER.

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IN SCIENCE, WE ARE MORE AND MORE CURTAILED BY THOSE WHO ARE DETERMINED THAT SCIENCE SHALL COME TO CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS, RATHER THAN FOLLOW THE CLEAR EVIDENCE OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH. ALL THIS IS DANGEROUS, IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE WHAT THE TRUTH IS OR WHAT OPINIONS ARE HELD, UNLESS FREEDOM IS RESTORED IN THINKING, IN RESEARCHAND UAND IN EXPRESSION, PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS THEREFORE OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO STILL HAVE COURAGE AND WHO HAVE ATTAINED CLEARNESS OF VISION AND EXACTITUDE OF LOGIC, SHOULD INSIST UPON THE CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH WE HAVE OUTLINED AND ESPECIALLY SHOULD BE DETERMINED TO KEEP OPEN THE RIGHT TO FREE THOUGHT AND ACTION, LIMITED ONLY BY THAT FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT THAT NO FREEDOM WHICH I DEMAND MUST BE DENIED TO OTHER PERSONS.

WE MUST THEREFORE TODAY, LISTEN THOUGHTFULLY AND HONESTLY TO THE LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICAN WHO BELIEVE WHAT SEEMS TO US AN OUTMODED PHILOSOPHY, WHO BELIEVES THAT WORK IS SOMETHING GIVEN BY ONE PERSON TO ANOTHER: AND GIVEN ONLY ON CONDITION THAT THE EMPLOYER MAKES A PROFIT OUT OF EMPLOYMENT: WHO BELIEVE THAT INCOME IS AND MUST BE LIMITED WHICH OF COURSE IS TRUE BUT BEYOND THAT BELIEVE THAT THE NECESSARY LIMITS

ARE SUCH THAT POVERTY IS AN INSTITUTION WHICH ALWAYS HAS PERSISTED IN THE WORLD AND ALWAYS MUST PERSIST AND THAT IT IS NOT ONLY A NECESSITY BUT THE FOUNDATION FOR ALL REAL AND GROWING CIVILIZATION. MANY PEOPLE ARE WILLING OF COURSE TO ATTACK DISEASE, BUT THEY DO NOT FOR A MOMENT ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT AN EXPENDITURE FOR DISEASE ON THE SAME SCALE THAT WE ARE RAISING MONEY FOR WAR WOULD PROLONG LIFE DOR DECADES, IN THE CASE OF LIVING PERSONS, AND BECAUSE THEY STILL THINK OF DISEASE AS LARGELY INEVITABLE THEY WANT TO SPEND LITTLE MONEY UPON IT. DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE HAVE BOASTED OF FREE EDUCATION IN AMERICA, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT EDUCATION IS STILL IN THIS COUNTRY THE PRIVILEGE OF THE FEW, RATHER THAN THE RIGHT OF THE MANY AND THAT THIS IS SO BECAUSE MILLIONS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS BELIEVE THAT THE EDUCATION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THEIR LIMITED ABILITIES AND UNDESIRABLE BECAUSE OF THE INEVITABLE RESULTS.

WE DO NOT, AS AMERICANS AND IN THE MASS BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY: EVEN PERSONS WHO CALL THEMSELVES LIBERAL AND RADICAL CURTAIL IN ALL SORTS OF WAYS, THE DEMOCRATIC EX-

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PRESSION OF OPINION IN THEIR OWN FAMILIES, IN THEIR CLUBS, IN THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, IN THEIR VOTING. WE STILL LOOK UPON OLD AGE AS WE LOOK UPON HEALTH AS SOMETHING WHICH MEANS INEVITABLE DECAY AND COMPARATIVELY EARLY AND WHICH IS NONSENSE AND WASTE TO SUCCOUR. AS I HAVE SAID, WE ARE WILLING, ONLY TOO WILLING TO EXPRESS OUR OWN THOUGHTS AND CONVICTIONS FREELY BUT WE ARE SCARED TO DEATH IF THE PERSONS WHOM WE DO NOT AGREE WITH, WHOSE THOUGHTS WE CONSIDER DANGEROUS AND WRONG, IF THEY ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT OF FREE EXPRESSION.

IN THIS MEETING AND AMONG THE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH IT REPRESENTS, I TAKE IT THAT WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM, WE WANT TO IMPLEMENT FREEDOM NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES BUT FOR OTHERS. WE WANT THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MANUFACTURERS TO SAY WHAT IT BELIEVES: WE WANT THE NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION TO EXPRESS ITS OPPOSIT ON TO NATIONALIZED MEDICINE. WE WANT THE WHITE SOUTH TO TELL JUST WHY IT IS CURTAILING THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES AND POOR WHITES: AND WE WANT THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE WILLING THAT 5000 VOTERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA SHOULD HAVE THE SAME POLITICAL POWER THAT THE 100,000 PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN HAVE, TO TELL US EXACTLY WHY THEY BELIEVE THIS.

BUT WHAT WE OBJECT TO IS HAVING THE ANSWERING ARGUMENTS AND THE ANSWERING BELIEFS SO CURTAILED AND STOPPED AND DISTORTED AND REFUSED PUBLICITY AS TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO MEET THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED OR TO GIVE US A PUBLIC INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO KNOW WHAT THE FACTS ARE.

I BELIEVE AND BELIEVE FIRMLY THAT THERE IS IN THE WORLD TODAY NO DANGER THAT CAN IN ANY WAY EQUAL THE REGIMENTATION OF THOUGHT NOW CURRENT IN THE UNITED STATES: THE THREATENING OF PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT AND BELIEF: THE DETERMINATION THAT WE SHALL ADOPT A LINE OF ACTION EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF UNIVERSAL MURDER AND DESTRUCTION, WITHOUT DARING TO LISTEN TO WHAT WE KNOW ARE THE TREMENDOUS ARGUMENTS FOR FREEDOM OF OPINION AND ACTION, FOR BROAD PLANS OF NATIONAL HEALTH, EDUCATION AND RECREATION, AND FOR SUCH ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AS WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE FULL RESULT OF THIS WORK SHOULD PAY THE WORKMAN AND NOT THAT PART OF HIS EMPLOYERS PROFIT AS THE EMPLOYER IS COMPELLED TO PAY.

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undated

I must apologize to you , men and women of Chattanooga, and especially to young ladies and gentlemen of the Band of Hope for making you listen so long a time to dry details and pictures out of the dead past. But my excuse is, as I said in the beginning, that out of the Past alone does the Present explain itself, and the Future become clear. And so musch as I wished to speak to you of the things of today and the vital problems that take hold of our everyday life and shadow the future, by so much the more did it seem necessary to me to impress the fact upon you that these things that front us now do not belong simply to the present but are rooted in the deeds of men for five hundred years and more - links they are in that vast chain which the Mighty Maker of all is forging; and herein lies the chief reason for faith and encouragement. But this faith must not be passive - it must not sit idly looking on - rather this faith in the trend and outcome of things rest on two pillars; Discontent and Perseverence.

With all our trust that in the end truth and justice will prevail for all men must go a thorough and deep-seated discontent with anything that falls short of the highest and best. Right here in Chattanooga the Negroes should be first of all discontented with themselves; discontented with poverty and shiftlessness and ignorance and wide-spread immorality. They should awaken to the fact that the one irresistible weapon in the hands of a people demanding rights and privileges is personal worth and desert - that the quickest way to achieve in this nation that position of respect and freedom of opportunity that we demand is to educate our children, save our money, protect our daughters from filth, and shield our boys from crime. The education of children should be attended

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to, not simply in schools but in homes: they must be made to obey and respect their parents and elders; they must be kept off the streets and they must be properly fed and clothed; they must be sent to school regularly and punctually - every single school day. They should be kept in school as long as the parent can afford it or as long as they continue to advance. If they are bright and promising scholars send them to college and let them get the best; if they are good ordinary students give them a good trade - and whatever they are, bright, ordinary, or dull, college graduates, carpenters, or housemaids, above all things teach them to work, to work, to sweat and struggle with their allotted tasks every day of their lives; for it is work in this world that tells and no lazy people who work when they feel like it or work when they have to, or do their work carelessly or slightingly - no such people can succeed or ought to succeed.

I want you in the second place to be discontented with poverty. The history of that traffic in human blood which I have recounted to you explains to us all to clearly why we are poor: but it does not excuse us for remaining poor: we must be saving - we must spend our money more carefully: teach your children to save their pennies; teach yourselves to value your hard earned dollars and not to throw away on a gaudy Easter hat money that ought to go to your children's heads or stomachs or towards providing for your own sickness and old age. The Negroes of Chattanooga, the Negroes of America must become discontented, irrepressibly discontented with living in hovels and shanties, where disease and exposure and lack of decent privacy is today ruining thousands of black families- imitate those sensible people among you who are buying homes and surrounding themselves with the evidences of civilization and culture; toil and sweat for a home, for homes re the foundstion stones

48-12-38

of nations and finally you must conquer among yourselves those immoral habits which descended from slavery and barbarism; you must ptotect your daughters - they must be kept off the streets, they must be kept in good company, they must not be allowed to work where they are exposed to temptation, they must not be allowed to sit in idleness and invite temptation, they must at the cost of your ease and your honor and your lives be kept true and pure that the foul blot which slavery left on the honor of black women shall soon be wiped away by the virtue and cleanliness of their lives in freedom. Wherever you find a source of moral contagion to your sons and daughters you must fight it - whether it comes from bad ministers in your pulpits, immoral teachers in your public schools, or dangerous kitchens of employers - wherever the source of contagion lies get rid of it, stamp it out, leave it, drive it away, fight it with every word and deed for unless you conquer it,it will conquer you.

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These then are the things at which your discontent should begin- ignorance, poverty, and immorality. I am not saying that discontent should end here - the discontent of American Negroes should never end until they are treated as men and full fledged American citizens, until men ask not, is he black but can he work; not is he green but does he know; not is he colored but is he a man?

And finally to this divine Discontent with the imperfect add perseverence. Keep everlastingly hammering away. Do not think that one trial or one asking, or one year or one hundred years work is going to accomplish everything. That is not the lesson of the five hundred years of history which I have sketched. Do not imagine that the forward marching of ten million men is going to be shut off by acts of legislature - if they be really men such things in the long run help rather than hinder, any fool can stand prosperity - it takes men to stand straight in adversity. Above all do not be dis-

concerted by little waves of prejudice and noisy opposition but strive with him who

never faltered but marched breast forward
Never dreamed tho' right were vanquished, wrong would triumph
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better sleep to wake.

48-12-40

and especially of young boys and girls

I must apologize to you, men & women of Chattanooga, for making you listen so long a time to dry details & pictures out of the dead past. But my essence is, as I said in the beginning, that out of the Past alone does the Present explain itself, and the Future become clear. And so much as I wished to speak to you of the things of today & the vital problems that take hold of our every day life & shadow the future, by some so much the more did it seem necessary to me to impress the fact upon you that these things that front us now do not belong simply to the present but are rooted in the deeds of men for five hundred years & more — links they are in that vast chain which the Mighty Maker of all is forging; & herein lies the chief reason for faith & encouragement.

[illegible] but only looking on — rather

~~But~~ Thus faith in the trend & outcome of things rest on two pillars: Discontent & Perseverence.

With all our trust that in the end truth & justice will prevail ~~must~~ for all men, must go a thorough & deep-seated discontent with any thing that falls short of the highest we best. Right here in Chattanooga the Negroes should be first of all discontented with themselves; discontented with poverty & shiftlessness & ignorance & wide-spread immorality. They should awaken to the fact that the one irresistible weapon in the hands of a people demanding rights & privileges is personal worth & desert. — that the quickest way to achieve in this nation that prelude of respect & freedom of opportunity that we demand is to educate our children, save our money, protect our daughters from filth & shield our boys from crime. The education of children should be attended to, not simply in schools but in homes: they must be made to obey & respect their parents & elders: they must be kept off the streets & they must be fed & clothed: they must be [illegible]

& punctually
ularly — every single school day. They should be kept in school as long as the parent can afford it or as long as they continue & advance. If they are bright & promising scholars send them to college & let them get the best; if they are good ordinary students give them a good trade — & whatever they are, bright, ordinary, or dull, college graduates or carpenters or housemaids, above all things teach them to work, & work, & sweat & struggle with their allotted tasks every day of their lives: for it is work in this world that tells & no lazy people who work when they feel like it or work when they have to, or do their work carelessly or slightly — no such people can succeed or ought to succeed

I want you in the second place to be discontented with poverty. The history of that traffic in human blood which I have recounted to you very explains to us only all too clearly why we are poor; but it does not excuse us for remaining poor. We must be savers — we must spend our money more carefully; teach your children to [illegible] pennies; teach [illegible]

dollars & not to throw away on a gaudy
1917 easter hat money that ought to go to your
children's heads or stomachs or toward
providing for your own sickness & old age.
The Negroes of Chattanooga, the Negroes of America
must become discontented, irrepressibly
discontented with living in hovels & shanties,
~~Where~~ where disease & exposure & lack of
decent privacy is today ruining thousands
of black families — imitate those sensible
people among you, who are buying homes & surrounding
themselves with the evidences of cultivation
& culture; toil & sweat for a home, for
homes are the foundation stones of nations
And finally you must conquer among
yourselves those immoral habits which
descended from slavery & barbarism;
You must protect your daughters — they
must be kept off the streets, they must
be kept in good company, they must not
be allowed to work where they are exposed
to temptation, they must not be allowed
to sit in idleness & invite temptation —
they must at the cost of your ease
& your honor & your lives be kept
true & pure that the[illegible]

of black women
slavery left on their honor, shall soon be
wiped away by the virtue & cleanliness of
their lives in freedom. Wherever you
find a source of moral contagion to
your sons & daughters you must fight
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in your public schools, or dangerous
kitchens of employers — wherever the
source of contagion lies get rid of it,
stamp it out, leave it, drive it away
fight it with every word & deed for
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end until they are treated as men &
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ask not, is he black but can he work; not
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colored but is he a man?

And finally to this divine Discontent
unto the Imperi[illegible] add

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wigly hammering away. Do not think that one trial or one asking or one years work or 100 years work is going to accomplish everything. Do not (that is not the lesson of the 500 years of history which I have sketched) imagine that the forward marching of ten million men is going to be shut off by acts of legislature. — if they be really men such things as these long run help rather than hinder; any fool can stand prosperity — it takes men to stand straight in adversity. Above all do not be disconcerted by little waves of prejudice & noisy opposition but strive with him who never faltered but marched breast forward never dreamed this night were vanquished wrong would triumph

Held me fall to rise, are baffled to fight better

sleep to wake

Where did this Negro population come and what were the great social & economic forces that brought from the fatherland a tide of immigration that swept over all the Americas, constituting one of the greatest movements of human beings the world has known.

To grasp the meaning of social forces we must trace them carefully and consecutively. Looking back over the path

Professor

D

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IS TO BLAME FOR MUCH CONFUSION IN OUR THINKING ABOUT CULTURE. WE HAVE BUT ONE WORD FOR TWO THINGS: CULTURE CAN MEAN CONSPICUOUSLY GOOD MANNERS; OR IT CAN MEAN THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH A NATION OR GROUP ARRANGE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING. IT IS IN THIS LATTER SENSE IN WHICH WE ARE DISCUSSING CULTURE TODAY. THIS ARRANGING OF WAYS AND METHODS OF LIFE IS SO FUNDAMENTAL AND UNENDING THAT WE GIVE IT TOO LITTLE ATTENTION. WE TAKE IT FOR GRANTED. WE FORGET ITS IMPORT. WHAT, FOR INSTANCE, WAS THE GREATEST HURT OF SLAVERY WHICH AMERICA INFLICTED ON NEGROES? IT WAS NOT COMPULSORY TOIL; ALL FOLK ARE MORE OR LESS SUBJECT TO THAT. IT WAS NOT TOO LITTLE FOOD OR RAGGED CLOTHING: MOST HUMAN BEINGS SUFFER THIS ~~MORE OR LESS~~; IT WAS NOT ALTOGETHER PERSONAL ASSAULT AND TREATMENT AS SUB-HUMANS. ALL THESE HURT. BUT THE FATAL HARM WAS THE ENTIRE BREAK OF MILLIONS OF NEGROES WITH THEIR PAST: THEIR LANGUAGE, THEIR MEMORIES, ~~THEIR WAYS OF DOING EVERYTHING~~: THEIR IDEALS AND DREAMS: THEIR HABITS OF EATING, BATHING, PLAYING AND EVEN THINKING. THEIR CONCEPT OF GOOD AND BAD, RIGHT AND WRONG. IN SOME matters ~~CASES~~ THIS BREAK WAS NOT COMPLETE.

32-9-129

SOME THINGS COULD NOT BE WHOLLY TAKEN AWAY. THEIR SINGING AND DANCING: THEIR BASIC RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS: THEIR PHYSICAL HERITAGE. WHAT WAS THE RESULT? THE AFRICAN FLOODED ALL AMERICA WITH SONG AND DANCE. ~~HE ADDED FOREIGN WORDS AND PHRASES TO THEIR LANGUAGE.~~ HE ADDED FOLK LORE TO THEIR LITERATURE AND CHANGED THEIR RELIGIOUS RITES BY SUBSTITUTING A SORT OF GREEK CHORUS FOR THE DRAB SILENCE OF THE PILGRIMS AND QUAKERS. FROM THEIR NEW ENVIRONMENT ON THE OTHER HAND THE NEGROES GOT A NEW LANGUAGE, ~~NEW FOODS~~, NEW KINDS OF DWELLING AND NEW HABITS OF LIFE. BUT THIS WAS A TREMENDOUS STRAIN; A REVOLUTION OF ENDLESS DEPTH. THE TOTAL RESULT WAS ALMOST PURE CHANCE. ONE THING STOOD WITH CURIOUS STABILITY ALONG WITH FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, AND THAT WAS THE CONCEPT OF GOD AND HIS WORLD. ~~NEGRO RELIGION STOOD FAST~~: ONLY IN OUTER FORM DID the NEGRO BECOME CATHOLIC, METHODIST, JEWISH. THE RESULTS CAN BE SEEN IN MY OWN FAMILY. MY GREAT GREAT GRANDFATHER, A BLACK WEST AFRICAN LANDED IN NEW YORK SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 1740 AND 1750, AT THE AGE OF TEN TO TWENTY. HE WORKED AS A LABORER UNTIL THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. DURING THIS TIME HE LEARNED ENGLISH AND MARRIED A BLACK WIFE WHO SPOKE NO ENGLISH OR VERY LITTLE. HE

38-9-130

PROBABLY HAD BY THIS TIME BECOME A SMALL FARMER ON HIS OWN PLOT OF LAND. CERTAINLY ONE THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION HE WAS DRAFTED (regular service AS A SOLDIER) AFTER THIS SERVICE HE ACTED AS A FREE MAN. HIS CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN SETTLED DOWN AS FARMERS AND LABORERS (& DUTCH, & probably INDIAN along maternal side of family) ~~AND~~ HIS GREAT GRAND DAUGHTER, MY MOTHER, MARRIED THE MULATTO SON OF A DESCENDANT OF FRENCH HUGUENTS. MY WHOLE LINK WITH MY AFRICAN ANCESTORS WAS BUILT UP FROM FAMILY TRADITION, WHILE I WAS IN HIGH SCHOOL AND AFTER. IT WAS INEXTRICABLY MINGLED WITH DUTCH AND FRENCH CULTURES, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE JEWISH OLD TESTAMENT. BUT IT WILL NEVER ~~FORGET~~ recover from THE FATAL BLOW OF ALMOST COMPLETE SEVERANCE OF CULTURE PATTERNS IN THE PAST.

A MAN"S CULTURE IS NOT SOLELY HIS PHYSICAL HERITAGE; IT IS NOT ~~IT IS NOT~~ ALL HIS CULTURAL SURROUNDINGS, BUT ONLY THOSE WHICH ACTUALLY INFLUENCE HIM BY FORCE OR HIS OWN WILL. EVENTUALLY THE CULTURE WHICH GUIDES HIM COMES NOT ENTIRELY FROM THE FAMILY BUT FROM A LARGER AND LARGER GROUP. EVEN FROM THE STATE. HOWEVER MUCH WE DISTRUST THE STATE TODAY IT MUST TOMORROW BECOME ALL -POWERFUL. IT DEMANDS THEREFOR OUR GREATEST ~~LOYALTY~~ LOYALTY AND UNENDING EFFORT.

38-9-131

3 S E 12

AL-4-9486

Indian Tradition

INDIAN MUSIC AND FOLK LORE. undated (1)

~~ONE - THE FOREWORD.~~

38-13-14

There was a time when we appreciated perhaps more than now, the manifestations of joy and happiness on the part of uncivilized peoples as shown in their music and dancing and traditions. We spoke of them as being close to nature, living freely in God's great out of doors and passing their days in a certain, careless ease, even though this happy monotony was interspersed by war and pestilence.

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(2)

38-13-15

~~That~~ however, the advent of an age characterized by stricter search for truth, there has come wide spread and now generally received criticism upon these former interpretations of savage life; comparison ~~having~~ made between the most unfortunate class of ~~savage~~ civilized peoples and the best of savages to show how much of comfort and convenience is the daily heritage of the first, and how with ~~the~~ their singing and dancing, the savage is after all naked to ~~the~~ cold and heat, wretchedly housed, dirty and diseased. It has thus been pointed out that the individuals among cultured folk should show greater appreciation of their situation and opportunities and less of that ~~of prevalent~~ social discontent which is so common to-day. Despite however, this well meaning attempt to prove

38-13-16

modern well being and to discredit and ridicule savage life, the fact remains that for the majority of men modern life in civilized lands is strangely, almost unbelievably, barren and ugly. ~~The fact remains that~~ We may be well policed, housed in new law tenements, fed on food gathered from afar and made in multitudinous ways immune from microbes.

But Notwithstanding all this, ~~we may and do~~ millions live lives so devoid of joy and mirth and happiness that no well bred savage would knowingly change fortunes with them. It is as though the great beast of modern ~~soc~~ social ~~ial~~ organization kept the threat (4) which William Vaugn Moody puts in its mouth:

38-13-17

"From the patient and the low,
I will take the joys they know,
They shall hunger after vanities
And still an-hungered go."

~~I take it that~~ Entertainments like this to-night show the dawning realization of such facts and done that we are beginning to recognize that savage and barbarous life, after its thousands of years of developement, did not come barren-handed to the few centuries of modern civilization; that it brought them, not simply industrial arts, but also something finer and sweeter in its conception of beauty and the place of beauty in life. These things it particularly manifested in song and dance and story.

Indeed, the life of primitive peoples like the American Indians and the African Negroes developed a philosophy of ~~life~~ living which centered in singing and dancing and the passing on of tradition. It has been said that almost every manifestation of Indian life had its primitive song and dance, and certainly all attempts at the education of the young, and the guiding of the state and the guarding of individual eccentricities were ~~was~~ bound up in the great traditions of the race as handed on by the elders.

38-13-18

Under such circumstances, it was of course easy for wish and fancy to be regarded as fact, and right here it was that the very soul hunger for beauty in savage life led to that peculiar solidification of social structure which made change and developement always slow and sometimes impossible. It is here ~~of course~~ too that modern criticism rightfully comes in. We have, for now something less than four hundred years, been engaged in the deification of the brute fact, ~~inhaling~~ haling feeling and will before the stern, cold arbitrament of Truth. It is natural that these ~~centers~~ centuries of science in their frantic endeavor to find out what the world really is, should have developed a curious cyncism together with something like contempt for

38-13-19

~~With~~ the throbbing wish of the world for beautiful things. It would seem, however, that the time had come now for a larger and more uncom-

promising insistance upon the truth of beauty and the forms by which beauty expresses itself, and we shall arrive at this goal not by a new attempt to confuse fact and fancy, a new endeavor to manufacture pedigrees for the ungrandfathered, a new attempt to make the history of human races something even more distressing than lies agreed upon, or lynchings defended, but that rather accepting the sterner facts of the past and present, we shall put beside them thoughts and possibilities and encourage ideals. It is with something like this in mind that we bring here tonight some little selections of song and dancing from the treasure house of which a great race of

38-13-20

peoples who in the dim past have endeavored to depict happiness and sorrow and truth. And surely, of all peoples none has a sterner right to teach the barren souls of America, than these first and truest of Americans.

38-13-21

Our program tonight continues with two songs and a dance. In the Lodge The girl dances until afar she hears the coming of her lover. She drops to the ground covering herself with her blanket in play, in modesty and half in fear.

Of the simple primitive songs Natalie Curtis has written. "And the hearer loses all memory of the art of the European. These songs

are unlike the music of other nations. They are born of the tinted wastes of sand, the turquois heavens, the long horizon-lines of the Southwest. In them, we hear the voice of ancient America, of a race whose song rose on this continent for untold centuries before the coming of the white man. These are folk-songs of our own land, and, like all folk-music, they are the expression of the soul of a people."

38-13-22

(10)

Folk Lore & Legends

~~FOLK LORE AND LEGENDS.~~

This would hardly be the time or place to enter upon any technical exposition of Indian folk lore even if I knew enough about it to do so. And I do not. I merely essay then to indicate something of the meaning and background of this dance and song.

38-13-23

We are considering one of the great races of men - a race which cannot with any clear gain in logic a understanding be linked or identified with any of the other races of men but would seem to be a distinct variation in the island of America. When however we have called the Indians a race we have after all said little that is really illiminating. We merely mean that they all exhibit certain characteristics of appearance and physical and spiritual history that group them as individuals more nearly related to each other on the whole than to the rest of the world. But that is all. Physically the red race like the white and black race show astonishing diversities of physical type, and ~~have~~ has developed widely divergent systems of culture. No possible selection then of an evening's entertainment in music and rhythm could pretend to present any complete picture of primitive Indian characteristics.

(11)

38-13-24

As a matter of fact much of the program to-night is taken from the Pueblo Indians of the south west and that for the simple reason that these Indians have been made the subject of considerable study and their sedendary agricultural life was rich in ~~song and dance and~~ folk lore.

Curiously the threads of life twine this group of Indians to us to-night. It was nearly five centuries ago that a black man led the Spaniards across the south western deserts to find the Seven Cities of Cibola, and

found instead the curious castle like Pueblos of the Zuni and other tribes. Here on hill and in ~~valley~~ plain these Indians lived in communal homes and the central court of these homes became the scene of music and ceremonial dance.

38/13/25

From these we have ~~the song~~ chant songs of the grinding of the corn - an instance of the enveloping of the homeliest and most constant of daily duties with a halo of music. The birds in the few trees and the animals in the surrounding deserts and the snakes of the earth supply themes and suggestions for dancing. The social life with marriage, death and war is rich with opportunity for ceremonial.

The song of the Southwestern Indian says one writer, "is the voice of the American desert. It is outlined on the vast silence as the clear-cut mountain-line is traced upon the rainless sky."

38/13/26

The particular corn song sung to-night came from Laguna, one of the largest and most representative of the New Mexican pueblos. Its people are of the tribes conquered by Coronado in the sixteenth century, and held by the Spaniards until in 1680 when all the pueblos rose in rebellion and caste off the Spanish yoke. ~~Primitive Pueblo culture was of a high order.~~ In the sixteenth century these Indians were living, as to-day, in villages of stone. Their main sustenance has always been the native corn prepared

in various ways and ground by the women in stone mealing-bins. The corn is placed on a flat stone set into the floor of the house at an angle, and is ground by rubbing a cube-like stone up and down over the grains. The woman kneels to her work and sways back and forth with rythmic swing, and as she grinds she sings.

38/13/27

~~As in the case of the Negro songs~~, the words of these Indian songs are mostly archaic, not the common speech of to-day. The translations given by the Indians ~~were~~ are accompanied by many explanations. For Indian poetry, like all branches of Indian art, is symbolic. A few lines on jar or basket often stand for a thought instead of representing an object, and one word in a poem may be

the symbol of a complete idea. Accordingly, the same song ~~often~~ may be interpreted differently by different Indians. Thus in one song the colors mentioned were said by one ~~Indian~~ to allude to the different colored grain ~~corn~~ over which the butterflies should fly. But an old and authoritative Indian asserted positively that this song had nothing to do with sorn; that it was all about butterflies, and that the butterflies were to fly to flower-blossoms, not to corn-fields. "At the end of the song," said she, "we say to the butterflies, "Go, butterfly, now go, for that is all!'"

38-13-28

One writer says: let the hearer imagine that he stands in some odd corner of the Indian village, be neath the dazzling sky, with the silence

of the desert about him. Suddenly, from the upper story of some terraced house, comes the sound of a clear voice yodeling in graceful melody. It is accompanied by the high, scraping noise of the grinding-stone with its ceaseless monotony of rythm. Out on the thin, clear atmosphere float the strange sounds--out into the desert stillness.

38-13-29

A word may be said of three songs which follow. The "Sunrise Call" is one of the inspiring features of the morning ceremonial of cliff-dwellers.

Before the dawn of day, the chime-plates are brought into action, - their whirr reaching the furthest dwellings of the pueblo and bringing the

people to the roofs and tops of the houses. All is alive, and men, women and children appear to obey the summons of the Sun-priest to rise and greet the mother-of-life, the rising sun.

38-13-30

The priest next makes a fervent morning prayer to the "Mighty Sun-god," imploring in a low and tremulous voice aid and guidance for his people, and concludes by repeating his first sunrise call again.

The second song, the Fire Drill Song, accompanies the production of fire among Indians by twirling a fire stick or with a string. This method is especially employed in religious rites and prevails in spite of all ~~other~~ inventions of the white man. It is held sacred, because brought to them by the Fire-god of the underworld who sent a firefly to the First-man to instruct him how to rotate a spindle in a notched piece of wood, ~~when~~ then the firefly ignited the wood-dust at its point with a spark of fire.

38-13-31

The sunset song rises at the instant the sun touches the border of the horizon when the Zunis assembled upon the highest cliffs and housetops

sing their Song of Praise.

They face the Sun with uplifted hands (palms outward) and bow with graceful rhythmic motion - upward and downward at every measure of the song in the manner of a "Salaam" which they repeat continuously, until the Sun sinks out of sight. They then prostrate themselves in adoration. The chant takes about one minute to sing, and the Sun-worshippers repeat it five times.

38-13-32

(20)

Back of the beautifying of the commonplace hung the dream and tale of the Source and supply of all Beauty and Truth.

38-13-33

Wide spread among the Indian tribes was the world old legend of the Redeemer - the incarnate spirit that worked and taught among men, and then at evening in red rays of the dying sun, walked or sailed away but not forever, for he is to come again unto his own.

With such traditions went the power of the Medicine man - widely different in different tribes and times but always a figure of importance - grotesque or terrible, sinister or revengeful, a healing comforter or a secret plotter. There was too the not wholly explicable Totem worship -

(21)

the silent power of the family mark which stood for unity of blood and tradition.

38-13-34

One might indefinitely multiply these indications of the richness and variety of this mist of ceremony and tradition that enveloped Indian life, but perhaps it will as enough to end this word by a description of the meaning of two dances about to come:

(22)

In ~~a second~~ the first dance the warrior is leaving for the battle field. The woman watches his departure, praying to the Gods to protect him. She picks the sacred flower, a charm against evil, and offers it to the Gods as an appeal for safe return. At last, she thinks she hears him approaching and dances awaiting his return.

In the ~~third~~ second dance he returns victoriously with scalp held aloft and tomahawk. He is vain and triumphant and describes his attack and the slaying of the enemy.

38-13-35

X

(23)

INDIAN AND WHITE MAN

Life is the meeting of men. Little ~~lives~~ in living counts so much as human contact. And probably because the mingling of individuals and groups and races has meant so much of gain to the world it has always been accompanied by the most sordid and disgraceful deeds. In fact group contact has been so fearful that in sheer defence of our own logic and belief in humanity we have tried to explain, or explain a way, ~~this~~ these historical atrocities. The easiest explanation in such cases is always to assume that the victims were inferior while the victors were God appointed trustees, "~~of~~ with past contemplative ends." This of course

38-13-36

(24)

has been the traditional explanation of the contact between European and Indian in America. Even with ~~Without~~ some such explanation this contact has been indeed, a sordid, discouraging tale. The coming of civilized men to an earthly paradise where they met a brave, straightforward people, simple and undeveloped, but human; By a policy which combined lying, murder, deceit and theft with only interludes of kindness, appreciation and help these civilized men dispossed the savages of the richest heritage in modern days and only in our own day, with some late sense of shame, we are beginning to consider the Indians as men.

38-13-37

As I have said, abidding faith in human justice and reason makes

(25)

under such circumstances a tremendous demand for explanation and excuse. The usual assumption is that an inferior race is dispossed by their natural supervisors. But we are not to-day using the word inferior as applied to races with quite as much confidence as we did yesterday. Certainly physical superiority the European would hardly think of claiming as compared with the Indian despite certain abnormal death rates among red men at present.

38-13-38

The cultural superiority was clear but that its triumph called for our historical treatment of the Indian rather than exactly opposite

(36)

treatment, is by no means clear. Nor is the message of salvation which European civilization offers the world to-day so clear and undeniable as to make its ultimate triumph everywhere a matter which ~~men~~ can excuse, physical and spiritual murder of the darker races.

38-13-39

In the case of the Indian there has been for some time a possible compensation for past treatment in the prospect of complete amalgamation with the white race. There are those who consider this nirvana as about as high an ambition as any Indian has a right to aspire to. There are others however and many of them of Indian blood who are not convinced of this.

Given a perfect race of human beings and everybody might be par-

(27)

doned for desiring to belong to it; but given an imperfect and very human race and a race needing as few races in the world's history have needed, a spiritual help and completion which other races may bring.

38-13-40

~~Thus~~ it seems little less than pity that the red man should be absorbed into the white race before he has made to the world his complete spiritual expression.

Already the gift of the Indian to modern civilization and especially to America has been no mean one.

~~To quote a well known writer~~:

"~~Beside~~ The ~~innumerable~~ place-names in all parts of America of

(28)

Indeed it is astonishing how much, directly and indirectly, modern culture owes to the Indian in geography and literature, particularly in food supply and medicine and in many lines of industry.

The place names throughout all America are ;argely of Indian origin. American literature in English, French, Spanish and Purtuguese is steeped with Indian influence and lore. Our roads and highways follow Indian trails and our cities perpetuate Indian camps. Without the Indians' knowledge early exploration would have been impossible and hunting and fishing owes much to them.

38-13-41

(29)

But it is on the world's food supply that the Indian has had greatest influence; imagine our table without potatoes and corn, tomatoes cocoa, vanilla, maple sugar and chocolate. Imagine the world without tobacco ~~and medicines, without~~ quinine and cocaine. Many of our dye stuffs and much of our pottery came from the red man and all that civilization owes to Indian rubber it owes to this race.

38-13-42

Thus it is clear that this dark race has not come empty handed to its white neighbor and it has also recently become increasingly clear that this same race is not disappearing from America as fast as some people think. There are more American Indians to-day than there ever were

before in the history of the world. || Contemplating such a racial contact as has taken place between Indian and European would it not seem a reasonable solution of the world's race problems to allow men to be white and red and brown as they were born without such social pains and penalties as make the life of the darker races a sort of Hell on earth; and then to extend to the spiritual peculiarities of race and group the same tolerance and guidance that we are learning to cultivate in other paths of life.

38-13-43

The remainder of the program to-night seeks to illustrate some of the spiritual results of the contact of white man and Indian in this land.

First come a couple of modern harmonized songs and then in contrast two songs and dances from the Zuni Indians.

38-13-44

The Zuni mother, unlike her white sister, does not put her baby to sleep by singing a lullaby to it, or rocking it in a cradle, or carrying it about in her arms. She simply lays it in a hammock, places her hands affectionately on top of its head and gazes at it with an intent, steady look, exhorting it in a low voice, half-speaking, half-singing, to go to sleep. Making a few passes over the child while pronouncing an incantation, it falls to sleep in a few moments. The incantation bears the

character of an appeal, as in suppressed murmurs she urges the child to close its eyes, at the same time gently covering its eyelids with her fingertips. While still continuing her steady gaze into its eyes until it is asleep, she repeats soothingly the chant.

38-13-45

The invocation to the Sun-god and other starry gods is to ask their special protection over the child while asleep, as the mother thinks that then her earthly care has no power to protect. ~~The Zunis regard the Sun as the life-giver or the mother-of-life, and consider the moon and certain stars the celestial abode of all the good souls that have departed from the earth~~.

38-13-46

In this beautiful song, gesture and pose add greatly to its impressiveness and dramatic character, as the mother changes her position at every phrase (or every motive of two measures) attending the different gods which in turn she addresses.

The rise and fall in the intonation of her voice is very marked, and a slight retention in the rhythm of each phrase, if not in each measure, is perceptible, which renders the song still more profound and fascinating.

Finally in music and dance come suggestions of Spanish America which has been so largely influenced by Indian blood as to make its culture largely a part of the history of the latter race.

The rod of empire to-day is turning toward the darker races - Westward Southward toward China, Japan, India and Africa ~~toward the West~~ - toward the Indianized and Negroid Spaniard ~~of the South.~~ We shall do well to listen not simply to-night but always to these newer voices with all their pain and promise.

38-13-47

THE STORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

1917, SUMMER, RAYMOND ROBINS, OSTENSIBLE RED CROSS ASST. CHIEF BUT REALLY ARMY INTELLIGENCE, ARRIVES IN PETROGRAD TO KEEP RUSSIA IN THE WAR

MARCH. CZAR ABDICATES. ARMY ILL-LED, NO ARMS NOR CLOTHES HAD BEEN CUT TO PIECES BY GERMANS

42-5A-21

GERMANS READY TO ATTACK WEST AND ANNEX RUSSIAN RESOURSES, WHEAT ,COAL, OIL

RUSSIA MUST BE KEPT IN WAR UNTIL USA IS READY

ROBINS IS 43, "BULL MOOSE & EX-BUSINESS MAN

HEAD OF AMERICAN RED CROSS IN RUSSIA WAS WILLIAM BOYCE THOMPSON

REPUBLICAN STANDPATTER? INVESTOR IN RUSSIAN MINES

DAVID FRANCIS, POKER-PLAYING MILLIONAIER WAS AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA

THOUGHT REVOLUTION A GERMAN PLOT WHICH WOULD BLOW OVER SOON. CALLS LENIN AN ANARCHIST

KERENSKY PRIME MINISTER OF PROVISIONAL GOVT TRIES TO INSPIRE STARVED REBELLIOUS SOLDIERS. SOLDIERS UNIMPRESSED

BY 1917 RUSSIA HAD SUFFERED MORE CASUALTIES THAN BRITAIN,FRANCE & ITALY COMBINED: 2,762,064 KILLED; 4,950,000 WOUNDED & 2,500,000 MISSING

BOLSHEVIKS DRIVEN UNDERGROUND & DECLARED ILLEGAL BY KERENSKY

ROBINS TOURED THE COUNTRY. AMERICA IS APPLAUDED. ROBINS SECURES TRANSPORT OF FOOD

SOLDIERS & WORKERS FORM SOVIETS & TAKE OVER POWER. KERENSKY SUPPORTED BY SOLDIERS IN MOSCOW & PETROGRAD WANTS TO RENEW WAR

ROBINS PROPOSES THAT KERENSKY & SOVIETS COME TO TERMS. THOMPSON AGREES AGREES

RUSSIAN MILLIONAIRES,BRITISH & FRENCH SUPPORT KERENSKY. RUSSIAN MILLIONAIRES THREATEN TO CALL IN GERMANS. THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE UNDER SIR SAMUEL HOARE ADVISE A DICTATORSHIP AND RECOMMEND ADMIRAL KOLCHAK AND GENREAL KORNILOV, COSSACK COMMANDER OF RUSSIAN ARMY. ROBINS PROTESTS BUT BRITISH ORDER HIM TO KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT

1917,SEPTEMBER. PAMPHLETS PRINTED IN ENGLAND APPEAR & KORNILOV ORDERS 20,000 SOLDIERS WITH FRENCH & BRITISH OFFICERS TO MARCH ON PETROGRAD. KERENSKY AGHAST.PETROGRAD SOVIET

MOBILIZES & KORNILOV OVERTHROWN & CAPTURED IN FOUR DAYS. LENIN CRIES "ALLPOWER TO THE SOVIETS" ALLIES MEET IN USA EMBASSY TO OPPOSE SOVIETS. FOUR DAYS LATER

42-54-22

I 917,NOVEMBER 7, BOLSHEVIKS TAKE POWER PEACEFULLY

KERENSKY FLEES IN AMERICAN CAR UNDER AMERICAN FLAG

ALL-RUSSIAN OF SOVIEST OF WORKERS & SOLDIERS DEPUTIES MEET TWO DAYS. ON SECOND DAY LENIN APPEARS,"SHORT,STOCKY, IN UNPRESSED BAGGY CLOTHES" HE SAYS "WE SHALL NOW PROCEED TO CONSTRUCT THE SOCIALIST ORDER". THEY FORMED THE FIRST SOVIET GOVERNMENT. LENIN WAS PREMIER & TROTSKY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FRANCIS CALLED IT "DISGUSTING" & SAID THE REGIME WOULD LAST BUT A FEW DAYS

ROBINS SUCCEEDED THOMPSON AND VISITED LENIN. LENIN SAID (COPY P.6) ROBINS REPORTED TO AMERICAN GENERAL JUDSON & JUDSON ADVISED RECOGNITION OF SOVIETS

FRANCIS & LANSING DISAGREED & JUDSON WAS RECALLED. FRANCIS SUPPORTS THE UPRISING OF KALEDIN,GENERAL OF THE DON COSSACKS WHO PROPOSES TO MARCH ON MOSCOW WITH 200,000 SOLDIERS. LANSING RECOMMENDS LOAN for this

LENIN PROPOSES PEACE WITH GERMANY

I917, DEC.22 FIRST SESSION OF BREST-LITOVSK PEACE CONFERENCE

DEC. 23, GT. BRITAIN & FRANCE AGREE SECRETLY TO DISMEMBER RUSSIA

1917 loses Baltic states + only Caucasus & Crimea remain + Donetz Basin

I907-I917, TROTSKY OPPOSES BOLSHEVIKS, JOINS JUST BEFOR REVOLUTION. HEADS (1903-17)

DELEGATION TO BREST-LOTIVSK. REFUSES TO MAKE EITHER WAR OR PEACE & APPEALED TO THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAT TO RISE. NEGOTIATIONS FELL THROUGH

DISSENTION IN BOLSHEVIK RANKS

I917, GERMANY ATTACKS RUSSIA ALONG EASTERN FRONT FROM BALTIC TO BLACK SEA

PETROGRAD NEAR CAPTURE

SECOND PEACE DELEGATION WITHOUT TROTSKY GOES TO BREST-LITOVSK

BRITAIN CONSIDERS JOINING TROTSKY

I918, SPRING. GERMANY DETERMINED TO OVERTHROW SOVIETS UNLESS THEY SIGN TREATY

BRITAIN ASSEMBLING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN ARCHANGEL, MURMANSK & ON THE DON. JAPAN PLANNING TO INVADE SIBERIA

1918 Feb 3 New Red army checks Germans

Lenin offends & USA angry & refuses German peace + Apr 13 + USA with draws support. No reply

Mch 14 All Russian Soviet Congress convenes. Decides to accept Peace

1918 June. Lansing orders Rotwo from Petrograd to U.S.A.

U.S.A. closes USSR C.f. 11

Masses = Sidney Reilly, Bruce Lockhart = Czarist Russian Spies on Germans for Russia in 1st WW, & in favor of USA

Reilly for British German Naval Code

1915 British Chief Spy in Russia. Bolsheviks & USSR

Savinkov – Associate with French Army

"Arch enemy of human race", "monster", "midnight terror"

43-5TA-24 Lansing.

(12) 12-12-12

ly and they are susceptible of elementary training, but, they say, all though of treating black men like white men must be abandoned. They are an inferior stock as of men limited in attainment by their physical nature, You cannot legislate against nature, and philanthropy is powerless against deficient cerebral development.

To realize the full weight of this argument recall to mind a character like John Brown and contract his attitude with the attitude of today.

John Brown loved his neighbor as himself. He could not endure therefore to see his neighbor poor, unfortunate or oppressed. This natural sympathy was strengthened by a saturation in Hebrew religion which stressed the personal responsibility of every man soul to a just God. To this religion of equality and sympathy with misfortune, was added the strong influence of the social doctrines of the French Revolution with its emphasis on freedom and power in political life. And on all this was built John Brown's own inchoate but growing belief in a juster and more equal

(13) 12-12-12

distribution of property. From all this John Brown concluded, -and acted on that conclusion-that all men were created free and equal and that the cost of Liberty was less than the Price of Repression. Up to the time of John Brown's death this doctrine was a growing conquering social thing. Since then there has come a change and many would rightly find reason for that change in the co-incidence that the year John Brown suffered martyrdom was the year that first published the Origin of Species. Since that day tremendous scientific and economic advance has been accompanied by distinct signs of moral change in social philosophy; Strong arguments have been made for the fostering of war, the social utility of human degradation and disease, and the inevitable and known inferiority of certain classes and races of men. While such arguments have not stopped the efforts of the advocates of Peace, the workers for social uplift and the believers in human brotherhood, they have it must be confessed often made their voices falter and tinged their arguments with apology.

(14) 60-90-98

Why is this? It is because the splendid scientific work of Darwin, Weissman, Galton and others has been widely and popularly interpreted as meaning that there is such essential and inevitable inequality among men and races of men as no philanthropy can or ought to eliminate; that civilization is a struggle for existence whereby the weaker nations and individuals will gradually succumb and the strong will inherit the earth. With this interpretation has gone the silent assumption that the white European stock represents the strong surviving peoples and that the swarthy, yellow and black peoples are the ones rightly doomed to eventual extinction.

One can easily see what influence such a doctrine would have on the race problem in America. It meant moral revolution in the attitude of the Nation. Those that stepped into the pathway marked by the early abolitionists faltered and large numbers turned back. They said: they were good men-even great, but they have no message for us today- John Brown was a "belated Covenanter", William Lloyd Garrison was an anachronism in the age of Darwin, men who

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gave their lives to lift not the Unlifted but the Unliftable. We have consequently the present reaction-a reaction which says in effect keep these black people in their places, and do not attempt to treat a Negro simply as a white man with a black face; to do this would mean moral deterioration of the race and nation- a fate against which a divine racial prejudice is successfully fighting. This is the attitude of the larger portion of the thinking Nation today.

It is not, however, a an attitude that has brought mental rest or social peace. On the contrary it is today involving a degree of moral strain and political and social anomaly that gives the wisest pause. The chief difficulty has been that the natural place in which by scientific law the black race in America should stay cannot easily be determined. To be sure the freedmen did not as the philanthropists of the sixties apparently expected step in forty years from slavery to nineteenth century civilization. Neither on the other hand did they, as the ex-masters

(16) 35-36-05

confidently predicted retrograde and die. Contrary to both these views they chose a third and apparently quite unawaited way: from the great sluggish almost imperceptibly moving mass they sent off larger and larger numbers of faithful workmen, and artisans, some merchants and professional men, and even men of educational ability and discernment. They developed in a generation no world geniuses, no millionaires, no captains of industry, no artists of first rank; but they did in forty years get rid of the larger part of their illiteracy, accumulate a half billion of property in small homesteads, and gained now and then respectful attention in the world's ears and eyes. It has been argued that this progress of the black man in America is due to the exceptional men among them and does not measure the ability of the mass. Such admission is, however, fatal to the whole argument. If the doomed races of men are going to develop exceptions to the rules of inferiority, then no law, scientific or moral, should, or can, prescribe the race assuch.

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9.

To meet this difficulty in racial philosophy ≠ a step has been taken in America fraught with the gravest social consequence to the world and threatening not simply the political but the moral integrity of the Nation: that step is to deny in the case of black men the validity of those evidences of culture, ability, and decency which are accepted unquestioningly in the case of other people, and by vague assertion, improveable assumption, unjust emphasis, and now and then by deliberate untruth to secure not only the continued proscription of these people, but by caste distinction to shut in the faces of their raising classes many of the paths to further advance.

When a social policy based on a supported scientific sanction leads to such a moral anomaly it is time to examine rather carefully the logical foundations of the argument. And so soon as we do this so many things are clear: first assuming that there are certain stocks of human beings whose elimination the best welfare of the world demands; it is certainly

(18) EE-9e-9E

questionable if these stocks include the majority of mankind, and it is indefensible and monstrous to pretend that we know today, with any reasonable certain-ty, which these stocks are. We can point to degenerate individuals and families here and there, among all races, but there is not the slightest warrant for assuming that there does not exist among the Chinese and Hindus, the African Bantus, and American Indians as lofty possibilities of human culture, as any European race has ever exhibited. It is to be sure puzzling to know why the Soudan should linger a thousand years in culture behind the valley of the Seine, but it is no more puzzling than the fact that the valley of the Thames was miserably backward as compared with the banks of the Tiber. Climate, human contact, facilities of communication, and what we call accident have played great part in the rise of culture among nations: to ignore these, and to assert dogmatically that the present distribution of culture is a fair index of the distribution of human ability and desert, is to make an assertion for which there is not the slightest scientific warrant.

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What the age of Darwin has done is to add to the 18th century idea of individual worth the complementary idea of physical immortality. And this, far from annulling or contracting the idea of human freedom, rather emphasizes its necessity and eternal possibility-the boundlessness and endlessness of possible human achievement. Freedom has come to mean not individual caprice or aberration but social self realization in an endless chain of selves, and freedom for such development is not the denial but the central assertion of the evolutionary theory. So, too, the doctrine of human equality passes through the fire of scientific inquiry not obliterated but transfigured: not equality of present attainment but equality of opportunity for unbounded future attainment is the rightful demand of mankind.

What now does the present hegemony of the white races threaten? It threatens by the means of brute force a survival of some of the worst stocks of mankind. It attempts to people the best part of the earth

The Cult of Asklepios and Other Cults.

98-98-98

To you young women who are tonight among the recognized followers of that half-legendary teacher of the art of healing, the great teachers of the past—and to your friends, I want to bring some consideration, concerning the various cults or vocations and the fittest training therefor, and for life itself. For these are days when men and women rightly are concerned for the proper training of children and youth, and are asking earnestly for the knowledge of the guiding principle and great truths which should mark the pathway of true education.

And first let me introduce my theme by reminding you again of that world old fable of one teacher, Asklepios and the underlying truth.

Once in the dim dawn of the world there lived in the eastward, a nymph, beautiful with all the beauty that men are wont to dream into their womankind. So beautiful that the Sun himself loved her, wed her. But she unmindful of the grace of god loved a mortal, whereat the sun-

49-25-54

[PP 2-14 MISSING]

15.

truth. The mere technique of much that you will handle do to earn your bread and butter in after life, could have been learned by you four years ago as easily as now, and there were, I doubt not, tempting whispers in your ears in those days telling you to save time and make money by stopping your education with the grammar school - by making yourself a hand without a trained intellect behind that hand. You refused and I have come tonight many miles to celebrate with you that Great Refusal.

I confess however that I came thinking even more of the future than of the accomplished past. You stand here at t e Parting of the Ways. You have learned to read and write and cipher. You have

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Negro Education

learned to use your hands. Beyond this and above you sensed and grasped something of the meaning of the world and its significance in time and space. You are ready now as I have said to choose the cult - the trade or profession by which you will earn a living. But as I also have said "one cult but not simply one cult" You cannot be simply a brickman, or simply a dressmaker or simply a a grocer. You must be men. You must be women. You must be actors, thinkers and dreamers in other lines beside the line of your bread and butter. As therefore you step into the greater world thro the narrow gates of technical skill, how shall you learn to be fathers and mothers, citizens and voters and - more than all - American Negroes? Now a four years high school gives b t scant training in any of these vocations - you get a glimpse of civics,

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a bit of physiology and, on the whole, confused ideas as to what it means to-day to be black. Whence shall the rest o f your training come? One cult but not simply one cult. Industrial schools stand ready to teach the cults of engineering and carpentry; professional schools teach teaching and healing, but where in the land may we learn of citizenship and government, of manhood and beauty, of justice and truth, of human possibility and individual duty? These things - the accum lated Wisdom of the Ages, we must learn from our fellow men, living and dead, and we may learn them in the College curriculum or in social contact with our neighbors: we may be taught these things directly in the class-room or indirectly on

49-25-56

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the street; indirectly by written word or directly by the deed done.

It is therefore with peculiar emphasis that I urge those of you who are sufficiently gifted to pursue your education thro a college course - to view and sense thus the broadest intellectual manhood. If you have good efficient brains - not simply sharp and quick, but a solid sure and vigorous understanding, and an ability to grasp, even if slowly, yet surely the meaning of things and hold and mold the content:- if you have this and can spare the time (and time now is cheaper to you than it even will be again) and if you can earn or beg or borrow the money, go to college and go next fall. A college is not a machine - it is an opportunity. Colleges do not make men. Many great, learned and useful men never went to college. But when a gifted man of high character can add to his

49-25-57

19.

natural ability the molding knowledge and mighty vision which the college can give, then the world sees its finest ideal of manhood. The simplest way of getting college training is to go to college, and this I sincerely trust many of you will do. But this is not the only way. If you do not go to college the college may come to you - thro lectures and books and newspapers, thro park and art gallery and threatre, and thro the words and deeds of good and cultured men. The difficulty here of course is that the transmission of the World's culture and knowledge thro many and chance mouths and instruments is not always honestly and efficiently done - art galleries may be tawdry, theatres have been vicious, lectures are often un

reliable and even newspapers have been known to lie. Not withstanding 49-25-58

this cloudy way of the path to the stars, the masses of men do progress toward higher and broader ideals through these great avenues over which sweep the messages, from the centres and reservoirs of culture and civilization, speeding ever downward to the struggling masses of men.

Thus all of you will, either directly thro a college course or indirectly thro human contact, and often thro both, learn not simply to earn a living but to serve yourselves and your fellow men in many and useful ways.

Some of this knowledge thus gained - some of these cults which men thus learn, are of the nature of technical knowledge and will become such in some near future - such as prevention of disease,

49-25-59

methods of social betterment, and means of government. Others cults however, (and many of those most valuable and most alluring) are of the nature of Dreams - great yearning Wishes of the world, like the flaming ~~least~~ Dream of Asklepias.

Of all the Dreams which have insistently and eternally sprung in the minds of the great and good since Time began, the dream of Human Brotherhood is perhaps the greatest. It is founded in earnest practical necessity. It is the dream of a world of human beings where no single member is forced to be less than he is capable of being; where every being is inspired to be all he can be; a world where no living soul, would ever consider it to his advantage to fence and beat back and degrade a neighbor. This dream has often

been sneered at and denied - it is a dream but a mighty dream a dream not come true, but day by day and year by year coming truer. A dream voiced by all the world's greatest prophets from Ur of the Chaldees to Imperial Rome - from Socrates to Jesus Christ. The vision is not yet realized but we are sweeping toward it. Barrier after barrier that has separated men and ~~degraded~~ degraded them and made them hate and murder each other, and despise their neighbors and delight in human misery and degradation - barrier after barrier has been torn away and their very memory made a hissing and a stench in the nostrils of the 20th century. Some barriers still stand and to-day the great barrier that separates millions on millions of human beings is the color line. The varying hues of man's skins,

a separation at once the most senseless and most cruel of all. The Problem of the 20th century is the Problem of the color line — the problem of building a humanity so broad that no color of a man's skin will ~~reflect~~ refract the color of his soul; a humanity so just as to judge no man by external appearance alone. This is the greatest dream that beckons and inspires men to-day and it is a dream which you can help make true. It is not of course the only ideal - there is the ideal of human health the vision of the abolition of poverty the emancipation of women, the dream of democracy - all those vast cults that beckon other men, beckon you, but because you realize as few others the bitter injustice of caste, because you by training are nearest the blood and dust of battle

AMERICAN NEGROES AND SOCIALISM

By W. E. B. Du Bois

The one hope of American Negroes is Socialism. Otherwise, under the corporate rule of monopolized wealth, they will be confined to the lowest wage group as long as Wealth rules. This most Negroes do not realize. I myself long stressed Negro private business enterprise, but I soon saw a "group economy" was necessary for protection. Then I fell back on Consumers' Co-operation as defense and at one time helpted to start fifty experiments scattered throughout the nation with especial success in Memphis. These failed, as Consumers' Co-operation throughout the nation has failed or is failing because without the support of the state it cannot succeed. Or in other words, co-operation calls for Socialism, and Socialism today is using co-operation in production and consumption. That is why Socialism is spreading and even moving toward its ideal, Communism, -- to each according to his need; from each according to his ability.

American Negroes have been taught from the day of the Freedmen's Savings Bank, that Work, Thrift, Saving, private capitalism and exploitation of the worker was the straight and only path to economic salvation. That the world has discovered the pitfalls in this path and has increasingly turned toward Socialim is not taught today to Negro children or adults. On the contrary they are being asked to believe that Communism is a crime; and that Socialism is its misleading shadow. Most Negroes do not realise how socialism has advanced in the world and even in the United States. Nearly all civilised nations now own their railroads and means of communication; furnish homes and housing, parks and recreation; light and power; schools and hospitals. Half the world goes further than this and owns all capital having abolished private profit. This plan of work and income has been difficult because of

human ignorance and fallibility and because the attempt to socialise industry has been met by opposition and disparagement from the former most powerful nations of the world. Nevertheless the United States itself has taken increased supervision of its railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; has increased its ownership of public power, controls large areas of education and owns increasing blocks of capital. Were it not for war and preparations for war which take 78 percent of our heavy taxation, Socialism and uplift in education, health and decent living would rise by leaps and bounds. ~~Yet Negroes have long been taught that their political interests lie in appointments to relatively minor political positions.~~ On the contrary we are mainly interested in stopping this senseless fear of Socialism and Communism and the crazy idea that we can control human thought and effort by endless war. Vote to cut military expense to the bone and triple our outlay for education, health, and happiness. ~~We will share this nation's prosperity more equitably when there is more to share.~~

We suffer discrimination in the right to vote, in education, in helps to health and in jobs and wage. But it is in voting that beating back of discrimination can enable us to overcome all other hurts not by the good will of our fellows but by our own efforts; by voting for all measures which advance Socialism and against all surrender to the rule of wealth. We should vote against the surrender of public power to private corporation. We should vote for more public ownership and not less; we should vote to tax wealth for raising the income of the poor. Our vote should no longer be be sold for office-holding but only for the advance of the welfare state.

or fear of foreign Communism

DuBois - America.

DURING THE DAYS IN WHICH I WAS A UNIVERSITY STUDENT | THE UNITED STATES BOASTED | THAT IT WAS A NATION OF PEACE | AND FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED TO WAR. | IT HAD A VERY SMALL STANDING ARMY | MANY PEACE ORGANIZATIONS | AND SEVERELY CRITICIZED | THE STANDING ARMIES OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. || THIS WAS IN SPITE OF THE FACT | THAT ONLY A GENERATION EARLIER | MY COUNTRY HAD FOUGHT | A LONG CRUEL AND COSTLY CIVIL WAR. || BUT WE EXCUSED OURSELVES | BY SAYING THAT THIS WAR | WAS FOR THE HIGH MORAL OBJECT | OF FREEING THE SLAVES || THIS WAS NOT STRICTLY TRUE | TO BE SURE | THERE WERE MANY ABOLITIONISTS | IN THE UNITED STATES | BLACK AND WHITE | WHO FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM || BUT THE VAST MAJORITY OF CITIZENS | WHO WENT TO WAR | WERE NOT OPPOSED TO SLAVERY. || THEY FOUGHT TO PREVENT ITS EXTENSION | WHICH WOULD BRING IT IN COMPETITION | WITH FREE LABOR | OUTSIDE COTTON RAISING || AND ALSO TO CHANNEL THE PROFITS | OF COTTON MANUFACTURE | TOWARD THE UNITED STATES | INSTEAD OF SENDING THEM | LARGELY TO EUROPE. || THIS WE CALLED | PRESERVING THE UNION OF THE UNITED STATES | AND EVEN

SO GREAT A MAN | AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN | WAS WILLING TO PRESERVE SLAVERY | IF HE COULD PRESERVE THE UNION. || BUT IT WAS THE BLACK SLAVES THEMSELVES | WHO CHANGED THIS CIVIL WAR | FROM AN EFFORT MERELY TO LIMIT SLAVERY | AND KEEP ITS PROFITS IN THE NATION | TO A WAR OF ABOLITION. || THEY DID THIS | BY DESERTING THE PLANTATIONS | REFUSING TO SUPPORT THE PLANTERS | IN THE FIELD | AND FINALLY BY ENLISTING | IN THE ARMIES || OVER A HALF MILLION NEGROES | FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM | AS SOLDIERS AND LABORERS. | AFTER THIS WAR | WE STOOD FOR PEACE AND AGAINST ARMIES | FOR A GENERATION | UNTIL WE WERE TEMPTED TO FIGHT SPAIN | OSTENSIBLY TO FREE CUBA | BUT REALLY TO SECURE THE PROFITS FROM THE SUGAR CROP || WE HAD | SINCE THE CIVIL WAR | AND BECAUSE OF IT | BECOME A GREAT RICH LAND OF CORPORATIONS | AND WE WANTED CHEAP LABOR | AND RAW MATERIALS | ESPECIALLY FROM THE TROPICS. || THAT WAS THE REAL REASON | WHICH BROUGHT US | INTO THE FIRST WORLD WAR. || THE GREAT AMERICAN CORPORATIONS | WANTED EITHER TO OWN COLONIES | IN AFRICA AND ASIA | OR TO BE FREE | TO MAKE INVESTMENTS THERE SAFELY || IN ORDER THEREFOR TO SAVE

THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE (AND KEEP GERMANY (FROM SEIZING ANY LARGE PART OF ITX)) AMERICA AT LAST ENTERED THE WAR (NOT SO MUCH AS A FIGHTER (AS FOR FURNISH ING MUNITIONS (AND OTHER WAR MATERIALS.)) HOWEVER AFTER THIS WAR (AMERICA WAS A CHIEF VICTIM (OF THE ENSUING DEPRESSION (AND WAS THUS INDUCED (TO ENTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR (IN ORDER TO SAVE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM (WHICH SHE WAS THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF

((THERE ENSUED (IN THE UNITED STATES (UNDER ROOSEVELT (A FIERCE BATTLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITITALISM (DURING WHICH (SOCIALISM MADE VAST GAINS.)) BUT THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF ROOSEVELT (THREW THE LAND (INTO THE HANDS OF BIG BUSINESS WITH NO LEADERSHIP OF VISION (TO MAINTAIN THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM (

HENRY WINSTON

MORE THAN MOST MEN, HENRY WINSTON HAS SUFFERED FOR HIS DETERMINATION TO THINK AND ACT IN ACCORD WITH WHAT HE BELIEVED WAS RIGHT. IN THIS DAY OF THE COWARD AND THIEF; THE LIAR AND MURDERER, IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO STAND IN THE PRESENCE OF THIS MAN, AND BEHOLDING HIS WOUNDED BODY AND UNDAUNTED SOUL, TO REMEMBER THAT GREAT WORD OF EMERSON:

"THOUGH LOVE REPINE AND REASON CHAFE,
THERE CAME A VOICE WITHOUT REPLY
'TIS MAN'S PERDITION TO BE SAFE
WHEN FOR THE TRUTH HE OUGHT TO DIE."

UNIDENTIFIED

SPEECH FRAGMENTS

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35-6-164

It is Lehman Brothers who own oil in South America, and Arabia; sugar and fruit in the Carib bean, copper and lead in Africa and rubber in Asia and starve their labor, which has neither unions nor votes; and it is their former partner who is Senator from New York

If I followed my own inclination, I should not mention the word Communism in this campaign nor refer to the Soviet Union. I should simply say that I am running for Senator in the state of New York and not in Moascow and when and if I run for office in Russia then I shal talk of Russain affairs. But I recognize that this attitude has been rendered impossible. That today in the United States one may discuss nothing unless he enters the controversy concerning the Soviet Union. You may be interested in Education, higher wages, unemployment, relief, relief,public services, river and forest control -- in a hundred matters of domestic concern and national welfare, yet are compelled to drop all that and discuss the Soviet Union and its method of industrial development. Moreover even here you are not free. If you are ready to engage in public discussion as to the Russian revolution and its results, you are given no opportunity. The mis-named Town Meetingof the air listens to one side of the controversy; the magazines accept but one version and the newspapers print everything bad and nothing good about the Soviets or even about socialism in Scandinavia and Britain.

35-6-170

The only refuge of an honest man is therefore to refuse to diseuss Russia unless the discussion can be free and fair; and to show how Russian conditions have nothing to do with the matters which you wish to bring before the public at this time; and show why this is true.For instance, I am primarily interested in this campaign in Peace and Civil Rights. I maintain that the Soviet Union has not attacked the United States while the United States has invaded Russian slil; has surrounded Russian territory with armed bases and has not only acted on the supposition that Russia is an enemy which we must fight, but has by open insult, offensive alliance and even by the increasing threat of armed aggression, seemed actually to be disappointed that the Soviet has not begun a Third World War. They have not begun it; there is absolutely no proof that they instigated North Korea to attack the South. There is on the contrary every reason gto believe that the Soviets were as surprised as we by this attack and stood to gain more by postponement of this conflict than by aiding it

[1930?]

The leaders of both our leading political parties are frightened. Senator Lehman is afraid Peace may break out at any time. He knows that the nation has been driven into such hysyeria that it is ready to fight anybody, anywhere for anything. But the senator realizes that this state of mind cannot be permanent and he sees signs of recovery --of returning sanity, of a resurgence of the desire for world peace. He asks to be returned to the Senate in order to throw his influence agaist this cry for peace and do all he can to force ~~into~~ Coward a third World War. For this purpose he is making strange alliances; he is welcoming to his bi-partisan fold the man whom only last year he called a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist. Not that Mr. Dulles has changed his ideas, but perhaps because of his success in starting the war in Korea. Senator Lehman welcomes to these shores and poses proudly beside him, General Anders whom his owncolleague, Mick testified was a virulent anti-semite. Senator joins Governor Dewey and Dewey's stooge Hanley who is posing as Dewey's Charley (or Joe) McCarthy, in assenting to the re-arming in Germany of those leaders who murdered six million Jews and spread in the world a new race hate which lies at the base of the terrible battle between Asia and Europe now starting in Korea. So eager is Senator Lehman for war that he has no time for social progress. He has done nothing for an FEEPC which would give Jews and Negroes an equal chance to work with their fellow citizens. He has gone along with Republicans and Democrats to fasten the filibuster on the Senate; he has wasted no time on the promised repeal of the Taft-Hartley act; national aid to education has not kept him awake nights. But he is eager to add to the three million disabled veterans now alive, forgetting the thousands of their dead brothers. He wants the nation to keep on its toes for killing and maiming more of our youth, until there is nowhere on earth any vestige of opposition to American capital making huge profit out of the poverty and disease of Asia and Africa. Freedom for profit is Senator Lehman's First of the new freedoms which our bi-partisan leadership is bent on establishing in the world.

What has the American Labor Party to offer instead of this joint program of Democratic-Republican loot machine? Are we revolutionists? Are we leading ineffedtive and envious slackers who are jealous of the great leaders of American industry ? Have we no pride at what work and capital have done in the United States to abolish poverty and raise our standard of living? We are against revolution even when it is called defensive war; we who represent the workers honor work and know what leadership, management and invention mean. We recognize the high role of capital and the need of just return

to its owners, whether ownership lies in individual, city or nation. But let me illustrate where our criticism of modern methods comes in. Recently there has been founded the Ford Foundation endowed with 215 millions of dollars. Where did this money come from? It was [redacted] part of what was left over after the costs of manufacturing the Ford automobile ahd been met: the cost of materials, the wages of labor, the payment of taxes, the salaries of management and the restoration of the original capital invested. It included ample payment to Henry Ford and his co-workers for thier marvellous adaption of Mass production in American industry, making cheap cars and wide emplo yment possible. We do not begrudge these caputalists all they could eat and wear; their comfortable homes , their recreation and travel All this they had earned and deserved and all this they had. But what is this 2 hundred million left after all these costs and charges have been met. If it is used as planned for h human betterment who is to decidewhat plans and what ideals are to prevail in this great expenditure. Is democracy to ru le here or autocracy? Did the right to make automobiles include the right to decide the methods and ends of human progress and the edugation of our future leaders?

The American Labor Party says No. We say that after the costs of industry are fully met, the surplus belongs to the mass of workers or to the State; and that the state and not a private self-purpetuating body should be given this vast power over the thought and ideals of men. That by neglect of such basic rights of property and work, we have today landed in a world of perpetual war and murder for private profit and not for public welfare.

It is toward this social control of income that all the modern world is moving as it realizes the possibilities of knowledge and technique; as it realizes that poverty, ignorance and most disease are unnecessary if once the world realizes that industry is not for private profit beyond reasonable income, but for social progress This all the world is coming to believe with increasing certainty; and to curb th this belief by abolition of the right to think is an impossible program. While to increase private profit by war, colonial subjection and imperial expansion is an impossible goal for any people

It is repeatedly siad that Senator Lehman is a good man, honest and well-meaning that he has often helped good enterprises and voted for good measures. But this is not enough. We do not elect officials because they are respectable; or if we do we pay for it bitterly. Men are elcted for the principles for which they stand and fight; if they have no basic principles or will not fight for them, no personal chamr or good will is sufficient demand for their election.

35-7-44

The Truman run-a-round is a new a very successful political technique: You take a strong stand ; no action follows; you take another stand; Congress refuses; you go fishing.

You start a War and make a speech on peace; we get ready for word war and make another speech on peace; we go fishing

45-7-122

[fragment]

~~Let me say this~~: the interests of the colored people and the growth of the colored people and the equality of the colored people must come by a union with the poor. Your friends are the working people. The working people do not always treat you right. They sometimes discriminate against you and they therefore give cause for you to think that the rich white man who takes you to fill the place of the poor white laborer on a strike is your true benefactor. But he isn't. Your cause is everlastingly interwoven with the cause of labor. You can rise with them, but not without them.

Again; remember that you have gained nothing unless you have gained independence, unless you have gained self-respect, unless it looks toward social equality. Dollars are nothing. Laws are nothing. All that's worth while is the right to breathe the air as a free man, a free woman, a free child unhampered by your color or the previous condition of your life. In this the blacks can do something. One thing I would say they must do first of all. You have had the ballot--in some places. You have used it like chumps. You haven't used it at all. Fifty years ago the republican party perhaps did more than any other to emancipate the colored race; and the colored people have been giving the republican party

48-2-97

Slavery + Civilization

I want tonight to do 3 things:

1st to ask: What was slavery & the slave trade?

2nd to ask: What is the spirit of modern civilization?

& finally to indicate briefly how the victims of slavery may inherit modern civilization

31-11-32

We have had so far two views of modern culture:

1st its injustice & rapacity as illustrated by the slave trade

2nd its thought strivings & accomplishments as represented in the centers of European culture

31-11-31

How now shall the victims of the wrongs of civilization inherit its goods & its rights?

~~Manifestly starting behind modern~~ culture our ~~first~~ work is to catch up; in this life of advancing peoples there must go on ~~simultaneously~~ a struggle for existence, the ~~accumulation~~ of wealth, the

Such then ~~[redacted]~~ was the training of the American Negro. Into what sort of civilization has he today been suddenly thrust?

31-11-33

45-7-121

What we are fighting is not Russia; what we are fighting is not communnism. What we are fighting is an idea and an idea we can neve never conquer, but will and must conquer us or mankind will die and that idea is that in industry a few men get too much and mi most men get too little and that this is not because of the law of God but because of the greed and selfishness of men. This is grue

We know it is true and truth the day shall win toargue would be blasphemy. To barter would be sin. The Soviet Union believe it has the answer to this quesgion. You dont. Alml right, Prove it. Dont muredr each other Prove it

REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PARTY AS SUCH IS A VOTE FOR WAR. IF YOU LOOK UPON THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO REPRESENT YOUR COMMUNITY AND IF YOU CAN DETERMINE FROM THEIR RECORD, WHICH IS NOT ALWAYS EASY, WHETHER THEY ARE AGAINST WAR AND FOR PEACE, THEN YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE DUTY TO VOTE ACCORDINGLY, TO VOTE AGAINST THOSE MEN WHO ARE SPENDING RIDICULOUS SUMS OF MONEY AND SPENDING IT IN WASTEFUL MANNER IN ORDER TO PUSH THE WORLD INTO WAR. THEN AGAIN THERE IS THE MATTER OF TAXATION. THERE IS SCANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS AS TO THE AMOUNT OF TAXES THAT WE ARE PAYING AND AS TO THE INCIDENCE OF THOSE TAXES. THE BURDEN OF TAXATION TODAY IS WRETCHEDLY UNJUST. IT SHOULD BE CHANGED. AND YOU SHOULD SEE IN THE FIRST PLACE THAT EVERY SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION IS A MAN WHO BY HIS ACTION IN THE PAST HAS PROVEN THAT HE IS IN FAVOR OF JUST TAXATION. AND YOU CANNOT VOTE FOR REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS AS PARTIES AND EXPECT TO GET REFORM IN TAXATION.

35-8-480

WE NEED AND NEED DESPERATELY CERTAIN SOCIAL SERVICES WHICH ARE BEING INCREASINGLY NEGLECTED. THE FIRST IS EDUCATION.

45-8-34

Prove it. Hell you dont have to murder each other for proof
Prove it in peace and plenty; in freedom not in jail
not in hiring dirty spies like Budenz and firing great
scientists like Joliot-Curie

I welcome the support of communists for I know that most
Communists want what I want -- Jutice, decent wages, educatio
and lesser idiots in Washington killing o r boys in silly wa

20th century ~~and age to age~~ the same mistakes, and suffer the same results. These results repeat themselves with horrible monopoly; Death of uncounted millions and and not the death of the guilty merely, but of the innocent, the misled, of the utterly mistaken, ~~indeed of~~ those who were striving for peace and justice. This we often, almost usually conceal. I remember the one time when I saw war almost face to face. In 1918 just after the Armistice, I was in France walking ~~in~~ the forest of the Argonne, where a battle had recently been fought. The worst results of that fearful slaughter had been removed: the corpes, the ~~lopped~~ limbs, the ~~horrible~~ ecstacy of pain. The ~~shrieks of~~ human shrieks were stilled and ~~the~~ scenes of indescribable horror. But the signs of all this remained: the dried blood, the torn shoes, the shreds of uniform; I saw fire arms, and ~~the~~ blackened possessions, lost trinkets, ~~rotters and bedraggled dirt~~ and ~~wasted~~ lead and iron. I knew that a few miles over there soldiers were lying wearily in the sand to have the lice and virmin and dirt picked out of their hair and skin. I drove back the surge of tears and said to myself in determined joy: ~~this~~ at least after this insane horror; never again will men who know this truth ~~fight~~ In earlier years the ~~horror of~~ war could be concealed. But today in the full glare of publicity, never afain will war blast mankind. In ten little years the whole of mankind ~~was~~ gripped in the greatest war man ever knew. Even after that came wars and rumors of war, until today we front the threat of world wide extermination. We face this even when we know well that most of the reality of war is concealed from us, often by our own conniveance. What happens to women in war zones? Why is one of the first acts of an invading army to erect whore houses and inspect soldiers for venerial diseases; why are prostitutes imported deliberately moved in by army commanders. Remember how Jans Addams was excoriated during the First World War when she revealed the well-known fact that soldiers were regularly dozed with whiskey on the eve of battle. Have any of you read that international report of how American soldiers treated ~~American~~ Korean women and do you think that these boys acted ~~any~~ differemtly from any other soldiers ~~in war?~~ Drunkenness and gambling are and always have been twin sisters of war war. Walk the streets of any modern cuty today and see the cripples and maimed from war. Meet the insane, and visit if you dare, the jails and asylums.

We refuse to learn the truth, or when we do, we do not teach this truth to our children so that they may avoid our errors

40-9-310

Do not deceive yourselves into thinking that disease and crime are not or have not always been the result of war. What else can one expect of murder, hate and dissipation inflicted on youth year after year and century after century. It not a matter of nationality, or race or color, it is human nature and it keeps occuring. In my own country after the Revolutionary war, came crime and debauchery; after the war of 1812, came crime and debauchery; after the civil was came crime and debauchery; after the First War came crime and debauchery with new name of Juvenile delinquency. Let us stopp deceiving our selves and and refusing to face the truth. War must result in crime. You cannot teach murder and hate to youth and reap unselfishness and high ideals. You cannot teach men to hate and expect them to love. Face then the question: is war ever neccesary? Does it ever acommplish it avowed ens? Can it be longer retained retained as a method of progress?

There is for the Communist Party a great program of change and reform to better this sick world. It will be ~~thought out and~~ made effective by careful thought, by trial and error, by refusal to be surprised or cast into dispair when inner error and outer injustice ~~and attack~~ halt your work But what what the Communist party and all parties must today realize is that their first plank is NO MORE WAR That this plank must precede all other planks if mankind can ever hope to to survive and be able ~~to think itself into~~ to seek salvation

40-1-105

OF HUMAN PROGRESS?

THERE IS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY A GREAT PROGRAM OF CHANGE AND REFORM TO BETTER THIS SICK WORLD. IT WILL BE MADE EFFECTIVE BY CAREFUL THOUGHT, BY TRIAL AND ERROR, BY REFUSAL TO BE SURPRISED OR CAST INTO DESPAIR WHEN INNER ERROR AND OUTER INJUSTICE HALT YOUR WORK. BUT WHAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ALL PARTIES MUST TODAY REALIZE IS THAT THEIR FIRST PLANK IS NO MORE WAR. THAT THIS PLANK MUST PRECEDE ALL OTHER PLANKS IF MANKIND CAN EVER HOPE TO SURVIVE AND BE ABLE EVEN TO SEEK SALVATION.

nation to prepare textbooks in their own languages and dialects for the two hundred peoples of Russia. Around me was the evidence of war and starvation; the wild children were still hiding in the sewers. Russia was hungry, cold and afraid of the world. But the Soviets said and to my mind said rightly: our first duty is to abolish race hate and discrimination in our own land. This the Union of Soviet Republics has accomplished to an unprecedented degree. This enables Russia to stand today as the one great world power which does not have and does not want colonies except as equal partners in the nation or equal nations about to be born. For this the world and America should than Russia. American Negroes especially, together with the Pan-African world, which I have the honor to represent, should look on this leadership of Russia toward human equality as her greatest gift to the world and the surest road toward the abolition of war.

35-9-30

Many will say in answer to this that if they could be sure that Russia stood for the broad education of the masses and for the emancipation of colonial peoples and eventual gift of the right of self-government and self-determination that they would be only too glad to cooperate with Russia for these aims. But they ask why does not Russia allow us to investigate and determine the truth of these matters? Why does she not admit the American "free press" to her territory?

Always when I hear such statements I think of my experience in Russia in 1928. I had gone to Germany, and since the United States did not then recognize Russia, I had to spend sometime in Berlin awaiting a passport. Finally I sailed from Stettin to Cronstadt. I landed at Cronstadt on a peaceful morning. The city was old, delapidated and quiet. Ships were rotting in the harbor, grass was growing up between the cobble-

stones. The people passed silently to and fro. There was little sound or movement; peace and quiet reigned. I glanced sorrowfully at this place which had borne the brunt of war and rode on to Leningrad and eventually to Moscow.

35-4-231

By the time I reached Moscow my American newspapers had caught up with me. I got hold of a copy of the New York Times which had a dispatch from Riga dated the very morning that I had landed in Russia. It informed me that revolution had broken out in Cronstadt and that the city was flowing with blood; that this was a sign of the overthrow of the Bolsheviki. I had never before seen such clear evidence of the way in which lies get publication and distribution in our press. The editors and publishers of the New York Times were without doubt seeking the truth; the people who sent that dispatch from Riga were deliberately lying; and the correspondents who accepted their lies as truth were people who were eager and ready to believe anything that supported their heartfelt wishes.

There are few countries in the modern world that have made greater effort than Russia to reveal themselves and their methods to their neighbors. In this trip of mine, coming as a stranger without official status, and without power or standing at home or abroad, I could not have asked broader opportunity to see what Russia was doing. I said then and believe now that Russia is the most hopeful country on earth. On the other hand, I know just why it is that Russia shrinks from welcoming to her borders the kind of newspaper correspondent which we have developed in America: a man whose opinions are for sale to any publisher who wishes to buy, who recognizes no restraints of decency or even of probability if his story can make the sensational first page.

I know why people shrink from this because we American Negroes have

in the past gone through the same ordeal. We hated to have white writers investigate and interpret Negroes to the world. Now and then to be sure we got honest, well-trained reporters; but usually we not only got sensational writers and careless seekers for notoriety but we also realized that once the lie was let loose with headlines, it was practically impossible to catch it. Retraction might be made, buried in small type on a back page; for the most part nothing was said. I remember that one of the best books that I ever wrote touching the Negro problem had its sale utterly ruined by a review which grossly misinterpreted a plain statement and this distortion I could never get the editor to retract or mention.

35-4-232

Here in America we depend upon the eventual triumph of truth because of the large number of writers and the pitiless publicity. In the long run reports balance each other and we assume that the truth emerges. Even here we are often mistaken. But in a country like Russia which has been maligned, misinterpreted and deliberately and unjustly caricatured I can easily understand the spirit that asks for some reasonable assurance that newspaper men admitted to Russia are going at least to try to be fair and objective.

The reports that have come from Russia by persons of high standing, who have had wide opportunity to observe for a long time have been more than encouraging for those of us who want peace and the abolition of poverty. I have visited Russia twice with intervals of eight years between: first in a stay of a month or six weeks I saw Leningrad and Moscow, Gorki, Kiev and Odessa. The next time I crossed the whole expanse of this vast country from Moscow to Manchuria in ten days of leisurely travel on the Transiberian. Neither of these visits enabled me to speak as an expert

on Russia. I used to boast I was one of the few persons who had been in Russia a month and had not written a book on the subject. But from world travel which began in 1892 and has taken me over most of Europe and North America, and parts of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, I have some basis of comparison and some background of experience, which is a fair basis of judgment. Beyond this I know what it is to be a member of a depressed and despised group. Years ago I read of Czarist rule in Russia as described by George Kennan. Afterward I read of the Jewish pogroms and then I saw a people trying to emerge from the same slavery out of which my own people had partially emerged. I was trained therefore to understand Russia better than most people. What I ask is not agreement with the Russian system, but that vast charity which recognizes that this magnificent experiment in the betterment of mankind has a right to exist, has a right to try its own method of human uplift and has a right to demand the respect and careful sympathy of the United States of America.

35-4-233

USSR

Repression in Russia is largely forced by the West. This was what Trotsky and in earlier times Lenin feared. If a single state tried to set up socialism in a capitalistic world it would be so threatened by its neighbors that it could not survive or have opportunity to develope. This has happened; the western world for 20 years tried to down communism by brute force. Then in the Second World War, the West was complelled to rely on R ussia to rescue it from Hitler.

Russia had to stop free travel to and from Russia because reporters lied about conditions to the world and capital sought every method of penetration

Propaganda interfered with the immense job of adult education necessary in an ignorant country

Countries with huge stores of consumption goods easily bribed starved and self sacrificing peasants and worker toiling for a future

Democracy never known had to be taught from the ground up and practiced gradually.

Meantime Russia had to fight incessantly. She has had since 1917, scarcely 17 years of peace

She has been slandered, misrepresentesd; her every offer spurned; her every success lied about

Her temper is bad because she has never been treated with courtesy or consideration

Her dispossessed exploiters and degenerate nobility; all ambitious men like Trotszy all her traitors have formed a world committee to spit lies and venom in every land

Russia had to reject the Marshall Plan because it was intended to establish American capital as the dominant force in Europe. America would not deal with socialism save it promised to surrender at least in part. Russia would not and could not surrender

The communists beat their breasts and say, "But we are the ones who halp the people against their exploiters. We are the ones who have no prejudice against color. We are the ones who give the people land." Very few people in the US believe the communists but millions in Asia do.

If we are to fight communism successfully we must realize that the day is rapidly approaching when the only effective weapons will be economic psychological and political. In other words war with guns and bombs will eventually be passe.

Until Russia and Red China give some concrete evidence that they are really interested in a specific program and not a propaganda program for peace, we must increase our armed strength as fast as possible.

A strong China might be a real threat to Soviet Asia. Is it possible that Russia has never really wanted Communist China to be seated in the UN.

(G) We are being forced to arm but as we arm must remind ourselves that all our arming will go for naught unless we can demonstrate ont only to our own people but also to the people of Asia and western Europe that we are serving them in the same way as we strove to serve them when we were fighting Germany and Japan.

Russia had some justification for safeguarding herself because of our airbase
ses and our general's talk

What appals me is the mass stupidity of an individually intelligent world of men; and I am tremendously attracted by any attempt like that of the Soviets to meet this baffling problem. I am prepared to to forgive and overlook much to encourage even the attempt to begin the solution of this threat to civilization. Examine once the paradoxdisplayed by the at empt to stop the Russian revolution. Europe 's High Finance had transferred to Russia say 20 billion dollars worth of machinery, goods and services. It has received back the value of this and more in goods, , but has legal right to more This right is threatened by uprising. Compromise is possible and urged by which this threatened loss can be lessened. It is indignantly refused and instead billions is spent in arms, armies, spies and brigands who inflict 60 billions of dollars worth of damage on the Russians and kill seven millions of men, women and children. They set back two decades the effort of the Soviets to plan a new economic world. This does not make sense. Indeed it is gauge of our current inability or at least unwillingness to think

The 19th century has been ruled bythe control and distribution of capital goods through a group of world financiers who erected a world marke for exchange of goods and services, by establishing a common standard of value based on gold and let this market work out its prices and profits by wide freedom of individual initiative and maintaining peace beteen the dominating nations who owned and controlled the capital. Results were fabulous in some respects and for a century. Then came disaster when

bleak and horrible disaster costing

What was wrong? When Russia seeks to answer the world turns on her like ravening beasts, crying not simply she cannot solve this riddle, but she shall not try!

19-22-2

WHEN HITLER AND MUSSOLINI SHOWED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONQUER THE SOVIET UNION, WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA WERE WILLING ~~TO HELP~~ but thes DICTATORS DEMANDED SO HIGH A PRICE NOT ONLYIN COLONIAL POWER BUT IN POWER OVER THE WEST. THIS COMPELLED THE WEST TO JOIN THE SOVIETS AGAINST HITLER. BUT WHEN HITLER WAS OVERTHROWN THE WEST LED BY THE UNITED STATES RESUM THEIR FIGHT AGAINST SOCIALISM AS LED BY THE CO MUNIST THIS LEFT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TODAY FACING TWO POWERS, WESTERN FREE ENTERPRISE AND EASTERN SOCIALISM WHAT IS THEIR ATTITUDE? I WNT TO EXAMINE THSS REACTI IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SARAHA

42-24-198

40-1-203

Many leaders of capitalsit Big Business console themselvs by hoping that chemistry is about to lessen their need of natural raw materials and that automation will releive them of the quest for cheap labor. Such optimists forget that if materials become cheaperto manufacture than to grow and that if labor human labor is less necessary for manufcture, the products of industry will be claimed by the people and Big Business monopolist will no longer be needed His occupation will be gone. White European and North American labor will no longer be encouraged to help reduce Africans and Asiatics to slavery in order to receive higher wage themselves

23

I KNOW PHILADELPHIA/ BY LONG ACQUAINTANCE/ FIFTY FOURS years AGO I WAS CALLED HERE/ TO HELP CLEAN UP THE DIRTY POLITICS/ OF THIS CITY/ BY EXPOSING THE VENALITY/ OF THE NEGRO SEVENTH WARD.// I EXPOS
ed IT/ AND ALSO I TOLD/ HOW THE WEALTHIER AND MORE RESPECTABLE WARDS/ GOT RICH AND POWERFUL/ BY USING THE POVERTY OF THE SEVENTH WARD/ FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.// IN FIFTY YEARS THERE HAS BEEN NO ESSENTIAL CHANGE/ IN THIS SITUATION/ NEITHER IN PHILADELPHIA/ NOR IN THE UNITED STATES.// OUR MAIN MOTIVE STILL/ IS NOT CHANGE FOR BETTERMENT/ BUT CHANGE FOR MORE PROFIT.// WE WANT BETTER WORKERS/ NOT FOR BETTER AND MORE INTELLIGENT MANHOOD/ BUT FOR LOWER WAGE AND LONGER HOURS OF WORK.// BOTH CITY AND NATION/ ARE REPEATEDLY SURPRISED/ THAT THE LABORERS WHITE AND BLACK/ CANNOT BE HAPPY/ JUST BECAUSE DIVIDENDS ARE HIGHER.// THEY WANT BETTER WAGES,/ NOT SIMPLY FOR WHITE WORKERS BUT FOR ALL WORKERS/ EVEN IF THIS LEAVES/ LESS MONEY FOR SOME FOLK/ TO RUN THEIR MAIN LI NE ESTATES.// AND THSI IS THE DEMAND/ OF ALL THE WORLD/ FREEDOM FROM WANT./ ON THIS BASIS AND ON THIS ALONE WILL FREEDOM OF MANKIND BE BASED.

35-4-52

24

--22--

MOST OF THE WORLD IS TODAY/ TURNING TOWARD THE WELFARE STATE:/ TURNING AGAINST THE IDEA OF PRODUCTION/ FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT/ TOWARD THE IDEA OF PRODUCTION FOR USE/ AND FOR THE WELFARE OF THE MASS OF CITIZENS.// NO MATTER HOW DIFFICULT SUCH A COURSE IS,/ IT IS THE ONLY COURSE/ THAT IS GOING TO SAVE THE WORLD/ AND THIS WE AMERICAN NEGROES/ HAVE GOT TO REALIZE.

35-4-53

WE MAY FIND IT EASY NOW/ TO GET PUBLICITY, REWARD, AND ATTENTION/ BY ~~SEEMING~~ Complaint
if we go ALONG/ WITH THE REACTIONARY PROPAGANDA/ AND WAR HYSTERIA/ WHICH IS CONVULSING THIS NATION.// BUT IN THE LONG RUN/ AMERICA WILL NOT THANK ITS BLACK CHILDREN/ IF THEY HELP IT/ GO THE WRONG WAY,/ OR RETARD ITS PROGRESS.

~~In Scandinavia, England, France, Italy and~~

and even some yielding to our complaints. and if not real yielding ~~as in Ghana~~ at least elaborate gestures as in Washington

25

35-4-54

Therefore 27

The present situation among American Negroes has some peculiar aspects and contradictions. National elements of industrial expansion and reaction want the support of the Negro voter since his vote is increasing and of public opinion within the Negro group. On the other hand the Negro can scarcely be expected to support the propaganda that this land is a democracy. Consequently the Negro is often in dilemma. IF HE CRITICES OUR DEMOCRACY TOO STRONGLY, HE IS LIABLE TO BE SUSPECTED OF COMMUNISM AND HAVE HIS JOB THREATENED. COLORED PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS, MAIL CARRIERS ALL OVER THE LAND HAVE IN SCORES OF CASES BEEN THUS THREATENED AND ACCUSED IF NOT OF SPYING AT LEAST OF BELONGING TO THE NAACP CONSEQUENTLY THE NAACP HASTENS TO GET IN OUT OF THE RAIN AND DECLARE FERVENTLY THAT IT HATES AND DESPISES COMMUNISTS MANY NEGROES WHO HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN THE PROGRESS OF AFRICA DARE NOT HELP THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS BECAUSE PAUL ROBESON IS ITS CHAIRMAN.

26

35-4-55

25 ~~27~~ ~~23~~

May I best illustrate my meaning, by reminding you of the sort of advice which you used to give children: be frank; be honest; be unselfish, be be courageous. Today you do not use these words. NATURALLY YOU DO NOT TELL YOUR SON TO LIE, STEAL, BE SELFISH AND COWARDLY. BUT YOU SAY: KEEP QUIET, MAKE AS MUCH AS YOU CAN AND HOLD ONTO IT AND MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS

NOW THIS IS NOT EXACTLY BAD ADVICE, BUT IT DOES NOT MAKE FOR BROAD ENLIGHTENED PROGRESS. IT DOES NOT SPELL VISION AND ADVANCE. IT DOES NOT SUIT THE ERA OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN WHICH WE ARE TODAY LIVING. IF ANY MAN OR GROUP IS GOING TO PLAY ITS RIGHTFUL PART TODAY, IT MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WORLD IS ABOUT. ~~A MAN TODAY, LIKE~~ MY GREAT FRIEND, HENRY HUNT, USED ~~TO~~ "I can SAY, KEEP STILL IN SEVEN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES," BUT WHEN a man DOES SPEAK, HE CANNOT LIE; HE MUST NOT BE DISHONEST AND HE MUST HAVE THE COURAGE OF HIS CONVICTIONS.

WHAT IS THE PLIGHT OF THE WORLD TODAY? ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO ~~XXXXX~~ THE WORLD WAS FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY--MEN WANTED TO ELECT THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE LAW AND HAVE VOICE IN THE MAKING OF THAT LAW. THEY WERE OBSTRUC

ted in this OBJECT / BY THOSE 24 WHO FIRMLY BELIEVED / THAT MOST PEOPLE WERE TOO STUPID / TO MAKE LAWS / OR TO SELECT RULERS; // AND THEY WERE STOPPED / FROM EVEN DISCUSSING / THE MATTER / BY CONTINUED AND RECURRING WARS / WHICH TOOK THEIR LIVES AND MONEY / AND TURNED THE WORRD / INTO A MASS OF NATIONS / WHICH HATED AND FEARED EACH OTHER. // TODAY, THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY / HAS BEEN PARTLY WON / THERE ARE STILL NATIONS / WHICH ARE NOT DEMOCRATIC; / THERE ARE STILL DEMOCRATIC NATIONS / LIKE OUR OWN / WHICH PERSIST IN DENYING DEMOCRACY / TO LARGE SECTIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE. // BUT THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY / IN THEORY / IS WON. / AND WON BY MEN / WHO DARED TO THINK CLEARLY / AND ACT HONESTLY / AND KEEP THEIR COURAGE AND FAITH.

35-4-52

~~BUT~~ TODAY / COMES ANOTHER BATTLE / THE FIGHT TO EXTEND / [redacted] DEMOCRACY INTO INDUSTRY; / INTO THE DAILY WORK AND INCOME OF MEN / SO AS TO GIVE THEM VOICE / AS TO THEIR WAGE / AND CONDITIONS OF WORK / AND CONTROL OF THEIR EXPENSE / FOR RENT, FOOD AND CLOTHES. // SUCH INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY / IS BITTERLY OP-

25

POSED / BY MANY ~~HONEST AND~~ SINCERE MEN / WHO DECLARE THAT WORKERS / ARE TOO STUPID / TO HAVE VOICE IN INDUSTRY / OR DETERMINE INCOME. // AND THAT THE STATE SHOULD NOT ENTER INDUSTRY / OR EXCERCISE ANY GREAT CONTROL OVER IT. // THEY CONTEND / THAT FREE ENTERPRISE / AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE / HAS MADE AMERICA / RICH AND PROSPEROUS. // HERE IS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. // IT IS TRUE WE HAVE HAD FREEDOM / ~~AND LICENSE~~ IN THE UNITED STATES. / WE HAVE ALSO HAD SLAVERY // INITIATIVE HAS GRANTED US MUCH / BUT NO PAUPER IS FREE. / NO little ENTERPRISE CAN ESCAPE / THE FATAL ~~EXIT~~ COMPETITION / OF THE CHAIN STORE / AND NO MAN WITHOUT A JOB / CAN HAVE OPINIONS OR DARE ~~TO~~ EXPRESS THEM. // BUT BEYOND ALL THIS / AND GRANTED, there are ~~THE~~ TWO SIDES / OF THIS CONTROVERY // THE ONE ESSENTIAL THING / IS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT / AND DISCUSSION; / KNOWLEDGE / OF WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING IN THE WORLD. // THIS TODAY / WE ARE DENIED LARGELY. // OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES / ARE OWNED BY BIG BUSINESS; / THE RADIO mostly TELLS BUT ONE SIDE OF THE CONTROVERSY / AND THE AVERAGE CITIZEN / DOES NOT REALIZE / THAT IN ~~THE~~ MOST NATIONS OF THE WORLD, / INCLUDING OUR OWN / THE GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY CONDUC

35-4-57

29 TICTING/LARGE PORTIONS OF INDUSTRY,/ IS STRICTLY CONTROLLING OTHER PARTS AND GRADUALLY/OVER MOST OF THE WORLD/THE WELFARE STATE,/WHICH REGULATES INCOME AND EXPENDITURE,/ PROPERTY AND ~~EXPENDTURE,~~ CAPITAL/ IS ~~XXXXXXXX~~ IS RE-PLACING THE STATE/WHICH EXISTS TO MAKE PRIVATE PROFIT/FOR THE RICH.

35-4-59

WHY IS THIS FACT/NOT FREELY DISCUSSED/AND OPENLY KNOWN?/ THE ANSWER IS WAR./ WAR AND MORE WAR./ THE DRAINING OF OUR POCKETS/FOR AN EXPENDITURE/FOR MURDER AND DISTRUCTION/ON A SCALE NEVER ~~HEARD~~ DREAMED OF BEFORE/ IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND//THE REASON GIVEN/IS THAT THIS COUNTRY IS THREATENED//THIS IS UNTRUE./ THERE IS NOT A NATION ON EARTH,/ NOT EVEN RUSSIA/ THAT PLANS ATTACK ON US//BUT THERE ARE MANY NATIONS/INCLUDING, CHINA + ENGLAND, WHO DISLIKE ~~ENGLAND, WHO MIGHT ATTACK US,~~ OUR METHOD OF DOING BUSINESS//AND FOR THIS REASON/AND FOR NO OTHER/WE STOP DISCUSSION,/CUT OFF INFORMATION/AND PLAN FOR WAR.

THIS ~~YOU~~ MUST KNOW./ THIS YOU MUST REALIZE.// WHEN TODAY ~~YOU~~ NEGROES JUSTLY ~~CELEBRATE THE RIGHT~~ FIGHT BEGINNING TO ~~HAVE WON IN CLEVELAND~~ TO ENTER INDUSTRY

THE ISSUE OF PEACE THEN/BECOMES THE KEY ISSUE/FOR ALL OF US TODAY.// WAR IS THE EXCUSE/FOR THE NEGLECT/OF ALL THE PRESSING QUESTIONS/WHICH CONFRONT US// OUR SCHOOLS NEED MORE MONEY? BUT CANNOT HAVE IT/BECAUSE WE NEED MORE BOMBS// OUR CIVIL RIGHTS/ARE BEING INVADED/BECAUSE WE ARE IN DANGER OF BEING INVADED BY CHINA/AND MOST OF OUR BEST CITIZENS/ARE TURNING OUT TO BE SPIES AND LIARS// WE HELPED TO ELECT TRUMAN/PRESIDENT/BECAUSE HE FAITHFULLY PROMISED/ TO RE* PEAL THE TAFT HARTLEY BILL/AND INSURE CIVIL RIGHTS TO NEGROES./ HE HAS BEEN TOO BUSY/IN FLORIDA AND RUSSIA/ TO ATTEND TO THIS/AND HE TAKES CREDIT ACCORD* INGLY/FOR SPENDING MORE IN WAR/THAN ANY NATION ON EARTH/EVER SPENT BEFORE/ AND THIS IS BECAUSE/HE BELIEVES IN PEACE/AND WILL NOT STOOP TO TALK WITH STALIN ~~TO TALK~~ ABOUT IT

35-4-60

THE SIMPLE RECITAL/OF THESE FACTS/SHOW HOW STUPID/THIS COUNTRY IS BECOMING/AND HOW IMPERATIVE IT IS/FOR US TO RETURN TO OUR NATIVE COMMON SENSE.//WE OUGHT TO SIGN THE STOCKHOLM DECLARATION/FOR OUTLAWING THE ATOMIC BOMB/AND TREATING THE NATION/WHICH USES IT AS AN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL// WE OUGHT TO CUT/OUR MILITARY BUDGET IN HALF/AND RESTORE OUR SCHOOLS/ STRENGHTEN SOCIAL SECURITY/ AND BUILD HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS NATION/

WE OUGHT TO DETERMINE/ IN OUR OWN MINDS/ THAT THIS NATION IS NOT RICH/AS

LONG AS A THIRD OF ITS FAMILIES/EXIST ON LESS/THAN TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS
A YEAR//AND THAT INSTEAD OF HELPING BUSINESS/UNDERMINE EUROPEAN MER*
CHANTS /WE MIGHT SEND THE FOREIGN POOR/ THE FOOD WE KEEP BURIED/ IN THE
GROUND/AT A COST OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR// THESE THINGS AND MORE/
A CRUSADE FOR PEACE/ CAN ACCOMPLISH/IF YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS/REALIZE THE
INSANITY/WHICH BIG BUSINESS AND BIG BRASS/IS FORCING ON US//
today.

31
29

35-4-58

S

SOCIALISM

The power and money which John D. Rockefeller attained and bequeathed to his family and friends was called in my youth lying and stealing. It is now called individual initiative and excused as necessary to induce men to do their best. It is explained also that unless ~~the most~~ gifted men work hard, civilization cannot advance since the majority of mankind lack ability to progress ~~far~~. Therefor the most advanced culture of the Nineteenth century was built on permitting the persons ~~who~~ could enjoy ~~the~~ power and wealth which they did not earn, but took from the gifts of nature or fom the results of the toil ~~and sacrifice~~ of other persons. ~~Thus~~ the majority ~~of~~ most civilized nations, and the vast majority of the peoples of the world labored ~~to make~~ the minority cultured, rich and comfortable. In the middle ~~of~~ the century and growing powerful by the middle of the Twentieth century, there arose the philosophy of Socialism which aimed to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ vest ownership of the gifts of nature in the mass of people and especially to ~~allow~~ no private ownership of wealth used as capital and no exploitation of labor. The end of Socialism was seen as Communism when everyone would give his best abilities to and receive in turn what he needed for a good life. Outside this, man would be free to do as he pleased.

~~The Those who~~ used Science and ~~the~~ newly ~~discovered~~ technique ~~to manufacture goods and transport them,~~ grow ~~increasingly~~ rich and powerful.

Because as has

been said here in the reorganization of industry which the world is bound to see, there is no guarantee that race prejudice will be eliminated unless there is adequate reason. In Russia the Jew was the ideologist of revolution, the born foe of religious superstition and the first citizen of the Internation. Of course, anti-semitism died suddenly. So in American, if leading the way as intelligent cooperating consumers, we rid ourselves of the ideas of a price system and become pioneer servants of the common good, we can enter the New City ~~Colony~~ as men and not as mules.

And the thing that I want finally to impress upon this audience ~~you~~ is that new industrial commonwealth is coming. You can be scared about it if you want to, you can shudder when Russia and Communism are mentioned, but the reorganization of industry in this world for the benefit of those that work and not of those that buy and sell is as sure to come as the sun is to rise. It may not come next year, it may not come in ~~the~~ next decade, but if there is any foundation to our belief in human intelligence, it has got to come, ~~some time~~.

47-7-33

[1933?]

Production + Reproduction

~~The human~~ Character of Change

Human Guide one one young male → one woman

Economic Classes — The Communist Lodge

1. No Profits

~~2. Drawings + Paintings~~

2. Services

3 Training + Painting

4. Work.

Big industry — Profits.

Tyson, Morris - Manchuria

Government → Intelligent democracy

The Consumer

A. Chemicals

B. Advertising + display

40-1-254

In Europe a half century later
came civil war not to abolish
human slavery but to determine
who should be the chief slave owners -
England France & the U.S. or Germany Italy
and Japan. ~~This war is the~~ The
~~second phase~~ victims were not one
comparable group, but involved the
Russia, the Balkans, Asia & Africa. The
Capitalistic system collapsed in the midst of this
war, and hostilities were resumed in 1939

WENDEL WILLKIE /SAID IN 1943:/ "I TELL YOU/ THAT IF A MAN IS NOT,/ DEEP IN HIS BELLY,/ IN FAVOR OF CLOSEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS/ WITH BRITAIN AND RUSSIA,/ THEN IT DOES NOT MATTER/ WHAT ELSE HE IS.// SUCH A MAN WILL BE ANTI-LABOR,/ EVEN IF HE PRAISES LABOR / TWENTY-FOUR HOURS A DAY.// HE WILL BE ANTI-LABOR/ BECAUSE HE WILL BE WORKING/ FOR A CONSTRICTED AMERICA,/ A LESS PROSPEROUS AMERICA.// FOR THE VERY SAME REASON/ THE VERY SAME MAN/ WILL ALSO BE ANTI-BUSINESS,/ IN THE DEEPEST SENSE,/ EVEN THOUGH HE MAY CONSIDER HIMSELF /A SERVANT OF BUSINESS// EVEN THOUGH HE FALLS ON HIS KNEES/ BEFORE BUSINESS.// HE WILL BE ANTI-BUSINESS/ BECAUSE HE WILL BE WORKING/ FOR A SMALLER AMERICA,/ A LESS IMPORTANT AMERICA.// THIS IS THE TOUCHSTONE/ TO A MAN'S ENTIRE POSITION/ IN POLITICS TODAY.// ONLY OCCASIONALLY /DOES IT HAPPEN /THAT ONE ISSUE ARISES/ WHICH IS SO CONTROLLING /THAT EVERY OTHER ISSUE/ IS SUBSIDIARY TO IT.// AND THIS IS IT.// BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH /FOR A MAN MERELY TO REPEAT /THE RIGHT WORDS /ABOUT WORLD COLLABORATION.// HE HAS TO BE ON FIRE WITH IT.// HE HAS TO FEEL /THAT THIS IS THE DOOR/ WHICH WILL OPEN OUTWARD /TO AN EXPANSION /OF AMERICAN ACTIVITY AND PROSPERITY.// YOU CANNOT BE WRONG ON THIS ISSUE/ AND RIGHT /ON ANY OTHER."

35-10-85

45-8-2

35-8-57

SO FAR EISENHOWER/HAS NOT TAKEN A SINGLE STEP/TOWARD PEACE// HIS VISIT TO KOREA ~~HIS VISIT TO KOREA~~ ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING/HIS WITHDRAWAL OF THE FLEET/FROM FORMOSA HAS NOT BROUGHT/CHIANG KAI CHEK OUT OF HIDING// HIS BOLD THREAT/TO ANNUL OUR TREATIES/WITH THE SOVIET UNION/REMAINS A THREAT// HIS DISCOURTESY/ON THE DEATH OF STALIN/REMAINED ONLY BAD TASTE/AND DID NOT OVERTHROW COMMUNISM// HIS THREAT TO GIVE EUROPE NO MORE ALMS/UNLESS THEY SIGNED THE ATLANTIC PACT/ LEAVES THAT PACT STILL UNSIGNED// OUR ATTITUDE IN THE UNITED NATIONS/IS NEITHER STATESMANL LIKE NOR INTELLIGENT// WE STILL STAND ON THE DEFENSIVE/BEFORE THE WHOLE WORLD/ WHILE THE UNION OF SOVIET STATES/IS THE FOREMOST WORLD CHAMPION OF PEACE.

BY THE FACT, OR RATHER BY THE ASSUMED FACT THAT WHEN WE TRADE WITH PEOPLE WE ARE DOI THEM A SPECIAL FAVOR AND THAT TO WITHDRAW OUR TRADE FROM THEM IS TO HURT THEM. THIS IS THE CURIOUS BASIS OF OUR REFUSAL TO TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. IT MAY BE MISREPRESENTED TO BE OUR DESIRE NOT TO FURNISH THEM WITH MATERIALS TO MAKE WAR UPON US. BUT THE REAL REASON IS THE IDEA THAT OUR TRADE IS ESPECIALLY VALUABLE TO THEM AND WE CAN HELP IN OVERTHROWING THEM IF WE DO NOT TRADE.

358-152

ON THE OTHER HAND WE MUST REMEMBER THAT TRADE IS FOR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE; THAT UNLESS IT FULFILLS THAT FUNCTION IT WILL DIE OF ITS OWN ACCORD; THAT ANY TRADE WHICH WE CARRY ON WITH THE SOVIET UNION OR CHINA TODAY IS JUST AS MUCH FOR OUR ADVANTAGE AS FOR THEIRS, AND THAT, INDEED, THE FUTURE OF PEACE AND CIVILIZATION IN THE WORLD DEPENDS UPON THAT RESTORATION OF TRADE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE EAST, BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST OF EUROPE AND BETWEEN AMERICA AND EASTERN EUROPE AND CHINA; THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN WE RE-ESTABLISH THAT BALANCE WHICH WE HAVE LOST IN THE UNITED STATES AND WHICH THREATENS US CONTINUOUSLY WITH DISASTER.

45-8-30

THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL MONEY. THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH NATIONS CAN TRADE IS THROUGH EXCHANGING GOODS. SUCH EXCHANGE OF GOODS, IF CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT AND PLANNED, BRINGS THE BEST ALLOCATION OF LABOR AND MATERIALS IN THE WHOLE WORLD. THIS IS WHAT THE WORLD NEEDS TODAY. INSTEAD OF TRYING TO BOLSTER OUR ECONOMY WITH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WHICH DISTORTS IT, WHAT WE NEED TO DO IS TO OPEN OUR GATES TO TRADE WITH THE WORLD. THERE MAY BE SOME CASES WHERE CERTAIN KINDS OF TRADE HAVE TO BE RESTRICTED FOR MORAL REASONS, AS IN THE CASE OF NARCOTICS. NOW AND THEN WE MAY BY RESTORED TRADE START A NEW INDUSTRY OR A NEW BRANCH OF AGRICULTURE WHICH WILL PROVE NOT ONLY TO OUR ADVANTAGE BUT TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. BUT IN GENERAL THE FREER THE TRADE THE BETTER THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORID SUPPLY EACH OTHER'S NEEDS. THERE IS NO GREATER OBJECT FOR A PEACE MOVEMENT TO ACCOMPLISH THAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE ON JUST AND REASONABLE PRINCIPLES.

2A [redacted] 4B 45-5-23

~~AMERICAN BUSINESS/ REPUDIATES THIS POLICY/ AND~~ AMERICAN BUSINESS/ ~~DOMINATES THE~~

~~GOVERNMENT OF THIS NATION~~// SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ THE HIGHEST AND MOST POWERFUL OFFICES/ HAVE BEEN HELD MOSTLY/ BY OFFICIALS OF THE "26 CORPORATIONS/ WHICH IN 1950/ EARNED A CLEAR PROFIT/ OF THREE THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS// AFTER PAYING ALL COSTS OF PRODUCTION/ INCLUDING HIGH SALARIES/ AND LOW WAGES/ AFTER SEIZING/ FROM THE MOST IMPOVERISHED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD/ THE MOST VALUA MATERIALS/ AT DEPRESSED PRICES/ AND AFTER PAYING ALL TAXES/ AND LAYING ASIDE HUGE RESERVES/ AGAINST FUTURE LOSS.

35-54

TODAY THE DIRECTOR/ OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION/ IS FROM GENERAL ELECTRIC/ INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH/ FURNISHES THE ADMINISTRATOR OF DEFENSE PRODUCTION/ OFFICIALS from TRANSWORLD AIRLINES/ PAN AMERICAN OIL/ & THE STEEL TRUST/ HOLD HIGH PLACES/ IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT/ AND ON THE MUNITIONS BOARD/ ARE OFFICIALS OF Georgia Power Company and national production authority

THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM/ THE RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA/ ~~AND~~ THE Kelly-Springfield tire company/ AND A DOZEN OTHER CORPORATIONS/ WHOSE AVOWED OBJECT IS PRIVATE PROFIT AND ~~NOT~~ PUBLIC WELFARE/ only after profit is assured

I RETURNED. AFTER CONSULTATION WE REALIZED THE DIFFICULTY OF HAVING SUCH A MEETING IN NEW YORK. HOWEVER, MY FRIEND HOLLAND ROBERTS OF CALIFORNIA OFFERED TO HOLD THE MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO AND PREPARATIONS WERE MADE. BUT IN THE END THIS DEMONSTRATION PROVED IMPOSSIBLE AND WAS GIVEN UP. I THEN ASKED THE SOVIET EMBASSY IF THEY WOULD SPONSOR THE MEETING AND THEY ASSENTED IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THIS WAS NOT MERELY A SOVIET ENTERPRISE BUT INTERNATIONAL, AND AS I HOPED ESPECIALLY AMERICAN. FINALLY OUR HOSTS ARRANGED THIS MEETING. I THINK THE MEETING WILL BE IN VAIN UNLESS WE AMERICANS WHO ARE PRESENT REALIZE THAT THERE IS ONE DUTY BEFORE US AND THAT IS TO START A REAL PEACE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA BY PUBLIC MEETINGS AND DECLARATIONS. WHEN I SPOKE TO THE ALL-SOVIET PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW IN 1949 I INSISTED THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF AMERICANS WANTED PEACE. IAAM SURE THAT THIS IS STILL TRUE, BUT IT IS ALSO UNFORTUNATELY TRUE THAT WE DO NOT YET HAVE HERE AN ORGANIZED MOVEMENT FOR PEACE. I THINK WE OUGHT TO START ONE SINCE IT MUST BE CLEAR AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE THAT THERE IS IN THE UNITED

JS-10-197

I MET SOME CURIOUS INITIAL DIFFICULTIES.// WHAT FOR INSTANCE/SHOULD WE CALL OURSELVES?/ AFRICANS? /BUT WE WERE NOT BORN IN AFRICA;/ MOST OF US HAD NEVER BEEN THERE/ AND KNEW LITTLE ABOUT AFRICA/SAVE WHAT WHITE FOLKS TOLD US.// WERE WE "COLORED"? THAT WAS AN APOLOGETIC TERM/WHICH HAD NO PHYSICAL NOR HISTORICAL VALIDITY// CONSEQUENTLY IN ~~MY FIRST WRITING~~ I CHOSE THE TERM "NEGRO"/AS THE BEST DESIGNATION/FOR THIS COMPOSITE GROUP// WE LANDED IN A HORNET'S NEST.// IN THE WEST INDIES/FOR FOUR CENTURIES/ THE WORD "NEGRO" HAD BEEN USED/ AS SYNOYMOUS WITH SLAVE/AND WAS CONSEQUENTLY/A TERM OF CONTEMPT AND INSULT.// THE CHILDREN OF BLACK MOTHERS/AND WHITE FATHERS/WHO MULTIPLIED FROM THE FIRST/ WERE FREE/UNDER THE NAPOLEONIC CODE/AND REFUSED TO BE CALLED NEGROES.// THEY WERE NICK-NAMED "COLORED"/AND ACCEPTED THAT DESIGNATION/TO PROVE THAT THEY WERE NOT SLAVES// IN HAITI AND ELSEWHERE/THEY OFTEN FOUGHT/ TO KEEP THE BLACKS IN SLAVERY;// IN MANY CASES THEY THEMSELVES OWNED SLAVES.// WHEN IN THE UNITED STATES/EMANCIPATION FREED BOTH NEGROES AND COLORED FOLK,/THE STIGMA OF THE NAME "NEGRO"/ STILL REMAINED/AND THE WHITES HELPED IT ON/BY REFUSING TO CAPITALIZE THE WORD "NEGRO".// IT HAS BEEN ONLY SINCE 1910 THAT THE

14-7-22

they have half ruined his schools, they have curtailed his work and lowered his wages, they have made him a legal pariah and social out-caste and now they are cooly proposing to steal the bits of property which by the sweat of his face he has saved.

31-11-93

For stealing it is: ~~for~~ everybody knows that segregation is confiscation. Have we not the shameful treatment of the Indian to prove this?

How fine a program of solving the race problem this is which after twenty-five years of trumpeting and advertising lands us right in the same black slough of despond out of which we are just starting to raise the robbed and raped Indian. Fine statesmanship for the 20th century - fine cowardice for the Land of the Free.

~~If ever the cause of human liberty needed help that need is here~~

42-5M-16

THE LOS ANGELES DINNER

I HAVE TAKEN THE OPPORTUNITY/ON THIS VISIT TO LOS ANGELES/ TO SPEAK TO YOU ON WORLD PEACE AND THE REVOLT IN AFRICA// THESE SUBJECTS/ TOGETHER WITH THAT OF THE PROBLEMS/ OF MINORITIES/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ FORM IN FACT/ ONE PROBLEM WHEN BROUGHT TOGETHER/ AND VIEWED ~~AS ONE~~ IN UNITY// IT IS THAT TASK/ WHICH I ASK YOU/ TO PERMIT ME TO ~~E~~ASSAY TONIGHT/ AND TO APPROACH IT/ FROM THE POINT OFVIEW/ OF WHAT WE ~~US~~ USUALLY CALL/ THE NEGRO PROBLEMS// ALL/ SO-CALLED SOCIAL PROBLEMS/ TEND TO MERGE// THEY ALL HAVE TO DO/ WITH HUMAN ACTIONS/ ARE BASED ON HUMAN CUSTOMS/ AND ~~HAVE TO DO WITH~~ TREAT THE NUMEROUS/ AND INTRICATE RELATIONS/ OF HUMAN BEINGS// MOREOVER PARTICULAR SOCIAL PROBLEMS/ DESPITE THE NAMES THEY BEAR/ CHANGE AND CHANGE RADICALLY/ IN THE COURSE OF TIME.// INDEED ~~IT IS CERTAIN THAT~~ SOCIAL PROBLEMS/ CHANGE MORE OFTEN/ AND IN MORE WAYS/ THAN/ PHYSICAL PROBLEMS/ BECAUSE OF THE UNPREDICTABLE VARIATIONS/ IN HUMAN ~~FEE~~ FEELINGS and choices// THEY ARE SUBJECT/ TO THE SAME PHYSICAL LAWS/ AS STICKS AND STONES/ BUT THERE IS ENOUGH/ OF WHAT WE CALL WILL AND ~~VOLITION~~

++ I have been accused of being pessimistic because I complain. This is the exact reverse of the truth - if I did not believe that complaint, agitation, and divine discontent was the direct road to the curing of the world's ills - if I did not believe this, I should indeed be a pessimist. They are pessimists who find it hopeless even to dream that black men can be men in America. We are optimists who dare look the truth square in the face and without equivocation or deceit still work and hope and aspire. I thoroughly agree with ~~that distinguished gentleman who in declining to join in calling this Conference expressed~~ those who a desire to look on the bright side and do the practical thing for betterment. I honor the workers and the doers wherever they be. I bow before the ~~silent~~, even-tempered, uncomplaining men who do their desperate duty and get things done. But in hon-

31-11-86

IT IS NOT THAT WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS SO GREAT OR GOOD. RATHER IT IS THAT WHAT YOU HAVE NOT DARED TO DO IS SO COWARDLY AND DESPIC ABLE. SOME DAY YOUR GRANDCHILDREN ARE GOING TO ASK: WHY WERE MY GRANDPARENTS AFRAID TO SIGN THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL?

35-6-145

HOTEL SAW BROWN MRS. SAMPSON/ HE PROMPTLY REFUSED TO SERVE HER.// TOWN HALL HASTILY SEARCHED THE NATIONAL CAPITAL/OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST DEMOCRACY/ FO FOR A PLACE WHICH WOULD SERVE NEGROES.// THEY FOUND IT eventually AND REPORTED THAT THEY HAD AN EXCELLENT DINNER.

THIS SORT OF HORSE PLAY/MAY BE GOOD POLITICS/BUT IT IS a DANGEROUS SOCIAL PROGRAM./ THE NEGRO CITIZEN MUST SOON REALIZE / THAT HIS DUTY IS NOT SIMPLY/TO BE A PAWN IN THE HANDS OF THE RULERS OF THIS LAND/FOR HIS OWN ADVANTAGE//BUT THAT his ADVANTAGE /IS LINKED CLOSELY/WITH NATIONAL AND WORLD WELFARE// THAT PEACE IN A WAR-MAD WORLD IS HIS PROBLEM/ THAT THE RULE OF CORPORATE WEALTH/IN THIS LAND/IS HIS PROBLEM.//THAT PRODUCTION FOR USE RATHER THAN FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/TOUCHES HIM AS MUCH/AS THE WHITE WORKER./ AND THAT ACCUMULATION/OF PRIVATE FORTUNES BY NEGROES/NO MORE SETTLES THE MORAL MORASS for NEGROES/THAN IT DOES FOR WHITES.

0 - BUT FOR THE NEGRO TO REALIZE THIS/AND ACT IN ACCORDANCE/ HE NEEDS

35-4-61

ALLIES/AMONG THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF AMERICA.// AND SUCH ALLIES ARE NOT EASY TO COME BY// THE CHURCH, THE MOST RACIALLY SEGREGATED SOCIAL BODY/IN AMERICA/ HAS HISTORICALLY ALWAYS/BITTERLY OPPOSED SOCIAL REFORM:// REMEMBER THE BRITISH REFORM BILL;/ THE EDUCATION AND ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN;/ THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY/RIGHT HERE IN ~~BOSTON~~ RENN// AFTER THE FIGHT IS WON AND THE BLOOD AND DUST FORGOTTEN,/ THEN THE CHURCH COMES MODESTLY FORWARD/AND CLAIMS THE CREDIT."WE FREED THE SLAVES!"

JUST SO TODAY/IN THE WORLD FIGHT/FOR DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY/AND THE WELFARE STATE,/ THE NEGRO FINDS IT HARD TO SELECT ALLIES/ON WHOM HE CAN DEPEND/AND AT THE SAME TIME EARN A LIVING./ SMALL WONDER THAT IN TOO MANY CASES/HE JOINS THE RED-BAITERS AND WITCH-HUNTERS/AND FIGHTS WITH CORPORATE WEALTH TO MAINTAIN POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE

35-4-62

But this difficulty is no excuse
Peace not War is our final duty

Under such circumstances we have every incentive to forget the present trend in public opinion, & strive for the very highest ideals of ~~[illegible]~~ manhood & to be eternally dissatisfied as long as we are denied the full rights of American citizenship.

30-26-8

It is therefore, my brothers & ~~my sisters~~ sisters,
primarily as such prospective fellow-workers that I
come to welcome you tonight, and bid you hail
& god speed! The mystic glory of the ancient blood
of Africa is in our veins. We are one with that un-
numbered host whose dark and eager faces are set
toward the rising of the Sun. We are a people unconquered
& unconquerable, older than the world & younger, & we
are fighting today, almost single-handed, the noblest
struggle for sheer humanity this world has ever known

31-11-91

In this battle it is, not your duty but your high privilege
to serve as ~~one who has who~~ of them whose fight
is made without cringing or compromise, without lying
or deception, and with fearlessness & with patient unfaltering
confidence; ~~for they~~ as with them:

Who never faltered
but marched breast-forward
Never dreamed tho Right were vanquished
Wrong would triumph
Held me fast to vice
are baffled & fight better
Sleep & Wake.

31-11-90

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE OBJECT THEREFORE/TOWARD WHICH THE FAR-SIGHTED AMERICAN NEGRO/MUST AIM/IS NOT /A ~~SE~~ RACIAL NEGRO STATE/INHABITATED BY NEGROES/AND RUN BY NEGROES/FOR NEGROES/ BUT A CULTURAL MOVEMENT/BASED ON NEGRO EXPERIENCE AND HISTORY/CARRIED ON BY SUCH NEGROES/AS SO DESIRE/BUT WELCOMING TO COOPERATION/ANY FOLK/OF ANY RACE/WHO WANT~~ED~~ TO JOIN.//THIS CULTURAL PROGRAM/WOULD INCLUDE/MAKING A LIVING,/ ~~CONDUCTING~~ TAKING PART IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE,/ SPREADING KNOWLEDGE/AND CREATING ART.//IT WOULD NOT COUNTENANCE/ELECTING NEGROES TO OFFICE/BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGROES/ANY MORE THAN ELECTING WHITE MEN/BECAUSE THEY ARE WHITE;//IT WOULD NOT PERMIT/SEGREGATION BY RACE/IN ANY PLACE/OR ACTIVITY,//KNOWING SUCH PROCEDURE/AS LEADING BACK/TO A WORLD OF ANTAGONISTIC HATING NATIONS/INSTEAD OF FORWARD/TO ONE WORLD/OF MEN AGREEING ON ALL THE ESSENTIALS OF LIFE.

OVER

or movements localized or more or less united
not by those who do not

48-6-16

MOREOVER THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATION ON WHICH SUCH A CULTURAL MOVEMENT COULD BE BUILT IS MAGNIFICENT ~~IS MAGNIFICENT;~~ THE AMERICAN NEGRO EXPERIENCE ON WHICH ~~WITH~~ SUCH A CULTURE COULD BE DEVELOPED IS UNEQUALLED TODAY THE ASSISTANCE AND INSPIRATIO THAT AFRICA IS NOW READY TO FURNISH IS THE MOST INSPRING ON EARTH. WHY ARE WI WE WAITING AND WANDERING AFTER FALSE GODS?

Let us Begin with Shelley

O, WEEP FOR ADONAIS --THE QUICK DREAMS
THW- PASSION-WINGED / MINISTERS OF THOUGHT
AND ONE/WITH TREMBLING HANDS/CLASPS HIS COLD HEAD,
AND FANS HIM/WITH HER MOONLIGHT WINGS,/ AND CRIES
OUR LOVE,/OUR HOPE,/OUR SORRWOW/IS NOT DEAD!
SEE,/ON THE SILKEN FRINGE/OF HIS FAINT EYES!
LIKE DEW /UPON A SLEEPING FLOWER,/THERE LIES
A TEAR /SOME DREAM /HAS LOOSENED/FROM HIS BRAIN —
~~LOST ANGEL/OF A RUINED PARADISE!~~

42-Se-9

Twice in the past this was accomplished by violent revolution, which destroyed opposition by force and then ~~persuaded~~ caught the people to support the new policies. This method of force was a recognized historical way of reform. But the awful experience of two world wars is teaching us that this method is becoming too costly in wealth, health and culture. We tend now to ~~turn to~~ defend from the first on the slower methods of persuasion even amid new difficulties of propaganda and thought-control; or even counter-force.

ALWAYS IN THE PAST WHEN THE MASSES UNDERSTOOD THEY RE-ACTED RIGHT. BUT TODAY THE GREAT ~~MONOPOLIZED~~ mechanized MACHINE STANDS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TRUTH

(monopolized by capital)

35-6-181

(1)

35-9-128

THERE HAVE BEEN SEVEN TIMES IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES WHEN A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT HAS BROUGHT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN NATIONAL POLICIES THE FIRST WAS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1776 WHEN TWO PARTIES TORY AND LOYALIST TRIED TO BRING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND BRITAIN BUT WERE REPLACED BY A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WHICH ESTABLISHED AN INDEPENDENT NATION. IN 1800, ~~THE~~ THE DEMOCRATS AND FEDERALISTS WERE OVERTHROWN BY THE JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY BASED ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. IN 1828, ANDREW JACKSON CAME TO POWER ON A POPULAR UPHAEVAL WHICH MADE THE DEMOCRATS INTO A THIRD PARTY IN PRINCIPAL ~~ALTHOUGH WITH THE SAME NAME~~ AND ESTABLISHED POPULAR DEMOCRACY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OPPOSITION TO THE PARTIES OF PROPERTY AND PRIVILEGE. THE PARTY OF PROPERTY ~~NOW~~ TOOK THE NAME OF WHIGS AND FOR A GENERATION BOTH PARTIES DODGED THE QUESTION OF HUMAN SLAVERY AND TRIED TO KEEP THE ABOLITIONISTS NOT ONLY OUT OF POWER BUT BEYOND THE PALE OF RESPECTABILITY. THIS THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT FAILED REPEATEDLY AND ONLY WON A ~~PARTIAL~~ VICTORY IN 1860 WHEN A BAD SPLIT IN THE PRO SLAVERY PARTIES GAVE VICTORY TO LINCOLN ON A PLATFORM NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO LIMIT ITS SPREAD TO THE NORTH AND WEST. CIVIL WAR ENSUED NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO KEEP THE MARKET OF SLAVE GROWN PRODUCE FOR THE NORTH TO WIN THIS WAR NEGRO SOLDIERS HAD TO BE USED WHICH TOOK THE ESSENTIAL LABOR BASIS OF THE SOUTH FROM SUPPORT OF PLANTER SOLDIERS ~~BUT WHICH~~ COULD BE OBTAINED

(2)

35-9-129

ONLY AT THE PRICE OF ABOLITION. IN 1872 CAME A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT BASED ON OPPOSITION TO GRAFT IN PUBLIC OFFICE ~~BUT~~ THIS FAILED UNTIL IN 1876 A THIRD PARTY WITHOUT CHANGE OF NAME APPEASED THE NEW SOUTH BY ~~DISFRANCHISING FREEDMEN AND PUTTING~~ BIG BUSINESS IN NATIONAL POWER. IN 1890, LABOR REVOLTED AND ATTEMPTED A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT BUT ~~THIS~~ WAS SQUELCHED IN 1896, WHEN MARK HANNA RALLIED BIG BUSINESS TO POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND BROUGHT THE PRESIDENCY FOR MCKINLEY WHO APPEASED THE COUNTRY WITH IMPERIAL AGGRESSION THE FORST ROOSEVELT MADE SOME ATTEMPT TO BREAK THE POWER OF BIG BUSINESS DURING HIS TERMS BUT DID NOT ACCOMPLISH MUCH. IN 1912 HE LED THE BULL MOOSE BUT IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SOUTH AND FAILED. LA FOLLETTE AND THE FARMER LABOR MOVEMENT TRIED ~~LATER~~ BUT ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE. THE DEPRESSION BROUGHT WHAT A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT COULD NOT AND FROM 1933 to 1945 WE HAD BIG BUSINESS CURBED BY SOCIAL ~~DEMOCRACY~~ ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. ~~THEN THE DEATH OF ROOS~~ ~~EVELT AND~~ WORLD WAR BUT THE MONEY POWER IN ASCENDENCY AGAIN ESPECIALL AFTER THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT. WHAT NOW CAN THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY DO HANDICAPPED AS IT IS BY WAR HYSTERIA. IT CAN RECOGNIZE THAT ITS GREATEST DIFFICULTY IS IN GETTING THE TRUTH TO THE PEOPLE.

(3) Dynamo cylinder Diesel engine

THE [redacted] THE GREAT PRINTING PRESSES THE WIRELESS THE ~~LOCOMOTIVE~~ AND THE AIRPLANE CONTROL THE SPREAD OF INFORMATION. WITH THESE IN THE HANDS OF BIG BUSINESS AND WITH THE GREAT MEETING ~~HALLS~~ places ~~OWNED PRIVATELY~~ AND THE NEWS PAPERS AND MAGAZINES CONTROLLED BY ADVERTISERS NEWS CANNOT GET TO THE MASSES AS IT COULD IN THE DAYS OF ANDREW JACKSON. ~~OUTSIDE THAT~~ A CHANGE OF LAW WHICH W WOULD MAKE ~~THIS POSSIBLE~~ truth accessible AND WHICH WE CANNOT HOPE FOR NOW OUR PROBLEM IS TO GET THE TRUTH TO THE MASS OF MEN BY WORD OF MOUTH. THIS MEANS HOUSE TO HOUSE AND DOOR TO DOOR CANVASSING ON A SCALE NEVER BEFORE ATTEMPTED IN MODERN TIMES IT CALLS FOR a hundred ~~TENS~~ TIMES THE NUMBER OF WORKERS WORKING THREE TIMES AS LONG AND NOT SIMPLY IN CAMPAIGNS BUT ESPECIALLY BETWEEN CAMPAIGNS. UNLESS SUCH A CRUSADE IS TRIED AND CARRIED THROUGH THERE IS NO HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

35-6-180

Except those with such

in the hands of private property

and owners of Newspapers

figures, in order that you may realize that what is often called simply a Negro problem is the same problem of American Democracy at which Abraham Lincoln worked, and which still fronts us, and will front us until we settle it right.

We have just passed through a presidential election, and after long delay the official returns are in. I invite your attention to a few of these figures. In that election the State of Alabama and the State of Minnesota each having about the same population, each cast twelve electoral votes. But while it took 300,000 voters to cast these votes in Minnesota, it took only 100,000 to cast the same number in Alabama. Florida and Maine each had six electoral votes, but 50,000 Florida voters exercised exactly the same power

30-26-11

as 130,000 voters in Maine. Again, Georgia and New Jersey each have fourteen electoral votes, but it took over 400,000 voters in New Jersey to equal 120,000 in Georgia. So, too, less than 80,000 voters in Louisiana cast the same number of electoral votes as 365,000 votes in Kansas, while 65, 000 voters in Mississippi had as much power as 215,000 in Rhode Island and Oregon.

But you are, of course, interested in your own state, and you will doubtless be pleased to know that whereas it requires in the state of Abraham Lincoln 1,150,000 voters to cast its electoral vote that it takes only 224,000 voters to wield exactly the same power in the state of Governor Blease and Mr. Tillman, the bailiwick of Senator Hoke Smith, and the state of Florida together.

30-26-12

Outside of any question of color, race or slavery this is a condition that no democracy can allow to go on and live. When eight states deliberately disfranchise so many of their white and black citizens that an oligarchy of less than a million voters can wield the same power as nearly three million voters elsewhere in the country, the very foundations of democracy are in danger. When the Minnesota voter places one ballot in the box the Alabama voter places three. It takes seven New Jersey votes to balance two in Georgia, while in Louisiana two men can out vote nine in Kansas.

Do you realize that you cannot appeal to the American people today ? Do you realize that between you and the sovereign

30-26-10

American democracy stands this intrenched oligarchy ? Do you realize that one man in the former slave states has more political power than any three in Illinois, and is at the same time, through no fault of his own, and because of the slave system of his fathers, less competent by education and tradition to judge the greater human issues of the day ?

This rotten borough system is destroying the very vitals of American democracy. It is giving to the least prepared section of our country a power over social legislation which is simply overwhelming. And above all, it is making a true appeal to the American people in great questions of right and humanity difficult and often impossible. It is blocking popular education, encouraging

Songhay
Askia
Da Bantu
Mwenemutapa
S Africa
Congo + W. Africa

Turks
America
Moors
Slave Trade

Revolt + Runaways
Maroons
Maelle
Guiana
Haiyi
St Vincent
Seminole
U.G.R.R.

Prehistoric Nubia
2 centers
Atlantis
Ghana
Melle
Napata
Egypt
Predynastic
Egypt + Ethiopia
Oberstam III
Ra-Nehsi
Shepherd Kings
Painting
Nastasenen
Assapia
Candace
+ Aksumite
Bantu
Muhammad

90	
75	
50	
100	
150	
350	
300	

37-26-37

The Problem

- Education
- Labor + Wealth
- Women
- Voting (3/4)
- Crime
- Caste

Races Conquers

- India
- Africa
- Persia
- Egypt
- China
- Jews

Modern World

- Education
- Wealth
- Women
- Democracy *
- Crime
- Caste

Our Problem

NAACP

The Problem

- Civil rights
- Labor
- Education
- Voting
- Crime

Races Conquers

- Jews - Civil rights
- Labor - Africa
- Education - India
- Voting - Egypt
- Crime - China

Europe + America

- Caste
- Labor
- Education
- Democracy
- Crime

Our Problem

N.A.A.C.P.

35-7-115

*

Members and officials of this organization have the right to say and do what they will and be held responsible therefor under the law. But this organization as such is responsible only for its corporate actions ~~as an organization~~ and during its existence

△

9t is not reason for black man to protest against using black soldiers & reduce yellow people & slavery. 9t is not yet reason to work for Peace

35-7-116

NOW LET ME TURN FROM THIS THEORETICAL DISCUSSION TO THE PRACTICAL QUESTION: WHAT INTEREST HAVE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THE KOREAN WAR? WHAT SHOULD BE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES LIKE TRUMAN AND KEFAUVER ON THE ONE HAND AND EISENHOWER

30 - 30 - 2

Do you think we have
gone crazy for good

_____ The Queen

35-7-16.

Mothers are going to
the next 30 years see
their children murdered
for Business

You who are eager for
the Band Wagon — get
ready

Nelson Cominando

In South Africa have occurred at least twenty riots and disturbances varying from the student strike at Lovedale to the burning of their passes by 7000 natives at Capetown, and culminating in the strike of 50,000 Negro miners in August, 1946, to obtain a wage of $2 a day, instead of the 45 cents they are receiving. Five strikers were killed by the police, 62 arrested by breach of contract and conspiracy, 46 of whom were heavily fined or jailed. Raids and arrests continued for a month, including arrest of some liberal whites. "Communism" was blamed for the outbreak.

In Kenya, in January 1947, Seven thousand natives struck, affecting eleven business concerns. After failure to satisfy the strikers, the strike spread to Uganda with disturbances at four centers. It was finally settled by a raise in wages of more than twenty five per cent.

30-6-20

In West Africa, there were serious disturbances in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast. In Nigeria, in 1944, increased government allowances were granted white civil servants but not allowances for Negroes. In 1945, a general strike of 150,000 non-clerical workers was declared and eventually brought a fifty per cent increase in wages. Later there were further strikes of electrical workers, metal workers, and employees of the United African Company. Miners struck in the Ashanti gold mines and secured increased wages.

30-6-21

On the Gold Coast, strikes finally assumed the aspect of civil war. In 1946 a commission found that the cost of living had gone up two hundred per cent and recommended increased wages to government employees. Another commission advised a minimum wage for other employees. Teachers then complained, and a third commission gave them increases. Railway workers and miners then asked for raises, struck when they were refused, and gained their demands after several weeks.

Then came a colony-wide boycott against high prices charged by importing concerns, led by a progressive chief. A price control commission was set up to curb prices and ordered them reduced by thirty-three and one third per cent. The demobilized soldiers thereupon started a march to the Governor to present a petition. There ensued a skirmish with the police, in which 26 Africans were killed and 277 injured including 15 whites. Many prominent black leaders were arrested and held in jail. The black soldiers of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria refused to bear arms against their fellow-soldiers, and white units in Gibraltar were alerted. Two battleships were ordered srom South Africa. Finally the Governor appealed to the chiefs and to London. A London commission of inquiry was sent out and has reported laying much blame on the Colonial government.

In 1947, a railway strike of 12,000 workers crippled the whole transport system of French West Africa. The strikers demanded "equal pay for equal work."

Northeast Africa has had strikes. In March, 1947, five hundred dock workers struck at Port Sudan, in the Egyptian Sudan; in July, 19 thousand railway workers at Atbara walked off the job; in Ethiopia, five thousand railway empl yees refused to work until the Emperor obtained a twenty-five per cent increase in wages.

These strikes and many others that have taken place all over the continent of Africa show that there is an increase in the activity of trade unions and union organization in Africa. In most of the territories there is legislation to permit trade unions, but some pf it is antiquated and in many cases as in East Africa it is on paper rather than actually in force. No African in Northern Nigeria, for instance is a member of a trade union; and although in the Union of South Africa there are one hundred and twenty native trade unions claim ng one hundred and sixty thousand members, these unions are not officially recognized; however some effort was being made to that end before the last election.

30-6-22

The most significant occurance in the African labor world was the representative character of the Africans at the World Trade Union Conference in February 1945. Colonial delegates came from Nigeria, The Gold Coast, Sierre Leone and Gambia in West Africa besides from many Negro communities in America.

The black African worker is raising his head. He will bear watching and heeding.

insert X
p 21

insert Y
p 22

OF THE THREE LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA, KRUGER WAS PROTAGONIST. HIS FOREFATHERS HAD FOUGHT THE HOTTENTOTS AND HAD TO SOME DEGREE MIXED THEIR BLOOD WITH THEM. THE DUTCH-HOTTENTOT MULATTOES MOVED INTO THE SOUTH CENTER OF AFRICA, AND ON THEIR LAND DIAMONDS WERE LATER FOUND. THE DUTCH FOUGHT THE ZULUS IN THE EAST FOR 25 YEARS AND THEN TREKED NORTH AND NORTHEAST, WHERE KRUGER AS A YOUNG OFFICER WAS FIGHTING AT 17, AND CONQUERED DINGAAN, CHAKA'S SUCCESSOR, IN 1837.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOER REPUBLIC THEN FORMED HAD BEEN PROMISED ITS INDEPENDENCE BY THE ENGLISH IN 1852, BUT WAS ANNEXED TO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1877 BY DISRAELI, REPRESENTING THE NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. THIS LED TO WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE BOERS UNTIL GLADSTONE, RETURNED TO POWER, GAVE SOUTH AFRICA ITS INDEPENDENCE IN 1881.

41-3-19

HERE ENTERS LOBENGULA. CHAKA, THE ZULU MILITARY GENIUS, HAD CONQUERED THE TRIBES OF BANTU AND WELDED THEM INTO A MIGHTY KINGDOM WHICH THE WHITES FEARED AND THE BLACKS DARE NOT OPPOSE. HE WAS KILLED IN 1828. THE MATEBELE HAD FLED FROM HIM NORTH AND WEST TO BECHUANALAND, AND OVER THE MATEBELE LOBENGULA BECAME KING IN 1870.

HE HAD SEEN THE RESULT OF FIGHTING THE WHITES AND SOUGHT TO APPEASE AND AVOID THEM. HERE CECIL RHODES CAME ON THE SCENE.

CECIL JOHN RHODES WAS BORN IN ENGLAND IN 1853, ONE OF A CLERGYMAN'S FAMILY OF TWELVE. IT WAS THIS MAN WHO PUT NEW MEANING INTO THE WARS OF AFRICA. SICK WITH TUBERCULOSIS, HE LANDED IN SOUTH AFRICA AT THE AGE OF 18, FOUR YEARS AFTER THAT GREAT DIAMOND, THE STAR OF AFRICA, WORTH $125,000 HAD BEEN FOUND ON THE FARM OF A MULATTO WATERBOER AT KIMBERLEY. DIAMONDS SOON CAME TO BE THE HIGH SIGN OF LUXURY, EXTRAVAGANCE AND WEALTH, BEDIZENING THE BARE BREASTS OF ALL THE PROSTITUTES OF LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK, AND FURNISHING WEDDING RINGS TO THE WHITE WORLD.

RHODES, AFTER COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA IN 1870 WAS SOON EARNING $500 A WEEK, AND RETURNED TO ENGLAND THREE YEARS LATER, ALREADY RICH BEFORE HE WAS OF AGE. HE SOUGHT TRAINING AND MATRICULATED AT OXFORD. IT WAS HERE HE GOT HIS INSPIRATION AND WAS CALLED OF GREED TO RULE THE WORLD. IT WAS HERE THAT HE HEARD THE GREAT

40-82-13

TWO YEARS LATER THE SUEZ CANAL, STARTED BY THE FRENCH, WAS FINISHED, AND BECAME THE UMBILICAL CORD OF BRITISH COLONIAL IMPERIALISM FROM GIBRALTAR TO BOMBAY, SO THAT IT WAS CLEAR TO THE BRITISH THAT THEY MUST DOMINATE THE NILE VALLEY. BUT THE FRENCH ALSO WERE LOOKING AT THE NILE AS THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF AN EMPIRE WHICH BEGAN WITH ALGERIA IN 1830. IN 1881, AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, BISMARCK THREW TUNIS, as a sop TO FRANCE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT TUNIS WAS ANCIENT CARTHAGE AND ITALY WAS INSANELY DETERMINED TO ANNEX IT. ~~AND NOW, TOO, THE NILE AND THE NEW CANAL BECKONED.~~

A FRENCH EMPIRE IN AFRICA NOW BEGAN TO ARISE. IN 1883 THE FRENCH MOVED INTO DAHOMEY AND AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF STRIFE CONQUERED IT. SLOWLY BUT SURELY THEIR OUTPOSTS MOVED EAST TOWARD THE NILE AND PAST LAKE CHAD AND SOUTH TO GUINEA. THE BRITISH ~~HAD~~ FOUGHT FIVE WARS, COVERING SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS TO FINALLY FASTEN THEIR HOLD ON BRITISH WEST AFRICA, ~~AND WERE WATCHING CAREFULLY AS FRANCE DUG THE SUEZ CANAL.~~

AND INNUMERABLE "CHRISTIANS" OFTEN WOULD NOT ALLOW CONVERSION. THE PROFITS OF THIS NEW ASPECT OF TRADE MEANT INVESTMENT AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

35-8-69

BACK OF MALAN, WHO LEADS THIS EFFORT, IS THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE LOANED SOUTH AFRICA 90 MILLIONS AND NEARLY EVERY GREAT AMERICAN CORPORATION IS INVESTING MONEY THERE. OUR CONSUL LAST YEAR CALLED SOUTH AFRICA "THE MOST PROMISING YOUNG NATION ON EARTH."

35-8-65

WHAT EFFECT DID ALL THIS HAVE UPON THE DARK NATIVES OF AFRICA? IN THE PAST WE HAVE DWELT UPON PHYSICAL SUFFERING, THE LOSS OF LIFE, AND THE DEVASTATION OF THE LAND, BUT WE HAVE NOT THOUGHT OF THE LARGER AND DEEPER SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION. FIRST OF ALL, NOT ONLY WAS THE WAY OPENED FROM THE SAHARA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FOR MARAUDING MASSES OF BANTU WARRIORS, BUT THIS GREAT AND LONG-CONTINUED MOVEMENT BECAME ORGANIZED FOR AGGRESSION AND CONQUEST. WE HEAR OF THE FIERCE ONSLAUGHTS OF WILD TRIBES LIKE THE YAGGAS, BUT WE MUST ALSO REMEMBER THAT THERE CAME A NEW SORT OF ORGANIZATION. NEGRO LIFE COULD NOT SETTLE DOWN FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND EMPIRE BUILDING. IT COULD NOT WAIT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HERDSMEN AND AGRICULTURE. IT MUST HURRY ON TO SAFER PLACES AND SHELTERED LAND AND LOOT. "IT WAS SORROWFULLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE DEGRADATION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE NEARER AFRICAN INTERIOR WAS THE DIRECT RESULT OF EUROPEAN SLAVE-DEALING. THE SAVAGERY OF DAHOMEY AND BENIN WAS THE SURVIVAL OF THE FEROCITY BY WHICH NATIVE CHIEFS, A CENTURY EARLIER, HAD SUPPLIED THE DEMANDS OF ENGLISH AND DUTCH TRADERS FOR VICTIMS FOR THE PLANTATIONS."

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35-8-40

26 30

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35-8-45

35-8-62

THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA IN ITS FINAL MODERN FORM HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A QUESTION MARK, AS AN INVERTED SAUCER, AS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S CONTINENTS. INCLUDING MADAGASCAR, IT IS THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF EUROPE, FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF THE UNITED STATES; AND THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, INDIA, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES COULD BE HELD WITHIN ITS BORDERS. IN ACTUAL MEASUREMENT IT IS NEARLY SQUARE: FIVE THOUSAND MILES LONG BY FOUR THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED MILES WIDE. BUT ITS NORTHERN HALF IS BY FAR THE LARGER, WITH THE SOUTHERN HALF TAPERING OFF. IN THE MIDDLE THE EQUATOR CUTS ACROSS AFRICA, AND THE WHOLE CONTINENT LIES MAINLY WITHIN THE TROPICS.

OF THE PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF AFRICA, ITS RELATIVELY UNBROKEN COASTLINE HAS HAD THE GREATEST EFFECT UPON ITS HISTORY. ALTHOUGH AFRICA IS ABOUT THREE TIMES LARGER THAN EUROPE IN AREA, THE COASTLINE OF EUROPE IS FOUR THOUSAND MILES LONGER THAN THAT OF AFRICA. IN OTHER WORDS, AFRICA HAS ALMOST NO PENINSULAS, DEEP BAYS OR NATURAL HARBORS. ITS LOW AND NARROW COAST, ALMOST LEVEL, RISES RAPIDLY TO A CENTRAL PLATEAU WITH A DEPRESSION IN THE CENTER. THUS THE GREAT RIVERS FALL SUDDENLY TO THE OCEAN,

AND THEIR NAVIGATION IS IMPEDED BY RAPIDS AND FALLS.

SIXTY MILLION YEARS AGO VAST REPTILES AND DINOSAURS WANDERED OVER THIS CONTINENT. IT BECAME, AS THE YEARS PASSED, A ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN WITH WILD ANIMALS OF ALL SORTS. FINALLY THERE CAME DOMESTICATED CATTLE, SHEEP, AND GOATS AND A TREMENDOUS DEVELOPMENT OF INSECTS. AS SIR HARRY JOHNSTON WELL REMARKS, "AFRICA IS THE CHIEF STRONGHOLD OF THE REAL DEVIL -- THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF NATURE HOSTILE TO THE UPRISE OF HUMANITY. HERE BEELZEBUB, KING OF THE FLIES, MARSHALS HIS VERMIFORM AND ARTHROPOD HOSTS -- INSECTS, TICKS AND NEMATODE WORMS -- WHICH MORE THAN IN OTHER CONTINENTS (EXCEPTING NEGROID ASIA) CONVEY TO THE SKIN, VEINS, INTESTINES, AND SPINAL MARROW OF MEN AND OTHER VERTEBRATES THE MICROORGANISIMS WHICH CAUSE DEADLY, DISFIGURING OR DEBILITATING DISEASES, OR THEMSELVES CREATE THE MORBID CONDITION OF THE PERSECUTED HUMAN BEING, BEASTS, BIRD, REPTILE, FROG, OR FISH."

AFRICA IS A BEAUTIFUL LAND; NOT MERELY COMELY AND PLEASANT BUT HAUNTED WITH SWAMP AND JUNGLE; STERNLY BEAUTIFUL IN ITS LOVELINESS OF TERROR, ITS DEPTH OF GLOOM,

35-8-38

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35-8-39

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YET AFRICA IS A BEAUTIFUL LAND,/ NOT MERELY COMELY AND PLEASANT/ BUT/ HAUNTED WITH SWAMP AND TRAGIC JUNGLE,/ STERNLY BEAUTIFUL/ IN ITS LOVELINESS OF TERROR,/ ITS DEPTH OF GLOOM,

GALLAS, NUBIANS, HOTTENTOTS, THE CONGO RACES, AND THE BANTUS ARE NOT "GENUINE" NEGROES FROM THIS VIEW, AND THUS WE FIND THAT THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA IS PEOPLED BY RACES OTHER THAN THE "GENUINE" NEGRO.

IN GREEK LEGEND ETHIOPIA, "LAND OF THE BURNT FACES", LAY EITHER SIDE OF THE RED SEA IN AFRICA AND ASIA AND WAS INHABITED BY BLACK FOLK. EVENTUALLY THE BLACKS MIXED WITH YELLOW ASIATICS. AFTER THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B.C. THE TERM ETHIOPIA WAS USED USUALLY TO DESIGNATE REGIONS IN AFRICA CORRESPONDING TO WHAT WE NOW KNOW AS NUBIA OR THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

35-8-67

WITH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY CAME THE NEW EMPIRE, AND WE ARE ON FIRM HISTORICAL GROUNDS AS TO DATES. IT CAME TO POWER IN 1580 B.C. AND LASTED UNTIL 1345. [redacted] OF RAHMES WAS PROBABLY REINFORCED BY HIS MARRIAGE WITH AN ETHIOPIAN PRINCESS, NEFERTARI,

OR NOFRITARI, WHO WAS INVARIABLY PAINTED BLACK IN EGYPTIAN ART AND YET WHO WAS, AS PETRIE SAYS, "THE MOST VENERATED FIGURE OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY."

HER STATUE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM REPRESENTS HER AS HAVING BLACK SKIN. SHE IS ALSO PAINTED BLACK STANDING BEFORE AMENOTHES IN THE DEIR EL MEDINEH TOMB, NOW IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM. THIS QUEEN WITH A BLACK SKIN HAS THEREFORE BEEN REGARDED AS A NEGRESS, THE DAUGHTER OF AN ETHIOPIAN PHARAOH, OR AT ANY RATE THE DAUGHTER OF A CHIEF OF SOME NUBIAN TRIBE. IT WAS THOUGHT THAT AAHMES MUST HAVE MARRIED HER TO SECURE THE HELP OF THE NEGRO TRIBES IN HIS WARS, AND THAT IT WAS OWING TO THIS ALLIANCE THAT HE SUCCEEDED IN EXPELLING THE HYKSOS.

35-8-60

IN THE 8th CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST ASIA PRECIPITATED ITSELF UPON AFRICA. TAHARQUA, ONE OF THE GREATEST OF ETHIOPIAN KINGS, HELD UP THE ASIATIC POWERS, FROM 688 B.C. TO 663 B.C.

35-8-71

BREATHING SPACE FOR RECOVERY.

creditable but discontinuous

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE KNOW THAT THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE IS VERY SHORT; SCARCELY A MOMENT OF TIME AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF ETERNAL EGYPT. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS NOT MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OLD; FRANCE IN HER PRESENT STATURE DATES BACK 300 YEARS; THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN ONLY 170 YEARS AGO; AND GERMANY LESS THAN 100 YEARS. WHEN, THEREFORE, WE COMPARE MODERN EUROPE WITH THE GREAT EMPIRES WHICH HAVE DIED, IT IS NOT FAR DIFFERENT IN LENGTH OF DAYS FROM THE EMPIRES OF PERSIA, ASSYRIA, THE HITTITES, AND BABYLON. ETHIOPIA RULED THE WORLD LONGER THAN ENGLAND HAS.

35-8-66

ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENTS OF CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA WAS ON THE WEST COAST AROUND THE GREAT GULF OF GUINEA. FROBENIUS HAS FANCIFULLY CALLED THIS "ATLANTIS" AND REGARDS IT AS POSSIBLY A DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURE OF THAT FABLED ISLAND IN THE ATLANTIC. WHATEVER ITS ORIGIN, THERE GREW UP ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA A PECULIARLY AFRICAN STATE. HOW FAR BACK ITS DEVELOPMENT EXTENDS, NO MAN KNOWS. WE HAVE A FAIRLY AUTHENTIC HISTORY FROM THE 17th CENTURY ON, CREDITABLE BUT DISCONTINUOUS

MEANTIME THE SO-CALLED BANTU BEGAN TO DEVELOP. VARIOUS BLACK TRIBES BEGAN TO BE PUSHED WEST AND SOUTH BY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NILE VALLEY AND THE WESTERN SUDAN, AS WELL AS BY THE STRONG DEFENSE AND EVEN AGGRESSION FROM THE WEST COAST, WHICH THREW OUT ARMS OF TRADE AND CULTURAL CONTACT TO EGYPT, GREECE, AND ROME.

35-8-63

WITH THE COMING OF ISLAM INTO AFRICA IN THE 7th CENTURY THEIR MARCH BECAME A STEADY BUT SLOW MOVEMENT LASTING SEVERAL HUNDRED YEARS. IN THEIR PATH WERE A LARGE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT TRIBES AND NATIONS, IN VARIOUS STAGES OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. GRADUALLY THESE PEOPLES, SOME CONQUERING, SOME OVERCOME BY CONQUEST AND INFILTRATION, CAME TO BE KNOWN AS BANTU, FROM THE LANGUAGES THEY USED, ADOPTED AND REBUILT.

THE RESULT OF THIS MARCH OF THE BANTU WAS EXTRAORDINARY, BUT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THE STUDENT TODAY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PRE-BANTU AND BANTU CULTURES. OR PERHAPS IT WOULD BE CLEARER TO SAY THAT WE DO NOT KNOW WHEN AND HOW PARTICULAR CULTURES BECAME BANTU-IZED, AND JUST WHAT THEY WERE BEFORE THE BANTU INFLUX AND INFLUENCE.

UPON THESE OLD CENTERS OF CULTURE MOVED SLOWLY THE ONCOMING BANTU FROM THE NILE VALLEY AND THE SUDAN AND THE LAKE REGIONS. THEY ESTABLISHED NEW KINGDOMS, OF WHICH ONE WAS THAT OF THE BUSHONGO. THIS ORGANIZED STATE INSTITUTED OR ADOPTED A NEW INDUSTRIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM; IT WAS RULED BY A NATIONAL COUNCIL CONTAINING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS ARTS AND CRAFTS AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES FROM TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS. THE BUSHONGO MADE REMARKABLE DAMASK EMBROIDERY AND VELVETS AND HAD SKILLED SOCIAL LEADERSHIP.

IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE WEST COAST NEGROES FIRST GAVE TO CIVILIZATION THE ART OF WELDING IRON WHICH SPREAD OVER ALL AFRICA AND THEN EVENTUALLY INTO EUROPE AND ASIA. IT IS OF COURSE POSSIBLE THAT IRON WELDING WAS DISCOVERED ON OTHER CONTINENTS INDEPENDENTLY OF AFRICA, BUT NO CONTINENT HAD SO WIDE A USE OF IRON IN EARLIEST TIMES.

MEANTIME THE SO-CALLED BANTU BEGAN TO DEVELOP. VARIOUS BLACK TRIBES BEGAN TO BE PUSHED WEST AND SOUTH BY THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NILE VALLEY AND THE WESTERN SUDAN, AS WELL AS BY THE STRONG DEFENSE AND EVEN AGGRESSION FROM THE WEST COAST, WHICH THREW OUT ARMS OF TRADE AND CULTURAL CONTACT TO EGYPT, GREECE, AND ROME, WITH THE COMING OF ISLAM INTO AFRICA IN THE 7THE CENTURY THEIR MARCH BECAME A STEADY BUT SLOW MOVEMENT LASTING SEVERAL HUNDRED YEARS. IN THEIR PATH WERE A LARGE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT TRIBES AND NATIONS, IN VARIOUS STAGES OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. GRADUALLY THESE PEOPLES, SOME CONQUERING, SOME OVERCOME BY CONQUEST AND INFILTRATION, CAME TO BE KNOWN AS BANTU, FROM THE LANGUAGES THEY USED, ADOPTED, AND REBUILT.

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35-8-61

EARLY IN THE 7th CENTURY ISLAM HAD ENTERED NORTH AFRICA AND PROSELYTED AMONG THE BERBERS AND NEGROES. AIDED BY BLACK SOLDIERS, THE MOSLEMS CROSSED INTO SPAIN; IN THE FOLLOWING CENTURY, REPULSED IN EUROPE, THEY CROSSED THE WEST END OF THE SAHARA AND CAME TO NEGROLAND. LATER, IN THE 11th CENTURY, ARABS PENETRATED THE SUDAN AND CENTRAL AFRICA FROM THE EAST, FILTERING THROUGH THE NEGRO TRIBES OF DARFUR, KANEM, AND NEIGHBORING REGIONS.

FROBENIUS REMINDED US THAT THE ENSUING CULTURE WAS NOT ARAB BUT NEGRO: "THE REVELATIONS OF 15th AND 17th CENTURY NAVIGATORS FURNISH US WITH CERTAIN PROOF THAT NEGRO AFRICA, WHICH EXTENDED SOUTH OF THE SAHARA DESERT ZONE, WAS STILL IN FULL BLOOM, IN THE FULL BRILLIANCE OF HARMONIOUS AND WELL-FORMED CIVILIZATIONS.

35-4-68

IT IS DIFFICULT TO REBUILD TODAY A PICTURE OF CIVILIZATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA IN THESE TIMES. WE HAVE NOTES BY TRAVELERS OF NUMBERS OF CENTERS OF CULTURE: NORTH OF THE KINGDOM OF THE CONGO LAY THE KINGDOM OF ANSIKA; THE KINGDOMS OF LUANDA, INCLUDING KATANGA AND OTHER STATES, FOUNDED BY THE LUBA-LUNDA PEOPLE, EXTENDED INTO THE VALLEY OF THE KASAI AND THE ZAMBESI. HERE ALSO WAS THE REALM OF THE CELEBRATED MUATA YANVO, THE LAST OF FOURTEEN RULERS, WHO WAS LORD OF THREE HUNDRED CHIEFS, TWO MILLION INHABITANTS SPREAD OVER A HUNDRED THOUSAND SQUARE MILES.

BY THE 13th CENTURY THE EUROPEAN WORLD LOOKED UPON THE BLACK WORLD WITH ROMANTIC RESPECT. AS EARLY AS THE FIFTH CENTURY THE LEGEND OF SAINT MOOR OCCURS: THE LEGEND OF A SAINT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH WHO WAS A BLACK MAN AND WAS REPUTED TO HAVE BEEN A PRINCE IN EGYPT. IN THE 10th CENTURY OTTO OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE CHOSE SAINT MAURITIUS AS THE PATRON SAINT OF GERMANY, AND FROM 1000 TO 1500 HIS STATUES AND HIS WORSHIP WERE DOMINANT IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WALTER VON DER VOGELWEIDE SANG OF KNIGHTLY VIRTUES REGARDLESS OF SKIN COLOR:

"MANY A MOOR IS RICH IN VIRTUES WITHIN:
BEHOLD THEIR WHITE HEARTS, IF SOMEONE TURNS THEM ROUND."

IN THE EPIC "PARSIFAL", WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH IN THE 13th CENTURY PORTRAYED A WHITE MAN AND A BLACK MAN AS BROTHERS. A EUROPEAN KNIGHT COMES TO THE COUNTRY OF ZASSAMANK, WHOSE QUEEN BELAKANE AND PEOPLE WERE DESCRIBED AS "NOCH SCHWARZER WAREN ALS DIE NACHT" (EVEN BLACKER THAN THE NIGHT). HE FALLS IN LOVE WITH THE QUEEN, COURTS AND MARRIES HER, BECAUSE HER NOBLE AND PURE CHARACTER SEEMS TO HIM QUITE EQUAL TO THAT OF A CHRISTIAN. LATER, HOWEVER, DISTURBED BY THE DIFFERENCE IN THEIR RELIGIONS, HE ABANDONS HER, AND BACK IN HIS OWN COUNTRY OF VALOIS HE WINS THE QUEEN OF VALOIS IN A TOURNAMENT

AND BECOMES KING. YET ALWAYS HE CHERISHES A DEEP FEELING OF LOVE FOR, AND SENSE OF WRONG TOWARD, HIS ABANDONED BLACK WIFE. AFTER HIS DEATH, HIS SON PARSIFAL BECOMES THE GREAT KNIGHT WHO LEADS THE SEARCH FOR THE HOLY GRAIL. BUT MEANTIME THE DESERTED BLACK QUEEN HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO A SON, AND THIS SON IS MIRACULOUSLY BLACK AND WHITE ("EIN SOHNLEIN DAS ZWEIFARBIG WAR") AND THEREFORE NAMED FEIREFIZ, OR "COLORED MAN," ("BUNTE SOHN"). LATER PARSIFAL MEETS THIS BROTHER, AND NOT KNOWING HIM, JOINS BATTLE WITH HIM IN THE HARDEST FIGHT HE EVER HAD. IN THE DUEL HIS SWORD BREAKS AND HE WOULD HAVE BEEN KILLED HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE GENEROUS MERCY OF HIS COLORED FOE. FINALLY THEY RECOGNIZE EACH OTHER AS HALF-BROTHERS AND FEIREFIZ PROVES AS FAITHFUL AS ANY CHRISTIAN. LED BY HIS LOVE FOR A WHITE EUROPEAN WOMAN HE AGREES TO BAPTISM AND THEN CARRIES CHRISTIANITY TO THE EAST.

THIS STORY OF THE CROSSING OF THE PATHS OF PARSIFAL AND FEIREFIZ IS MORE THAN A SIDE ISSUE TO THE MAIN STORY OF THE HOLY GRAIL. IT POINTS TOWARD THE BRIDGING OF THE GAPS BETWEEN CREEDS AND RACES AND IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN REVEALING THE

35-8-43

WHEN ITALIAN PAINTERS AND OTHERS BEGAN TO PAINT THE LEGEND OF THE THREE KINGS WHO VISITED THE CRADLE OF CHRIST, IT SEEMED LOGICAL THAT ONE OF THE THREE PRINCES, WHO REPRESENT THE THREE GREAT PEOPLES OF EARTH, SHOULD BE A BLACK NEGROID OF AFRICA AS THE OTHER TWO REPRESENTED YELLOW ASIA AND WHITE EUROPE.

IN THE SAME 14th CENTURY WE SEE GROWING IN THE SUDAN THE EXPANSION OF IMPERIALISM IN BLACK AFRICA.

35-8-44

DRAPER, WRITING OF THE 11th CENTURY, SPEAKS OF THE VASTLY SUPERIOR SOCIAL AND ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SWARTHY MOORS, WHO, HE SAYS, MIGHT WELL HAVE LOOKED "WITH SUPERCILIOUS CONTEMPT ON THE DWELLINGS OF THE RULERS OF GERMANY, FRANCE AND ENGLAND, WHICH WERE SCARCE BETTER THAN STABLES -- CHIMNEYLESS, WINDOWLESS, AND WITH A HOLE IN THE ROOF FOR THE SMOKE TO ESCAPE LIKE THE WIGWAMS OF CERTAIN INDIANS."

IN THE 100 YEARS BETWEEN 1817 AND 1917, BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION WAS FORMED, THERE TOOK PLACE IN THE WORLD 204 WARS. SEVEN OF THESE WARS WERE OF GREAT MAGNITUDE, CULMINATING IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. AT LEAST 40 OTHER CONFLICTS WERE LARGE-SCALE ~~FIGHTS~~ STRUGGLES INVOLVING THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS, AND 150 OF THEM (SMALLER ONES) MEANT WIDESPREAD MURDER AND DESTRUCTION. IF TODAY, AS SO MANY PERSONS THINK, COMMUNISM IS THE CHIEF CAUSE AND THREAT OF WAR, WHAT CAUSED THE MORE THAN 200 WARS OF THE 19TH CENTURY BEFORE THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS WAS BORN? THE ANSWER IS: GREED, CUPIDITY, AVARICE, RUTHLESS DESIRE FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT ANY COST TO PUBLIC WELFARE. AND THE SUBJECT OF MY WORDS TODAY IS ~~TO SAY~~ THAT THIS SAME UNBRIDLED GREED WHICH CAUSED WAR YESTERDAY IS CAUSING IT TODAY AND THREATENING IT TOMORROW.

AND IT IS ALSO THE REASON THAT THE STORY OF TWO HUNDRED MILLION HUMAN BEINGS WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO OUTLINE TO YOU TODAY HAS SO SUCESSFULLY BEEN CONCEALED THAT IT SOUNDS TO YOU LIKE A FAIRY TALE. BELIEVE ME, IT IS NOT.

47-10-170

tween fits of rage, desperation, courage, and murder. His prestige became almost magical, and yet he refused money and metals, and when he returned to England, was especially adverse to dinners and public functions. He came back to England in 1864, and supervised the building of forts, at the mouth of the Themes, living simply among the poor, and meditating on the mysteries of the universe, and reading the Bible. He was sent on an international commission to improve the navigation of the Danube, and made an Egyptian minister at Constanople. He was offered the governorship of the equatorial provinces of the Sudan. He went there and labored endlessly, but was balked by the Egyptians. He professed especially to wish to put down the slave trade. He stayed there six years. Before leaving, he went on a diplomatic mission to the emperor of Abyssinia, but the mission was a failure, and Gordon was insulted. He came back to England in 1880 ill and exhausted and tried several jobs which did not suit him in India and China. Finally, he went to Mauritions and there negotiated with Leopold to go to the Congo.

47-10-170

Meantime, Gordon was fifty and had just returned from his last job. He returned to England in 1884, and a leading newspaper began to spread the idea that he was the one man to rescue the Sudan. But Baring didn't want him, and said so twice. Finally, Gordon was prevailed upon to go to the Sudan and report on the military situation. What really happened was that the English Imperialist, determined to send Gordon into the Sudan and create a situation which would make it absolutely necessary for England to interfere. Baring was helpless. If the English got involved in the Sudan it meant that they would stay in Egypt. On leaving England, Gordon arranged that every member of the Cabinet should receive a copy of the Reverend Samuel Clarke's "Scriptures Promises". Baring was told that Gordon was on his way to Khartum to arrange for the future _____ of the Sudan "for the best advantage of the people." He wanted to be made Governor-General, and was. February 18, 1884, Gordon reached Khartum. He remitted taxes and punishments, and became very popular. But rather to the astonishment of England, he recognized slavery. He was scared that he was not going to have support from England, and he began to pour telegrams to Cairo and Barin, the English Consul-General. He openly talked of smashing the Mahdi with the aid of British and Indian troops.

47-10-171

INSERT PAGE 5

In the meantime during the 19th century there were a series of revolts in Africa led by individuals whose names must not be forgotten: Harry Thuku in Kenya, the Senussi in North Africa, the Magi-Magi in East Africa, the Herrero in Southwest Africa, Tashedi Khama in South Africa, Clemens Kadalia in South Africa, John Chilemb in South Africa and Simon Kimango in East Africa.

40-1-188

INSERT PAGE 12

30-6-23

usually ~~honest and efficient.~~ Under them West Africa has progressed; the native rulers have made ~~great and~~ notable advance. But the Africans complain, too much is done for them ~~and not with them.~~ The rulers reply, the natives want more than they are fit to provide.

Politics in all African colonies conform to a pattern which varies from territory to territory only as to the relative importance of the following factors: (1) White settlers who work for self-rule, with white supremacy both in economics and politics; (2) Big Business which works for monopolistic concerns and control over labor; (3) Alien racial groups who demand equality in all ways with the whites; (4) A handful of native intelligenstia ~~frustrated and resentful~~ who agitate for "Africa for the Africans," "down with the color bar" and, at the same time, demand increased social services; and (5) Government with "indirect" rule trying to hold down the lid.

In addition to this, there must not be overlooked the great mass of people of Africa, the "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe." They are protected from ~~their~~ aggressive neighbors, ~~and~~ have some modern medical aid, a little education, sanitation and use of ~~farm~~ machinery. They can sell their crops more or less freely in the world market and they have perhaps doubled in number in thirty years. ~~They pay comparatively little attention to either social leaders or agitators, but want to be left undisturbed; yet someday they may be touched off by a firebrand or inspired by a prophet.~~

A native of West Africa declares that West Africans have shown phenomenal advance in the direction of self-confidence and native consciousness. Even admitting the good faith of the British government, they demand to be treated as colleagues and consulted fairly and fully in all decisions that are taken about their country and people. This is just the type of situation that makes for impatience and frayed nerves.

On the other hand, there is on the part of the white administrator resentment, that despite all the government is doing for the people they are not grateful, and their leaders continue to malign it. There is constant complaint that the people are not being consulted in the drawing up of plans and in their execution; a conflict of paternalism "father knows best," versus nationalism, "we must be consulted." There is widespread feeling among many africans and Europeans that if there is to be cooperation between Africans and British, there is need for responsible Africans to speak freely on all subjects respecting themselves and their country.

I have consented to be a candidate for public office for the first time in a long life because I believe that the people of New York are entitled to an opportunity to vote against war and for peace. Neither of my opponents provides that opportunity. Both Herbert Lehman and Joe Hanley agree with the Truman-Dulles policy in foreign relations.

35-6-266

LET ME REMIND YOU OF ONE THING: TODAY IS A TIME IN HISTORY WHEN THERE HAS BEEN AND IS GOING ON EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT IN THREE AREAS OF SCIENCE: IN SOCIOLOGY SO THAT EXACT METHODS OF STUDY AND MEASUREMENTS ARE MAKING THE STUDY OF THE ACTIONS OF MEN SCIENTIFIC AND WITHIN LIMITS PREDICTABLE. PSYCHOLOGY HAS OPENED UP A NEW FIELD OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS OF HUMAN BEINGS. ECONOMICS HAS COME TO BE A SCIENTIFIC GUIDE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF HUMAN WORK AND PLANNING OF INDUSTRY. ANY ORGANIZATION TODAY WHICH UNDERTAKES TO GUIDE SOCIAL ACTION MUST RELY FOR ADVICE ON TRAINED, EXPERT KNOWLEDGE IN SOCIOLOGY, HISTORY, PSYCHOLOGY AND ECONOMICS. WITHOUT THIS, THE ORGANIZATION IS HELPLESS AND AT SEA, AND FLOUNDERING ABOUT IN OUTMODED NINETEENTH CENTURY EMOTIONAL PHILANTHROPY. THE NAACP HAS, OUTSIDE MY OFFICE, NOT ONE PERSON IN ITS EMPLOY, TRAINED IN A SINGLE FIELD OF THESE BRANCHES OF SCIENCE. MOST OF ITS EXECUTIVES HAVE NOT EVEN A FIRST CLASS COLLEGE TRAINING, MUCH LESS, THE

DISCIPLINE OF GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL WORK. NO TRAINED SOCIOLOGIST, NO PSYCHOLOGIST, HISTORIAN OR ECONOMIST OF EMINENCE HAS EVER BEEN OFFERED A JOB WITH THE NAACP, OR EVER WILL UNDER ITS PRESENT ORGANIZATION.

WE WHO OUGHT TO HEAD RESEARCH ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE NEGRO, ON THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN PEOPLES: ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION: ON THE ECONOMICS OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT: HAVE NOT TAKEN A SINGLE STEP TOWARD ANY OF THESE SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF STUDYING THE RACE PROBLEM, BUT HAVE PUT ALL OUR ENERGIES IN COURT CASES AND ALMS-GIVING.

49-5-31

(1)

REVOLT IN AFRICA

What is the reaction of Black Africa to all this? Are the natives simply stol id and dumb, submitting without protest or comprehension of their plight? That is the complacent belief of most of the white world. Yet the facts belie this, only the facts either are not cabled or if wired, not printed.

The situation is clear: in South and East Africa, the land has been ta taken from the natives and then they are taxed to compel them to work on the plantations or in the mines. In West Africa, the native has his land, but is ruled by a white governor; "indirect rule " leaves local government in the hands of the chiefs, but the governor can remove these chiefs and pays their salaries. Thus his commissioners rule the rulers. White settlers all over Af Africa are working for white supremacy in industry and government; Big Busines is srtriving for monopoly of natural resources and control of labor; alien racia l groups are demanding the privileges of whites; a native intelligent-sia is demanding Africa for the Afri ans.

What now is the rank and file of the workers thinking and doing?

59-6-19

THE REVOLT OF AFRICA

BILL DEAN DIES (his education; his work; his visit to Africa; his family)

The FUTURE EXPOLITATION OF LABOR (Europe; USA; Ussr)

THE EMPHASIS ON AFRICA (The loss of India and China; the defection of Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia; the unrest in the West Indies South and Central America; home labor problems)

40-7E-2

African geography, products and labor

Future of the British and French empires

Fear of Russia

PAST METHODS OF AFRICAN CONTROL

Slave trade: English & Arab

Political control

White class rule

Native rule

REVOLT

War (Nile valley;Bantu; West Africa & Sudan;Uganda & Congo)

Participation in World Wars

Revolts

Strikes & economic effort

Political efforts

MASTER PLANS

South African, Kenya, Rhodesia

North African

West African

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE FEAR OF THE USSR

(1)

REVOLT IN AFRICA

Afew weeks ago in New York a young man who had not reached his 42nd birthday put his head in a gas oven and committed suicide. He had received his bachelor's degree summa cum laude from a New Englad college, was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa ~~and came Jr.~~ his doctorate in economics in 1938; his thesis was used in the economics courses in several universities and he served the United States Resourses P Planning Board and the O.P.A. He was when he died chief of the Africa Unit of theDivision of Economic Stability and Development in the United Nations. You will find several of his studies in the World Economic Report and he just returned last winter from a mission to Somaliland, East Africa. The most important fact about him in the mind of this audience was the fact that one or two of his grandparents had Negro blood.

40-7E-3

But he epitomized in his short life the didappointment and frustration of a modern man of African descent. He was never offered a first-class academic appointment in any ~~American~~ college; he had chosen an area of study, economics which noone in this nation today dare study save as a b ranch of higher mathematics; he went to Africa to see with his own eyes one of the most miserably exploited regions of the world with a history of degradatio coming down 4000 years from the Egyptian I2th dynasty to yesterday when the United Nations handed Somaliland back to the Italians. Wracked by the fever of a terrible climate this young scholar came back a nation where the social group to which he was bound was torn in leadership; his closest male relative had just become director in a New York white bank and from the vantage ground of a political appointment was railing at William Patterson for t lling the story of Negro genocide in the United States to to the ears of Europe; he found me , once a felow teacher, whose daughter had been his own teacher hand-cuffed and threatened with jail for talking of peace and he found it impossible to wr te or talk econ omics in a nation which was owned by Big Business both in pysical body and literary soul. He killed himself.

But the world and America need not rest hope that either Black America nor black Afirica is going to rid the world of the problem of color added to that of exploitation by this ~~read~~ veiled. On the contrary and in the face of the present desperate attemot of newsgathering agencies the press and American scholarship, I want to remind you briefly tonight of the spead of revolt in Africa, despite of all that the ~~mxxxpxxxxfxx~~ mightiest colonial power of this day -- namely the United States of America is attempting to counteract by yelling Communism, at which word every wise American straightway dives under the bed

Exploitation of labor is of course the history of civilization. I am using the

word in no technical Marxist sense, but simply as naming the fact that modern man tries to get his comfort and income from other peoples work and pain and suceed in convincing ~~themselv~~ himself ~~selves~~ that this is necessary and right and the only path to high human culture. Today, as formerly and in spite of every device to hide the truth, the right of the minority of men to use the majority so far as they can for their own income and enjoyment is still a dominant way of life. It is however difficult to prove this in black and white because of the secrecy ~~and legal punishment~~ which conceals the facts. Many students have tried for instance to put in figures the disparity of income which is current in the United States but have found it hard to base their reports on figures ~~despite the fact that their reports in the main are true.~~ But income returns, ownership of property and particularly ownership of corporate wealth is in the main concealed by threat of jail.

40-7E-4a

~~But~~ In Africa there are certain overall facts which cannot be kept secret. It is a published fact that when the Second World War opened, thde black natives of South Africa forming 80% of the population had but 8% of the land. This was approximently the same in the Rhodesias, and was a better condition than in all East Africa ~~and in~~ central and north central Africa. Add to this the fact that today in the Union of South Africa each white man, woman and child is ~~served and~~ supported by five black and colored slaves; or if you prefer ~~to say~~: nine million dark workers can only live by working for wages determined by whites, with no legal trade unions, no vote, no defense against white police and soldiers, with segregated and wretched housing and a minimum of education. In the Rhodesias, Kenya, Nyassaland, Tanganyika less than a quarter million whites, backed by the force of the civilized world are dominating the land and labor of 18 million blacks; while in central Africa fewer whites control larger masses of Negro labor to attain ownership of vaster wealth, ~~which~~ British, French and now American capitalism is ~~now~~ investing in and building new power ~~which is now~~ planned at present for overthrowing civilization through world war.

This control of wealth and human work has long been a matter of satisfaction to the white world and used in showing the clear superiority of the white race. But it has met opposition and today this opposition is growing. Its growth in Asia has overwhelmed us with complete surprise. We cannot yet believe it and are explaining it ~~by it~~ as our political mistake. It ~~is~~ was our ~~the~~ mistake ~~of~~ but the mistake of our economic system and our religion which supports it, and finally of the propaganda which we call news and education This revolt of labor which began and continues in Europe and has extended to Asia and the South seas, has long been seething in Africa and is now rising with new life at the very

4

~~after the first world war and particularly after the second the eyes of colonial imperialism were fixed on Africa~~ This was pointed out in white Kenya as early as 1920. White men there partly of South African descsnt ~~said to~~ urged Britain to give up Asia and center on Africa with its docile labor. ~~In 1945 and after great plans of development were laid down to raise food for England in Africa.~~

The military base of empire was moved from Egypt to Kenya which now has a vast British arsenal in its neighborhood. ~~A German writer says~~

As an observer wrote after the Second World War

-7-

AFRICA

40-7E-6

I.A. Langnas:

"Now that the palmy days of the Empire are over, Africa is the brightest remaining jewel in the imperial crown. Voices from all parties proclaim Africa's new role in the imperial scheme. General Sir Francis De Guingaud, a staunch Churchillian Tory now settled in Southern Rhodesia, sees in Africa the new strategic centre of the Empire and wants the imperial armed forces and war industries concentrated there. His cry is echoed by a Labour MP, Lieut.-Col. Rees-Williams, calling for the recruitment of huge black armies, presumably to replace the Indians, the Gurkhas and the Arab Legion. At Southport, Mr. Bevin makes a passionate appeal for a better exploitation of the resources of Africa to save Britain from the clutches of Uncle Snyder. And the people of Britain showed in a recent Gallup Poll that their minds, too, are centred on Africa. 36%, by far the largest percentage of Britons willing to emigrate, chose South Africa for their destination, with substantial minorities choosing Kenya and the Rhodesias."

time when the United States enters the scene as the chief exploiter of colored labor in thde world.

6

An American Negro, long a student of the African situation, said in 1949:

40-7E-8

It must be remembered that the economic lure of Africa is tremendous. ~~Among its products are:~~

A

~~Alpheus Hunton speech: 1949~~

"Chased out of China, the robber barons of the western world now are taking a fresh and keen interest in plundering the wealth of Africa. And it is the American robber barons--the wealthiest and most powerful in the world--who are leading this new raid on the continent of our forefathers.

"Their aim now is to make Africa 'safe' for American investment profits. But just as surely as night follows day, -- despite all their efforts to seal off the African people from the expanding free world around them with a double thickness iron curtain-- the robber barons will be chased out of Africa as they have been chased out of China.

7

The map of Africa is changing. "A new world is struggling to be born " The changes are the result of World War II. What will result from World War III.? Vast change has already come to Asia. ~~In Africa~~, Italy has been almost driven out; Eritrea has been united to Ethiopia Libya has been politically freed; the Sudan is aspiring to liberation. West Africa is moving toward independence. The battle against slavery centers in South and East Africa ~~with the help of American capital~~

40-7E-9

Let us explore this world attitue toward African labor. We can distinguish eight phases of this exploitation: the slave trade which transported black labor to America and built the Sugar and Cotton Kingdoms which founded Modern Capitalism on Europe; next slave and serf labor on African farms, mines and plantations. This is the history f East and South Africa; then land sequestrati n, religion and caste; ~~folowed by~~

40-7E-10

This was followed by the conventional attempt to take a part of the exploited ~~labor~~ colony mass into partnership so as to carry out the exploitation of the mass. This came into use in West Africa where the English, after 6 wars with the Asanti, and the French after ~~a series~~ 50 years of wars in the Sudan, were unable to conquer the natives and therefore tried successfully to rule them through their own chiefs and their own social organization -- ~~except where these~~ as as & less the least over interfered with control of labor. There followed a regular wage system where low wages were paid to miners, artisans and farm laborers. This took place in British West Africa, Central Africa and the mining regions of South Africa.

In West Africa it evolved into partial political control, where the laborers had some right to vote and form trade unions; but the main object of the whole colonial organization was to furnish cheap raw material to European and American companies. Finally, today there has come in West Africa and Ethiopia a degree of independence of political and social life, limited and controlled, however, by investing imperialism abroad.

Keeping these 8 methods of labor control in Africa in mind, let us examine the reaction of the Africans over the years in some 19 of the different areas. In Africa, just as in the West Indies and the southern states of America, revolt of labor has been long and continuous, but as far as possible concealed from the public and history because of the bad effect which it would have on current policies.

In the Union of South Africa, for instance, the history of war, revolt, strikes, with poverty, disease and ignorance, covers a thousand years of modern history. It began when the Bantu tribes crossed the Zambesi and moved slowly into South Africa. They drove back ~~the~~ Bushmen and Hottentots ~~and the .....~~ and attacked the incoming Dutch late in the 18th century. When the English came, there were 6 ~~Cathe~~ Kaffir wars between 1817 and 1877,

10-31-11

ending with the killing of the French crown prince.

Early in the 19th century came the almost invincible Zulu Impi under Chaka followed by Dingaan. When in 1837 the Dutch fleeing the English made the Great Trek to the lands which the Bantu had seized, 3000 dead were left at the Blood River; followed by a decade of intermittent war. In 1870 and thereafter, the three men who dominated South Africa were the black chief, Lobengula, the white exploiter, Cecil Rhodes, and the Boer president, Kruger. Rhodes had listened to the flower of English culture at Oxford and heard England called "the sceptered isle", destined to rule the world. He implemented the phrase and raided South Africa, which became among the greatest of modern exploiters of black labor.

In 1867 diamonds + in 1885 gold and diamonds were discovered in South Africa, which sealed its fate. The Boer war came in 1899, and the Union of South Africa ten years later. There followed an extraordinary history of unrest and revolt.

Gold and diamonds characterised the modern capitalistic system. The diamonds typify luxury and extravagance. They characterize the great centers of modern civilization - New York, London and Paris. Lately they are necessary for the preparation of mechanical techniques. Gold long was a measuring rod of modern wealth and still is partially. The Organization, therefore, of the gold and diamond mines in South Africa established a world pattern. Laborers were brought from all parts of Africa by force, fraud, and promise of wages. They were herded into the mines, worked under force and whip, and paid a shilling a day. Family life throughout South Africa, extending even to Central Africa, was broken up.

Efforts to unionize these workers were opposed, not simply by the mine owners, but by the white workers. The white trade unions not only

40-7E-12

The fight with the Hottentots, Dutch and English broke the Bantu tribes into fragments, but in the Northern part there remain the self-governing Bamangwato. It was this tribe and country that once extended so as to link the Cape to Cairo. Yet the tribe was partially independent, and Khama in the 19th century became its Chief. He was succeeded by Tshekei who had a white Englishman whipped for molesting a colored woman, with the result that an English army marched up from the Cape with three hundred Marines and two cannon and tried to punish him. London finally backed down, but pushed on by the Union of South Africa tried again th interfere when the young Chief Seretsi Khama, studying in England, married a typist and then was refused residence in his native own land.

11

refused to admit Negroes, but agitated and marched to keep Negro Unions from being recognized by the Government. The resulting wage situation was fantastic. A bricklayer working for a British firm came to South Africa and said "This country has a monopoly on stupidity". Each white bricklayer had 4 native helpers. The white man was paid $56 a week, or if an apprentice, at least $32 a week. The native was paid $10 a week, and ~~the native~~ did practically all the work.

40-75-13

In the midst of this has arisen the opposed economy of farmer and industrialist. The farmer wants practically slave labor, and has today about 2¼ million Africans receiving a wage of 10 shillings a month with rations, and being practically forced to stay on the land by the government. On the other hand, the city worker can be seen in a city like Durban, with nearly 4 hundred thousand inhabitants, 1/3 European, 1/3 Indian and 1/3 African. The Europeans and a few of the Indians live in houses. Thousands of the Africans squat in shacks on the outskirts. The city where the Europeans live has broad streets, tropical vegetation, and miles of beach. In Johannesburg, the capital of the mining section, there have been dozens of racial outbursts since the end of the Second World War. It was in Durban that Mahatma Gandhi was mobbed.

The fight with the Hottentots, Dutch and English broke the Bantu tribes into fragments, but in the

40-7E-13a

cont'd - Langnas: An Englishman writes

perhaps the best argument for Communism is the attitude of the South African Labour Party. Africans have long memories and are unlikely to forget that the 'civilized labour policy', known to the outside world as the colour bar, was not imposed by the Government but by the white workers. In 1922, they went on strike rather than permit non-Europeans to do skilled labour. They marched through Johannesburg with banners inscribed 'Workers of the World, Fight and Unite for White South Africa' and set up a Soviet Republic based on the colour bar. The Johannesburg Soviet lasted only a few hours, and was suppressed with bloodshed but the colour bar became the law of the land.

40-7E-13b

In February 1949 there was a series of riots between Africans and Indians. A Government Commission of Inquiry was appointed, with African and Indian representatives, but they withdrew when they were given no right to cross-examine witnesses.

11a

~~AFRICA~~

40-7E-14

At the beginning of the 20th century in Cape Colony all races had the right to vote. The native voters were divided between two leading parties, and educated Negroes were always pro-European, fighting with the whites in the Catho wars.

In 1908 there was a national convention at Durban to plan for a union of Cape Colony, the Orange River Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal. The Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and practically all of the Cape delegates were in favor of enfranchising the native and colored people in the new union. But General Botha, Prime Minister of the Transvaal said that if that policy was carried there could be no union. Finally it was decided that there could be no change in the Cape native franchise except by a 2/3 majority of the legislature.

~~Two statesmen, Hofmeyer and Shriner, went to Great Britain to fight for the native franchise when it was presented by the South African delegates. They could accomplish nothing.~~

In 1926 General Hertzog began his attack on the Cape native franchise which lasted until 1936 when by a 2/3 majority the Cape natives were disfranchised, after having had the vote for 80 years. The native voters' names were transferred to a separate poll where they could elect 3 members who would be white, and would be the only representatives of native interests in a Chamber of 153 members.

In 1950 the Group Areas Act was passed, classifying all persons and companies as white, native, or colored. ~~The native and colored groups may be subdivided by native tribes, Chinese and Indian.~~ The groups were separated for land or occupation, but ~~except~~ the servants ~~of Europeans~~ from complete segregation. A native or colored group area has a Governing Board appointed by a member of the Cabinet.

Cape Colored

Coloreds Population 1½ million

~~The question of the control of the Protectorates is a current problem, which Malan wants to push.~~

51-34-04

South Africans have been protesting ~~not simply with unions and strikes.~~ 25 years ago a colored leader, Clements Kadalie, formed a trade union which was called "communist" but had a wide influence and a large following. Eventually he was driven out.

40-7E-16a

Africans convicted under the Pass Laws may serve prison sentences or volunteer for work on a farm. Farmers often build jails for such convicts. Convict labor is used on a large scale, and convict labor is hired to farmers at 1 shilling 9 pence a day.

2,600 natives are supplied daily to the Railway Administration for quarrying, and 1,400 long sentence native convicts are supplied daily to the gold mines.

In January 1949, an African trying to prevent the arrest of his wife started a riot on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The police were driven out, but returning with tear gas, arrested 600 men and women. The African National Congres organized a protest meeting, but in February the police invaded the district and there was another fight. 275 Africans were arrested.

In 1946 there was a strike of 50,000 gold mine workers. Police attacked the strikers with machine guns, tear gas, and hand grenades.

40-7E-16

"The cumulative effect this legislation has is to crush the National Organizations of the oppressed people; to destroy the economic position of the people and to create a reservoir of cheap labor for the farms and the gold mines; to prevent the unity and development of the African people towards full nationhood and to humiliate them in a host of other manners.

"The African National Congress, as the National Organization of the African people, cannot remain quiet on an issue that is a matter of life and death to the people. To do so would be a betrayal of the trust and confidence placed upon it by the African people.

"At a recent Annual Conference of the African National Congress held in Bloemfontein from the 15th to the 17th December, 1951, the whole policy of the Government was reviewed and, after serious and careful consideration of the matter, Conference unanimously voted to call upon your Government, as we hereby do, to repeal the aforementioned Acts by NOT LATER THAN THE 29th DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1952, failing which the African National Congress will hold protest meetings and demonstrations on the 6th day of April, 1952 as a prelude to the implementation of the plan for the defiance of unjust laws. . . "

"The African National Congress was established in 1912 to protect and advance the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them, and to attain their freedom from all discriminatory laws whatsoever. To this end the African National Congress has, since its establishment endeavored by every constitutional method to bring to the notice of the Government the legitimate demands of the African people and repeatedly pressed, in particular, their inherent right to be directly represented in Parliament, Provincial and Municipal Councils and in all councils of state. . .

"As is well-known the Government through its repressive policy of trusteeship, segregation and apartheid and through legislation that continues to insult and degrade the African people by depriving them of fundamental human rights enjoyed in all democratic communities, has categorically rejected our offer of cooperation. The consequence has been the gradual worsening of the social, economic and political position of the African people and a rising tide of racial bitterness and tension. The position has been aggravated in recent times by the Pass Laws, Stock Limitation, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Voters Act of 1951.

Organizations called "National Congresses" have been formed. They were on the pattern of the Pan-African Congresses which I called in 1919, 21, 23, in Europe. They were followed by the National Congress of West Africa in 1920, and the present South African National Congress in 1921 arose after the second World War. It is this Congress which last January wrote the South African Minister saying:

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Under the Pass Laws the natives are required to carry as many as 16 permissions to move from place to place. As a result of the arrests under these laws, South Africa has the largest number of arrests current in any country calling itself civilized.

40-3E-164

14

A reporter from Time says:

"To white South Africans, long confident of their ability to rule over five times their number of blacks, the blacks have suddenly become a major internal foe. This is the real basis of the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid (apartness). A Nationalist frankly told me: 'We aim to segregate them completely, living as far away from us as possible'. . . 'But you need these people to keep your industries going'. . .'Oh, yes. But we want them to live well away from us. Then, if there's trouble, we know where to drop the bombs.' A century ago (Mr. Campbell comments) the whites formed themselves into a laager when attacked by black warriors, Today, the order is again to draw back into the laager -- and shoot to kill."

40-3E-18

40-7E-19

United States Industry is deeply interested in South Africa. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been investing for a long time. Ford began investing 25 years ago. General Motors has recently built a 20 million dollar plant, and has other investments. The American Kennecott Corporation has recently and other mining corporations have invested in the mining industry. and received $8 million in gold mining

General Lucius Clay is a director in the Newmont Mining Corporation, which made profits of 9 million dollars in three years. Other American owners are: Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric. All investments have been increased sharply since 1945. Most foreign investment capital comes now from America rather than England.

40-7E-19

2

The United States Consul General in the Union of South Africa said in August, 1950 "This country has a greater future than almost any young country in the world. It is definitely going places." (copy B)

An Englishwoman says of Nigeria

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40-7E-25

How does it look from the Eastern Provinces?

By Marjorie Nicholson

IT is difficult to sum up a political movement in a colonial country in the short period of three months, particularly when one belongs, willy nilly, to what may be called the ruling class. Nevertheless, the success of the national movement in Nigeria is of vital importance to the building up of a free Africa, and it is as one of those who wish to see Africa free that I presume to make some comments on it. Nigerians may disagree with the comments, but if they help to provoke discussion they will have served their purpose.

In the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria there is going on to-day a wonderful movement forward of the human mind. For some it is obscured by daily sights which are quite horrifying to anyone who is unaccustomed to living in a society where there is a general callousness in human relations, and where poverty is measured in terms of open drains and lack of elementary tools. But there are other quite different sights to see—young men emerging from what look like hovels in spotless white shirts and shorts, African students discussing difficult constitutional issues in a foreign language, advertisements for African newspapers and announcements of political meetings—which speak of energy and intelligence and a passionate desire to be accepted as the equal of any other people in the world. This movement forward is expressed in all kinds of efforts to better village amenities, to improve labour conditions, to collect funds for students to study abroad, and so on. These efforts constitute the soil from which spring the political organisations whose task it is to make effective in a political and constitutional sense the popular desire for equal status.

The task of political organisation has to be carried out amongst a largely illiterate population in which comparatively few read newspapers and books, and amongst whom it is extremely difficult to build up an educated public opinion. Confidence is therefore given, except on the broadest issues, to personalities rather than to programmes, and this imposes very heavy responsibilities on the leaders, while at the same time it deprives them of the intellectual sustenance which leaders in a highly organised movement like the British

15

~~It should be remembered that~~ In 1952 of the 12½ million inhabitants of the Union of South Africa, 2½ million were white, 8½ million natives, 1 million colored (which represents a mixturex of whites and natives) and 350 thousand Asiatics. It is easy to see what the real force is back of the South African situation.

Between 1900 and 1950 the total capital invested ~~by~~ citizens of the United States in Africa increased from 500 million to 15 hundred million. Today it undoubtedly exceeds the British investments. In 1949 South Africa asked for a loan of 50 million dollars from the U.S. and got $10million. However, in December 1950 they received 80 million dollars from the United States government. The terms of the agreement are "top secret", but include purchase rights to large quantities of uranium. The Wall Street Journal estimates that South Africa will need loansxfxxx over the next fixe years totalling 1½ billion dollars. Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been investing in South Africa a long time. ~~Ford began~~

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N (?)

40-7E-20 D

"Capital investments and loans are not made by mere philanthropists, but by astute and farseeing American financiers and business executives," said Mr. Redecker as he pointed to scores of millions of American dollars that had been invested in mining or in the form of loans. The World Bank and private banks had given eighty million dollars on loan and the Kennecott Company had invested many millions of dollars in Free State gold mines. At least four and a half million dollars were being put into the big new oil refinery.

"In addition, many American private companies have established branches and factories here and are planning production on a scale not only to cater for the South African market, but to carry its export trade throughout the Commonwealth. Most of these projects will virtually be run by South Africans." A big American insurance company had established a complete organization with branches throughout the Union. Staffing would be almost entirely South African. Six million dollars was also being put into a factory in the Union by International Business Machines."

40-7E-20 a D.

The first 10 months of 1952 the Union imported 4 hundred million pounds sterling worth of goods, as compared with 245 million in 1951.

The exports during the 10 months of 1952 were 282 million pounds sterling, while 1951 was 158 million.

It is estimated that in the 13 gold mines in the Free State there is between 6 and 7 billion tons. In the year 2000 it is estimated that the Free State will still be an important gold producer.

The annual production of gold when the mines are in full production will be between 75 and 100 million pounds sterling.

The industrial production in the Union has grown from 84 million pounds sterling in 1925 to 800 million in 1950-1, equalling in value the production of gold and agriculture together.

The increase in net investment has risen from 53 million pounds sterling in 1938 to 147 billion in 1950. In 1950 the public investment was 67 million pounds, and private investment 80 million pounds.

40-7E-20 b

40-7E-5

3

There has arisen, especially since the Second World War, a widespread idea that a new Europe is going to be built on the exploitation of Africa, and that America is going to replace the British Empire as the chief exploiting nation. ~~Many persons are warning against this idea.~~ English writers like ~~Elspeth~~ Huxley present the Empire dilemma:

40-7E-21

8

~~William N. Sheehan, Vice Pres. of the General Steel Casting Corp., one of the largest manufacturers of railway equipment in the United States, has visited South Africa three times in the last 5 years.~~ He said, August 20, 1950, that he considered South Africa had unlimited potentiality for development: "I can see it going ahead with great speed for it is so rich in so many kinds of raw materials. The South Africans are a great people."

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Small wonder that the Vice President of the General Steel Casting Corp., one of the largest manufacturers of railway equipment in the U.S. has visited South Africa three times in the last five years.

17A

Let us now turn to West Africa

Let us now turn to the opposite center of change, which is British West Africa. In 1945 I was in Manchester, England attending the 5th Pan-African Congress. Among the delegates was a young black man from the Gold Coast British West Africa, poorly dressed, but with an American college education. After leaving this Congress he went back to the Gold Coast where he was arrested, charged with Communism because he had a plan of social reform for West Africa, and thrown into jail. On January 12 this man, Kwamy Nkrumkh was installed as the first native Prime Minister of the Gold Coast colony of the British Empire. This, of course, does not mean complete independence for the 4 million black people, but it is the nearest approach that any British African colony has attained, and although Negro autonomy is still restrained by British appointed officials with considerable power, there is little likelihood that the Gold Coast will easily be turned back from independence, or that its neighbor, with 25 million Negroes, will not soon go the same way. Here again we have a long history. In this part of Africa the American slave trade began under the English. Then the chartered companies moved in and by trade and monopoly gradually brought Negro labor under control, but they never succeeded as in East and South Africa, in getting monopoly of the land. A century of war ensued, but Europe did not subdue West Africa. It entered into treaty with various nations and rulers so that gradually the English and the French from 1800 to the First World War claimed control of West Africa and ruled by allowing selected native chiefs to represent them in the control of labor.

During the First World War hundreds of thousands of soldiers from this part of Africa helped the French and English to subdue Germany. That meant the awakening of West Africa.

40-7E-22

African nationalism is gro
apace. It is becoming ever
clear to the acutest poli
scientists that during
next few decades Africa
go the way Europe went in
second half of the Nineteen
Century and Asia went in
first five decades of the pres
century. Independent Afric
states are about to emerge all
the continent north of the Equato
Consciouness of the new politica
as transformation now underwa
Africa is becoming apparent e
in traditionalist circles in Englan

The London "Observer" a
recent leading article made the
formidable and revolutionary
observation that:

"Africa to-day is living out the str
of the class struggle that occupied
throughout Europe in the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries, but intens
fied by melodramatic differences in
physical appearance and a wide gu
in technical attainments."

Continuing this striking analy
the "Observer" declared.

"There are two poles of attracti
On the Atlantic coast and north
the equator there are the popula
all-African colonies of Nigeria a
Gold Coast. Here the Africans
attainins their ambition of s
government within the Comm
wealth; and it will be the voices
the West African leaders that will
heeded by Africans elsewhere. Far
the south, there is the Union of Sou
Africa, where Dr. Malan's National
Party practices its doctrine of 'Whi
Supremacy'; this provides a pole of
attraction for other European settle
who fear the prosress of the African."

Britain senses what is brewing. In 1948, in the guilded reception room of Lancaster House came a conference from 10 British colonies, with observers from five dependencies and France, Belgium and Portugal. They were received by the King, the Foreign secretary and General Montgomery. The Colonial Secretary told them of what Britain was going to give them in economic aid. He said "We must wipe out the word "Exploitation" and place it with Slavery and piracy. Then the Oni of Ife, descendant of a line of royal rulers which goes back a thousand years arose in his wine red robe and green shawl, and speaking perfect English said that Africans had not come here to listen to flowery speeches but demanded fairer prices for African products, more machinery and technical assistence and less delay in the promised economic assistance

He had in mind the extraordinay case of the Cocoa war. West Africa supplies the world nearly 70% of its cocoa and chocolate. This arose through the enterprize of a black native, Tettie Quarsie who out maneuvered the Spanish plantation owners and the British manufacturers. The cocoa crop of 250,000 to 400,000 tons a year ~~after the first world war was~~ raised on small farms, a ton to a farm, ~~which the government taxed so that the farmer got about $50 a ton.~~ The cocoa ~~was~~ taken to England, Holland and the United States and processed it and sold it to you at a price which ~~made~~ makes millionaires of Cadburys, at the smae time ~~that~~ price fluctuations put the farmers in bankruptcy The farmers after repeated failures organized a boycott in 1937-8 after the buyers had combined to keep prices down by establishing a fixed price and no competition. They held 13 European firms at bay until the British Government had to intervene, ~~but the~~ War came and the British government took complete control. A low price was fixed but the government promised to freturn profits to the farmers. ~~in 1941 profits of $8,000,000~~ Eventually profits of $8,000,000 were realized but the farmers got nothing. The Government promised to spend it for the Farmers benefit. When I was at the Pan-African Conference in 1945 in Manchester, England the chairman of the farmers committee was present. His face was like the face of the

40-7E-23

Man of Sorrows. He kept saying "We must be free. We will be free" The secretary of state f
for colonies refused to receive his delegation. Today the Gold Coast is free; or is it? Cannot
the American cocoa market still cheat the black farmers of West Africa ?

and Dutch Cocoa manufacturers

40-7E-24

20

A West African wrote us

~~July 28th~~ 1948 ~~By G. Naiah~~

"You must have heard of the disturbances which broke out in the Gold Coast in March, in which several people were killed and wounded. This was the result of over-inflation of the prices of imported goods and the demand by the people for a change in the constitution of the country. The whole thing was planned by the leading officer in a recently organized body that is known as the United Gold Coast Convention. It is a country wide organization which has the support of the whole country. The officers of this organization are the most qualified politicians of the country, for most of them are lawyers, doctors, and members of the legislative assembly of the country. The disturbances began with strikes, boycott of all imported goods, looting of the goods in the stores of both European and Asiatic merchants, and it ended with open attacks on the Europeans, especially the political officers of the central government. The natives of the Gold Coast who are members of the Police and the military forces of the central government stood as mere spectators when they were ordered to deal with the crowd. Soldiers from Nigeria were asked to come to the aid of the Gold Coast Government. Curfew was imposed on all the principal towns of the country. The liberty of the press was tampered with, and some leading officers of the United Gold Coast Convention were ~~detained to be released on the arrival of a special commission appointed by the Colonial Office in London to investigate the underlying causes of the disturbances and to publish its findings. The report awaits birth~~. This is but a crude summary of a crisis of unparalleled intensity in the history of the Gold Coast as a British colony.

"The Colonial Empire that was once considered by the proud Imperialists as sinecure, has now become damnosa hereditas. The wisdom of a servant who was once a fool is a never ending headache to his master."

40-7E-25

21

The Nigerian Labor Congress reopened its demands for pay increases in December, 1950. The United Africa Co., a subsidiary of Lever Bros., refused the demand and a strike was called December 14. 20,000 workers brought all business in Lagos to a stand still,--despite police assaults and arrests, -- until the Government agreed to appoint an Inquiry Commission. Meantime they were locked out by their employers.

40-7E-26

Here are two poles of African development-complete subjection of the worker in South Africa, independence in West Africa. Between them the continent is divided. In the Rhodesians there is the continued attempt of groups varying from 25 to 100 thousand whites, to control 18 million black workers and sequestrate their land under the guise of democratic government in which only the whites share.

Thus Northern Rhodesia with less than 50 thousand whites and nearly 2 million Negroes; Southern Rhodesia with 1 hundred thousand whites and 2 million Negroes; Tanganyika with 10,000 whites and 7 million Negroes; Kenya with 50,000 whites and 5 million Negroes, and Nyassaland with 10,000 whites and 2 million Negroes, are all working for independence or ~~Union into~~ a British Dominion which will dominate central Africa.

22 If American students want a laboratory test of the division of business profits, and most of you do not, consider the loot of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia. The mines were discovered and worked by natives for a thousand years. In a single year, 1937, the copper extracted sold for $30 million dollars. Of this $700,000 went to 17000 black laborers or $42 apiece for the year; $2,000,000 went to 1700 white men in salaries or $15,000 apiece 15 million dollars and a half went to upkeep and and 16million and a half went to persons who had not lifted their hand except to cut coupons as dividends

40-FE-27

The 37,500 African miners in the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia wages have risen from $5.88 to $10.22 a month in the last 5 years. The wages of white miners in the same period rose from $164 to $260 a month. The Africans protested and struck. They rejected an offer of $19.60 increase a year, but finally accepted an increase of $30 a year.

The London periodical, East Africa and Rhodesia warns that the influence of this victory upon more ambitious members of the Union and other Africans must not be under-rated.

Recently Dividends for the absentee investors in Rhodesia copper mines have been running from 40% to 125%.

In Rhodesia

In 1951 in South Rhodesia a South Rhodesia Council has been organized to demand "black men must be kept out of the white Parliament". Today, out of 2 million Africans in the territory, only 300 are allowed to vote, through property and income qualifications. The country is ruled by 100,000 whites. White settlers are considering ways of getting rid of the independent black farmers.

The paper New Rhodesia says "there are more citizens in South Rhodesia with an income of 5000 pounds a year after paying income tax, than there are in Great Britain. ~~It refers, naturally, to white people.~~

The Rhodesias and Nyasaland are agitating for an independent confederation in the British Commonwealth ruled by whites

North Rhodesia

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress recently declared that a "cold war" was in progress between the British Government and the indigenous peoples of Africa. "What are we Africans to do?" he asked. "Have we to take our case to the International Court of Justice and the United Nations, or shall we take to underground and non-cooperation movements?" His organization last fall asked the Government to abolish the requirement of night passes for Africans and the color bar (jim crow) in public institutions and shops in Northern Rhodesia. The president and secretary of the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union (25,000 paid-up members) have been touring Britain this year as official guests of the British National Union of Mineworkers, in order to study methods of trade union negotiation and organization.

27

Approaching this pattern is the Belgian Congo, with 11 million Negroes and only a handful of whites, whose power is supported by the armies and navies back of investments of the whole civilized world.

It is educating artisans but trying desperately to keep higher education from th the natives and guarding against a native intelligentia . With them the Catho ic Church with virtual control of elementary education. But the trade union in the Congo is due to penetrate from British West Africa if not from French

The Belgiaans are straining by means of a colonial benevolent socialism in the control of whites to ward off the inevitable day

40-7E-32

~~Then comes~~ French Africa, ~~West Africa Equatorial, where there~~ has ~~is~~ a combination of capitalistic control of land and labor ~~with the participation of~~ and scarce a French educated Negro elite with political power. Only recently has this been opposed by a communist organization covering the whole of French Sudan and led by ~~educated~~ a black ~~Frenchmen~~ Senegalese educated in France. The political organization which is a constituent of the French union, has today ~~perhaps 10~~ several million members. Its best known leader is Gabriel D'Arbussier. This forms an ~~xxxxxxxx~~ force neighboring black Uganda, the Egyptian Sudan, and but a step from Ethiopia.

This Nile valley has again an extraordinary history, whose center is the Ethiopia of the middle ages, which coming down from the ramparts of East Africa, conquered the Nile valley and Egypt and then

Tell them Gabriel, messenger of great tidings,
Running through the world since the dawn of time,
Tell them clearly and precisely,
That Africa is breaking her chains,
Tell them this, and strongly,
That Africa
To Liberty and Peace
Answers: I am here!

~~Those lines are from~~ a poem by Bernard Dadie, Ivory Coast, ~~French West Africa,~~ and dedicated to Gabriel D'Arboussier, a Vice-President of the World Peace Council and President of the African Democratic Rally, powerful people's movement in French Black Africa

~~Then comes~~ French Africa, ~~West Africa Equatorial, where there~~ has

~~is~~ a combination of capitalistic control of land and labor ~~with the participation of~~ a French educated Negro elite with political power. Only recently has this been opposed by a communist organization covering the whole of French Sudan and led by ~~educated~~ a black ~~Frenchmen~~. The political organization which is a constituent of the French union, has today ~~perhaps 10~~ several million members. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Its best known leader is Gabriel D'Arbussier. This forms an ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ force neighboring black Uganda, the Egyptian Sudan, and but a step from Ethiopia.

~~xix~~ This Nile valley has again an extraordinary history, whose center is the Ethiopia of the middle ages, which coming down from the ramparts of East Africa, conquered the Nile valley and Egypt and then

The French have ambitious plans for developing French Guinea with funds furnished by the American Government, so as to make a strategic supply center and military base for the United States and other European powers.

Hydro-electric developments of the rivers are planned from a range of mountains called "the water-tower of French West Africa." Power houses are planned to develop 150,000 kw., and the total production of power may equal that of France in 1939.

The mineral resources of Guinea consist of: Gold, Diamonds, Iron and Bauxite in large quantities.

The iron industry in Guinea goes back to primitive times. In one locality there are reserves of iron estimated at 2 million xxxxxx tons xxxxxx with a metal content of more than 50%

Titanium, a metal needed by Americans, for war, is plentiful. It has been called by Americans "the metal of the Third World War."

25

retreating for a thousand years, held Moslem imperialism at bay. It was in the middle of the 19th century that under Mohammed Ali the Moslem flood went up the Nile and conquered the Sudan, but it was driven back, even though supported by the English and French, until the black Mahdi drove the European out of central Africa for 14 years.

Then England, aroused by the rivalry of France, and the lure of South Africa, sent Kitchener and his machine guns and recaptured Khartoun. ~~The British~~

40-F-34

The British tried to install the Italians in Ethiopia, but at the crucial battle of ~~Medua~~ Adua, Menelik thoroughly thrashed the Italian imperialism, and for a while the destinies of Africa rested in the hands of Menelik of Ethiopia, Kitchener of Kartoum, and the French at Fashoda. European imperialism won and Ethiopia became ~~and remains~~ the prisoner of European investment.

Almost obliterated in the Second World War, but restored with an independence which is based on the good will of capital in Great Britain, America and France, ~~who gained~~ Eritrea, but today the British and others are destroying nearly all of the installations at the main port of Masawa, which is Ethiopia's only outlet to the sea.

And in a purely political deal the larger part of Somaliland has been handed back to the Italians for at least 10 years. The protest of the Somalis was brought to the U.N. I saw and talked with the keen-faced young black man, Isa, who presented it.

. It said that they represented the Somali Youth League, and that under Italian rule the Somali for 50 years were deprived of any form of education; that the Italians monopolized commerce and industry, using Somalis only as servants and laborers. The Somali were allowed to form no political organization, and there was no freedom of speech.

Notwithstanding this appeal, Somaliland was handed over to the Italians, and complaints of their present actions are growing.

46-7E-35

Despite this, Italian Somoliland was turned over to the Italians and the exploitation and oppression continues, with accelerated tempo.

In the Egyptian Sudan there is meeting today two the typical African ideas. The domination of the source of the waters of the Nile by present Egyptian feudalism, and the domination of this center of English capitalistic investment by a black Civil Service, trained under English officials and sharing to a limited extent English control.

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In North Africa the French domination of Tunis and Algiers forms the same pattern that is dominant over most of Africa. They control of the mass of the native population by a handful of French capitalists represented by French officials. This is causing upheaval in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, and again the Americans are entering with air bases which they negotiated with the French capitalistic government and not with the recognized ruler of Morocco; with air bases and naval bases in Libya, in collaboration with the feudal chiefs and naturally with American investment and influence in Eqgypt.

Anglo-Egypt. Sudan A united front of organizations, including the Sudan Workers Federation, for the liberation of the Sudanese was established last month. They demand termination of Condominium rule, immediate evacuation of British and Egyptian troops, establishment of a provisional government to administer the country for a year and organize elections for a constituent assembly, which would decide the country's future and draft a constitution. A three-day general strike, which was started January 20 by the Sudan Workers Federation in support of these demands and for a 75 per cent pay increase and shorter working hours, paralyzed communications in the colony. Police were busy arresting demonstrators and tear-gassing them.

* * *

29

"In Tripoli, North Africa, only a few days ago, American, British, and Italian flags were torn to shreds in angry protest against the attempted sellout of the former Italian colonies. ~~Just last Sunday in Gold Coast, West Africa, a new Convention Peoples Party aiming at 'full self government now' was founded.~~ In the French colonies of Africa a powerful mass movement for freedom, the African Democratic Union, has developed in the past two years. In all sections of the continent, including fascist South Africa, black people awake and in motion with a new determination to throw off the shackles of colonial bondage."

..."

Charles P. Howard speech???

"as Paul Robeson's position in a turbulent world takes on greater and still greater importance, the attacks upon him by the enemies and misleaders of the people become increasingly bitter and hysterical. Using the basest kind of character assassination, they hope to destroy Paul Robeson as a people's leader. Employing subtly shifted emphasis, distortions and lies they seek to crush this man whose influence they fear."

~~Rally.~~

"French interests dominate nine-tenths of the economy of Tunisia. In Morocco, United States interests represented by the Newmont Mining Corporation and St. Joseph Lead Company, control a major portion of the mining industry. Moroccan miners are paid 15¢ an hour and Fortune Magazine hails this as a 'profit bonanza'. And this exploitation has been extended by Marshall Plan loans of several million dollars to French mining companies controlled by Newmont and St. Joseph in Morocco.

"~~A serious threat to world peace has arisen~~ in the North African area as a result of the punitive military action launched by the French in Tunisia and Morocco and by the British in Libya and Egypt; as a result of the establishment of bomber bases there by the United States in opposition to the will of the people; and as a result of the insistence of the Western powers upon including Egypt and French North African territories in their North Atlantic military schemes.

"This policy has cost us American people hundreds of millions of dollars in Morocco alone in the building of air bases, a big portion of the American people's money having been squandered in unbelievable corruption and waste.

~~cont'd.~~

40-84-38

27

~~Once again~~ Egyptian and British diplomats are speaking politely to one another. And behind the scenes, ~~pressing for a reconciliation~~ is American Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. The current adulation of Farouk in the American press appears designed to add weight to the proposal made by the U.S. State Department early in January that the West buy Egypt's participation in the Middle East military alliance (an extension of the North Atlantic military alliance) by granting recognition of Egypt's king as ruler of the Sudan.

40-7E-37

ed repression cannot last long. Such betrayall and repression has occurred many times during the 70 years of Britain's occupation of Egypt. It is in fact only because of the Egyptian ruling clique's repeated betrayals of the peasants, workers, and youth that the British have been able to remain there. But today the demand for freedom runs wide and deep among Egypt's 20 million people. It cannot be bottled up.

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40-7E-36

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Uganda is perhaps the most arresting example of missions and exploitation. Its 5 million black people were once the most highly developed of modern Africa, living in a beautiful land. Mohammedans, Protestants and Catholics invaded them and started a perfect devils dance of war nad destruction which resulted i n the death of an English bishop. The British Empire moved in to forstall the Germans and French, deposed the king and annexed Ugand a as a "protectorate". There followed jockeying for control of land and labor, which has reduced the land with cotton as the chief exploited crop to the usual pattern. Riots broke out after the First World War The black president of the farmers union fled to England, was threatened with imprisonment if he did not return. His and other trade unions were banned unless "registered" Today not a single trade union is registered. The organized white employers explain

Colmes

40-7E-40

Uganda

In Uganda, the President of the Farmers Union was imprisoned and charged with causing the Uganda riots in 1949. He escaped to England, but in August, 1960 was threatened by the British with imprisonment if he did not return to Uganda. He is the leader of the African cotton growing peasantry.

Trade unions are banned in Uganda unless recognized, but all unions have been struck off the Government Registry, and there is not a single registered trade union in the colony.

An organization of white employers in the colony declares "Strikes might easily have the ugly appearance of civil war in such a country as Uganda... Here there is no need to take the risk of handling the high explosive mixture of collective bargaining, the strike, the picketing, and the subsequent riot. We can carry on quite happily with individual bargaining, no strike, and no picketing."

40-7E-39

Red Uganda is next the ferment of the Sudan and the independence of Ethiopia & Libya

31

From Kenya comes a cry

Jomo K. Koinange, who came to the United States in 1927 to study, receiving his M.A. degree from Columbia University, is founder and principal of the Kenya Teachers' College and an executive member of the Kenya African Union. He and another Mbiu ~~KAU executive member, Achieng Oneko,~~ went to Paris last fall to place their countrymen's petition before the United Nations. They then presented their petition to the British Government in London. Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton refused to see the delegates.

Jomo Kenyatta

"Land in Africa is life. For the peoples of Africa, whether they be stockmen or cultivators, land is the basis of society or social organization. Progress and development begin ~~to~~ with security of tenure in the land. ~~So it is in my country, in Kenya...~~ In 1901 there were 13 settlers in Kenya. Today there is a European population of 38,000, ~~of whom over 2,000 are engaged in farming.~~ The African population is 5,545,000... Since the turn of the century 16,700 square miles of territory has been taken away from the Africans and given to the Europeans."

This, ~~in the words of Mbiyu Koinange,~~ is the basis of the petition initiated by the Kenya African Union and endorsed by Hundreds of thousands in the British East African colony, where the white settlers have reserved the best land areas, on the highland plateau, for their own ownership.

40-7E-41

32

Libya is the stooge of Britain and the United States, with the latter established on a v st airfield on the Mediterranean where its expenditures help dominate the waste acres of this desert with ~~a~~ 3 million inhabitants. British and Egyptian troops are still stationed in the n tion administer the country in its transition

40-7E-28

~~Libya~~ ~~In this country's~~ first national election ~~on~~ February ~~10 (with women barred from suffrage)~~ the National Congress Party campaigned vigorously on a platform demanding removal of British, French, and U.S. land and air forces from the country and the closing down of all foreign bases ~~(including the U.S. operated Wheelus air field near Tripoli)~~. Incomplete returns gave the pro-Western Independence Party 37 seats in the 55-man House of Representatives. Congress Party ~~supporters charged the election was not fairly conducted. Their~~ demonstrations ~~of protest~~ were smashed by British-led police using tear gas and rifles. ~~Since Feb. 10~~ five persons ~~have been~~ killed and ~~more than~~ 50 wounded. A ~~Feb. 21~~ dispatch ~~from Tripoli~~ to the N.Y. Times acknowledged that the scale of the Independence Party's victory has caused "doubts in many minds regarding the fairness of the voting."

* * *

*

I have not time to complete this section, but the African problem & the revolt against present conditions is clear

The effect of the revolt of Africa on American Negroes has been deep but not yet understood even among themselves. Hitherto the Negro in this country has had a comparatively simple program: to become an American citizen with all the rights attached to that status. In political matters he resented American subjugation of Haiti and used his considerable political power to stop it. But in economic policy, he followed Booker Washington in blind worship of capitalist exploitation of labor even by Negroes. All he demanded was equal right to exploit. Mr. Washington easily led the Negro leader to oppose the labor union and the labor unions cooperated by excluding Negro workers. When however after the First World War, competion compelled the labor unions to open their doors gradually to black workers the Negro outlook began to change. They raised the claim for equal work to the level of equal vote. Thereupon Big Business began to take notice. It is significant that the head of one of our most powerful industries headed Truman's commision on civil rights and gained him strong Negro backing. But two world wars has made the Negro group think. They are "jim-crowed in all military arms and thus asked to fight for an America which does not recognize their citizenship. Moreover they have sentimental ties with Africa. The spectacle of America as the chief economic ally of the Union of South Africa does not set so well. This has called for new advances from Industry especially to Negro capital. The admission to theatres and hotels move men of income more than workers. Social control of wealth attracts Negro as well as other workers, in spite of the exclusion of all Negroes from the advantags of the TVA. But in the present war hysteria against the Soviet Union, the Negro is not so unled; he is as thoroughly scared by the "Witch word" Communism as you and yet he must remember that that the Soviets are neither color conscious nor colonial minded. When therefor Paul Robeson declared that no American Nebro would fight Russia, he voiced the thought of millions of Negroes. To frighten such Negroes, many black workers lost jobs in the civil service, some went to jail and that was the chief object of my indictment for advocating peace. The net result today is the sharpening of a dision in Negro leadership: a class of well-to-do Negro business men and professionals who follo w blindly the the doctrines of private profit, a growing class of labor leaders and younger thinkers who believe in broader social control, limiting the power of wealth and fighting the sway of Big Business. Few of these are Communists save in protest against the prevalent custom of calling any body a Communist who dares espause even a liberal economic program. But this Negro dichotomy will grow as American support of reaction and tyranny in Africa grows into war and oppression

In Liberia Big Business has played its shrewdest hand. It gave this child of American Negroes independence, although long refusing recognition. France Germany and Britain were repeatedly on the verge of seizing this land but deferred to America's prior claim. When the United States entered colonial imperialism after the first world war, Big Business led her into a small gray rubber forest in Liberia. I was present when the first Firestone emissary arrived.

Firestone cut out a huge monopoly. After the Second World War, the United States stepped in and made Liberia a navy and airbase with perpetual rights; and a former secretary of state secured a concession which is the most outrageous of modern times and covers the ~~whole~~ nation. To forestall possible political percussions in black America, a group of colored leaders were given free trips to the recent inauguration of president for a third term. They ~~naturally~~ reported striking economic development. But they could not see the colonial pattern for the they had experienced no example of this and Liberian labor is not yet audible

Yet there have been strikes on the Firestone plantations and the president won his election by driving his chief rival candidate out of the country

American Negroes do not yet realize that Liberia is an American Colony! One of the oldest

over

34

US Congress Communism

40-7E-31

The Nigerian Eastern Mail, a Negro weekly, in October, 1950, said of United States help for South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai, and the reactionary Phillipines:

"Such a shortsighted, cynical and immoral policy is the quickest way of selling Communism to the masses of Asia, and persuading them that the British and Americans do not regard the substance of democracy as an exportable article but consider even the most corrupt government good enough for Asiatics, so long as it keeps them out of the hands of the Communists.

"And is this not the very thing that will create cynicism, doubt and distrust in Africa? Will not such an evil and insincere policy in Asia prompt African nationalists to ask 'Can these people be sincere?' When the Asiatics ask for bread and get stones, can we trust them to lead us to real, democratic self-government?"

HAVE LOANED SOUTH AFRICA 90 MILLIONS AND NEARLY EVERY GREAT AMERICAN CORPORATION IS INVESTING MONEY THERE. OUR CONSUL LAST YEAR CALIED SOUTH AFRICA THE MOST PROMISING YOUNG NATION ON EARTH.

IN AFRICA IS BEGINNING THAT WAR OF RACES WHICH MAY START THE THIRD WORLD WAR IN CONJUNCTION WITH REVOLT IN ASIA. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES CONCEIVE OF A SECRETARY OF STATE ASKING AMERICA TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE THREATENED BY A RUSSIAN PLOT IN AFRICA TO ENCIRCLE THE UNITED STATES. WHAT WE ARE THREATENED WITH AND HAVE BEEN FOR A HUNDRED YEARS IS UNBRIDLED GREED OF EUROPE AND NOW THE UNITED STATES, DETERMINED TO RULE MANKIND BY FORCE.

41-3-21

If America's name is not to be hated throughout the world wherever people struggle for liberty, our government must completely revise its foreign policy and give concrete evidence, through its conduct in the United Nations and in all areas of international economic, political and military relations, of its genuine and unequivocal support of the principle of national self-determination.

The policy now being pursued, the policy of bribery and coercion to make the American or Western way of life prevail, can lead only to national and international disaster. This policy if continued, we believe, will surely lead only to more Koreas. Peace cannot be won with either guns or dollars. The only conceivable world of lasting peace is a world of free peoples living together in mutual cooperation, equality, and respect.

ARTICLE MANUSCRIPTS

PUBLISHED

[December, 1905]

Garrison and the Negro

Several times a feeling has been voiced that the Negro American ~~of the land~~ is not always appreciative of the great efforts which men and associations have from time to time made in their behalf. Certain it is that recently the note of complaint among Colored men in this land has drowned out the voices of thanks and gratitude and the watch word in the black world ~~to day~~ is, certain rather agitation and censure, rather than praise.

On the other hand nothing is more significant than the spontaneous outburst every where throughout the land of a desire and determination to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth ~~death~~ of William Lloyd Garrison. These celebrations will usually be local

church & school affairs but the movement is general and the spirit behind it notable. No people are more appreciative of kindness to them or sacrifice in their behalf than Colored people. And when it is exhibited in the wonderful devotion and sacrifice of a man like Garrison, the desire to acknowledge it is well nigh universal

On the other hand there is a feeling today among Negroes that certain classes of men are more desirous to make the Negro problem one of almsgiving & charity rather than of manhood & manhood rights. To this they are righteously opposed and when in good faith some earnest workers in this great field point to the columns of figures showing the money spent

(for he had none) To their cause
money, but him-self. What
wonder is it that they make
the meetings an occasion of con-
secrating themselves to the carrying
out of the principles Garrison advocated.
The words therefore of the following
"Garrison Pledge of the Niagara
Movement" are of especial sig-
nificance, as they are to be widely
used in this celebration.

(copy)

~~Certainly a man thus sworn~~
~~to a~~

A million men behind such
a pledge could not let the spirit
of William Lloyd Garrison die.

Within item of more interest
1/10/12

for Negro churches and schools there prevails among colored people along with all their thankfulness a spirit which a widely read Negro paper has recently voiced:

> For all time, charity, which neither pauperizes nor patronizes heaven's unfortunates, but gives itself with its gifts; all praises and thanks are due. But chilling, unfeeling, vaunting pretension, masquerading in the mantle of charity, deserves neither respect nor consideration. The needy prefer to bear the ills of want and wretchedness rather than be the miserable objects of prying pity or condescending curiosity which proffers alms today, that it may defer justice and fair play tomorrow; which comes, if ever, only to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope.

Such words & such a feeling must be respected. It contains the germs of manhood, self-respect & self hope. The period of universal Negro charity is passing — slowly to be sure, all too slowly — but passing. When then these millions turn & celebrate the birth of a great & good man who gave not his

Sent to Barrell

THE COLOR LINE BELTS THE WORLD.

A portion of an article by W. E. Burghardt DuBois, which appeared in Collier's Weekly for October 20, 1906.

The tendency of the great nations of the day is territorial, political, and economic expansion, but in every case this has brought them in contact with darker peoples, so that we have to-day England, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and the United States in close contact with brown and black peoples, and Russia and Austria in contact with the yellow. The older idea was that the whites would eventually displace the native races and inherit their lands, but this idea has been rudely shaken in the increase of American Negroes, the experience of the English in Africa, India and the West Indies, and the development of South America. The policy of expansion, then, simply means world problems of the Color Line. The color question enters into European imperial politics and floods our continent from Alaska to Patagonia.

This is not all. Since 732, when Charles Martel beat back the Saracens at Tours, the white races have had the hegemony of civilization - so far as that "white" and "civilized" have become synonymous in every-day speech; and men have forgotten where civilization started.

For the first time in a thousand years a great white nation has measured arms with a colored nation and has been found wanting. The Russo-Japanese war has marked an epoch. The magic of the word "white" is already broken, and the Color Line in civilization has been crossed in modern times as it was in the great past. The awakening of the yellow races is certain. That the awakening of thr brown and black races will follow in time, no unprejudiced student of history can doubt.

Shall the awakening of these sleepy millions be in accordance with, and aided by, the great ideals of white civilization, or in spite of them and against them? This is the problem of the Color Line. Force and

Fear have hitherto marked the white attitude toward darker races; shall this continue, or be replaced by Freedom and Friendship?

The present world war is primarily caused by the jealousy among leading European nations over colonial aggrandizement. The colonies in question are chiefly inhabited by colored peoples. In this way the world problem of the Color Line comes in temporarily to check civilization.

33-3-153

Professor cc to. 20 Date ... Stone

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Ga.

[Dr. Du Bois was unable to attend the meeting and sent the following paper; but it did not reach Madison in time to be read at the meeting devoted to the discussion of Mr. Stone's paper. It is, however, with the consent of Mr. Stone, and because Dr. Du Bois represents the view of a distinguished Negro educator, inserted at this place.]

~~Discussion of Mr. Stone's Paper by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph. D., of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.~~

I think we may all of us agree in the main with Mr. Stone's very careful presentation of the real significance of racial distinctions today, and also his explanation of the differing attitude of white men toward Negroes North and South and the rôle of slavery in making race contact practicable. There remain, then, three pressing questions: First, Is the old status of acknowledged superiority and inferiority between the white and black races in America longer possible? Secondly, Are the race differences in this case irreconciliable? And Thirdly, Is racial separation practicable? Taking up the first question as to the possibility of a continuance of the old status of acknowledged superiority and inferiority between white

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Emancipation was simply the abolition of the grosser forms of that physical force. The Negro freedman, just as the freedman of Rome ~~or~~ or Germany, stepped out of a world of physical restraint into a spiritual world. In this thought-world there is still slavery of ideas and customs; and given men as they are, this is probably fortunate. Yet we all hope for gradual Emancipation in thought and custom, and it is peculiarly dangerous for a people of today, who expect to keep up with modern civilization, to base their hope of peace and prosperity on the ignorance of their fellows or the lack of aspiration among working-men, on the survival of such virtues for instance as we expect and cultivate in dogs but not in men. Moreover, even if a people like those in the South do hope that the Negro is not going to aspire and not going to demand equal rights and fair treatment, then they are bound to disappointment. There is today in the South growing protest from the mass of Negroes, protest to which whites are yielding today and must yield. These matters are not yet, to be sure, the greater matters of voting and freedom of travel, but they are the more pressing matters of wages and personal treatment, of housing and property-holding. Protest is not confined to a few leaders; it is not confined to the North; it is not confined to mulattoes, and daily and yearly it is growing. And it is that growing ~~that~~ which makes the Negro problem today; without it there would be no race problem. Mr. Stone refers to the meetings in Boston, the Nell meeting and the last Protest, and notes their similarity. He might, however, have noted very distinct differences. The Nell meeting represented four million people, over nine-tenths of whom were physically owned by the whites, and the rest of whom were largely ignorant and without property; while the meeting this year represented ten million of people whose property runs into the hundreds of millions, most of whom can read and write and some of whom are well educated (indeed, the leader in the last meeting was a magna cum laude bachelor of Harvard, and member of the ~~Φ. B. K.~~ Phi Beta Kappa.)

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In the Nell meeting the leading moving force was after all the white friends of the Negro; in this meeting the Negro was leading himself and the whites assisted. The attitude of men toward Nell was that of tolerant contempt or amusement or irritation; the attitude toward his descendents is that of consternation and perplexity and more or less veiled dislike. Such a change in fifty years is not only significant. It is tremendous, and only those unacquainted with the deeds of time can discount it.

Have we ~~What we find~~ then today ~~is~~ the old case of the irristible force and immovable body? If ~~then~~ we ~~can~~ assume the white south as planted immovably on the proposition that most human beings are to be kept in absolute and unchangeable serfdom and inferiority to the Teutonic world; and if we assume that not only the Negroes of America but those of Africa and the West Indies, not only Negroes, but Indians, Malays, Chinese, and Japanese, not to mention the Mediterranean lands, are determined to contest this absurd stand to the death, then the world has got some brisk days ahead, and race friction will inevitably grow not only in the United States but the world over. But if, as seems more reasonable, we have in the South the beginnings of a set of honest reasonable people, beset with hard social questions, but determined to think them through with reason and not with rope, and if we have a set of aspiring and rising serfs determined to be free, but willing to be patient, then race friction need not grow, and meantime the nation can calmly scrutinize and answer the second of our queries:

38-2-3

How great is this incompatibility and repugnancy of qualities between white and black Americans? And here we find ourselves facing a field of science rather than ~~for~~ opinion. As I have often said before, it is a matter of serious disgrace to American science that with the tremendous opportunity that it has had before it for the study of race differences and race development, race intermingling and contact among the most diverse of human kinds right here at ~~their~~ its doors, ~~that~~

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almost nothing has been done. When we at Atlanta University say that we are the only institution in the United States that is making any serious study of the race problems in the United States, we make no great boast because it is not that we are doing so much, but rather that the rest of the nation is doing nothing, and that we can get from the rest of the nation very little encouragement, co-operation, or help in this work. It has been my dream for many years that we could in the United States begin at a small Negro ~~University~~ College a movement for the scientific study of race differences and likenesses which should in time revolutionize the knowledge of the world. If for instance ~~this~~ the dictum of Prof. Boaz of Columbia University be true, namely, "that an unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the belief in a racial inferiority, which would unfit an individual of the Negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove to beyond the powers of the Negro", ~~if~~ this dictum be true, (and there is certainly strong scientific backing for it), then how different an aspect this would put upon race differences in the United States than would be the case if it were proven that really black men and white men were of such differing powers and possibilities that they could not be treated as belonging to the same great branch of humanity. As I have said, this is primarily a scientific question, a matter of scientific measurement and observation; and yet the data upon which the mass of men, and even intelligent men, are ~~making~~ basing their conclusions today, the basis which they are putting back of thier treatment of the Negro, is a most ludicrous and harmful conglomeration of myth, ~~fancy~~ falsehood, and desire. It would certainly be a most commendable thing if this and other learned societies would put themselves on record as favoring a most thorough and un-

38-2-4

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biased scientific study of the race problem in America. Meantime, in the absence of such scientific basis for our conclusions, there are certain antecedent probabilities in the case which we have a right to take into account: we remember for instance that not many generations ago the very same arguments that are brought to prove the impossibility of white men and Negroes living together, except as inferior and superior, were also brought to prove that white men of differing rank and birth could not possibly exist in the same physical environment without similar subordination. And in still nearer time it was proved to the absolute satisfaction of certain economic philosophers, that the conflict between capitalists and laborers was an inevitable conflict which must lead to poverty and social murder of the masses. ~~That this was language of race philosophers today, regrettable but inevitable.~~ Today what seems to many of us an exactly similar fight is being made on the subject of race. Not only is it assumed without proof that here, as in the matter of birth and work, substantial equality of treatment is impossible, but it is also assumed that the physical conditions of life and social contact are today practically what they were in former ages. But this is not so today; a physical living together of differing groups and kinds of individuals is possible today to a degree which was unthinkable one, two, and three centuries ago. ~~Indeed~~ Indeed when the bars between aristocrat and peasant were broken down, it did not mean that the aristocrats disappeared or that the peasants all became dukes; it simply meant that men lived and mingled together and ~~rise~~ rose and ~~fall~~ fell freely according to their individual desert, without artificial props or bars. A spiritual world took the place of the strait walls and ghettos of their former physical environment. So in the race problem in America, we may ask with regard to this question of incompatibility of whites and blacks: Just what degree ~~and~~ of social compatibility is absolutely essential to group

contact today? And in answering this question we must realize that not only does the modern world spell increased and increasing contact of groups and nations and races, but that indeed race or group segregation is impossible. This brings us to our third question; Is race separation practicable? People say very often with regard to the Negro that the pilgrims of England found a place for liberty when they could not get it at home; why then does not the Negro do the same of his own motion and will? And then they explain it by a shrug & a reminder ~~saying~~, that one set of people were English and the others are Negroes. Flattering as this is to the sayers, yet this does not explain all. Today we have in the world growing race contact. The world is shrinking together; it is finding itself neighbor to itself in strange, ~~an~~ almost magic degree. No one has done more for increasing this contact of nations than we here in America. We not only brought Negroes here in defiance of law, right & religion but have pounded masterfully, almost impudently, at the gates of ~~Asia~~ China and Japan. Europe has insisted upon the opening of Africa. Now when the world suddenly appears open, with chance of access for all to all parts, we find ourselves standing ~~amazed~~ before a curious exemplification of the old adage, " What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander"! If the world can enter Asia, why can not Asiatics enter the world? We could of course in case of a helpless nation like China ~~simply~~ chivalrously refuse to answer the question and bar out Chinese. But when it comes to a question of Japan and Japanese guns, the dilemma before the modern world is somewhat startling. Just so with the Philippines. Here is a group of colored folks half a world away, yet the United States is not content until it goes, annexes them, and rules them according to its own ideas. Now if these things are so, what chance is there for a new nation to establish itself, especially if it be a colored nation, on any spot in the world worth having? And is it going to be possible in the future for races to remain segregated or to escape contact or dom-

38-2-6

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ination simply by retiring to themselves? Certainly it is not. Race segregation in the future is going to be impossible primarily because these races are needed more and more in the world's economy. Mr. Stone has often expressed the cheerful hope that the Negro would be supplanted by the white man as worker in the South. But the thing does not happen. On the contrary there are today more Negroes working steadily and efficiently than ever before in the world's history. The world is beginning to work for the world! This work is necessary. A new standard of national efficiency is coming. And that efficiency is marked by the way in which a great modern advanced nation can be neighborly to the rest of the world. It is the counterpart to the sort of rivalry for world-hegemony that went on when France and England made a hundred years' struggle for empire in America and India. And while we in America may sneer at neighbors, who are neither as rich or impudent or lucky as we, we can also, if we will, remark that the English again are learning certain things in advance of the rest of the world. They are learning how to get on in peace and amity with colored races; how to treat them as men and gain their friendship and gain the results of their work and skill and brain. And if the United States expects to take her place among the new nations beside England and France, the nations which first are going to solve this problem of race contact, then certainly she has got right here in her own land to find out how to live in peace and prosperity with her own black citizens. If she does that, she will gain an advantage over the rest of the world in the development of the earth which will be simply inestimable in the new commerce and in the new humanity. If she does not, she will always have in her contact with the rest of the world not only the absolute dislike and distrust of the darker two-thirds, but a tremendous moral handicap such as she met when she asked Russia to stop her atrocities and it was answered with perfect truth that they did not compare with the barbarities

38-2-7

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committed right here in the land of the free. We may therefore justly conclude, first, that the Negro is not going to submit any longer than he must to the present serfdom and the disgraceful and humiliating discrimination; secondly, that while we do not know as much of race differences as we may know if we study this problem as we ought, we certainly do know that the chances are that most men in this world can be civilized, and that the world of races just as the world of individuals does not consist of a few aristocrats and chosen people and a mass of dark serfs and slaves. And that thirdly, any dream of separating the races in America or of separating the races of the world is at present not only impracticable but is against the whole trend of the age, and that what we ought to do in America is to seek to bind the races together rather than to accentuate differences. No part of the world could play a greater rôle in the future moral development of the world than the South, if it would. And while today there are few signs that the South realizes this, yet may we not hope that this will be the case before another generation passes? Finally, rhetoric like that quoted by Mr. Stone is not in itself of particular importance, except when it encourages those Philistines who really believe that Anglo- Saxons owe their pre-eminence in some lines to lynching, lying, and slavery, and the studied insult of their helpless neighbors.

38-2-8

God save us from such social philosophy!

3 pictures

W. E. B. DuBois

W. E. B. DuBOIS,
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY,
ATLANTA, GA.

I think we may all of us agree in the main with Mr. Stone's very careful presentation of the real ~~meaning of race prejudice, and of race~~ significance of racial distinctions today and also his explanation of the differing attitude of white men toward Negroes North and South, ~~is on the whole such as I would agree with; and also his exposition of the roll which slavery played~~ and the role of slavery in making race contact practicable. There remain, then, three pressing questions. First: ~~Is~~ Is the old status of acknowledged superiority and inferiority between the white and black races in America longer possible? Secondly, ~~Are~~ Are the race differences ~~here~~ in this case irreconciliable ~~in this case~~? And ~~third~~ thirdly, ~~is~~ Is race separation practicable? Taking up the first question as to the possibility of a continuance of the old status of acknowledged superiority and inferiority between the white and black races, It is certain that physical slavery was a failure, Not because it mistook altogether ~~necessarily~~, the relative endowment of most of the men who were ~~at slave~~ enslaved and most of

49-5-46

those who were the enslavers, but because it denied growth or exception, on the part of the enslaved, and kept up that denial by physical force. Emancipation was simply the abolition of the grosser forms of that physical force. The Negro freedman just as the freedman of Rome or Germany stepped out of a world of physical restraint into a spiritual world. In this thought world there is still slavery of ideas and customs; and given men as they are this is probably fortunate, ~~and yet~~ yet we all hope for gradual Emancipation in ~~these matters. And~~ thought + customs, and it is peculiarly dangerous for a people of today who expect to keep up with modern civilization, to base their hope of peace and prosperity on the ignorance of their fellows or the lack of aspiration among the workingmen — on the survival of such virtues for instance as we expect and cultivate in dogs but not in men. ~~And~~ Moreover even if a people like those in the South do hope that the Negro is not going to aspire and not going to demand equal rights and fair treatment, then they are bound to disappointment. There is today in the South growing

49-5-43

protest from the mass of Negroes. Protest to which whites are yielding today and must yield. These matters are not, yet, to be sure, the greater matters of voting and travel, freedom of but they are the more pressing ~~important~~ matters of wages and personal treatment, of housing and property-holding. Protest is not confined to a few leaders, it is not confined to the North, it is not confined to mulattoes, and daily and yearly ~~nor is it not~~ It is growing. And it is that growing that makes the Negro problem today. Mr. Stone refers to the two meetings in Boston: the Nell meeting and the last ~~meeting of~~ Protest ~~in Boston~~, and notes their similarity. He might however, have noted ~~a~~ very distinct differences ~~between these two meetings.~~ The Nell meeting represented four million people, ovef nine-tenths of whom were physically owned by the whites, and the rest of whom were largely ignorant and without property, While the meeting this year represented ten million of people whose property runs into the hundreds of millions, most of whom can read and write and some

without it there would be no race problem

49-5-48

Φ.B.K.

indeed the leader was a magna cum laude bachelor Harvard & member of the
of whom are well educated. In the Nell meeting the leading moving

force was after all the white friends of the Negro — in this meeting the Negro was leading himself and the whites assisted The attitude of men toward Nell was that of tolerant contempt or amusement or irritation; the attitude towards his descendents is that of consternation and perplexity ~~and~~ more or less veiled dislike Such a change in 50 years is not only significant — it is tremendous and only those unacquainted with the deeds of time can discount it.

What we find then today is the old irresistible force and immovable body. If the we can assume the white South as planted immovably on the proposition that most human beings are to be kept in absolute and unchangeable servitude & inferiority & the Teutonic world — and if we assume that not only the Negroes of America but those of Africa & the West Indies — not only Negroes but Indians Malays Chinese & Japanese not to mention the Mediterranean races are going to contest this ground stand & die death, then the world has got some brisk days ahead and race friction will inevitably grow not only in the U.S. but the world over. But if as seems more reasonable, we have in the South

49-5-49

a set of honest reasonable people, beset with hard social questions, but determined & think them thro with reason & not much rope, & if we have a set of aspiring and rising ~~freedom~~ serfs determined to be free but willing to be patient, then race friction need not grow but the nation can calmly sustain and answer the record of our queries;

49-5-50

How great is this compatibility and repugnancy of qualities between white and black Americans. Here, ~~is~~ we find ourselves facing a field for science rather than for opinion. ~~And~~ As I have often said before it is a matter of serious disgrace to American science that with the tremendous opportunity that it has had before it for the study of race differences and race development ~~and~~ & contact race intermingling, among the most diverse of human kinds right here at their doors, that almost nothing has been done. When we at Atlanta University say that we are the only institution in the United States that is making any serious study of the race problems in the United States, we make no great boast because it is not that we are doing so much, but rather that the rest of the nation is doing nothing, and that we can get from the rest of the nation very little encouragement, cooperation or help in this work. It has been my dream for many years that we could in the United States begin at a small Negro University a movement for scientific study of race differences and likenesses which should in time revolutionize the knowledge of the world. ~~If for insta~~

49-5-51

If for instance ~~the~~ This dictum of Prof.Boaz of Columbia University be true, Namely that an unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the believe in a racial inferiority, Which would unfit an individual of the Negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anotomical or ethnological evidence would prove to beyond the powers of the Negro" If this dictum be true, and there is certainly strong scientific backing for it, Then how different an aspect this would put upon race differ-ences in the United States than would be the case if it were proven that really black men and white men were of such differing powers and possibilities that they could not be treated as belonging th the same great branches of humanity. As I have said this is primarily a scientific question. A matter of scientific measurement and observation; and yet the data upon which the mass of men, and even intelligent men are making their conclusions today, the basis which they are

49-5-52

putting back of their treatment of the Negro is a most ludicrous and harmful ~~condolaration~~ conglomeration of myth, fancy and ~~deisred~~ desire. It would certainly be a most commendable thing if this and other learned societies would put themselves on record as favoring a most thorough and unbiased scientific study of the race problem in America. ~~In the~~ Meantime, in the absence for such scientific basis for our conclusions, there are certain antecedent probabilities in the case which we have right to take into account. We remember for instance that not many generations ago the very same arguments that are brought to prove the impossibility of whi white men and Negroes living together except as inferior and superior, were also brought to prove that white men of differing rank and birth could not possibly exist the same physical environment without similar subordination. And in still nearer time it was proved to the absolute satisfaction of certain economic philosophers that the conflict between capitalists and laborers was an inevitable conflict which must lead to poverty and social murder of the masses. Today ~~that same fight is~~ what seemed many of us

49-5-53

that this was language of race philosophers today, regrettable but inevitable.

an exactly similar fight is being made on the subject of race. And not only is it assumed without proof that her here, as in the matter of birth and work, substantial equality of treatment is impossible but it is also assumed that the physical conditions of life and social contact are today practically what they were in former ages. But this is not so today; a physical living together of differing groups and kinds of individuals is possible today to a degree which was unthinkable one, two and three centuries ago. Indeed when the bars between aristocrat and peasant were broken down, it did not mean that the aristocrat disappeared or that the peasants all became dukes— it simply meant that men ~~they could~~ live and mingle together and rise and fall freely according to their individual desert, without artificial props & bars. A spiritual world took the place of the straight walls and ghettos of their former physical environment. So in the race problem here in America, we may ask with regard to this third question of incompatibility of whites & blacks — just what degree & social contact, Is segregation possible? How far the changing conditions of habitability is absolutely essential to group contact today? But in answering this question we must realize that not only does the modern modern life make segregation today a different thing than it would have. World spell increased & increasing contact of groups nations & races but that indeed race or group segregation is impossible. This brings

49-5-54

is d one fourth question Or race separation practicable?

~~been two hundred years ago~~. People say very often with regard

to the Negro that the Pilgrims ~~as~~ of England found a place for lib-

when they could not get it home —

erty, why then does the Negro do the same of his own motion and will?

And then they explain it by saying that one set of people were

Flattering as this is d the sayers,

English and the others ~~were~~ are Negroes. Yet this does not explain all.

Today we have in the world a growing race contact. The world is

shrinking together; it is finding itself neighbor to itself in

strange almost magic degree. No one has done more for increasing

this contact of nations than we here in America. We have bounded

masterfully almost impudently at the gates of Asia and Japan. Europe

has insisted upon the opening of Africa. Now when the world sudden-

d all parts

ly appears open with chance of access for all, we find ourselves standby

my ~~rather~~ amazed before a curious exemplification of the old adage "

" ~~That~~ What's sauce for the goose it sauce for the gander"! If the

world can enter Asia, why can not Asiatics enter the world? We could

of course in case of a nation like China simply refuse to answer the

49-5-55

question and bar out Chinese. But when it comes a question of Japan and Japanese guns, the dilemma before the modern world is somewhat startling. Just so with the Phillipines. Here is a group of colored folks half a world away, yet the United States is not content until it goes and annexes them and rules them according to its own ideas. Now if these things are so, what chance is there for a new nation to establish itself, especially if it be a colored nation, on any spot in the world, worth having? And is it going to be possible in the future for races to remain segregated or to escape contact or domination simply by retiring to themselves? Certainly it is not. Race segregation in the future is going to be impossible, ~~however~~ primarily because these races are needed more and more in the world's economy. A new standard of national efficiency is coming. And that efficiency is marked by the way in which a great modern advanced nation can be neighborly to the rest of the world. It is the sort of ~~white~~ rivalry for world-empire that went on when France and England made that hundred years struggle for empire in America and India.

Mr. Stone has often expressed the cheerful hope that the Negro would be supplanted by the white man as worker in the south. But the thing does not happen. On the contrary there are today more Negroes working steadily & efficiently than ever before in the world's history. The world is beginning to work for the world. This work is necessary

49-5-56

And while we in America may ~~in the short sighted and quite unnecessa-~~ who are neither as rich or impudent or lucky as we,
~~ry rhetorica of Mr. Ross,~~ sneer at ~~our~~ neighbors, We can if we will, also,
remark that the English again are learning certain things in advance of the rest of the white world. They are learning how to get on in ~~terms of~~ peace and amity with colored races; how to treat them as men gain their friendship and gain the results of their work and skill and brain. And if the United states expects to take her place among
Beside England & France
the new nations, who are going to solve this problem of race contact, 49-5-54
then certainly she got right here in her own land to find out, how to live in peace and prosperity with her own black citizens. If she does, ~~not~~ she will gain an advantage over the rest of the world in the development of the ~~darker portions of the~~ earth which will be simply inestimable in the new commerce and in the new humanity. If she does not she will always have, in her contact with the rest of the world not only
Two-Thirds,
the absolute dislike and distrust of the darker ~~nations~~, but the tremendous moral handicap such as she met when she asked Russia to stop

her atrocities and it was answered with perfect truth that they did not compare with the atrocities committed right here in the land of the free. We may therefore justly conclude, first that the Negro is is not going to submit any longer than he must to the present serfdom, and ~~disgraceful~~ too disgraceful and humiliating discrimination. Secondly, that while we do not know as much ~~as much~~ of race differences as may know if we study this problem as we pught, we certainly do know that the chances are that most men in this world can be civilized, and that the world of races just as the world of individuals does not consist of a few aristocrats and chosen people and a mass of dark serfs and slaves. And that thirdly any dream of separating the races in America or of separating the races of the world is at present not only impracticable but is against the whole trend of the age , and what we ought to do in America is to seek to bind the races together rather than to ~~separate~~ accentuate differences. No part of the world could play a greater roll

49-5-58

of the world
in the future and moral development, than the South, if it would.

There are
And while today, few signs that the South realizes this
~~is taking up its burden~~

~~in that respect,~~ yet may we not hope that this will be the case before

another generation passes. Finally whether the idea that quoted by Mr. Stowe is not in itself of particular importance except as it encourages those Republicans who really believe that Anglo-Saxons are born dreamers in some lines & by nature, theft, by way of slavery,
~~God save~~ & the abolish manner of their helpless neighbors.
God save us from such moral philosophy.

49-5-59.

38-13-257

One wonders if Mr. Stone could have put more contradictions in his article if he had tried hard: the argument would seem to be this: the only good Negroes are mulattoes; the only ~~[illegible]~~ bad Negroes are mulattoes; all that the Negro race has accomplished has been by Mulattoes if Mulattoes would leave the race alone it would progress satisfactorily. Therefore ~~consequently~~ the Mulatto remark for the Mulattoes.

Miscegenation

The Souls of White Folk

In the high tower where I sit beside
the ~~restless~~ loud complaining sea of the human race
I note ~~the souls that pass trucks that~~
~~many things that confuse me~~ many souls
that toss and whirl and pass, but more of old
~~to Souls that~~ that confuse me more than ~~are~~ the
souls of white folk. But mind you the
souls of them that are white, and the souls of those
~~which~~ who have become conscious of their whiteness
More in whose minds the paleness of their
skins has become a mark of peculiar
& eternal significance. Forgetful as I can at
times forget, the significance of this singular
obsession on the souls of me & mine I become
the more acutely conscious of the marvellous
mark this is to my or the Souls of white
folk. And I am wondering what the end
will be.

The discovery of White Men is for
the world a 19th century ~~discovery~~ dead — no earlier
Before that there were Englishmen Frenchmen
Germanen Wops and myriads more And a

28-13-2364

Everybody run for get your duds—
Voted — Freedom is the fairest
hymn ever sung? Soak em one
in the jaw, damn em! Hails what?
A deal at Commencle.

c 1908

Negro Property.

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois,
Atlanta University.
Atlanta, Ga.

38-12-97

There are a great many Americans who would not willingly class themselves either as friends or enemies of the Negro race. They want to know the facts of the case; they say that, theoretically, human aspirations of various sorts may be commendable but that the aspiration that counts and must be reckons with it that which expresses itself in deeds. When, therefore, Negroes ask political rights this class of people are inclined to answer: Is not this race in the main too careless and lazy to be trusted with the responsibilities of citizenship? This charge of laziness has long been reiterated against Negroes - so long, in fact, that few ask for its proof.

Today it happens that proof is accumulating rapidly which shows that lack of thrift is not characteristic of the Negro American. This proof lies in the accumulated property of black folk and more especially in the increasing rate of accumulation.

To be sure the possession of property today in America is by no means so infallible a proof of work and thrift as it was a century ago. The organization of industry is such throughout the land that larger and larger numbers of hard working and careful laborers are unable to accumulate property. Particularly in the South among farm laborers who form over half the workers, a system of deliberate exploitation is so wide-spread that the man who accumulates property must be exceptional in many ways.

Accumulated property there among Negroes in the United States is even a greater indication of labor and thrift than among whites since their economic opportunities are fewer, their inherited wealth far less.

The data upon which a study of Negro wealth can be based is unfortunately very incomplete: it consists of the returns as to the ownership of homes and farms in the Censuses of 1890 and 1900; the value of farms in the Census of 1900, and the assessed value of Negro property in three states: North Carolina, since 1900, Virginia, since 1891, and Georgia, since 1874.

In 1890 out of 1,410,769 Negro heads of families, 264,288 owned their farms or homes, or 18.7%. In 1900, of 1,707,690 homes, 372,444 were owned, or 21.8%, a gain of 3.1%. The Census of 1900 showed that there were 187,799 farms in the United States, owned by Negroes, containing about 15,000,000 acres. These farms constituted a little over one-fourth of all the Negro farms, while one-fifth of all Negro homes were owned. Negro farmers increased about 37% between 1890 and 1900 but the number of farm owners increased over 57%. These Negro farm owners had in 1900 over $175,000,000 worth of farm property and raised in 1899 more than $50,000,000 worth of products.

Colored tenants rent 25,000,000 acres worth $360,000,000 and raise $200,000,000 worth of products. Owners and tenants together, that is all Negro farmers, controlled 746,717 farms with an acreage about the size of New England, valued at a half billion dollars. They raise $255,741,145 worth of products each year.

On the basis of the returns of the Census of 1900 a committee of the American Economic Association reported that:

"The evidence in hand leads your committee to the conclusion that the accumulated wealth of the Negro race in the United States in 1900 was approximately $350,000,000, and probably neither less than $250,000,000 nor more than $350,000,000."

Since 1900 we have the figures from three states to guide us:

In North Carolina the assessed value of Negro property has risen from $9,478,399 in 1900 to $21,253,581 in 1908, an increase of 124.2%. In Virginia Negro property increased from $12,089,965 in 1891 to $15,856,570 in 1900 or 31.1%. In 1908 it had risen to $25,628,336, an increase of 61.6% over 1900, and of 111.9% over 1891. In Georgia the assessed property of Negroes starting at $6,157,798 in 1874 increased to $12,322,003 in 1890, or 100.1%. In 1900 it had increased to $14,118,730 or 14.6% over 1890, and 129.2% over 1874. In 1908 it was $27,042,672, or 91.5% over 1900, and 119.4% over 1890. To this may be added the figures of increase of Negro church property as given in the special Census report of 1906:

In 1890 Negro church property was reported as valued at $26,626,448. In 1906 it was valued at $56,636,159, an increase of 112.7% in 16 years.

We find then the following percentages of increase in Negro property:

Per cent of homes and farms owned	between	1890 and 1900,	40.9%
Property in North Carolina	"	1900 and 1908,	124.2%
Property in Virginia	"	1900 and 1908,	61.6%
Property in Georgia	"	1900 and 1908,	91.5%
Negro Church property	"	1890 and 1906,	112.7%

From this it seems fair to conclude that the rate of property

32-12-92

accumulation among Negroes is accelerating very rapidly and that if the figures above hold good for the whole country which is conjectural but probable, then, to use the phraseology of the American Economic Association Committee: "The accumulated wealth of the Negro race in the United States in 1907 may be approximately $550,000,000 and probably neither less than $550,000,000 nor more than $600,000,000."

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38-13-99

BLACK DURHAM

Durham, North Carolina, is a placd which thw world instinctively associates with tobacco. It has however, other claims to notice: it was the scene of Johnston's surrender after the Civil War and it is the seat of Trinity College, a notable institution.

It is, however, because of another aspect of its life that this article is written: namely, its solution of the race problem, for therd are in this small city a group of 5,000 or more colored people whose economic development is as striking as that of any similar group in the nation.

The Negroes of Durham County pay taxes on about a half million dollars worth of property or nearly $500 a family and this property has more than doubled in value in the last ten years.

A cursory glance at Black Durham would discover little to differentiate them frmm dozens of similar southern towns. They work as laborers and servants, washdrsomen and janitors. A second glance might show that they were well represented in the building trades and it would arouse interest to see 500 colored girls in one of the big hosiery mills.

The chief interest of any visitor who stayed leng enough to notice would center inthe unusual inner organization of this group of men,women and children. I have written before of the peculiar new "group economy" that characterizes the rise of the Negro American - a closed circle of buying and selling, employing and hiring, and even manufacturing and consuming, which because it is confined chiefly to Negroes easily escapes the notice of the white world.

In all colored groups one may notice something of this cooperation in church, school and grocery store. But in Durham the developed has surpassed mosh other gro ups and become of economic importance to the whole town

48-2-90

There are for instance among the colored people of the town fifteen grocery stores, eight barber shops, seven meat and fish dealers, two drug stores and s shoe store, a haberdashery and undertaking establishment. These stores carry stocks averaging in value from $2,000 to $8,000 except a few of the smaller groceries.

This differs only in degree from a number of towns, but Durham has developed beyond this five manufacturing establishments which turn out mattresses, hosiery, brick, iron articles, and dressed lumber. These enterprises represent an investment of over $[illegible],000. Beyond this the colored people have a number of finanaial enterprises among which are a building and loan association, a real estate company, a small bank and three industrial insurance companies.

The cooperative bonds of this group are completed in social lines by a couple of dozen professional men, twenty school teachers and twenty churches.

48-2-91

All this shows an unusual economic development and leads tothree questions: (1), How far are these enterprises effective working businesses? (2). How did they originate? (3). What has been the attitude of the whites? (4). What does this development mean?

The first thing I saw in Black Durham was its new Training School - four neat white buildings suddenly set on the sides of a ravine where a summer chautauqua for colored teachers was being held. The whole thing had been built in four months by colored contractors, out of lumber from the colored planing mill and fron work largely from the colored foundry. Those of its two hundred and fifty students who boarded at the school slept on mattresses from the colored factory and listened to colored instructors from New York, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. All this was the partially realized dream of one colored man, James E. Shepard. He formerly worked as secretary for a great Christian organization but dissatisfied at a peculiarly un-Christian organi-

zation drawing of the color line, determined to erect at Durham a kind of training school from ministers and social workers which should be "different". His money comes largely from Northern whites and his school is started.

This company's business has increased from less than a thousand dollars in 1899 to a quarter of a million in 1910. It has 200,000 members, has paid a half million in benefits and own its office buildings in three cities.

Not only is this society thus prosperous at present but it is making careful effort to place its business on an approved scientific basis, It is installing a new card bookkeeping system, keeping a careful record of sickness and death and its manager is a moving spirit of the Federated Insurance League for colored societies which meets annually at Hampton.

48-2-92

The building of this insurance company is neat and light. Down stairs we visited the men's furnishing store which looked like a business-like pstablishment and carried a considerable stock of goods. The shoe store was newer and looked more expermental; the drug stores were small and pretty. From here we went to the hosiery mill and the planing mill. The hosiery mill was to me of singular interest. Three years ago I met the manager, Mr. C. C. Amey. He was then teaching school, but had mechanical genius,. The white hosiery mills in Durham were succeeding and one employed colored hands. Amey asked for permission here to learn to manage the intricate machines, but was refused. Finally, however, the manufacturers of the machines told him they would teach him if he came to philadelphia. He went and learned. A company was formed and ten knitters and three ribbers at seventy dollars apiece were installed with a capacity of sixty dozen men's sock a day. Already machines are ordered and on the way to double this output, and a dyeing department and factory building are

for the near future. It was strange to stand there and watch silent alert mill girls manipulate these machines and think what it all meant. The mill is run by electricity and the socks sold to jobbers. The sales are at present rapid and satisfactory.

The planing mill is nearby, and is a busy looking place. The brick yard is a large institution and supplies brick all over the whole state. R. B. Fitzgerald the owner is a Northern born Negro, owns 200 acres of land and can turn out 30,000 brick a day.

North Carolina banking laws are lenient, probably too lenient, and taking advantage of this the colored people started the mechanic's and Farmer's Bank. The report of this bank for Jan. 31, 1910 shows $17,000 on deposit and $11,000 paid in capital.

The bank has five hundred depositors and it is estimated that the colored enterprises of the town do $1,500,000 worth of business a year.

A careful examination of the origin of this Durham development shows that in a peculiar way it is due to a combination of careful training, business capacity and character. These men were unusual not because these enterprises are so remarkable in themselves as because the establishment of them met peculiar difficulties. Today the white man who would go into insurance or haberdashery or hosiery making, gathers his capital from rich men and hires expert managers who know these businesses. The Negro gathers capital by pennies from people unused to investing, has no experts whom he may hire and must literally grope for success.

Three men began the economic building of Black Durham: a minister with college training, a physician with professional training, and a barber who was also a mason and had saved his money. These three called to their aid a bright hustling young graduate of the public schools and with these four representing vision, knowledge, thrift and efficiency, the development began. The college man planned the insurance society, but it took the young

hustler to put it through. The barber put his savings into the young business man's hands, the physician gave his time and general intelligence. Others were drawn in - the brickmaker, teachers, several college-bred men, several mechanics. As the group began to make money, it expanded and reached out. None of them are rich - the richest has an income of about $25,000 a year from business and 80 tenements; the others of the inner group are making from $5,000 to $15,000 - a very modest reward as such rewards go in America.

They have built themselves pretty and well-equipped homes - there are about fourteen colored homes costing from $2,500 to $10,000; they are rebuilding their churches on a scale almost luxurous and they are deeply interested in their new school. There is no evidence of luxury- a horse and carriage, and the sending of children off to school is almost the only sign of more than ordinary expenditure.

48-2-95

If , now , we were considering a single group geographically isolated this story might now end. But never forget that Durham is in the South and that around these 5,000 Negroes are twice as many whites who own most of the property, dominate the political life exclusively and form the main social life. What now has been the attitude of these people toward the Negroes? In the case of a notable few it has been sincerely sympathetic and in the case of a majority it has not been hostile; and of the two attitudes - great as has been the value of the active friendship of the Dukes, General Carr and others, I count the greatest factor in Durham's development to have been the disposition of the mass of ordinary white citizens of Durham to say: "Hands off - give them a chance - don't interfere." As the editor of the local daily put it in a well deserved rebuke to Governor Glenn: "If the Negro is going down for God's sake let it be because of his own fault, and not because we are pushing him down."

Active benevolence can, of course, do much in a community and in Durham it has given the Negroes a Hospital. The late Washington Duke conceived the idea of building a monument to ex-slaves on the Trinity College campus. This the colored people succeeded in transmuting to the founding of a hospital. The Duke family gave nearly $20,000 for building and equipping a building and the Negroes also gave largely to its support. The result is a hospital conducted for and by Negroes. Beside this some whites have helped the Negroes by advice as for instance, in the intricacies of banking; they have contributed to the new Training school. But all this aid is as nothing beside that more general spirit which allows a black contractor to bid on equal terms with a white, which affords police protection and reasonable justice in court, which grants substantial courtesy and consideration on the street and in the press and which in general says: "Hands off, don't hinder, let them grow." It is precisely the opposite spirit in places like Atlanta which makes the way of the black man there so hard, despite individual friends.

A Southern community has it in its power to chose its Negro inhabitants. If it is afraid of ambition and enterprise on the part of black folk, if it believes that "education spoils a nigger", then it will get the shiftless, happy-go-lucky semi-criminal black man and the ambitious and enterprising will either sink or migrate. On the other hand, many honest Southerners fear to encourage the pushing enterprising Negro. Durham has not feared. It has distinctly encouraged the best type of black man by active aid and passive tolerance.

What accounts for this? I may be over-emphasizing facts, but I think not, when I answer in a word: Trinity College. The influence of a Southern institution of learning of high ideals, with a president and professors who have dared to speak out for justice toward black men, with a quarterly journal, the learning and catholicism of which is well-knwon - this has

46-2-84

made white Durham willing to see Black Durham rise without organizing mobs or secret societies to "keep the niggers down".

To be sure, the future still has its problems, for the meaning of the rise of a group of black people to the Durham height and higher means not a disappearance but in many respects an accentuation of the race problem. Such Negroes mean more, ask more, demand more and it is the paradox of those who ask simply economic development for Black Folk that this will not do away with the Negro problem but increase it. Durham Negroes do not get entire justice today and they know it. Take their schools for instance, the white school property is worth seven times as much as the black; the whites have fifty teachers where the Negroes have twenty,(1907), and they are paid near twice as much individually and over four times as much in all as the Negro teachers.

A few of the intelligent Negroes register and vote but it is seldom that a colored man gets on the jury. Nevertheless, the Negroes are advancing and their white neighbors are either sympathetic or quiescent. But how will it be ten years from today if the Durham Negroes continue to advance? Will they be satisfied with poor schools, small political influence and white judges and juries? Hardly. But let the future raise its own ghosts - today we have a singular group here in Durham where a black man may get up in the mroning from a mattress made by black men, may in a house which a black man built from lumber which black men cut and planed; may put on a suit which he bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; may cook vituals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, buried from a colored church, and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. This is surely progress since 1863.

48-2-93

BLACK DURHAM

1910 (?)

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Durham, North Carolina, is a place which the world instinctively associates with tobacco. It has, however, other claims to notice, not only as the scene of Johnston's surrender after the Civil War but particularly today as the seat of Trinity College, a notable institution.

37-2-68

It is, however, because of another aspect of its life that this article is written: namely, its solution of the race problem. There is in this small city a group of 5,000 or more colored people whose social and economic development is perhaps more striking than that of any similar group in the nation.

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A cursory glance at the colored people of Durham would discover little to differentiate them from their fellows in dozens of similar Southern towns. They work as laborers and servants, washerwomen and janitors. A second glance might show that they were well represented in the building trades and it would arouse interest to see 500 colored girls at work as spinners in one of the big hosiery mills.

The chief interest of any visitor who stayed long enough to notice, would, however, center in the unusual inner organization of this group of men, women and children. I have written before of the peculiar new "group economy" that characterizes the rise of the Negro American - the closed circle of social intercourse, teaching and preaching,

buying and selling, employing and hiring, and even manufacturing, which because it is confined chiefly to Negroes easily escapes the notice of the white world.

In all colored groups one may notice something of this co-operation in church, school and grocery store. But in Durham the development has surpassed most other groups and become of economic importance to the whole town.

38-2-69

There are for instance among the colored people of the town fifteen grocery stores, eight barber shops, seven meat and fish dealers, two drug stores, a shoe store, a haberdashery and an undertaking establishment. These stores carry stocks averaging save in the case of the smaller groceries from $2,000 to $8,000 in value.

This differs only in degree from a number of towns; but Black Durham has in addition to this developed five manufacturing establishments which turn out mattresses, hosiery, brick, iron articles, and dressed lumber. These enterprises represent an investment of over $50,000. Beyond this the colored people have a number of financial enterprises among which are a building and loan association, a real estate company, a small bank and three industrial insurance companies.

The co-operative bonds of the group are completed in social lines by a couple of dozen professional men, twenty school teachers and twenty churches.

All this shows an unusual economic development and leads to four questions: (1), How far are these enterprises effective working businesses? (2). How did they originate? (3). What has been the attitude of the whites? (4) What does this development mean?

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a summer chautauqua for colored teachers was being held. The whole thing had been built in four months by colored contractors after plans made by a colored architect, out of lumber from the colored planing mill and iron work largely from the colored foundry. Those of its two hundred and fifty students who boarded at the school slept on mattresses from the colored factory and listened to colored instructors from New York, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. All this was the partially realized dream of one colored man, James E. Shepard. He formerly worked as secretary for a great Christian organization but dissatisfied at a peculiarly un-Christian drawing of the color line, he determined to erect at Durham a kind of training school for ministers and social workers which whould be "different".

38-2-70

One morning there came out to the school a sharp-eyed brown man of thirty, C. C. Spaulding, who manages the largest Negro industrial insurance company in the world. At his own expense he took the whole school to town in carriages to "show them what colored people were doing in Durham".

Naturally he took us first to the home of his company - "The North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association", an institution which is now twelve years old. One has a right to view industrial insurance with some suspicion and the Insurance Commissioner of South Carolina made last year a fifteen days thorough examination of this enterprise. Then he wrote: "I can but feel that if all other companies are put on the same basis as yours, that it will mean a great deal to industrial insurance in North and South Carolina, and, especially a great benefit to the Negro race."

The company's business has increased from less than a thousand dollars in 1899 to an income of a quarter of a million in 1910. It

38-2-71

has 200,000 members, has paid a half million dollars in benefits and owns its office buildings in three cities.

Not only is the society thus prosperous at present but it is making careful effort to avoid the rocks upon which the great colored order of True Reformers split and place its business on an approved scientific basis. It is installing a new card bookkeeping system, is beginning to construct morbidity and keep careful mortality records and its manager is a moving spirit of the Federated Insurance League for colored societies which meets annually at Hampton, Va.

The Durham office building of this company is neat and light. Down stairs in the rented portion we visited the men's furnishing store which seemed a business-like establishment and carried a considerable stock of goods. The shoe store was newer and looked more experimental; the drug stores was small and pretty. From here we went to the hosiery mill and the planing mill.

The hosiery mill was to me of singular interest. Three years ago I met the manager, Mr. C. C. Amey. He was then teaching school, but had much unsatisfied mechanical genius. The white hosiery mills in Durham were succeeding and one of them employed colored hands. Amey asked for permission here to learn to manage the intricate machines, but was refused. Finally, however, the manufacturers of the machines told him they would teach him if he came to Philadelphia. He went and learned. A company was formed and thirteen knitting and ribbing machines at seventy dollars apiece were installed, with a capacity of sixty dozen men's socks a day. At present the sales are rapid and satisfactory and already machines are ordered and on the way to double the present output; and a dyeing department and factory building are planned for the near future .

33-2-72

The brick yard and planing mill are part of the general economic organization of the town. R. B. Fitzgerald, a Northern-born Negro, has long furnished brick for a large part of the state and can turn out 30,000 bricks a day.

To finance these Negro businesses which are said to handle a million and a half dollars a year, a small banking institution has been started. The "Mechanics and Farmers' Bank" looks small and experimental and owes its existence to rather lenient banking laws. It has a paid-in capital of $11,000 and $17,000 deposited by 500 different persons.

A careful examination of the orgin of this Durham development shows that in a peculiar way it is due to a combination of training, business capacity and character. The men who built these enterprises are unusual not because the enterprises in themselves are so remarkable but because their establishment met peculiar difficulties. Today the white man who would go into insurance or haberdashery or hosiery making, gathers his capital from rich men and hires expert managers who know these businesses. The Negro gathers capital by pennies from people unused to investing, has no experts whom he may hire and small chance to train experts, and must literally grope for success through repeated failure.

Three men began the economic building of Black Durham: a minister with college training, a physician with professional training, and a barber who saved his money. These three called to their aid a bright hustling young graduate of the public schools and with three four representing vision, knowledge, thrift and efficiency, the development began. The college man planned the insurance society, but it took the young hustler to put it through. The barber put his savings into the

young business man's hands, the physician gave his time and general intelligence. Others were drawn in - the brickmaker, several teachers, a few college-bred men, and a number of mechanics. As the group began to make money, it expanded and reached out. None of the men are rich - the richest has an income of about $25,000 a year from business investments and 80 tenements; the others of the inner group are making from $5,000 to $15,000 - a very modest reward as such rewards go in America.

Quite a number of the colored people have built themselves pretty and well-equipped homes; - perhaps fourteen of these homes cost from $2,500 to $10,000; they are rebuilding their churches on a scale almost luxurious and they are deeply interested in their new training school. There is no evidence of luxury - a horse and carriage, and the sending of children off to school is almost the only sign of more than ordinary expenditure.

38-2-73

If, now, we were considering a single group geographically isolated this story might now end. But never forget that Durham is in the South and that around these 5,000 Negroes are twice as many whites who own most of the property, dominate the political life exclusively and form the main current of social life. What now has been the attitude of these people toward the Negroes? In the case of a notable few it has been sincerely sympathetic and helpful and in the case of a majority of the whites it has not been hostile. Of the two attitudes, great as has undoubtedly been the value of the active friendship of the Dukes, General Carr and others, I consider the greatest factor in Durham's development to have been the disposition of the mass of ordinary white citizens of Durham to say: "Hands off - give them a chance - don't interfere." As the editor of the local daily put it in a well

deserved rebuke to Governor Glenn: "If the Negro is going down for God's sake let it be because of his own fault, and not because we are pushing him down."

Active benevolence can, of course, do much in a community and in Durham it has given the Negroes a Hospital. The late Washington Duke conceived the idea of building a monument to ex-slaves on the Trinity College campus. This the colored people succeeded in transmuting to the founding of a hospital. The Duke family gave nearly $20,000 for building and equipping the building and the Negroes give largely to its support. Beside this some whites have helped the Negroes by advice, as, for instance, in the intricacies of banking; and they have contributed to the new training school. Not only have Southern philanthropists thus helped but they have allowed the Negroes to administer these gifts themselves. The hospital for instance is not simply for Negroes, but it is conducted by them and the Training school is under a colored corps of teachers.

38-2-74

But all this aid is as nothing beside that more general spirit which allows a black contractor to bid on equal terms with a white, which affords fair police protection and reasonable justice in court, which grants substantial courtesy and consideration on the street and in the press, and which in general says: "Hands Off, don't hinder, let them grow." It is precisely the opposite spirit in places like Atlanta which makes the way of the black man there so hard, despite individual friends.

A Southern community is thus seen to have it in its power to chose its Negro inhabitants. If it is afraid of ambition and enterprise, on the part of black folk, if it believes that that "education spoils a nigger", then it will get the shiftless, happy-go-lucky semi-criminal black man, and the ambitious and enterprising will either sink or

migrate. On the other hand, many honest Southerners fear to encourage the pushing enterprising Negro. Durham has not feared. It has distinctly encouraged the best type of black man by active aid and passive tolerance.

38-2-75

What accounts for this? I may be over-emphasizing facts, but I think not, when I answer in a word: Trinity College. The influence of a Southern institution of learning of high ideals, with a president and professors who have dared to speak out for justice toward black men, with a quarterly journal, the learning and catholicism of which is well-known - this has made white Durham willing to see Black Durham rise without organizing mobs or secret societies to "keep the niggers down".

To be sure, the future still has its problems, for the meaning of the rise of a group of black people to the Durham height and higher, means not a disappearance but in some respects an accentuation of the race problem. Such Negroes mean more, ask more, deserve more, and it is the paradox of those who ask simply economic development for Black Folk that this will not do away with the Negro problem but increase it.

Durham Negroes do not get entire justice today and they know it. Consider their schools: the white school property is worth seven times as much as the black; the whites have fifty teachers where the Negroes have twenty, (1907), and they are paid near twice as much individually and over four times as much in all as the Negro teachers. A few of the intelligent Negroes register and vote but it is seldom that a colored man gets on the jury. The Negroes are today fairly satisfied with their evident advance and their white neighbors are either sympathetic or quiescent. But how will it be ten years from today if the Durham Negroes continue to advance? Will they be satisfied with poor schools, small political influence and white judges, and police-

men and juries? Hardly.

But let the future lay its own ghosts; today we have a singular group here in Durham where a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men, in a house which a black man buklt out of lumber which black men cut and planed; he may put on a suit which he bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; he may cook vituals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; he may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, and buried from a colored church; and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. This is surely progress since 1863.

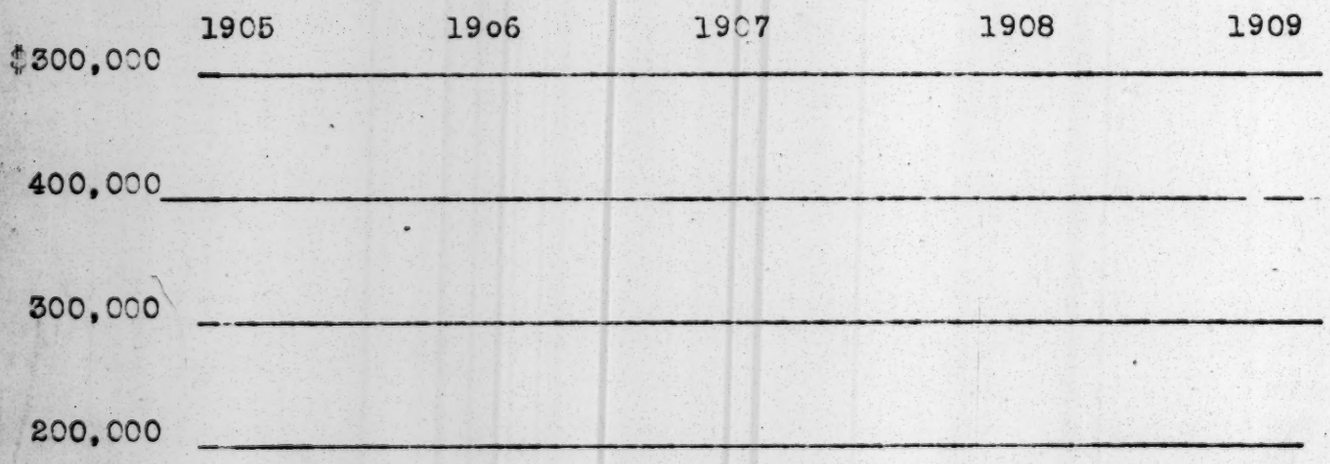
38-2-76

38-2-77

Black Durham

Durham, N. C. is a name which Americans associate chiefly with tobacco. It has, however, other claims to notice. It is not only the scene of Johnston's surrender to Sherman after the Civil War, and the seat of Trinity College, but it has also a group of about 5,000 Negroes, who have, I venture to say, made an economic development as striking as any similar group in the world.

The Colored people of Durham County, which is the town of Durham and surrounding country district, today pay taxes on $479,600 worth of property assessed value, which means that they own nearly $200 a head of property at its market price. This property has grown rapidly in recent times.



Real and Personal Property of the colored people of Durham County:

1905	$299,272
1906	342,038
1907-	440,231
1908	465,775
1909	479,600

38-2-78

At first glance these colored folk appear to resemble other such group in hundreds of Southern towns. They follow for the most part the ordinary work of laboring people, toiling as servants, washerwomen, and day laborers.

It is easily evident, however, that they have a good foothold in the skilled trades: they have a number of mechanics especially in the building trades and one of the large hosiery mills employs about 500 colored girls as spinners.

It is, however, particularly in the capitalization organization and conduct of certain kinds of business enterprise that Black Durham is noticeable. They conduct the following businesses:

2 meat dealers,
5 Fish dealers,
8 Barber shops,
15 Grocery stores,
2 Drug stores,
1 Men's furnishing store,
1 Shoe store,
1 Undertaking establishment.

The Drug stores carry a stock of $4,00 and $5,100 respectively; the men's furnishing store and the undertaker have each $8,000 worth of goods; the shoe store, $2,000 worth; three of the grocery stores carry a stock of $5,000 each, and the others from $500 to $2,000. All but four do a good business.

Beside these there are a number of small manufacturing and building enterprises:

1 planing and wood working mill, Capital, $5,000
1 Iron Foundry
1 Mattress factory,
1 Hosiery Mill, capital, $10,000.
1 Brick yard, " 30,000
2 Building contractors.

To these we must add several financial institutions:

A Building and Loan Association,
Real Estate Company, capital, $5,000
Bank, capital, paid in, $10,800.
3 Industrial insurance societies.

In addition Durham has in its colored population

5 Physicians,
2 Dentists,
2 Lawyers,
20 Public school teachers,
1 College and religious training school,
Several secret societies,
20 Churches.

This shows an unusual economic development and leads to three questions: (1), how far are these enterprises effective working businesses? (2), how did they originate? (3), what has been the attitude of the whites? (4), what does this development mean?

The first thing I saw of Black Durham was its new Training School - four neat white buildings suddenly set on the sides of a ravine where a summer chautauqua for colored teachers was being held. The whole thing had been built in four months by colored contractors, out of lumber from the colored planing mill and iron work largely from the colored foundry. Those of its two hundred and fifty students who boarded at the school slept on mattresses from the colored factory and listened to colored instructors from New York, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. All this was the partially realized dream of one colored man, James E. Sheppard. He formerly worked as secretary for a great Christian organization but dissatisfied at a peculiarly un-Christian drawing of the color line, determined to erect at Durham a kind of training school from ministers and social workers which should be "different". His money comes largely from Northern whites and his school is started.

38-2-80

One morning there came out to the school a sharp eyed brown man of thirty - C. C. Spaulding, who manages the largest Negro Industrial Insurance Company in the world. At his own expense he took the whole school to town in carriages to "show them what colored people were doing in Durham".

Naturally he took us first to the home of his company - "The North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association". This company was founded in October, 1898. In December 1909 the Insurance Commissioner of South Carolina after fifteen days thorough examination wrote:

"Gentlemen: - I take this opportunity of saying to you that I was highly gratified by the reports which Mr. Phillippi brings to me of your company, and its management. I can but feel that if all other companies are put on the same basis as yours, that it will mean a great deal to industrial insurance in North and South Carolina, and, especially a great benefit to the Negro race.

Very truly,
F.H. McMaster, Insurance Commissioner".

This company made the following report for the year ending Dec. 31, 1909:

Balance, January 1, 1909		$ 39,625.95
Total Collections during 1909		220,100.76
Sum of both amounts		$259,726.71
Claims Paid during 1909	$ 69,310.88	
All other expenses	123,757.66	193,068.54
Balance		$ 66,658.17

ASSETS INVESTED AS FOLLOWS

Real Estate	$ 65,318.00	
Bank Stock	1,600.00	
Cash in Office and Bank	13,471.92	
Printery	2,000.00	
Loans on Policies	268.25	
Furniture and Fixtures, Safes, Etc.	5,000.00	
	$ 87,658.17	
Liabilities	21,000.00	$ 66,658.17

Total Net Ledger Assets	$66,658.17
Non Ledger Assets	11,150.50
	77,808.67
Assets not admitted	5,000.00
Total Admitted Assets	$72,808.67

Certificates in force 42,494
Amount of Insurance in force December 31, $1,545,479.00

38-2-81

The company has written over 200,000 members and paid over half a million dollars in benefits. In January, 1906, it moved into its home office in Durham, which consists of a block of buildings assessed at $30,000. In this block are housed many of the colored stores, including the Bank. The company owns a brick office building in Columbia, S. C. and is about to build in Florence, S. C. It has $20,000 in cash deposited with the Treasurer of the State of South Carolina to protect its con-

tracts.

Not only is this society thus prosperous at present but it is making careful effort to place its business on an approved scientific basis, It is installing a new card bookkeeping system, keeping a careful record of sickness and death and its manager is a moving spirit of the Federated Insurance League for Colored societies which meets annually at Hampton.

The building of this insurance company is neat and light. Down stairs we visited the Men's furnishing store which looked like a business-like establishment and carried a considerable stock of goods. The shoe store was newer and looked more experimental, the drug stores were small and pretty. From here we went to the Hosiery mill and the planing mill. The hosiery mill was to me of singular interest. Three years ago I met the manager, Mr. C. C. Amey. He was then teaching school, but had mechanical genius, The white hosiery mills in Durham were succeeding and one employed colored hands. Amey asked for permission here to learn to manage the intricate machines but was refused. Finally, however, the manufacturers of the machines told him they would teach him if he came to Philadelphia. He went and learned. A company was formed and ten knitters and three ribbers and seventy dollars apiece were installed with a capacity of 60 dozen men's sock a day. Already machines are ordered and on the way to double this output, and a dyeing department and factory building are planned for the near future. It was strange to stand there and watch these silent alert mill girls manipulate these machines and think what it all meant. The mill is run by electricity and the socks sold to jobbers. The sales are at present rapid and satisfactory.

38-2-82

The planing mill is nearby, and is a busy looking place. The brick yard is a large institution and supplies brick all over the whole state. R. B. Fitzgerald the owner is a northern born Negro, owns 200 acres of land and can turn out 30,000 brick a day.

North Carolina banking laws are lenient, probably too lenient, and taking advantage of this the colored people started the mechanic's and Farmer's Bank. The report of this bank for Jan. 31, 1910:

38-2-8

The bank has five hundred depositors and it is estimated that the colored enterprises do $1,500,000 worth of business anyear.

A careful examination of the origin of this Durham development shows that in a peculiar way it is due to a combination of careful training, business capacity and character. These men were unusual not because these enterprises are so remarkable in themselves as because the establishment of them met peculiar difficulties. Today the white man who would go into insurance or haberdashery or hosiery making, gathers his capital from rich men and hires expert managers who know these businesses. The Negro gathers capital by pennies from people unused to investing, has no experts whomhe may hire and must litterally grope for success.

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38-2-84

They have built themselves pretty and well equipped homes - there are about 14 colored homes costing from $8,500 to $10,000; they are rebuilding their churches on a scale almost luxurous and they are deeply interested in their new school. There is no evidence of luxury - a horse and carriage, and the sending of children off to school is almost the only sign of more than ordinary expenditure.

If now we were considering a single group geographically isolated this story might now end. But never forget that Durham is in the South and that around them 5,000 Negroes and twice as many whites who own most of the property, dominate the political life exclusively and form the main social life. What now has been the attitude of these people toward the Negroes? In the case of a

notable few it has been sincerely sympathetic and in the case of a majority it has not been hostile; nd of the two attitudes - great as has been the value of the active friendship of the Dubois, General Carr and others, I cauntthe greatest factor in Durham's development to have been the dispositionof the mass of ordinary white citizens of Durham to say: "Hands off - give them a chance - don't interfere." As the editor of the local daily put it in a well deserved rebuke to Governo Glenn: "If the Negro is going down for God's sake let it be because of his own fault and not because we are pushing him down."

Active benevolence can, of course, do much in a community and in Durham it has given the Negroes a Hospital. The late ashington Duke conceived the idea of building a monument to ex-slaves on the Trinity college campus. This the colored people succeeded in transmiting to the founding of a hospital. The Duke family gave nearly $20,000 for building and equiping a building and the Negroes also gave largely to its support. The result is a hospital conducted for and by Negroes. Beside this some whites have helped the Negroes by advice as for instance, in the intricacies of banking and they have contributed to the new Training School. But all this aid is as nothing beside that more general spirit which allows a black contractor to bid on equal terms with a white, which affords police protection and reasonable justice in court, which grants substantial courtesy and consideration on the street and in the press and which in general says: Hands off, dont hinder, let them grow. It is precisely the opposite spirit in places like Atlanta which makes the way of the black man tthere so hard despite individual friends.

What accounts for this general active and passive tolerance of Durham? I may be over-emphasizing facts, but I think not, when I answer in a word : Trinity College. The influence of a Southern institution of learning of high ideals, with a president and professors who have dared to speak out for justice toward black men, with a quarterly journal , the learning and catholicism of whichiis well-known - this has made white Durham willing to see Black Durham rise without organizing mobs or secret societies to "keep the niggers down"

To be sure, the future still has its problems, for the meaning of the rise of a group of black people to the Durham height and higher means not a disappearance butin many respects an accentuation of the race problem. Such Negroes mean more, ask more, demand more and it is the paradox of those who ask simply economic development for Blaak Folk that this will not do away with the Negro problem but increase it. Durham Negroes do not get entire justice today and they know it. Take their schools, for instance, : the white school population is about 3,500, and the Negro 2,000; but the white school property is worth seven times as much as the black; the whites have fifty teachers where the Negroes have twenty, (1907), and they are paid near twice as much individually and over four times as much in all as the Negro teachers.

38-2-86

A goodly number of the intelligent Negroes register and vote but it is seldom that a colored man gets on the jury. Nevertheless the Negroes are advancing and their white neighbors are either sympathetic or quiescent. But how will it be ten years from today if the Durham Negroes continue to advance? Will they be satisfied with poor schools, small political influence and white judges and juries?

Hardly. But let the future raise its own ghosts - today we have a singular group here in Durham where a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men in a house which a black man built from lumber which black men cut and planed; may put on a suit which be bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill. May cook vituals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned. May earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, buried from a colored church and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. This is surely pregress since 1863.

38-2-87

A Field for Socialists

aftr 1907 – 1908-9

There is a group of ten million persons in the United States toward whom Socialists would do well to turn serious attention for two reasons. The first reason is a fortune one:

Their people ~~are~~ belong to the working class predominantly: of the four or more millions of them who are adult workers less than a million could in any way be called capitalists and the capital of most of these consists of small farms which they work themselves. The rest of the group is composed of 2 million common laborers, a half million servants and washerwomen and a half million more or less skilled laborers with a few highly skilled workers, & professional men

Because these persons are descendants of African slaves brought in the The U.S. between 1619 and 1863, and emancipated

Even physical slavery in the Calder year they are the most thoroughly exploited class in the U.S. They are not only exploited by individuals & corporations and they are to an extent unheard of in other civilized lands exploited by the state with the consent of a widely organized public opinion.

30-12-13

There then is a laboring class which no labor movement can afford to neglect. Both their actual numbers & their distribution geographically & by occupations made of great importance. A labor movement including them in the southern south is unthinkable & the southern south will be the greatest source of capitalistic development after the opening of the Panama Canal. A labor movement in border states like Kentucky Maryland & Tennessee and in the southern part of Ohio Indiana and Illinois can never be successful save in those industries where men & women

are employed. In the Northern cities the Negro is a small and growing labor factor. We may therefore be ignored or forgotten in most industries and there are lines of work where even there he must be recognized: The Waiters ~~in~~ the Teamsters, ~~barbers~~ the Laundry workers the Barbers all even the Steel mines and building trades have more or less wrongly be made to measure This

How have they been met in the past? They have been met by a determined effort to keep the American Negro out of the labor movement. This effort had its seeds naturally in the contempt of free workers for slaves The laborers that ~~toiled~~ ~~fought the~~ hated slave labor was thoroughly borne to hate the slave and now in free labor ~~trades~~ like Ranchers & California in the early days the laws against Negroes

were as severe on the laws against slavery

This unfair tendency found ~~to be fortified~~ further justification in the fact that the freed Negro slavery worked formally for nothing was delighted on emancipation to work for almost nothing. This lowered the general level of wages in sections & communities at every place in certain lines of work. The wrath of the laborers was forthwith directed not chiefly against the low wages & the men who paid them but also & even more violently against the men who received them

These four black workers ~~received~~ wanted no such wages. They accepted low wages because low wages were higher than any they had ever received before. They knew nothing of the struggle of wage classes for higher wages; they did not know the A B C of agitation. To meet this situation they had no

open to the working class: to educate the
new free working class with the aim
of demanding a living wage, or to ignore
them and to try and to try and organize
the working class along the color line.

All hail the Labor movement in
the U.S. Lied more or less sincerely
the broader and wolden method

L 153	N° 1
L 154	N° 2
L 155	N° 3
L 156	N° 4
L 157	

The net result of all this movement
has been to convince the American
Negro that his greatest enemy is not
the employer who robs him and his
white fellow workingmen. For twenty
years he has been taught this lesson
by the working class himself: between 1881
and 1900, fifty strikes occurred in the U.S. against
the employment of Negroes and twenty three

1877
1881

86-12-16

that murder really against Negroes but ordinarily against non-union men when we really the Negro was not permitted to join the union.

We socialist party must know and heed this history. The Negro workingman is daily necessary in efficiency. Small Negro capitalists are arising. The whole trend of thought among Negroes is for the reasons given & other reasons distinctly capitalistic. The enslaving chess has given huge sums of money wrung from underpaid white laborers & funnels Negro schools and older institutions which the States controlled largely by the white laborers vote refused & funneled. I shall wonder that the average Negro can be counted on as the solid unswerving ally of capitalistic government & looks on class struggle as a more

30-12-17

than Jackpudca does to his enemies

Having such a situation what has Canada to say to these black men? Do it pay to ignore them, or segregate them or complain because they do not forthwith adopt a programme of racial ~~reform~~ revolution of which they know nothing or a movement which they are not entitled to join.

30-12-18

undated

SOCILAISM.

One might divide those interested in Socialism in two distinct camps: On the one hand those far sighted thinkers who are seeking to determine from the facts of modern industrial organization just what the outcome is going to be; on the other hand those who suffer from the present industrial situation and who are anxious that whatever the broad outcome may be that ahyany rate the present suffering which they know so well shall be stopped. It is this second class of social thinkers who are interested particularly in the Negro Problem. They are saying that the plight of 10 million human beings in the United States, predmoinantly of the working class, is so evil that it calls for much attention in any program of future social reform. This paper, however, is addressed not to this class, but rather to the class of theoretical Socialists; and its thesis is: In the Negro Problem as it presents itself in the United States, theoretical Socialism of the 20th century meets a critical dilemma. There is no douht as to the alternatives presented. On the one hand here are 90 million white people who in their extraordinary economic development present a peculiar field for the application of Socialistic principles; but on the whole, these people are demanding to-day that just as under capitalistic organization, the Negro has been the excluded class, that so, too, any Socialistic program shall also exclude the 10 million. Many Socialists have acquiesced in this program. No recent convention of Socialists has dared to face fairly the Negro Problem and make a straight forward declaration that they regard Negroes as men in the same sense that other persons are. The utmost that the party has been able to do is not to rescind the straightforward declaration of ---- -. The general attitude of thinking members of the party has been this: We must not turn aside from the great objects of Socialism to take up thise issue of the American Negro; let the question wait; when the objects of Socialism are achieved, this problem will be settled along with other problems. That there is a logical flaw here, no one can deny. Can the problem of any group of ten million be properly considered as "aside" from any program of Sòciäàism? Can the objects od Socialism be achieved so long as the Negro is neglected? Can any great human problem "wait?" Iá Socialism is going to settle the American problem of race prejudice without direct attack along these lines by Socialists, why is it necessary for Socialists to fight along

34-13-158

other lines? Indeed there is a kind of fatalistic attitude on the part of certain transcendental Socialists which often assumes that the whole battle of Socialism is coming by a kind of revolution in which active individual effort on their part is hardly necessary.

As a matter of fact, the Socialists face in the problem of the America Negro this question: Can a minority of any group or country be left out of the Socialistic problem? It is, of course, agreed that a majority could not be left out. Socialists usually put great stress on the fact that the laboring class form a majority of all nations and nevertheless are unjustly treated in the distribution of wealth. Suppose, however, that this unjust distribution affected only a minority - and that only a tenth of the American Nation were working under unjust economic conditions - Could a Socialistic program be carried out which acquiesced in this condition? Many American Socialists seem silently to assume that this would be possible. To put it concretely they are going to carry on the Socialistic propaganda among 90 million white people; they are going to socialize industry so far as this mass is concerned; they are going to get rid of the private control of capital and they are going to divide up the social income among these 90 million in accordance with some rule of reason, rather than in the present haphazard way: But at the same time, they are going to permit the continued exploitation of these ten million workers. So far as these ten million workers is concerned there is to be no active effort to secure for them a voice in the social democracy, or an adequate share in the social income. The idea is that ultimately when the 90 millions come to their own, they will voluntarily share with the ten million serfs. Does now the history of the world justify us in assuming any such outcome? Frankly, I do not believe it does. The program of industrial aristocracy which the world has always tried; the only difference being that they are trying to include in the inner circle a much larger number than have ever been included before. Socialistic as this program may be called, it is not real Social democracy The essence of social democracy is that there shall be no excluded or exploited classes in the Socialistic state; that there shall be no man or woman so poor, ignorant or black as not to count one. Is this simply a far off ideal, or is it a possible program? I have come to believe that the test of any great movement toward social reform is the Excluded Class. Who is it that the reform does not propose to benefit? If you are

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saving dying babies, whose babies are you going to let die? If you are feeding the hungry, what folk are you (regretfully, perhaps, but none the less truely) going to let starve? If you are making a juster division of wealth, what people are you going to permit at present to remain in poverty? If you are giving all men votes (not only in the "political" but also in the economic world) what class of people are you going to allow to remain disfranchised? More than that assuming that if you did exclude Negroes temporarily from the growing socialistic state that the ensuing uplift of humanity would in the end repair the temporary damage, the present question is, can you exclude the Negro and push socialism forward? Every tenth man in the United States is of acknowledged descent; but if you take those in gainful occupations, one out of every seven Americans is colored; and if you take laborers and workingmen in the ordinary acceptation of the term, one out of every five is colored. The problem is then to lift from fifths of a group on the backs of the other fifth. Even if the submerged fifth were "dull driven cattle" the problem of socialistic opportunism would not be easy. But when the program is proposed in the face of a group growing in intelligence and social power and a group made suspicious and bitter by analogous action on the part of trade unionists. What is anti-Negro socialism doing but handing to its enemies the powerful weapon of four and one half million, who will find it not simply to their interest, but a sacred duty to underbed the labor market, vote against labor legislation, and fight to keep their bellow laborers down. Is it not significant that Negro soldiers in the army are healthier and desert less than whites?

Nor is this all: what becomes of Socialism when it engages in such a fight for human downfall? Wither are gone its lofty aspiration and high resolve - its songs and comradeship?

The Negro Problem then is the great test of the American Socialist. Shall American Socialism strive to train for its socialistic state ten million serfs who will serve or be exploited by that state, or shall it strive to incorporate them immediately into that body politic? Theoretically, of course, all Socialists, with few exceptions, would wish the latter program. But it happens that in the United States there is a strong local opinion in the South which violently opposes any program of any kind of reform that

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recognizes the Negro as a man. So strong is this body of opinion that you have in the South a most extraordinary development. The whole radical movement there represented by men like B lease and Vardaman, and Tillman and Jeff. Davis and attracting such demagogues as Hoke Smith, includes in its program of radical reform a most bitter and reactionary hatred of the Negro. The average modern Socialist can scarcely grasp the extent of this hatred; even murder and torture of human beings holds a prominent place in its philosophy; the defilement of colored women is its joke, and justice toward colored men will not be listened to. The only basis on which one can even approach these people with a plea for the barest tolerance of colored folk, is that the murder and mis-treatment of colored men may possibly hurt white men. Consequently the Socialist Party finds itself in this predicament: If it acquiesces in race hatred, it has a chance to turn the tremendous power of Southern white radicalism toward its own party; if it does not do this, it becomes a "party of the Negro" with its growth South and North decidedly checked. There are signs that the Socialists leaders are going to accept the chance of getting hold of the radical South whatever its cost. This paper is written to ask such leaders: After you have gotten the radical South and paid the price which they demand, will the result be Socialism?

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SOCIAL EFFECTS OF EMANCIPATION

If we try and sum up the results of emancipating the Negro slaves in the United States fifty years ago, we may note but the material advance, the educated and the evidences of group consciouness.

We may then note more especially the legal and political situation of this eighth of the Nation and finally the outlook for social reform.

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W. E. B. DuBois'

A HALF CENTURY OF FREEDOM.

Notwithstanding this creditable showing the situation has it dark and threatening aspects. First we have in the United States the distinct growth of a caste system: it has been adjudged in many states a misdemeanor to call a white man a Negro; it has been adjudged in many states that a person having the slightest degree of Negro blood is a "Negro;" intermarriage of Negroes and whites id prohibited in twenty-six states even if the persons are living as man and wife; travel is interfered with by separating whites and Negroes in the South, and it has been decided that Negroes do not have to be given absolutely "equal" accommodations; colored and white people are separated in the South on street cars, in waiting rooms, on many elevators, on steamboats, and so forth. In practise Negroes are liable to discrimination in hotels, restaurants, saloons, soda fountains, theatres, cemetries, insane asylums and in the militia. This is forbidden by many states, but the law is difficult to enforce. Church organization either refuse Negro members entirely, as in the case of most white churches of the South, or put them in an allied organization or in separate congregations. Separate school systems are compulsory in the South and allowed in a few Northern cities like Indianapolis. It has even been decided that a private school can be compelled to separate the races and attempts have been made to deny white teachers the right to teach Negroes. Separation among colored and white clerks in the civil service is usual in Washington and the South.

In the courts, Negroes are not legally discriminated against, but an extra legal system has arisen in the South to a less extent in the border states and to some extent in the North which tries and punishes the Negro criminal on an entirely different basis from the white criminal. The result is that the number of long term convicts among Negroes is extraordinary. In the South it is unusual to send a white man to the penitentiary or to capital punishment, or to punish a white woman under any circumstances. The pentitentiaries, therefore, are filled with Negroes and are among the worst penal institutions in the world. They are most of them run for profit under the Convict Lease System. There are very few reformatories for colored children. Their conviction, therefore, means the manufacture of confirmed criminals. There is a widespread tendency which shows no decided reduction to murder by mob violence Negroes accused of crime. Since 1885, 2, 584 such murders have taken place. Only 25 per cent of those

lynched have been even accused of crimes against women and in the case of most of these accusations the offense alleged was not criminal.

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The result of this has been to retard public education and social reform among colored people except that which can be carried on in private institutions or by voluntary conviction.

At the same time the Negroes are helping to pay for the education of the whites. A Southern superintendent gives this table:

The colored people through their women's clubs are bearing almost the whole burden of their own internal social reform. They have 100 Old Folks' Home and orphanages, about 40 hospitals, some of whom have more or less public support, at least 500 private cemetries, and a large number of charitable organizations of various kinds. In the North they share somewhat in the general results of social reform work. There is, however, here a great deal of discrimination. Social Settlements often exclude them; Fresh Air Funds sometimes make no provision for them; Day Nurseries discriminate and even where there are no actual

welcome and do not receive benefit. On the whole then one may say that the efforts of the Negroes since Emancipation have been very promising and beyond what could be reasonably expected; that on the other hand the caste system whicj attempts to exclude Negroes from the benefit of the general social and political organization of a great modern state is strong and growing both North and South.

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Atlantic Monthly
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THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR.

By

W. E. Burghardt DuBois.

"Semper novi quid ex Africa" cried the Roman proconsul and he voiced the verdict of forty centuries. Yet there are those who would write world history and leave out this most marvelous of continents. Particularly to-day most men assume that Africa lies far afield from the centers of our burning social problems and especially from our present problem of World War.

Yet in a very real sense Africa is a prime cause of this terrible overturning of civilization which we have lived to see, and these words seek to show how in the Dark Continent are hidden the roots not simply of war to-day but of the menace of wars to-morrow.

Always Africa is giving us something new or some metempsychosis of a world old thing. On its black bosom arose one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of self-protecting civilizations and grew so mightily that it still furnishes superlatives to thinking and speaking men. Out of its darker and more remote forest fastnesses, came, if we may credit many recent scientists, the first welding of iron and, we know that agriculture and trade flourished there when Europe was a wilderness.

Nearly every human empire that has arisen in the World, material and spiritual, has found some of its greatest crises on this continent in Africa, from Greece to Great Britain. As Mommsen says, "It was through Africa that Christianity became the religion of the world." In Africa the last flood of Germanic invasions spent itself within hearing of the last gasp of Byzantium, and it was again through Africa that Islam came to play its great role of conqueror and civilizer.

With the Renaissance and the widened world of modern thought, Africa as suddenly came with her new old gift. Shakespeare's Ancient

Pistol cries:

"A foutra for the world, and worldlings base!
I speak of Africa, and golden joys."

He echoes a legend of gold from the days of Punt and Ophir to those of Ghana, the Gold Coast amd the Rand. This thought had sent the world greed scurrying down the hot, mysterious coasts of Africa to the Good Hope of gain, until for the first a real world commerce was born, albeit it started as a commerce mainly in the bodies and souls of men.

So much for the past; and now to-day: the Berlin Conference to apportion the rising riches of Africa among the white peoples met on the fifteenth day of November, 1884. Eleven days earlier three Germans left Zanzibar (whither they had gone secretly disguised as mechanics) and before the Berlin Conference had finished its deliberations they had annexed to Germany, an area over half as large again as the whole German Empire in Europe. Only in its dramatic suddenness was this undisguised robbery of the land of seven million natives different from the methods by which Great Britain and France got four million square miles each, Portugal three-quarters of a million and Italy and Spain smaller but substantial areas.

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The methods by which this continent has been stolen have been contemptible and dishonest beyond expression. Lyingtreaties, rivers of rum, murder, assassination, mutilation, rape and torture have marked every step of the progress of Englishman, German, Frenchman and Belgian on the dark continent. The only way in which the World has been able to endure the horrible tale is by deliberately stopping their ears and changing the conversation while the deviltry went on.

It all begun singularly enough, like the present war, with Belgium. Many of us remember Stanley's great loosing of the puzzle of Central Africa when he traced the mighty Congo 1600 miles from Nyangwe to the sea. Suddenly the world knew that here lay the key to the riches of Central

Africa. It stirred uneasily, but Leopold of Belgium, was first to his feet and the result was the Congo Free State - God save the mark! But the Congo Free State with its magniloquent heralding of Peace, Christianity and Commerce, degenerating into murder, mutilation and down-right robbery, differed only in degree and concentration from the tale of all Africa in this new rape of a continent already furiously mangled by the slave trade. That sinister traffic on which the British Empire and the American Republic were largely built cost black Africa no less than 100,000,000 souls, the wreckage of its political and social life, and left the continent in precisely that state of helplessness which invites aggression and exploitation. "Color" became in the world's thought synonymous with inferiority, "Negro" lost its capitalization, and Africa was another name for beastiality and barbarism.

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Thus the world began to invest in color prejudice. The "Color Line" began to pay dividends. For indeed while the exploration of the valley of the Congo was the occasion of the scramble for Africa, the cause lay deeper. The Franco-Prussian war turned the eyes of those who sought power and dominion away from Europe. Already England was there cleaning away the debris of the slave trade and half consciously groping toward the new Imperialism. France, humiliated and impoverished, looked toward a new northern African empire sweeping from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. More slowly Germany began to see the dawning of a new day, and shut out from America by the Monroe Doctrine, looked to Asia and Africa for colonies. Portugal sought anew to make good her claim to her ancient African realm; and thus a continent where Europe claimed but a tenth of the land in 1875 was in twenty-five more years practically absorbed.

Why was this? What was the new call for dominion? It must have been strong, for consider a moment the desperate war flames that have shot up in Africa in the last quarter of a century: France and England at Fashoda, Italy at Adua, Italy and Turkey in Tripoli; England and Portugal

at Delagoa Bay; England, Germany and the Dutch in South Africa, France and Spain in Morocco, Germany and France in Agadir and the World at Algesiras.

The answer to this riddle we shall find in the economic changes in Europe.

Remember what the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries have meant to organized industry in European civilization. Slowly the divine right of the Few to determine economic income and distribute the goods and services of the world has been questioned and curtailed. We called the process Revolution in the Eighteenth century, advancing Democracy in the Nineteenth and Socialization of Wealth in the Twentieth. But whatever we call it, the movement is the same: the dipping of more and grimier hands into the wealth bag of the nation until to-day only the ultra stubborn fail to see that Democracy in determining income is the next inevitable step to Democracy in political power.

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With the waning of the possibility of the Big Fortune gathered by starvation wage and boundless exploitation of one's weaker and poorer fellows at home, arose more magnificently then the dream of exploitation abroad. Always, of course, the individual merchant had at his own risk and in his own way tapped the riches of foreign lands. Later, special trading monopolies had entered the field and founded empires over-seas. Soon, however, the mass of home merchants demanded share in this golden stream and finally, in the twentieth century, the home laborer is demanding and beginning to receive a part of his share.

The theory of this new democratic despotism has not been clearly formulated. Most philosophers see the Ship of State launched on the broad, irresistible tide of Democracy, with only delaying eddies here and there; others, looking closer, are more disturbed. Are we, they ask, reverting to Aristocracy and Despotism - the Rule of Might? They cry out and then rub their eyes for surely can they not see strengthening Democracy all

about them?

It is this paradox that has confounded philanthropists, curiously betrayed the Socialists and reconciled the Imperialists and Captains of Industry to any amount of "Democracy." It is this paradox that allows in America the most rapid advance of Democracy to go hand in hand in its very centers with increased aristocracy and hatred toward darker races, and excuses and defends an inhumanity which does not shrink from the public burning of human beings.

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Yet the paradox is easily explained: the white workingman has been asked to share the spoil of exploiting "chinks and niggers." It is no longer simply the merchant prince, or the aristocratic monopoly or even the employing class that is exploiting the world: it is the nation; a new democratic nation composed of united capital and labor. The laborers are not yet getting, to be sure, as large a share as they want or will get and there are still at the bottom excluded classes. But the laborers' equity is recognized and his just share is a matter of time, intelligence and skillful negotiation.

Such nations it is that rule the modern world. Their national bond is no mere sentimental patriotism, loyalty or ancestor worship. It is increased wealth, power and luxury for all classes on a scale the world never saw before. Never before was the average citizen of England, France and Germany so rich, with such splendid prospects of greater riches.

Whence comes this new wealth and on what does its accumulation depend? It comes primarily from the darker nations of the world - Asia and Africa, South and Central America, the West Indies and the islands of the South Seas. There are still, we may well believe, many parts of white countries like Russia and North America, not to mention Europe itself, where the older exploitation still holds. But the knell has sounded faint and far, even there. In the lands of darker folk, however, no

knell has sounded. Chinese, East Indians, Negroes and South American Indians are by common consent for governance by white folk and economic subjection to them. To the furtherance of this highly profitable economic dictum has been brought every available resource of science and religion. Thus arises the astonishing doctrine of the natural inferiority of most men to the few, and the interpretation of "Christian brotherhood" as meaning anything that one of the "brothers" may at any time want it to mean.

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Like all world schemes, however, this one is not quite complete. First of all yellow Japan has apparently escaped the cordon of this color bar. This is disconcerting and dangerous to white hegemony. If, of course, Japan would join heart and soul with the whites against the rest of the yellows, browns and blacks, well and good. There are even good-natured attempts to prove the Japanese "Aryan" provided they act "white." But blood is thick, and there are signs that Japan does not dream of a world governed mainly by white men. This is the "Yellow Peril" and it may be necessary, as the German Emperor and many white Americans think, to start a world crusade against this presumptuous nation that demands "white" treatment.

Then, too, the Chinese have recently shown unexpected signs of independence and autonomy which may possibly make it necessary to take them into account a few decades hence. As a result, the problem in Asia has resolved itself into a races for "spheres" of economic "influence" each permeated by a more or less "open" door for business opportunity. This reduces the danger of open clash between European nations and gives the yellow folk such chance for desperate unarmed resistance as was shown by China's repulse of the Six Nations of Bankers.

There is still hope among some whites that conservative North China and the radical South may come to blows and allow actual white dominion

On thing, however, is certain: Africa is prostrate. There at least are few signs of self-consciousness that need at present be heeded. To be sure, Abyssinia must be wheedled, and in America and the West Indies Negroes have attempted futile steps toward freedom; but such steps have been pretty effectually stopped. (save through the breech of "miscegenation") although the ten million Negroes in the United States need to many men's minds careful watching and ruthless repression.

Thus the white European mind has worked, and worked the more feverishly because Africa is the Land of the Twentieth Century. The world knows something of the gold and diamonds of South Africa, the cocoa of Angola and Nigeria, the rubber and ivory of Congo and the palm oil of the West Coast. But does the ordinary citizen realize the extraordinary economic advances of Africa and, too, of black Africa in recent years? E. T. Morel, who knows his Africa better than most white men, has shown us how the export of palm oil from West Africa has grown from 283 tons in 1800 to 80,000 tons last year, which together with by-products are worth to-day 60 millions of dollars annually. He shows how native Gold Coast labor, unsupervised, has come to head the cocoa-producing countries of the world with an export of 89 million pounds annually. He shows how the cotton crop of Uganda has risen from 3,000 bales in 1909 to 50,000 bales this year; and he says that France and Belgium are no more remarkable in the cultivation of their land than the Negro province of Kano. The trade of Abyssinia amounts to about 10 millions a year, but it is its infinite possibilities of growth that is making the nations crowd to Adis Abeba. All these things are but beginnings; "but tropical Africa and its peoples are being brought more irrevocably each year into the vortex of the economic influences that sway the western world." There can be no doubt of the economic possibilities of Africa in the near future. There are not only the well-known and traditional products, but boundless chances in a hundred

different directions, and above all, there is a throng of human beings who, could they once be reduced to the docility and steadiness of Chinese coolies or of seventeenth and eighteenth century European laborers, the spoil for their masters would exceed the gold haunted dreams of the most modern of Imperialists.

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This, then, is the real secret of that desperate struggle for Africa which began in 1877 and is now culminating. Economic dominion outside Africa has, of course, played its part and we were on the verge of the partition of Asia when Asiatic shrewdness warded it off. America was saved from direct political dominion by the Monroe Doctrine. Thus, more and more, the Imperialists have concentrated on Africa.

The greater the concentration the more deadly the rivalry. From Fashoda to Agadir, repeatedly the spark has been applied to the European magazine and a general conflagration narrowly averted. We speak of the Balkans as the storm center of Europe and cause of war, but this is mere habit. The Balkans are convenient for occasions, but the ownership of materials and men in the darker world is the real prize that is setting the nations of Europe at each others throats to-day.

The present world war is, then, the result of jealousies engendered by the recent rise of armed national associations of labor and capital whose aim is the exploitation of the wealth of the world mainly outside the European circle of nations. These associations grown jealous and suspicious at the division of the spoils of trade empire are fighting to enlarge their respective shares; they look for expansion not in Europe but in Asia and particularly in Africa. "We want no inch of French territory," said Germany to England, but Germany was "unable to give" similar assurances as to France in Africa.

The difficulties of this imperial movement are internal as well as external. Successful aggression in economic expansion calls for a close union

between capital and labor at home. Now the rising demands of the white laborer not simply in wages but in conditions of work and a voice in the conduct of industry, make industrial peace difficult. The workingmen have been appeased by all sorts of essays in state socialism, on the one hand, and on the other hand by public threats of competition by colored labor. By threatening to send English capital to China and Mexico, by threatening to hire Negro laborers in America, as well as by old age pensions and accident insurance, we gain industrial peace at home at the mightier cost of war abroad.

In addition to these national war-engendering jealousies there is a subtler movement arising from the attempt to unite labor and capital in world-wide free-booting. Democracy in economic organization while an acknowledged ideal is to-day working itself out by admitting to a share in the spoils of capital only the aristocracy of labor - the more intelligent and shrewder and cannier workingmen. The ignorant, unskilled and restless still form a large threatening and to a growing extent a revolutionary group in culture lands.

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The resultant jealousies and bitter hatreds tend continually to fester along the color line. We must fight the Chinese, the laborer argues, or the Chinese will take our bread and butter. We must keep Negroes in their places or Negroes will take our jobs. All over the world there leaps to articulate speech and ready action that singular assumption that if white men do not throttle colored men then China, India and Africa will do to Europe what Europe has done and seeks to do to them.

On the other hand, in the minds of yellow, brown and black men the brutal truth is clearing: a white man is privileged to go to any land where advantage beckons and behave as he pleases; the black or colored man is being more and more confined to those parts of the world where life for climatic, historical, economic and political reasons is most difficult to

live and most easily dominated by Europe for Europe's gain.

What, then, are we to do who desire peace and the civilization of all men? Hitherto the Peace movement has confined itself chiefly to figures about the cost of war and platitudes on Humanity. What do nations care about the cost of war, if by spending a gew hundred millions in steel and gunpowder they can gain a thousand millions in diamonds and cocoa? How can love of Humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who, especially in recent years, have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman? I appealed to the last meeting of Peace Societies in St. Louis saying, "Should you not discuss Racial prejudice as a prime cause of war?" The secretary was sorry but was unwilling to introduce controversial matters!

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We, then, who want Peace, must remove the real causes of war. We have extended gradually our conception of Democracy beyond our social class to all social classes in our nation; we have gone further and extended our democratic ideals not simply to all classes of our own nation, but to those of other nations of our blood and lineage - to what we call "European" civilization. If we want real peace and lasting culture, however, we must go further. We must extend the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown and black peoples.

To say this is to evoke on the faces of modern men a look of blank hopelessness. Impossible! we are told, and for so many reasons, scientific, social amd what not, that argument is useless. But let us not conclude too quickly. Suppose we have to choose between this unspeakably inhuman outrage on decency and intelligence and religion which we call the World War and the attempt to treat black men as humam sentient responsible beings? We have sold them as cattle. We are working them as beasts of burden. We shall not drive War from this world until we treat them as free and equal citizens in a world democracy of all races and nations. Impossible?

Democracy is a method of doing the impossible. It is the only method yet discovered of making education and development of all men a matter of all men's desperate desire. It is putting firearms in the hands of a child with the object of compelling the child's neighbors to teach him not only the real and legitimate uses of a dangerous tool but the uses of himself in all things. Are there other and less costly ways of accomplishing this? There may be in some better world. But for a world just emerging from the rough chains of an almost universal poverty, and faced by the temptation of luxury and indulgence through the enslaving of defenseless men, there is but one adequate method of salvation; the giving of democratic weapons of self-defense to the defenseless.

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Nor need we quibble over those ideas - wealth, education and political power - soil which we have so forested with claim and counter-claim that we see nothing for the woods.

What the primitive peoples of Africa and the world need and must have if war is to be abolished is perfectly clear:

First: Land. To-day Africa is being enslaved by the theft of her land and natural resources. A century ago black men owned all but a morsel of South Africa. The Dutch and English came and to-day 1,250,000 whites own 264 million acres, leaving only 21 million acres for 4,500,000 natives. Finally, to make assurance doubly sure the Union of South Africa has refused natives even the right to <u>buy</u> land. This is a deliberate attempt to force the Negroes to work on farms and in mines and kitchen for low wages. All over Africa has gone this shameless monopolizing of land and natural resources to force poverty on the masses and reduce them to the "dumb-driven cattle" stage of labor activity.

We must train native races in modern civilization. This can be done. Modern methods of educating children, honestly and effectively applied, could make modern, civilized nations out of the vast majority of human beings on earth to-day. This we have seldom tried. For the most part Europe is

straining every nerve to make over yellow, brown and black men into docile beasts of burden and only an irrepressible few are allowed to escape and seek (usually abroad) the education of modern men.

Finally, the principle of Home Rule must extend to groups, nations and races. The ruling of one people for another peoples' whim or gain must stop. This kind of despotism has been in later days more and more skillfully disguised. But the brute fact remains: the white man is ruling black Africa for the white man's gain and just as far as possible he is doing the same to colored races elsewhere. Can such a situation bring peace? Will any amount of European concord or disarmament settle this injustice?

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Political power to-day is but the weapon to force economic power. Tomorrow, it may give us spiritual vision and artistic sensibility. To-day, it gives us or tries to give us bread and butter and these classes or nations or races who are without it starve, and starvation is the weapon of the white world to reduce them to slavery.

We are calling for European concord to-day; but at the utmost European concord will mean satisfaction with or acquiesence in a given division of the spoils of world dominion. After all, European disarmament cannot go below the necessity of defending the aggressions of the whites against the blacks and browns and yellows. From this will arise three perpetual dangers of war: renewed jealousy at any agreed upon division of colonies or spheres of influence if at any future time the present division comes to seem unfair. Who cared for Africa in the early nineteenth century? Let England have the scraps left from the golden feast of the slave trade. But in the twentieth century? The end was war. These scraps looked too tempting to Germany.

Secondly: war will come from the revolutionary revolt of the lowest workers. The greater the international jealousies, the greater the cor-

responding costs of armament and the more difficult to fulfill the promises of industrial democracy in culture lands.

Finally, the colored peoples will not always submit passively to foreign domination. To some this is a lightly tossed truism. When a people deserve liberty they fight for it and get it, say such philosophers; thus making War a regular, necessary step to liberty. Colored people know this complacent judgment. They endure the contemptuous treatment meted out by whites to those who are not "strong" enough to be free. These nations and races, composing as they do a vast majority of humanity, are going to endure this treatment just as long as they must and not a moment longer. Then they are going to fight and the War of the Color Line will out do in savage inhumanity any war this world has yet seen. For colored folk have much to remember and they will not forget.

But is this inevitable? Must we sit helpless before this awful prospect? While we are planning as a result of the present holocaust, the disarmament of Europe and a European international world police, must the rest of the world be left naked to the inevitable horror of war, especially when we know that it is directly in this outer circle of races, and not in the inner European household, that the real causes of present European fighting are to be found?

Our duty is clear. Racial slander must go. Racial prejudice will follow. Steadfast faith in humanity must come. The domination of one people by another without the others consent, be the subject people black or white, must stop. The doctrine of forcible economic expansion over subject peoples must go. Religious hypocrisy must stop. "Bloodthirsty" Mwanga of Uganda killed an English bishop because he feared that his coming meant English domination. It did mean English domination and the world and the bishop knew it, and yet the world was "horrified!" Such missionary hypocrisy must go. With clean hands and honest hearts we

must front high Heaven and beg Peace in our time.

In this great work who can help us? In the orient, the awakened Japanese and the awakening leaders of New China; in India and Egypt the young men trained in Europe and European ideals who now form the stuff that Revolution is born of. But in Africa? Who better than the twenty-five million grandchildren of the European slave trade, spread through the Americas and now writhing desperately for freedom and a place in the world? And of these millions first of all the ten million black folk of the United States now a problem, then a World Salvation.

Twenty centuries before the Christ a great cloud swept over sea and settled on Africa, darkening and well nigh blotting out the culture of the land of Egypt. For half a thousand years it rested there until a black woman, Queen Nefertari, "the most venerated figure in Egyptian history" rose to the throne of the Pharoahs and redeemed the world and her people. Twenty centuries after Christ, black Africa, prostrate, raped and shamed, lies at the feet of the conquering Philistines of Europe. Beyond the awful sea a black woman is weeping and waiting with her sons on her breast. What shall the end be? The world-old and fearful things, War and Wealth, Murder and Luxury? Or shall it be a New Thing - a New Peace and New Democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men? "Semper novi quid ex Africa!"

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[1915]

THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

'Semper novi quid ex Africa,' cried the Roman proconsul; and he voiced the verdict of forty centuries. Yet there are those who would write world-history and leave out this most marvelous of continents. Particularly today most men assume that Africa lies far afield from the centres of our buring social problems, and especially from our present problem of World War.

Yet in a very real sense Africa is a prime cause of this terrible overturning of civilization which we have lived to see; and these words seek to show how in the Dark Continent are hidden the roots, not simply of war today but of the menance of wars tomorrow.

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Always Africa is giving us something new or some metempsychosis of a world-old thing. On its black bosom arose one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of self-protecting civilizations, and grew so mightily that it still furnishes superlatives to thinking and speaking men. Out of its darker and more remote forest fastnesses, came, if we may credit many recent scientists, the first welding of iron, and we know that agriculture and trade flourished there when Europe was a wilderness.

Nearly every human empire that has arisen in the world, material and spiritual, has found some of its greatest crises on this continent of Africa, from Greece to Great Britain. As Mommsen says, "It was through Africa that Christianity became the religion of the world." In Africa the last flood of Germanic invasions spent itself within hearing of the last gasp of Byzantium, and it was again through Africa that Islam came to play its great role of conqueror and civilizer.

With the Ren aissance and the widened world of modern thought, Africa came no less suddenly with her new old gift. Shakespeare's Ancient Pistol cries,—

'A foutre for the world, and worldings base!
I speak of Africa, and golden joys.'

He echoes a legend of gold from the days of Punt and Ophir to those of Ghana, the Gold Coast, and the Rand. This thought had sent the world's greed scurrying down the hot, mysterious coasts of Africa to the Good Hope of gain, until for the first time a real world-commerce was born, albeit it started as a commerce mainly in the bodies and souls of men.

So much for the past; and now, to day: the Berlin Conference to apportion the rising riches of Africa among the white peoples met on the fifteenth day of November, 1884. Eleven days earlier, three Germans left Zanzibar (whither they had gone secretly disguised as mechanics), and before the Berlin Conference had finished its deliberations they had annexed to Germany an area over half as large again as the whole Germany Empire in Europe. Only in its dramatic suddenness was this undisguised robbery of the land of seven million natives different from the methods by which Great Britain and France got four million square miles each, Portugal three quarters of a million, and Italy and Spain smaller but substantial areas.

The methods by which this continent has been stolen have been contemptible and dishonest beyond expression. Lying treaties, rivers of rum, murder, assassination, mutilation, rape, and torture have marked the progress of Englishman, German, Frenchman, and Belgian on the dark continent. The only way in which the world has been able to endure the horrible tale is by deliberately stopping its ears and changing the subject of conversation while the deviltry went on.

It all began, singularly enough, like the present war, with Belgium. Many of us remember Stanley's great solution of the puzzle of Central Africa when he traced the mighty Congo sixteen hundred miles from Nyangwe to the sea. Suddenly the world knew that here lay the key to the riches of Central Africa. It stirred uneasily, but Leopold

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of Belgium was first on his feet, and the result was the Congo Free State—God save the mark'. But the Congo Free State, with all its magniloquent heralding of Peace, Christianity, and Commerce, degenerating into murder, mutilation and downright robbery, differed only in degree and concentration from the tale of all Africa in this rape of a continent already furiously mangled by the slave trade. That sinister traffic, on which the British Empire and the American Republic were largely built, cost black Africa no less than 100,000,000 souls, the wreckage of its political and social life, and left the continent in precisely that state of helplessness which invites aggression and exploitation. 'Color' became in the world's thought synonymous with inferiority, 'Negro' lost its capitalization, and Africa was another name for bestiality and barbarism.

Thus the world began to invest in color prejudice. The 'Color Line' began to pay dividends. For indeed, while the exploration of the valley of the Congo was the occasion of the scramble for Africa, the cause lay deeper. The Franco-Prussian War turned the eyes of those who sought power and dominion away from Europe. Already England was in Africa, cleaning away the debris of the slave trade and half consciously groping toward the new Imperialism. France, humiliated and impoverished, looked toward a new northern African empire sweeping from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. More slowly Germany began to see the dawning of a new day, and, shut out from America by the Monroe Doctrine, looked to Asia and Africa for colonies. Portugal sought anew to make good her claim to her ancient African realm; and thus a continent where Europe claimed but a tenth of the land in 1875, was in twenty-five more years practically absorbed.

Why was this? What was the new call for dominion? It must have been strong, for consider a moment the desperate flames of war that have shot up in Africa in the last quarter of a century: France and England at Fashoda, Italy at Adua, Italy and Turkey in Tripoli,

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England and Portugal at Delagoa Bay, England, Germany, and the Dutch in South Africa, France and Spain in Morocco, Germany and France in Agadir, and the world at Algeciras.

The answer to this riddle we shall find in the economic changes in Europe. Remember what the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have meant to organized industry in European civilization. Slowly the divine right of the few to determine economic income and distribute the goods and services of the world has been questioned and curtailed. We called the process Revolution in the eighteenth century, advance-Democracy in the nineteenth, and Socialization of Wealth in the twentieth. But whatever we call it, the movement is the same: the dipping of more and grimier hands into the wealth-bag of the nation, until today only the ultra stubborn fail to see that democracy in determining income is the next inevitable step to Democracy in political power.

With the waning of the possibility of the Big Fortune, gathered by starvation wage and boundless exploitation of one's weaker and poorer fellows at home, arose more magnificently the dream of exploitation abroad. Always, of course, the individual merchant had at his own risk and in his own way tapped the riches of foreign lands. Later, special trading monopolies had entered the field and founded empires overseas. Soon, however, the mass of merchants at home demanded a share in this golden stream; and finally, in the twentieth century, the laborer at home is demanding and beginning to receive a part of his share.

The theory of this new democratic despotism has not been clearly formulated. Most philosophers see the ship of state launched on the broad, irresistible tide of democracy, with only delaying eddies here and here; others, looking closer, are more disturbed. Are we, they ask, reverting to aristocracy and despotism—the rule of might? They cry out and then rub their eyes, for surely they cannot fail to see

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strengthening democracy all about them?

It is this paradox which has confounded philanthropists, curiously betrayed the Socialists, and reconciled the Imperialists and captains of industry to any amount of 'Democracy'. It is this paradox which allows in America the most rapid advance of democracy to go hand in hand in its very centres with increased aristocracy and hatred toward darker races, and which excuses and defends an inhumanity that does not shrink from the public burning of human beings.

Yet the paradox is easily explained: the white workingman has been asked to share the spoil of exploiting 'chinks and niggers'. It is no longer simply the merchant prince, or the aristocratic monopoly, or even the employing class, that is exploiting the world: it is the nation; a new democratic nation composed of united capital and labor. The laborers are not yet getting, to be sure, as large a share as they want or will get, and there are still at the bottom large and restless excluded classes. But the laborer's equity is recognized, and his just share is a matter of time, intelligence, and skillful negotiation.

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Such nations it is that rule the modern world. Their national bond is no mere sentimental patrotism, loyalty, or ancestor-worship. It is increased wealth, power, and luxury for all classes on a scale the world never saw before. Never before was the average citizen of England, France, and Germany so rich, with such splendid prospects of greater riches.

Whence comes this new wealth and on what does its accumulation depend? It comes primarily from the darker nations of the world—Asia and Africa, South and Central America, the West Indies and the islands of the South Seas. There are still, we may well believe, many parts of white countries like Russia and North America, not to mention Europe itself, where the older exploitation still holds. But the knell has sounded faint and far, even there. In the lands of darker folk, however,

no knell has sounded. Chinese, East Indians, Negroes, and South American Indians are by common consent for governance by white folk and economic subjection to them. To the furtherance of this highly profitable economic dictum has been brought every available resource of science and religion. Thus arises the astonishing doctrine of the natural inferiority of most men to the few, and the interpretation of 'Christian brotherhood' as meaning anything that one of the 'brothers' may at any time want it to mean.

Like all world-schemes, however, this one is not quite complete. First of all, yellow Japan has apparently escaped the cordon of this color bar. This is disconcerting and dangerous to white hegemony. If, of course, Japan would join heart and soul with the whites against the rest of the yellows, browns, and blacks, well and good. There are even good-natured attempts to prove the Japanese 'Aryan', provided they act 'white'. But blood is thick, and there are signs that Japan does not dream of a world governed mainly by white men. This is the 'Yellow Peril', and it may be necessary, as the German Emperor and many white Americans think, to start a world-crusade against this presumptuous nation which demands 'white' treatment.

Then, too, the Chinese have recently shown unexpected signs of independence and autonomy, which may possibly make it necessary to take them into account a few decades hence. As a result, the problem in Asia has resolved itself into a race for 'sphores' of economic 'influence', each provided with a more or less 'open door' for business opportunity. This reduces the danger of open clash between European nations, and gives the yellow folk such chance for desperate unarmed resistance as was shown by China's repulse of the Six Nations of Bankers. There is still hope among some whites that conservative North China and the radical South may in time come to blows and allow actual white dominion.

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One thing, however, is certain: Africa is prostrate. There at least are few signs of self-consciousness that need at present be heeded. To be sure, Abyssinia must be wheedled, and in America and the West Indies Negroes have attempted futile steps toward freedom; but such steps have been pretty effectually stopped (save through the breech of 'miscegenation'), although the ten million Negroes in the United States need, to many men's minds, careful watching and ruthless repression.

Thus the white European mind has worked and worked the more feverishly because Africa is the Land of the Twentieth Century. The world knows something of the gold and diamonds of South Africa, the cocoa of Angola and Nigeria, the rubber and ivory of the Congo, and the palm oil of the West Coast. But does the ordinary citizen realize the extraordinary economic advances of Africa and, too, of black Africa, in recent years? E. T. Morel, who knows his Africa better than most white men, has shown us how the export of palm oil from West Africa has grown from 283 tons in 1800, to 80,000 tons in 1913, which together with by-products is worth today $60,000,000 annually. He shows how native Gold Coast labor, unsupervised, has come to head the cocoa-producing countries of the world with an export of 89,000,000 pounds (weight not money) annually. He shows how the cotton crop of Uganda has risen from 3,000 bales in 1909 to 50,000 bales in 1914; and he says that France and Belgium are no more remarkable in the cultivation of their land than the Negro province of Kano. The trade of Abyssinia amounts to only $10,000,000 a year, but it is its infinite possibility of growth that is making the nations crowd to Adis Abeba. All these things are but beginnings; but tropical Africa and its peoples are being brought more irrevocably each year into the vortex of the economic influences that sway the western world.' There can be no doubt of the economic possibilities of Africa in the near future. There are not only the well-known and tradiational products, but boundless chances

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in a hundred different directions, and above all, there is a throng of human beings who, could they once be reduced to the docility and steadiness of Chinese coolies or of seventeenth and eighteenth century European laborers, would furnish to their masters a spoil exceeding the gold-haunted dreams of the most modern of Imperialists.

This, then, is the real secret of that desperate struggle for Africa which began in 1877 and is now culminating. Economic dominion outside Africa has, of course, played its part, and we were on the verge of the partition of Asia when Asiatic shrewdness warded it off. American was saved from direct political dominion by the Monroe Doctrine. Thus, more and more, the Imperialists have concentrated on Africa.

The greater the concentration the more deadly the rivalry. From Fashoda to Agadir, repeatedly the spark has been applied to the European magazine and a general conflagration narrowly averted. We speak of the Balkans as the storm-centre of Europe and the cause of war, but this is mere habit. The Balkans are convenient for occasions, but the ownership of materials and men in the darker world is the real prize that is setting the nations of Europe at each other's throats today.

The present world war is, then, the result of jealousies engendered by the recent rise of armed national associations of labor and capital whose aim is the exploitation of the wealth of the world mainly outside the European circle of nations. These associations, grown jealous and suspicious at the division of the spoils of trade-empire, are fighting to enlarge their respective shares; they look for expansion, not in Europe but in Asia, and particularly in Africa. 'We want no inch of French territory,' said Germany to England, but Germany was 'unable to give' similar assurances as to France in Africa.

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The difficulties of this imperial movement are internal as well as external. Successful aggression in economic expansion calls for a close union between capital and labor at home. Now the rising demands of the white laborer, not simply for wages but for conditions of work and a voice in the conduct of industry, make industrial peace difficult. The workingmen have been appeased by all sorts of essays in state socialism, on the one hand, and on the other hand by public threats of competition by colored labor. By threatening to send English capital to China and Mexico, by threatening to hire Negro laborers in America, as well as by old-age pensions and accident insurance, we gain industrial peace at home at the mightier cost of war abroad.

In addition to these national war-engendering jealousies there is a more subtle movement arising from the attempt to unite labor and capital in world-wide freebooting. Democracy in economic organization, while an acknowledged ideal, is today working itself out by admitting to a share in the spoils of capital only the aristocracy of labor — the more intelligent and shrewder and cannier workingmen. The ignorant, unskilled, and restless still form a large threatening, and, to a growing extent, revolutionary group in advanced countries.

The resultant jealousies and bitter hatreds tend continually to fester along the color line. We must fight the Chinese, the laborer argues, or the Chinese will take our bread and butter. We must keep Negroes in their places, or Negroes will take our jobs. All over the world there leaps to articulate speech and ready action that singular assumption that if white men do not throttle colored men, then China, India, and Africa will do to Europe what Europe has done and seeks to do to them.

On the other hand, in the minds of yellow, brown, and black men the brutal truth is clearing: a white man is privileged to go to any land where advantage beckons and behave as he pleases; the black or

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colored man is being more and more confined to those parts of the world where life for climatic, historical, economic, and political reasons is most difficult to live and most easily dominated by Europe for Europe's gain.

What, then, are we to do, who desire peace and the civilization of all men? Hitherto the peace movement has confined itself chiefly to figures about the cost of war and platitudes on humanity. What do nations care about the cost of war, if by spending a few hundred millions in steel and gunpowder they can gain a thousand millions in diamonds and cocoa? How can love of humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who, especially in recent years, have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman? I appealed to the last meeting of peace societies in St. Louis, saying, 'Should you not discuss racial prejudice as a prime cause of war?' The Secretary was sorry but was unwilling to introduce controversial matters!

We, then, who want peace, must remove the real causes of war. We have extended gradually our conception of democracy beyond our social class to all social classes in our nation; we have gone further and extended our democratic ideals not simply to all classes of our own nation, but to those of other nations of our blood and lineage—to what we call 'European' civilization. If we want real peace and lasting culture, however, we must go further. We must extend the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown, and black peoples.

To say this, is to evoke on the faces of modern men a look of blank hopelessness. Impossible! we are told, and for so many reasons, —scientific, social, and what not,—that argument is useless. But let us not conclude too quickly. Suppose we have to choose between this unspeakably inhuman outrage on decency and intelligence and religion which we call the World War and the attempt to treat black men as

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human, sentient, responsible beings? We have sold them as cattle. We are working them as beasts of burden. We shall not drive war from this world until we treat them as free and equal citizens in a world-democracy of all races and nations. Impossible? Democracy is a method of doing the impossible. It is the only method yet discovered of making the education and development of all men a matter of all men's desperate desire. It is putting firearms in the hands of a child with the object of compelling the child's neighbors to teach him, not only the real and legitimate uses of a dangerous tool but the uses of himself in all things. Are there other and less costly ways of accomplishing this? There may be in some better world. But for a world just emerging from the rough chains of an almost universal poverty, and faced by the temptation of luxury and indulgence through the enslaving of defenseless men, there is but one adequate method of salvation—the giving of democratic weapons of self-defense to the defenseless.

Nor need we quibble over those ideas,—wealth, education, and political power,—soil which we have so forested with claims and counter-claim that we see nothing for the woods.

What the primitive peoples of Africa and the world need and must have if war is to be abolished is perfectly clear;—

First: land. Today Africa is being enslaved by the theft of her hand and natural resources. A century ago black men owned all but a morsel of South Africa. The Dutch and English came, and today 1,250,000 whites own 264,000,000 acres, leaving only 21,000,000 acres for 4,500,000 natives. Finally, to make assurance doubly sure, the Union of South Africa has refused natives even the right to buy land. This is a deliberate attempt to force the Negroes to work on farms and in mines and kitchens for low wages. All over Africa has gone this shameless monopolizing of land and natural resources to force poverty on the masses and reduce them to the 'dumb-driven

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-cattle' stage of labor activity.

Secondly: we must train native races in modern civilization. This can be done. Modern methods of educating children, hoestly and effectively applied, would make modern, civilized nations out of the vast majority of human beings on earth today. This we have seldom tried. For the most part Europe is straining every nerve to make over yellow, brown, and black men into docile beasts of burden, and only an irrespressible few are allowed to escape and seek (usually abroad) the education of modern men.

Lastly, the principle of home rule must extend to groups, nations, and races. The ruling of one people for another people's whim or gain must stop. This kind of despotism has been in latter days more and more skillfully disguised. But the brute fact remains: the white man is ruling black Africa for the white man's gain, and just as far as possible he is doing the same to colored races elsewhere. Can such a situation bring peace? Will any amount of European concord or disarmament settle this injustice?

Political power today is but the weapon to force economic power. Tomorrow, it may give us spiritual vision and artistic sensibility. Today, it gives us or tries to give us bread and butter, and those classes or nations or races who are without it starve, and starvation is the weapon of the white world to reduce them to slavery.

We are calling for European concord today; but at the utmost European concord will mean satisfaction with, or acquiescence in, a given division of the spoils of world-dominion. After all, European disarmament cannot go below the necessity of defending the aggressions of the whites against the blacks and browns and yellows. From this will arise three perpetual dangers of war. First, renewed jealousy at any division of colonies or spheres of influence agree upon, if at any future time the present division comes to seem unfair. Who cared for Africa

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in the early nineteenth century? Let England have the scraps left from the golden feast of the slave trade. But in the twentieth century? The end was war. These scraps looked too tempting to Germany. Secondly: war will come from the revolutionary revolt of the lowest workers. The greater the international jealousies, the greater the corresponding costs of armament and the more difficult to fulfill the promises of industrial democracy in advanced countries. Finally, the colored peoples will not always submit passively to foreign domination. To some this is a lightly tossed truism. When a people deserve liberty they fight for it and get it, say such philosophers; thus making war a regular, necessary step to liberty. Colored people are familiar with this complacent judgment. They endure the contemptuous treatment meted out by whites to those not 'strong' enough to be free. These nations and races, composing as they do a vast majority of humanity, are going to endure this treatment just as long as they must and not a moment longer. Then they are going to fight and the War of the Color Line will outdo in savage inhumanity any war this world has yet seen. For colored folk have much to remember and they will not forget.

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But is this inevitable? Must we sit helpless before this awful prospect? While we are planning, as a result of the present holocaust, the disarmament of Europe and a European international world-police, must the rest of the world be left naked to the inevitable horror of war, especially when we know that it is directly in this outer circle of races, and not in the inner European household, that the real causes of present European fighting are to be found?

Our duty is clear. Racial slander must go. Racial prejudice will follow. Steadfast faith in humanity must come. The domination of one people by another without the other's consent, be the subject people black or white, must stop. The doctrine of forcible economic

expansion over subject peoples must go. Religious hypocrisy must stop. 'Blood-thirsty' Mwanga of Uganda killed an English bishop because he feared that his coming meant English domination. It did mean English domination, and the world and the bishop knew it, and yet the world was 'horrified'! Such missionary hypocrisy must go. With clean hands and honest hearts we must front high Heaven and beg peace in our time.

In this great work who can help us? In the Orient, the awakened Japanese and the awakening leaders of New China; in India and Egypt, the young men trained in Europe and European ideals, who now form the stuff that Revolution is born of. But in Africa? Who better than the twenty-five million grandchildren of the European slave trade, spread through the Americas and now writhing desperately for freedom and a place in the world? And of these millions first of all the ten million black folk of the United States, now a problem, then a world-salvation.

Twenty centuries before the Christ a great cloud swept over sea and settled on Africa, darkening and well-nigh blotting out the culture of the land of Egypt. For half a thousand years it rested there until a black woman, Queen Nefertari, 'the most venerated figure in Egyptian history', rose to the throne of the Pharaohs and redeemed the world and her people. Twenty centuries after Christ, black Africa, prostrate, raped, and shamed, lies at the feet of the conquering Philistines of Europe. Beyond the awful sea a black woman is weeping and waiting with her sons on her breast. What shall the end be? The world-old and fearful things, War and Wealth, Murder and Luxury? Or shall it be a new thing—a new peace and new democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men? 'Semper novi quid ex Africa!'

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THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR.

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The modern man seldom thinks how often the crises of the world have centered in Africa. One, of course, easily remembers how the first great problem of settled self-protecting culture found its first answer in the valley of the Nile. Later it was in Africa that the on-rush of the Mohammedan hosts of Asia spent themselves and the invading armies of Teuton Europe made their last advance.

Later the problems of world commerce and the new dawn of our modern economic system centered around Africa in discovery and in trade, in gold and in slaves. To-day again, we are apt to forget that Africa is, in a sense, the prime cause of the present world war. The scramble for Africa which began with Stanley's explorations has culminated to fierce rivalry. If America was the child of the eighteenth century Africa is the child of the twentieth both before and after Christ. The twentieth century before Christ was the period of the Hyksos revolution, - the twentieth century after Christ is the period of economic revolution. When the white workingmen of Europe are pushing forward and gaining a larger and larger share in the results of African industry.

On the other hand, the white employers and employees combining together in national aggression can find in Africa chances for enormous exploitation of wealth. These chances are just being realized in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa, the cocoa of Nigeria, the rubber of Congo and the palm oil of the West coast.

Before the century is done the wealth of these African industries will be enormous. The present war is not really a frenzied striving on the part of jealous European empires to possess for themselves as large a share as possible in this exploitation. Of course, other elements and causes enter and other parts of the world are fixed

upon exploitation, but the program is limited in Asia by the rise of China and Japan and the writhing of India. It is limited in Mexico and South America by the Monroe Doctrine. In Africa and Europe it is its o

What then is the real cure for modern war? It is to make Africa self-realizing, self-limiting. The greatest agent for this is the Africa in America.

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Of the Culture of White Folk

We of the darker peoples are watching the White world now in mixed amaze. Among some of us I dare not say this sudden descent of Europe into Hell has brought unbounded surprise; to others over wide area it has brought the shadow [illegible] of the likely hunt. But most of us I judge look on silently in sober thought, seeing sadly the foolishness of our own souls

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There is a civilization that has boasted much that Neither Roman nor Arab, Greek nor Egyptian, Persian nor Mogul ever took himself and his own perfectness with such frightful seriousness as the modern White Man. We whose shame and humiliation and dark misery his own aggrandizement involved we never deceived. We looked at him clearly with world-old eyes and saw simply a human thing, weak and brutable and cruel, even as we are and were.

But these super-men and world-masters demi-gods listened to no low tongues of ours, even under the [illegible] hundred pounds of Men feet of clay. Persons & as men of [illegible] rather and more humanistic types have been almost stunk in the welter of recent years by the utter failure of White religion. We have called

our Lives in something like contempt as the inhuman
this gives apology and many explanations. Nothing
of the sort deserved. As Nations religion is its
life and as such White Christianity is a miserable
failure. There is not a single white nation
that treats other nations as it wishes to be treated
except it fears the other nations guns; there is
not a single dominate social class in a single
land that treats weaker poorer and more ignor-
ant classes as it would wish to be treated, ex-
cept when it fears the communistic revolt of some
~~slave~~ subjugated tribe. The number of White
individuals who are practicing the absolute de-
manding unselfishness & love of Christ which
Jesus Christ taught is so small and unimportant
as to have little weight in governments or
public opinion. They are usually laughed
out the columns of Life and Le Rire
Punch & Fliegende Blätter.

Rum & Cant

over →

Particularly have we seen the basis of that
curse of horror & baseness which governs so slavishly
among this leaders of culture that their day might
be called the Day of the Thief — and of the robber &
murderer the ~~the~~ would by They. God knows
that fighting & robbing are young & old as the world

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Thief
Robber
Liar
Murderer

Egypt
Greece
Rome
Asia
Europe

Nor are we unjust in this criticism: we know that we too have failed as you have & have rejected Buddha even as you have denied Christ. But we are dealing with you have claimed rather - humanity stopped entirely at our threshold. In a sense European civilization is optimized in her African missions solemnly she spends each year whether last year ~~$~~ millions for missions & needs also none. Peace & the dogma of Rome!

Frankly however this religion has always ~~taught a theoretical heaven for the most earthly of souls~~ for all men its devices, yet in common morality we think we see the same astonishing paradox. In brutal frankness history shows continually the mastery of murderer liar & thief as if Africa murdered & Asia lied Europe steals is the keynote of the Thief ~~& the tendency of~~

(over)

But men used to fight front forward & culture stone to make such fighting fair. To day we have seen machine guns against assegais, followed with mild applause as the ~~work~~ supremacy of white over black soldiers. I have at last in World War I Whites had come fighting under essentially equal conditions: Equally armed men, equally rich nations, equal resources. Then the horror of fighting mounts and pounds in our brains, We are sick of the reek of murder. We see the fatherless and the widowed, the maimed and the crazed and we shriek in futile sympathy

But what does the dark World say? It says: Yes, war is awful. But was it just getting awful? Is it only awful when white folk are killed. Behold Belgium and her fruitful Belgian. But has the world forgotten Congo? What Belgium now suffers is not the half, may not the tenth of what she has done to Black Congo, since Stanley's great Dream of 18— Damn the dark forests of central Africa called this new Sir Samuel.

& cries: ×

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× And what came of it all? XXXX In &c
Yet the fields of Belgium laughed, the cities were gay; art and science flourished; and the groans that deepened & mounted this cumberatum fell on deaf ears because the world round about was doing the very thing again.

The European world was very black men & brown for all the uses which men know. Slowly but surely white culture had evolved the theory that the "Darkies" were born beasts of burden for white folk. It was silly & cruel otherwise cried the culture-world with stronger and shriller accord. The ~~a~~ The ruddy ~~ruddy~~ arguments grew & twisted ~~themselves~~ idiotically in the intellects of ~~missionary~~ merchant, secretary, soldier, traveller and writer ad missionary. Darker peoples were dark in mind as well as body, of dark uncertain undefined descent, of frailer cheaper stuff; they were cowards in the face of reasons and maxims; they had no feelings as realities & loves; they were children fools, unlogical idiots, "half devil and half child"! Such as they

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were civilization must raise them and soberly and simply. They were not simply dark white men. They were not "men" in the sense the Europeans are men. To the very limited extent by them shallow capacities ~~were~~ list them to be useful & wanted; to raise cotton, gather rubber, fetch ivory, dig diamonds; and let them be paid what men like them would — white men like to be known them to be well-nigh worthless.

Such is the silent revolution that has guided modern European culture in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. To Zenith came in Boxer Times: While Germany was all but world mad: Africa was partitioned Japan isolated, India conquered, and China about to be carved, while the United States was getting her death grip real for "Mongrel" Mexico and United America & Lynching her own "Niggers".

Whence came this new philosophy of human culture and why? It was an old terribly old thing ~~grown~~ bigger and more human. It was the old theory that men are created to be used by older men for other ends

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The usurpation of men by men is old as mankind; and even those men classed & consecrated the cursed victims as different from the users, and basely different in truth & blood, strength & cunning, race & lineage. It has been left to Europe & to modern days & discover the eternal sacred mode mark of eternal brotherhood — color.

grade. Time was when one tyrant ~~thus~~ used a kingdom, or a clique a nation; but at last its settlers in Europe & the usury of the peasantry & laborers for the benefit of the middle rich. The dismantable human locust came & its meeting is what we call the Rise of "democracy" while its success is shown by the need and wider seeking after men to use.

In other words there can be small doubt but that the rise of the European middle has not only seriously cut the income of dominant classes; but immediately brings in sight a new grasp before unthought of luxury & comfort; but also that larger and larger numbers of these classes lacked the joys of indulged wealth already. Accordingly their slowly but ever more widely the ~~continually~~ growing hand of the laboring classes with its dream of hospitals. It realizes the coming of the beginning of equalization in the income of the various classes of the industrial forces; it recognizes that the time has come when immoderate industrial income is undivided with waste workers & even large income is threatened with the menace of the middle rich

46-33-70

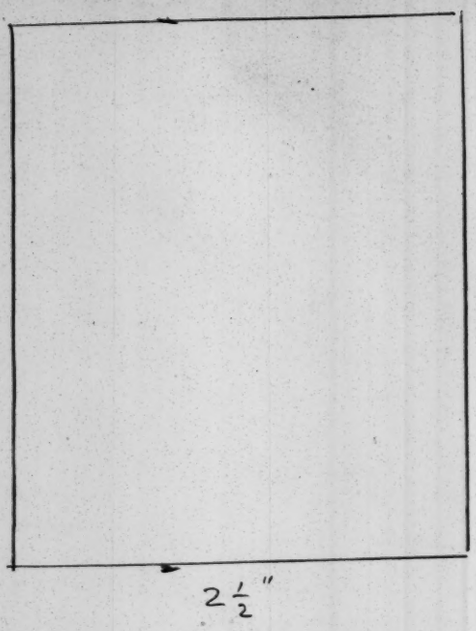
What has "modern" democracy meant? Not
democracy but the admission of larger numbers
& the needs of rich & well to do. Consequently a larger
demand for people to be used with a smaller
supply in spite of those helpless enough to be thoroughly
exploited

over

all this of which wonders but wholes of black
Where the golden hand beckons; there are
no labor unions or votes or quackonomy
orthodoxies or unemployment consciences.
Where men may be used down to the
bone & shot & maimed in "peacetime"
explorations when they resist! in these dark lands "industrial
development" may repeat in exaggerated
form every horror of the industrial history
of Europe from slavery & rape to
disease & maiming with only one
key success: dividends.

This story of human cultures & its
arms has worked itself through many
of our daily thoughts & even a thorough
review has been revelation. Everything great
good opulent fair & honorable is white
Everything blunder mean bad & slanderous
cheating evil dishonorable is yellow brown
& black. The changes on this theme is
unbelievably
~~unbelievably~~ dreary in picture & story, or newspaper head-

49-33-71


3"
2 1/2"

& money business, in seminary and school book until, of course, the King can do not wrong — & white man is always right

When come the necessary disarrays and hatreds of these savage half men, these uncleaned canaille of the world these dregs of men. For the man of human hatred stands America — free America. She makes bonfires of human flesh and laughs at its hideousness. She made the mauling of millions more than of mutton dislike — it devours a great Religion, a world war cry Uh White Down Black. To your tents O white Folk & world war with black & dark-colored mongrel beasts! All through the world this gospel is preached; it has its leaders its books it has its secret propaganda & about all — it pays.

Where is the rub? It pays. Rubber, wool, & palm oil; tea coffee & cocoa, bananas oranges & other fruit, cotton, gold & copper — they & a hundred other things which

49-83-72

(1)

Negro Capitalists Entrepreneurs.

Laundries 149 + 44 = 193

Saloon keepers 636 + 16 = 652

Billiard & Pool rooms 866 + 9 = 875

Boarding & lodging house keepers ~~418~~ 9183 — 10,601

Bowling alleys, dancehall &c keepers 60 + 76 = 136

Hotel keepers & managers 620 + 353 = 973

Restaurant keepers 3635 + 2734 = 6369

K. of Pleasure Resorts race tracks &c 54

Theatrical owners mngrs & appmd 93

Photographers 363 + 41 = 404

— grain elevators 4

— ware houses 13

— misc. Accumulators 2

— undertakers 907 + 46 = 953

dark & sweating bodies hard at it. The white world pays & pays well, but of all that wealth the black world gets only the dollars that the white world throws it.

Small wonder then in the whole world of Pharaohs - Czars. &c. there is jealousy and strife for the possession of the labor of dark millions — for the right to bleed & exploit the colonies of the world where this golden cheese may be had, not alone for the asking but surely for the whipping & shooting.

It is this conception of the labor of yellow brown and black folk that is at the base of the present World war.

Other causes have been glibly given and other causes there are but they are all subsidiary to this, all subordinate to this vast Quest of the dark worlds wealth & toil.

46-33-73

Colonies we call them, these places where "diggers" are cheap & earth is rich; they are the out-lands where like a swamp of dumping grounds white wastrels may settle & be served as kings and shield the lash of slave drivers and grow rich as Croesus. They delve the earth & these places but they cluster in the towns with its darkened peoples These are the places, in Hong Kong & Siam, in Borneo and ~~Burma~~ Rhodesia, in Jamaica ~~and~~ ~~Kowloon~~ in Panama, ~~in Jamaica~~ & ~~Greenland~~ — these are the El Dorados toward which the world pioneers shelter their palms.

Germany, receive on land forced across the seas & saw England with these sources of wealth which turned it from a dingy & sooty town which ~~Berlin~~ New Germany could rise & rival by the slower processes of exploiting her own peasants and workingmen, especially with these workers half in mind. Immediately Germany invades her colony and enters into a desperate competition for possession of colonies of darker peoples. ~~Now~~ South America ~~is~~ ~~China~~ & Africa & Asia must she turned like a horned queen on the

49-33-74

leader, inspiration, suspicions, with blood shot eyes & drooping cheeks, ~~quarrelsome~~, ready for the awful word. England & France cannon watchfully above their bones grimly & wary and ~~gnawing~~ murderously would the finest of the dark world whetted their greedy appetites And there in the back ground shut out from the friendly & fame & Kingdoms of the Eastern Seas sit Russia & Austria snarly & snapping at each other at the East Mediterranean gate.

The fateful day came. It had & came The cause of war is declaration for war, & of all that Europe has done in a century there is nothing that has equally + engaged every thought & time & preparation for wholesale murder. The red day came when Italy leapt for the last day hence that hell from the heads of nations and in the fields of the kingdoms of the East Gate Austria crept one step nearer the Great Kingdom — one step all forward steadily for another. Then cried Russia "Who goes there?" Then answered Germany: It must be for conquest

49-33-75

of years: they answered the World: "It concerns us all". What concerns all? Not surely the death of Ferdinand the Warlike; not surely the old half forgotten revanche for Alsace-Lorraine, not even the neutrality of Belgium.

No! but the possession of lands overseas; the right to colonies; the chance to levy endless tribute on the darker world: on coolies in China, on starving peasants of India, on black savages of Africa, on dying island races, on Indians of the American — all this and nothing more.

Even the hovels next on which we had erected high notes of Eternal Peace — the guild of the laborers flew like a chaff before the breath of King & Kaiser. Indeed the Army had been for a decade or more in Germany & America the International Socialist had all but read yellow & black men and of the Kingdom of Brotherhood Justice. Suddenly had they been tricked but effectively: more they not boldly

4/9-33-76

13-
2

~~Must war at the door~~

Why must entrance on world markets depend so largely on "owning" colonies and dominating weaker countries? Why not freedom of world trade & open markets? Because this would be a fair deal & the Devil would eventually win; And with the Dog-in-the-manger theory of trade with the determination to seek worldwide profits and to exploit the weakest & the wisest there came the ~~world~~ new imperialism, the race to own the earth; where regions could not be owned by one dominant nation there came a policy of "Open Door" but the "Door" was open "To White People Only" As to the darkest & weakest people there was but one unanimity in Europe — that which sees Germany & the German colonial office calls the agreement with England & maintain with "Lebrige" in Africa, the doctrine of the Divine Right of White & Steal.

47-33-77

What is a decent Man must share in the
shilling's rise? High wages ~~wrought~~ in
the United States and England might be
the skillfully manipulated result of
slavery in Africa and bondage in Asia.

"Textile markets" is the ~~Heroin~~
cry. Can't have interrupted this river
of blood.

(Over)

~~often until they enter strong enough & close if by force to undertake.~~

"Thus the world market most madly & desperately sought today is the market where labor is cheapest & most helpless and profit most abundant. This labor is kept cheap & helpless because the white world despises "Darkies", & one has the temerity to suggest that these workingmen may walk the way of white workingmen & climb by wiles & self assertion & education to the rank of men, he is hounded out of court. They cannot do it & if they could the shall not, for they are the enemies of the white race & the whites shall rule forever & ever & ever. This hatred & disdain of human decency & human kindness & human simple wishes & ardent desires, hailed & encouraged dealings between European nations that they have fallen afoul of each other & are fighting day & day

4/5-33-78

caused hearts. Such is the Bread of human hatred.

But what of the darker world that watches? Most men belong to this world. Black Negro and Negroid, East Indian, Chinese and Japanese they form at least two thirds of the population of the world. A belief in humanity is a belief in colored men. If the uplift of mankind must be done by men then the destinies of this world must rest ultimately in the hands of darker nations.

What then is this dark world thinking? It is thinking: that cruel and awful as the shameful war is as nothing as compared to that fight for freedom which black & brown & yellow men will make unless they obtain release & salvation & unite at the hands of white tyrants. The dark world is going around the present treatment just as

49-33-9

long as it has to & not one moment more.

We stand as we see, daily through the rifts of battle smoke, & hear faintly the cheers & execrations of brothers — one thing: this is not Europe gone mad; this is not an aberration or insanity, this is Europe; this seeming Terrible is the real soul & life of ~~the present~~ its truest culture. This is where the strength & energy of modern humanity has really gone.

But why not the world cry back at us & ask: What better thing have you to show? What have you done or where can you do better than this if you lead today the World-war? Paint with all kind of color the sin of European Culture is not better than the culture that arose in Africa or Asia?

It is. Of this there is no doubt & never has

46-33-80

But why is it better? Do it better because Europeans are better, nobler, greater & more gifted than other folk? It is not. Europe has never produced and never will in any day a single human soul that cannot be matched aye & overmatched in every line of human endeavor by Asia & Africa. Run the gamut in your mind & let us have the Europeans who in other truth ever matched Black Nefertari, Mohammed, Rameses and Askia, ~~Buddha~~ Confucius & Jesus Christ?

Why then is Europe great? Because she has builded well on foundations laid in the mighty past: on the iron & trade of black Africa; on the religion & empire building of yellow Asia and the art and science of the "dago" Mediterranean. Alone she did what she has builded entirely on the past & learned from the past she has gone forward to greater & more splendid human triumph, and where she has ignored the past & forgotten & sneered at

49-33-81

she has shown the clearer way of her
ennobled humanity — she has played
like other continues game the World Fool.

Where then has been her greatest
sin: Human hatred; the-decline of moral.
And where her greatest virtue? The broadest
area of human respect & consideration, of Love
for mankind. And precisely in her success
here lies her danger. Because she has
made larger grounds of men share deep affection
sympathetic & consideration for each other; because she has
induced still larger grounds tolerate each
other; she has been content & allow them
to redouble their balanced & decency of the
rest of the world. & dare begin heaven
& a conflict which will set us
back a thousand years.

49-33-82

On this world waiting America, which
owns America, has played a despicable &
unforgiveable role. Despite of standing as the
new land of freedom & brotherhood she has from
the very beginning been the land of slavery &

better moral material. Out of that hatred has risen
incident & bitterness & an ~~ostrich~~ literature in no
~~other civilized world~~ other ~~Europe~~ country
Italy in the cradle of European culture. Incident
of slavery as a grand example of the success
of democracy & the possibility of human betterment
America has taken place as an awful
example of its pitfalls & its failures especially
so far as black & yellow & brown people are
concerned. And this too in spite of the fact
that there was no actual failure; the Indian
is not dying out, the Japanese and Chinese
have not menaced the land & the extension
of Negro suffrage has resulted in the uplift
of ten million people at a ~~the~~ rate probably
unparalleled in history & God instead of
America, having Democracy, wanted & taken
in its failure so far as darker peoples
were concerned. Absolutely unheard opened
established a cash system
the ~~a~~ market with declaration for war and
conquered ~~foreign~~ colonies. The stands
day shrunken & shrunken since Europe in

49-33-83

Europes worst sins against civilization She
advises to set among the great Nations is to exhibit
of the pale of ~~the~~ "lesser breeds without the law"
and she is heartily ashamed of the large number
of "new" people who her democracy has
admitted & slave & power. Against this
surging pourout of Irish, German and even of
Russian Jew, slave and "Dago" her social bars have
not availed And against Negroes she takes
her unbending & immoveable stand backed
by the new public policy of Europe. She trains
her immigrants & the children from the
day of their birth & they carry & send the
news back to the lower classes of their fatherland.

I shall never forget a meeting of the New
York Peace Society in the Waldorf Astoria at the outbreak
of war in the Balkans. Contempt for the weaker
races blanket peoples and territories. All those
who ~~the~~ openly asked for more people among the
Big Dogs while they hunted lesser ones animals
"We wanted Peace" said Andrew Carnegie, the

49-33-84

friendly officer, "for nations that deserve peace"; & the audience visibly applauded the war dream of a German "Imme".

It was symbolistic. The cause of War is preparation for war. Preparation for war has no reason today but Greed. Greed today sends Europe as a Thief at the throats of the darker peoples. They writhe in impotent agony, but the escape of Japan, and the awakening of India and the unrest of Africa & Latin America all give hope of real Peace; Of Peace built on world democracy, equality of men of all races and color, and the sharing of all industrial organization based on Work.

46-33-85

Du Bois - Mss. undated

Negro Labor

ATTENTION OF
MR. HAMILTON HOLT

THE COLORED WORKINGMAN

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Urged by the Negro's "best friends" in the South, Americans continually assume that he is exceptional and does not respond to the ordinary impulses of human nature or to the ordinary laws of economic change. If he is enslaved, we are assured that he likes slavery and is fitted for nothing else; yet his systematic running away from slavery and attempted revolts precipitated a Civil War in which 200,000 black men fought for freedom; when freedom and education were offered the Negro his neighbors who "knew him best" assured us that he could never become a free workingman and that it was impossible to educate him.

When the Negro became a free worker and reduced his illiteracy two-thirds we were assured by the best opinion of the South that the "second generation" of young Negroes were naught but criminal spendthrifts who must be curbed by peonage, extraordinary vagrancy laws, a rigid caste system, and occasional lynching. When a remarkable accummulation of lands and property and the rise of black men of ability and insight proved all these dogmas of the white South to be mainly unproven assumptions born of slavery the South doggedly answered by a series of disfranchising and "Jim-Crow" laws.

Under such circumstances what would one expect the Negro to do? Leave the South and southern conditions. But for years he apparently did not leave and the South cried triumphantly: "He loves the South! He does not want to vote! He knows that he is inferior!"

Was this true? Let us see:

Slavery meant a fixed place of labor and fixed employers. The most effective revolt against slavery was the Underground Railroad for

fugitives organized by Negroes and whites in the fifties. This was the first migration of Negroes and it added considerable numbers to the northern Negro population. The most effective result of Emancipation was to accelerate this movement suddenly and to send the freed men not only northward but to various neighboring states.

In 1880, ~~16%~~ sixteen percent of the Negro population, that is over one million persons, were living in states where they were not born; this migrating population increased 100,000 between 1880 and 1890. Between 1890 and 1900 it increased still faster, that is over 200,000, reaching in the latter year 1,370,000. Between 1900 and 1910 it increased 240,000, so that in 1910 a larger proportion of our colored population lived in states other than those in which they were born than ever before. This represents a large migratory movement, probably larger than most other groups of ten million in the world can show.

38-12-351

Why did these people move? Despite all efforts to becloud the issue and despite well-known exceptions, the grievances of the colored population in the South are perfectly clear and well-understood by them and by their friends. They may be set down as follows:

1. Low wages and mediaeval working conditions
2. Insecurity of life and limb
3. Insecurity of property
4. Disfranchisement
5. "Jim-Crow" legislation which means peristent public insult in almost every walk of life

These grievances do not mean that the white South has been wholly stationary or reactionary. The South has moved and moved tremendously in its attitude towards blacks and thought of them since 1863. Slowly, very slowly, but surely it is coming to realize that lynching is a poor investment for an industrial community; it is beginning to believe

that intelligent labor is better than ignorant peons; it knows that the methods of enforcing "Jim-Crow" legislation and caste customs are unjust, disgraceful, and dangerous, and it sees in the near future the ousting of political oligarchy by real democracy from which it sees no way to exclude, permanently, Negroes or women.

38-12-352

All this is true and here most American philosophers seem content to rest and sing. But the truth is far more complicated than this indicates. Fast as the white South has moved, the modern world and the Negro have moved faster. The white South with all its increasing liberalism has not begun to keep pace with the advance of modern philanthropic thought or with the expanding power and aspiration of ten million people of Negro descent. The South still remains, compared with the rest of the land, provincial, lawless, and oligarchic.

Grant all that may be claimed as to the advancement of the white South it remains true that no modern white laborer would for a moment submit to the labor conditions under which the mass of Negroes work if he could escape; no modern white laborer would submit to the labor conditions under which the mass of southern white laborers work if the competition of the Negro's low wage did not compel him.

What is the result? The intelligent black laborer does not propose to submit to present southern conditions a moment longer than he must.

Whither can he escape?

There have appeared to him several possibilities:

1. To fight his way up in the South
2. To go to the free land in the West
3. To go to freer conditions in the North
4. To emigrate from the country

His effort to fight his way up in the South rested on faith

that the spiritual and social development of the white South would progress so fast that oppression of the Negro and unbearable waste insults would slowly, perhaps, but certainly disappear. In this thought he has been grievously disappointed. Disfranchisement has increased rather than decreased; lynching has not perceptibly lessened; common school training for blacks is worse off today than twenty years ago; industrial legislation to hamper Negroes, segregation ordinances, and discriminating laws have become more numerous.

38-12-353

In spite of this there has arisen a persistent effort, backed by unlimited northern money and influence and advocated by certain leading Negroes, ~~persistently~~ insisting that no matter how shamefully the South treats the Negro, the Negro must stay there and that his only salvation is humble submission,

The Negro did not accept this philosophy. He never has accepted it and he never will. Quietly and persistently he has sought to escape from the slave-shadowed South and he is still seeking.

The Negro's effort to migrate West began in the celebrated Kansas "Exodus" in 1879 and culminated in the Texas-Oklahoma rush in 1900-1910. Lack of capital and unfamiliar crops kept most Negroes out of Kansas and the North while savage lynching and unprecedented "Jim-Crow" legislation discouraged them in Texas and Oklahoma.

The effort of Negroes to migrate to Africa and elsewhere is one of the most disreputable chapters of American psuedo-philanthropy and need not take time or space here. This left the North as the one haven of refuge and into the North the Negro has gradually filtered.

Between 1860 and 1910 the northern Negro population increased from 350,000 to 1,075,000 indicating a migration of at least 200,000 persons in addition to the natural increase. This is a considerable migration but small when one corsiders all the cirsumstances. Why

did not the black workingmen rush North faster? Three factors hindered:

1. European immigration
2. Northern prejudice
3. Fear on the part of northern Negroes

The European migration was the really active competitive factor and it reached over 900,000 a year, 1900-1910, bringing in men and women who bid for precisely the jobs that the average southern Negro wanted. Secondly, the northern racial attitude was sufficiently uncertain to make the Negro immigrants hesitate and this uncertainty was increased by a persistent southern industrial propaganda in the North decrying Negro labor, and in the South alleging that the Negro could not get work in the North. Northern labor unions quickly seized this opportunity to close their doors to southern competition and received here public sanction which they could not get in the case of immigrants.

Finally, the northern Negroes were bidding for higher places in the industrial machinery and gradually getting them. They feared that wholesale southern migration would arouse prejudice and dispossess them.

This was the situation when a foreign immigration of over one million a year in 1914 suddenly fell to 300,000 in 1916 and was balanced in that year by at least 150,000 persons returning to Europe. A sharp, new demand for common labor arose and railroads, builders, and various industries turned to the South. A curious industrial war ensued. Every effort was made by the South to keep knowledge of new opportunities from the Negroes and to prevent them even by force from leaving; wholesale arrests were made and "emigrant agents" were taxed as high as $2500 for the right to operate. Despite this, great corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad imported Negroes by the thousands and estimates of the total migration run into the hundred thousands.

38-12-355

What does this portend for the future?

The present movement is largely tentative. Perhaps 100,000 permanent Negro immigrants have located in the North during 1916. The future movement depends on the European war, the industrial acumen of northern business men, and the organizing ability of Negroes.

We often preen ourselves on the keenness of American industrial leaders and our industrial history proves that in many cases we have a right to do this but certainly in the treatment of Negro labor Americans are peculiarly obtuse. They have today at hand not simply a mass of good-natured laborers who, because of the past, are unusually appreciative of reasonably decent laboring conditions and fair wages but they also have a growing class of young intelligent colored men and women capable of doing excellent work in the higher walks of industry, capable even of leading American industry and commerce into parts of the world where the darker races abound and where these same races are increasingly resentful of the treatment by whites. Instead now of our seeing an intelligent movement in America to better the condition of Negro labor, and to open the doors of opportunity to its higher representatives we find the country largely concerned in forwarding an effort to make migration from the South difficult, if not impossible, and industrial welcome in the North unlikely. The American Federation of Labor has joined hands with the bourbon South and Tuskegee Institute in virtually warning black laborers to refuse the offer of higher wages already being made them. They are invited to remain in a land which annually lynches from fifty to one hundred accused colored men without giving them even a semblance of a trial, and which allows practically no colored man to have a voice in his own government?

Moreover, when the Negro, breaking away from tradition, advice and pressure, comes to the North how is he welcomed? Instead of always

finding work under modern conditions the conditions are too often lowered to "fit" him. One of the great railroads took especial pains to bring up thousands of the best Negro laborers that could be found and got a carefully culled out lot and yet, ~~recently~~, when government officials inspected their construction camp they denounced it as unfit for human habitation.

58-12-356

Thus we come back to our first proposition. The Negro problem consists of the refusal of America to learn or admit that the same laws of social development hold in the case of black as of white workers and this is all the more astonishing since hundreds of thousands of these workers whom we call black are black only in the sense that they have had a black grandfather.

If for a generation after the present war European migration is restricted the Negro will have an economic opportunity which no slave-driving bourbonism can wholly close; if migration is increased by the European catastrophe then the Negro will more and more be thrown back on the peculiar inner economic cooperation which he has been organizing on a rapidly-growing scale for years in the South and which is now moving North. But that is another story.

The American Negro

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editar of The Crisis

There are in the United States today nearly twice as many persons of Negro descent as there are Belgians in Belgium; there are three times as many as there are Irish in Ireland or Scotch in Scotland; as compared with 12,000,000 American Negroes Servia and Greece together have only 6,000,000 inhabitants and Bulgaria less than 5,000,000. Indeed, the whole population of the Balkan States is only about one-third larger than the Negro population of the United States. The land which American Negroes own in fee simple is as large as the whole island of Ireland and equals in area the land which the Germans hold in Belgium and France, and the land which Negroes cultivate as owners and tenants is as large as half the United Kingdom.

Absolutely, then, this group is of importance in the world. But the problem which I am to discuss is that which arises from the fact that this group has been from the beginning excluded from American democracy and that this exclusion has had a singular and often well-nigh fatal effect upon the nation whenever the nation has sought to follow great ideals or work out any line of unselfish endeavor.

In the present crisis I maintain that the one tremendous handicap which makes it almost impossible for this nation to fight with clear conscience or with untrammeled limbs is today, as yesterday, her attitude toward 12,000,000 American citizens of Negro descent.

In every question which you discuss and in many other great social questions which you might discuss, frankness and honesty on your part is almost impossible because of the fact that the nation is guilty of continual injustice toward one-tenth of its own citizenship, and that the injustice is deliberate as long as ~~they~~ it refuses to investigate it or discuss it, and because if today you saw the righteous and honest solution you would be frankly unwilling to receive it, unwilling to carry it out,

49-5-14

since you would not want to live in a world where Negroes were treated as men. Under such circumstances you must remember that the integrity of your own souls and minds is at stake. You cannot thus play with a human problem and not spoil your own capacity for reason. You must face the fact that these human beings cannot always remain in their present relation to world movements. I once suggested in THE CRISIS magazine a method of solving this problem which was received with a certain gasp of horror. Yet I venture to suggest it again. I said that every white family in the United States might choose a person of Negro descent, invite him to their home, entertain him and then through some quick and painless method kill him. In that way, in a single day we would be rid of 12,000,000 people who are today giving us so much concern, or rather so little concern. Remember that as ghastly as a proposal of this sort appears that it is a good deal better than forcing these Negroes into slums and ghettos and letting them die slowly by a high death rate. It is a good deal better than forcing them to the lowest wages and letting them die of inanition. It is even better than presenting them with a program of life and education which includes universal and continual insult with absolutely no hope of normal citizenship in modern civilization, and finally, it is the only one decent alternative to treating them as men.

This is in Inter-
Collegiate Socialist
Dec 1917-
Jan 1918

Du Bois - Mss.

THE PROBLEM OF PROBLEMS

There are in the United States today nearly twice as many persons of Negro descent as there are Belgians in Belgium; there are three times as many as there are Irish in Ireland or Scotch in Scotland; as compared with 12,000,000 American Negroes Servia and Greece together have only 6,000,000 inhabitants and Bulgaria less than 5,000,000. Indeed, the whole population of the Balkan States is only about one-third larger than the Negro population of the United States. The land which American Negroes own in fee simple is as large as the whole island of Ireland and equals in area the land which the Germans hold in Belgium and France, and the land which Negroes they cultivate as owners and tenants is as large as half the United Kingdom.

47-2

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[In the present crisis

Think, for instance, of the earliest of our great social problems. Late in the fifteenth century the eyes of the world are opened to see the earth doubled in extent, to realize vast new territories and unknown possibilities and not impossible fairy tales beyond the seas. Conceive the vision, the spiritual uplift that must have followed such a revelation. With this spiritual exultation, however, went the keen, cold, calculating realization that sufficient forces of brute labor could extract untold and immediate wealth from the known parts of this land. There you have the first spiritual conflict in which the Negro became a tremendous part. It was settled by a compromise which no thoughtful man believed but which all, thoughtful and thoughtless, were willing to accept. Import workers to work in the mines and on the plantations and thus the heathen would be converted to the kingdom of God! Would not so meritorious a work

excuse the horrors of the slave trade?

It was characteristic of this conclusion that few dared go behind it; few dared to call for facts and really argue and discuss the question. Discussion was interfered with by dominant public opinion, and America became a land of slavery.

Then, slowly, in the unwinding of years came a new spiritual conflict. More and more clearly a splendid ideal flamed in the minds of Americans. This was to be a Land of Refuge and a Land of Freedom. The Disinherited of the earth were to have here a chance for development such as the world had never seen before. All men were to be equal, with an equal chance for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The land was to exist for itself and not for Europe, and the forces for the great fight for Freedom gathered themselves.

It was exceedingly unpleasant just here to remember that America, after all, was a land of slavery, to have the enemy turn frankly to the black slaves, like Dunmore in Virginia, and cry: "You are free. Fight for your own liberty against these slave-holding hypocrites!" Something had to be done and the result, again, was compromise. Black soldiers shall be free immediately, said the revolutionary fathers, and slavery as an institution will disappear from the land. But human changes take time and call for sacrifices. The cost of uprooting slavery must be spread over many years. Let the slave trade gradually be abolished; let emancipation spread state by state and plantation by plantation. Meantime, we will undertake to find a new home in Africa or elsewhere for the freed Negroes, and thus our dilemma will be settled. So, our fathers of revolutionary days fought for freedom and maintained slavery.

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Meantime, the world began to change and the new era of economic expansion swept over it. The nation felt the impulse and in the fateful years when the factory system was being introduced and machinery supplanting crude labor, they were asked to lay the foundation of the first American economic kingdom, - the kingdom of cotton which anti-dated later kingdoms of iron, of cereals, of meat, and of lumber. Few in the nation or in the world understood exactly what was happening. The great ground swell of the universe revealed itself not as one mighty movement but rather as a new chance to make money, particularly in cotton raising, in tobacco, sugar and wheat. Gradually a [redacted] demand gathered itself, a demand for more land and more labor. The nation took advantage of the Haitian revolution and got the empire of the Mississippi Valley for nothing, seized North Mexico and annexed the Northwest. We became a tremendous country, spreading from ocean to ocean

and dreaming of a realm from the pole to the equator.

Right in the midst of this came the problem of American Negroes. We felt ourselves so large that we tried to sweep it aside, but persistently it returned. Thoughtful Americans knew perfectly well that States' rights advocates bent the Constitution to the breaking point in order to have slave-ridden Louisiana; that we seized Mexico and Florida in order to have a larger area for slavery, and for the same reason we were intriguing in the West Indies; that the real thing that was expanding was not America but slavery, and that new laws and new customs were checking emancipation and making the Negro a caste to supplant the old caste of manual laborers. Rapidly the leaders of the cotton kingdom took the extreme attitude that the new caste of black labor was an inevitable thing and that so long as it was confined to inferior people it was the ideal organization of labor and of

economic empire.

Thereupon, came the great attempt at national compromise. Granted, said the nation, that this is the ideal form of labor for certain industries it must be confined within the climatic belt where those industries are dominant, so that the black labor class shall not come in competition with the rising white laborers who propose to emancipate themselves from the caste idea and become a real part of modern democracy. The leaders of the cotton kingdom mis-read the times and refused to accept the compromise. They said that their system of caste labor depended upon expansion for its very existence and that slaves must be slaves on Bunker Hill as well as in New Orleans; that they would not and, indeed, could not remain part of the country which did not allow this. On the other hand the compromisers pled with them. They did not for a moment undertake to deny the caste idea for black men.

The very man who is called the Emancipator declared again and again that his object was the integrity of the Union and not the emancipation of the slaves; that if he could keep the Union from being disrupted he would not only allow slavery to exist but would loyally protect it.

It took but a few years of murder, anarchy and rapine to prove to everybody that if the question of black caste labor ~~was~~ were settled there would be no need for disrupting the Union and no demand for it. It was, therefore, legally abolished, the Union preserved and the attention of the country turned to further economic development. But the country was, after all, the same country. It loved Negroes no better after emancipation than it did before and it had no more ~~love or~~ respect for them. It was just as willing in 1870 that Negroes should be slaves as in 1860, so long as they did not endanger the white man's income.

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Inevitably the problem continued to face the nation. If free white labor was not to be manaced by the slave wage of Negroes then either Negro labor must be confined to the South or to a certain grade of work or the Negro's economic and spiritual emancipation must follow his physical freedom. Again came compromise: slavery persisted only we called it the plantation system and supported it by vagrancy laws, the convict lease system and lynching. Labor unions carefully guarded against Negro competition in the decently-paid trades, while on the other hand, the price of common labor in the North was kept but a notch above Southern wages by world migration.

This was our economic and moral dilemma when this world war burst. There can, as it seems to me, be no real doubt in anyone's mind but that horrible as war is there lies before the world today a stake which may easily justify it. If at the cost of this world war, the death of

millions and the sorrow and degradation of many millions more, if at that horrible cost we can put down anarchy among the nations, reduce them to some system of law and order, curb the bullying of the Highwayman by armed international police and make the freedom of nations a freedom under law, as we have done partially with the individual, then the fight is worth every drop of blood that it costs. Every thinking man, too, must realize that if the world battle is a battle for such a stake, for this nation to keep out of it is either cowardice or insanity. But when the nation enters, can it enter and fight for such a stake? Are its hands reasonably clean and its soul sincere? I maintain that the one tremendous handicap which makes it almost impossible for this nation to fight with clear conscience or with untrammeled limbs is today, as yesterday, her attitude toward 12,000,000 American citizens of Negro descent. I can, perhaps, best illustrate my meaning by reminding you briefly of the problems which you are discussing in this conference.

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You are discussing, for instance, labor. Now the central problem of American labor is the chronic over-supply of common labor. The over-supply has in the past come from migration, first from Ireland, then from Germany, finally from Italy and Austria, and above all from the millions of Negroes in the South recently emancipated from slavery and systematically kept in ignorance. As soon as this war starts a revolution takes place. Thos who were formerly killed in industry in America are now being killed in war in Europe. Common labor becomes scarse and wages rise. The Negro, attracted by higher wages in the North and repelled by the menace of lynching and caste in the South moves to fill the new labor demand thus created. The common laborer in the North is caught between the tyranny of exclusive trades unions and the under-bidding of blacks. The result is murder and riot and unrest. Those who for

a generation have been calling black men a lazy, ignorant burden and incubus on the South have suddenly developed a determination not to allow the rest of the country to share that burden or pay Negroes higher wages. White Northern laborers find killing Negroes a safe, lucrative employment which commends them to the American Federation of Labor. No discussion of labor problems arising out of the war can take place, then, without first facing this situation of the Negro laborer.

You are taking up the problem of the freedom of speech. Many of you who are vastly upset by the increasing difficulty which you have in discussing this war in America; but I should be much more impressed by your indignation if I did not realize that the greatest lack in freedom of discussion of present American problems comes not in problems which you are not allowed to discuss but rather in those which you are free to

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discuss but afraid of. I know and you know that the conspiracy of silence that surrounds the Negro problem in the United States arises because you do not dare, you are without the moral courage to discuss it frankly, and when I say you I refer not simply to the conservative reactionary elements of the nation but rather to the very elements represented in a conference like this, supposed to be forward-looking and radical. You may, of course, now and then and with some impatience turn from the things which you really want to discuss and listen skeptically and wit h little interest to a speaker who tries within twenty minutes to untangle a snarl of twenty decades. But you are perfectly willing to leave it at that, to go away without action, to let the mists of half-discussion and half-understanding lie continually upon this human problem. Ten indeterminate half-truths will sum up your whole knowledge of the Negro problem and the knowledge which you are unwilling

to have disturbed. For instance, (1) the Negro is lazy (2) the Negro is unhealthy and is dying out (3) the Negro is inferior in mind and in body (4) the Negro misused the ballot and the ballot was rightfully taken from him (5) the Negro is lynched for rape (6) the Negro is abnormally criminal (7) the Negro's one ambition is to marry your sister (8) Efforts to educate Negroes beyond a certain point are a failure (9) the South is the best friend of the Negro (10) The Negro problem is insoluble.

There is not a single one of these propositions that is not a half-truth or a whole lie. As a whole they run counter to easily ascertainable facts, to open scientific proof, and to common sense, yet they are allowed to stand. They can be repeated at any time or place without contradiction. Any person anywhere in America, no matter

what his standing or reputation, can rise and with proper gestures and embellishments repeat these ten sentences and sit down in nine cases out of ten uncontradicted and unquestioned.

A nation which thus refuses to discuss intelligently or to investigate the problem which historically and at the present is the greatest of its social problems may whine about and pretend that it wishes freedom of speech, but it deceives itself.

You are discussing the conscription of wealth for the national weal, and yet this great, rich country has allowed generation after generation of American Negroes to grow up in ignorance and poverty and crime, because they will not spend as many dollars upon a decent public school system or a system of social uplift for Negroes as they are perfectly willing to spend upon a single battleship. Under such circumstances it will be hard to make conscientious people believe

that you believe in the conscription of wealth ~~of~~ for the common weal.

You are talking about the public control of food and the necessity in a great national crisis for the national government to come in and curb and guide the anti-social action of states and individuals, and in the face of this you refuse to ~~let~~ ask that same national government to come in and conserve the lives which food feeds. You allow lynching and murder to become a national pasttime. Nine out of ten of you have practically without protest sat by your parlor fires while 2867 colored men have been lynched and burned and tortured in the last thirty years, and not a single one of the murderers brought to justice, not to mention the tens of thousands of Negroes who have been killed by mobs and murderers in that time.

You wish universal service in war and in peace, but you are willing that Negroes who are unprotected either in war or peace should give their services and be compelled to give them under circumstances of public insult such as no other part of the nation is asked to endure.

The State Socialism which you discuss is in America the Socialism of a State where a tenth of the population is disfranchised, (not to mention the half who are women,) and where the power which at present controls is the power which gets its political rights from a franchise based on the disfranchisement of nine million Americans of Negro descent; and you raise scarce a single word of protest against it.

I was disgusted with Pacifists long before their present prominence. Today they think war a horrible thing but yesterday when war was confined to the Belgian Congo, to the head waters of the Amazon, to South Africa and parts of India and the South Seas it was not war, it

was simply a method of carrying civilization to the natives, and there were no national conventions on the subject. ~~And~~ In the peace proposals that are now being made continually the future of the natives of Africa, the future of the disfranchised Indians of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and the disfranchisement of the Negroes in the United States has not only no important part but practically no thought. What you are asking for is a peace among white folk with the inevitable result that they will have more leisure and inclination to continue their despoiling of yellow, red, brown and black folk.

Revolution is discussed, but it is the successful revolution of white folk and not the unsuccessful revolution of black soldiers in Texas. You do not stop to consider whether the Russian peasant had any more to endure than the black soldiers of the 24th Infantry, but you do consider and consider with the utmost care that the black soldiers' cause was lost

before they took arms and that for that reason it can be easily forgotten.

Thus, in every question which you discuss and in many other great social questions which you might discuss, frankness and honesty on your part is almost impossible because of the fact that the nation is guilty of continual injustice toward one-tenth of its own citizenship, and that the injustice is deliberate ~~because~~ as long as they refuse to investigate it or discuss it, and because if today you saw the righteous and honest solution you would be frankly unwilling to receive it, unwilling to carry it out, ~~because~~ since you would not want to live in a world where Negroes were treated as men. Under such circumstances you must remember that the integrity of your own souls and minds is at stake. You cannot thus play with a human problem and not spoil your own capacity for reason. You must face the fact that these human beings cannot always remain in their

present relation to world movements. I once suggested in THE CRISIS magazine a method of solving this problem which was received with a certain gasp of horror. Yet I venture to suggest it again. I said that every white family in the United States might choose a person of Negro descent, invite him to their home, entertain him and then through some quick and painless method kill him. In that way, in a single day we would be rid of 12,000,000 people who are today giving us so much concern, or rather so little concern, Remember, that as ghastly as a proposal of this sort appears that it is a good deal better than forcing these Negroes into slums and ghettos and letting them die slowly by a high death rate. It is a good deal better than forcing them to the lowest wages and letting them die of inanition. It is even better than presenting them with a program of life and education which includes

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universal and continual insult with absolutely no hope of normal citizenship in modern civilization, and finally, it is the only one decent alternative to treating them as men.

Intercollegiate
Socialist
1917-18

W. E. Burn

Emancipation

38-2-167

Freedom meant to the Negro certain definite things:

1. The physical right to move. Slavery confined him to a plantation. He was shut out from the world and all that world contact meant.

2. The rights of family life. Slavery recognized neither marriage or family among slaves. Children of black folk owed no duty to parents, wives owed no allegiance to husbands. Custom, to be sure, was better than the letter of law, but how bad custom was, the three million mulattoes to-day attest.

3. The right to hold property. Slavery recognized no right of slaves to own anything. All they possessed - even their bodies belonged to the master. Here and there a master might allow a slave to "buy" his freedom by long and extra toil. But this was very unusual.

4. The right to know. Ignorance was the foundation stone of a successful slave system based on race. Every slave state forbade slaves learning to read and write. Many did learn through indulgent masters, or by stealth, but this was against the law and at the time of emancipation over 90% if not 99% of the slaves were illiterate.

Thus emancipation meant migration, family life, property holding and knowledge for Black men in America. It did not and could not mean these things perfectly or suddenly. Fifty years shows merely beginnings in some line or tentative accomplishment in others. Slowly the Negro population is moving from the older seats of slavery to the new city and Northern life. More swiftly the home and family life has been built up until now it compares favorably with the average of the nation.

The accumulation of property started quickly after the war, then proceeded slowly; but since 1900 has proceeded by leaps and bounds until the economic power of